

Ivan Basić

Sarkofag s formulom sankcije iz
Trogira
(Aspekti bizantske diplomatske
tradicije u ranosrednjovjekovnoj
jadranskoj epigrafiji)

Ivan Basić
Sveučilište u Splitu
Filozofski fakultet
Odsjek za povijest
Poljička cesta 35
HR, 21 000 Split
ibasic@ffst.hr

UDK: 726.829(497.583Trogir)“653“
930.2:003.071

Izvorni znanstveni članak
Primljeno: 30. 4. 2018.
Prihvaćeno: 14. 5. 2018.

Sažetak

U Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu pohranjen je ulomak poklopca ranosrednjovjekovnog sarkofaga porijeklom iz Trogira. Sadrži ostatke reljefne dekoracije te nepotpuno očuvan latinski natpis. Natpis je najpoznatiji po spomenu bizantskoga cara (Konstantin V. ili Konstantin VI.), zasad jedinom takvom primjeru u ranosrednjovjekovnoj epigrafiji Dalmacije (uz iznimku Ulcinja). Preliminarno je datiran u VIII. stoljeće.

The sarcophagus with sanction
formula from Trogir
(Aspects of the Byzantine
diplomats tradition in early
medieval epigraphy of the
Adriatic)

Ivan Basić
University of Split
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Department of History
Poljička cesta 35
CROATIA, 21 000 Split
ibasic@ffst.hr

UDC: 726.829(497.583Trogir)“653“
930.2:003.071

Original scientific paper
Received: 30 April 2018
Accepted: 14 May 2018

Abstract

A fragment of a lid from an early medieval sarcophagus originally from Trogir is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Split. It contains the remains of relief decoration and an incompletely preserved Latin inscription. The inscription is best known for mentioning a Byzantine emperor (Constantine V or Constantine VI), thus far the only such example in the early medieval epigraphy of Dalmatia (with the

Premda je ulomak u literaturi poznat i relativno često spominjan u radovima specijaliziranih istraživača (Lj. Karaman, M. Ivanišević, T. Burić, I. Babić, V. Delonga, A. Piteša i dr.), dosad nije bilo pokušaja da se protumači sadržaj ostatka natpisa. Autor u njemu prepoznaje krnje sačuvanu formulu sankcije (prokletstva, anateme) 318 crkvenih otaca, veoma raširenu na ozemljima u bliskom kontaktu s bizantskim pravnim područjima (pa tako i u diplomaciji ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske Kneževine), otkuda navedena formula i potječe. Car Konstantin spomenut u natpisu identificira se s bizantskim carem Konstantinom VI. (780.–797.). Rad donosi rezultate istraživanja problema pojave bizantske pravne formule protiv oskvrnuća grobnice, s komparativnom građom iz kasnog VIII. i ranog IX. stoljeća. Time se učvršćuje i precizira datacija natpisa i sarkofaga; ujedno, osvjetljava se pojava i način funkcioniranja bizantske pravne kulture u Trogiru kao jednom od romanskih gradova Bizantske Dalmacije.

Ključne riječi: rani srednji vijek, Dalmacija, Trogir, Bizant, epigrafija, prozopografija, sankcija, 318 otaca

exception of Ulcinj). It has been preliminarily dated to the 8th century. Although the fragment is known in the scholarly literature and has been mentioned with relative frequency in works by specialized researchers (Lj. Karaman, M. Ivanišević, T. Burić, I. Babić, V. Delonga, A. Piteša and others), other than the emperor's name thus far there have been no attempts to interpret the content of the remaining part of the inscription. The author recognizes in it a partially preserved sanction formula (curse, anathema) of the 318 church fathers, very widespread in the territories in close contact with the areas under Byzantine law (including the diplomatics of the early medieval Croatian Duchy), whence this formula in fact originated. The Emperor Constantine mentioned in the inscription is identified as the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VI (780-797). The work presents the results of research into the problem of the appearance of the Byzantine legal formula against desecration of graves, with comparative materials from the late 8th and early 9th centuries. This reinforces and narrows the dating of the inscription and sarcophagus; it simultaneously sheds light on the appearance of the Byzantine legal culture and its functioning in Trogir, as one of the Latin-speaking cities of Byzantine Dalmatia.

Key words: Early Middle Ages, Dalmatia, Trogir, Byzantium, epigraphy, prosopography, sanction formula, 318 holy fathers

Osvrćući se prije dvadesetak godina na knjigu Radoslava Katičića *Litterarum studia. Književnost i naobrazba ranoga hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja*, romanist, medijevist, kritičar i esejist Nenad Ivić ističe kako “pojava svake rasprave koja se bavi kasnom antikom i ranim srednjovjekovljem, bilo da se radi o političkoj povijesti burgundske države, ekonomskim prilikama u Saloni šestog stoljeća ili konstrukciji identiteta sveca i vojnika u merovinškoj Galiji, predstavlja zainteresiranima za ta razdoblja veliku dragocjenost: znamo kako je teško ponovno prelaziti čvrsto utabane staze, pažljivo uočavati obrise novih značenja u tekstovima toliko opterećenim stoljetnim interpretacijama da ih pod njima jedva naziremo. (...) Umjesto novim izvorima, rasprave o kasnoj antici i srednjovjekovlju mogu nas oduševiti svježinom, autorovom oštromnošću, njegovom sposobnošću da pronade nova značenja, da uspostavi nove i neočekivane veze među davnim ljudima, njihovim djelovanjima i tekstovima koje proizvode čitajući ih u svjetlu drugih kultura i drugih znanstvenih disciplina. Više nego rezultatima koji su beznačajno provizorni, takve rasprave plijene postavljanjem prethodno nezamijećenih problema; njihova najveća usluga nije u zatvaranju i svodenju, u dokazivanju našeg znanja već u njegovom ograničavanju, u pokazivanju našeg neznanja, u upozorenju na nezavršeni posao što vreba u sumnjivo nedvosmislenim značenjima davnih tekstova.”¹ Suvišno je naglašavati da se istraživači ranoga srednjovjekovlja srednjoistočne Europe i jadranske regije gotovo na dnevnoj bazi suočavaju s ovako ocrtanim stanjem stvari. Izazovi povijesnog zanata koje pred povjesničara-medijevista tih prostora postavljaju malobrojni i višesmisleni ranosrednjovjekovni tekstovi raznih vrsta teško mogu djelovati motivirajuće – razmjerno je izvjesnije da će svoga istraživača obeshrabriti prije negoli osokoliti na hvatanje ukoštac s pluridisciplinarnim metodološkim krugovima što ih svojim radom na vrelima moraju obuhvatiti.

Razvijajući dalje svoju kritičku refleksiju, Ivić u nastavku poentira: “bavljenje bilo kojim aspektom kulture ranog srednjovjekovlja, hrvatskog ili nekog drugog, nije lagan posao. To zna svatko tko se iole ozbiljnije pozabavio vrhuncima poput Kasiodora i Boecija ili skromnim potankostima poput stanja kolona ili pravila korištenja zajedničkih zemalja. Zahtijeva znanja povjesničara, akribiju klasičnog filologa, hrabrost

About twenty years ago, in a review of the book by Radoslav Katičić, *Litterarum studia. Književnost i naobrazba ranoga hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja*, Romanist, medievalist, critic and essayist Nenad Ivić stressed that:

“The emergence of any debate dealing with Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, whether about the political history of the Burgundian states, economic circumstances in Salona in the sixth century or the construction of the identity of saints and soldiers in Merovingian Gaul, constitutes a genuine treasure for those interested in that era: we know how difficult it is to once more traverse well-beaten paths, carefully noting the contours of new meanings in texts weighed down by centuries of interpretations which all but obscure them entirely. (...) In lieu of new sources, discourses on Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages may delight us with their freshness, the author’s perspicacity and ability to find new meanings, establish new and unanticipated links between people of the distant past, their activities and the texts they produced by reading them in the light of other cultures and other scholarly disciplines. More so than results that are hopelessly transient, such discussions arouse interest by setting up previously unnoticed problems; their greatest benefit lies not in closure and reduction, in the validation of our knowledge, but rather by denoting its limits, demonstrating our lack of knowledge, and underscoring the unfinished task lurking behind the suspiciously unambiguous meanings of ancient texts.”¹ It is superfluous to point out that researchers into the early medieval era in East Central Europe and the Adriatic region confront just this state of affairs virtually every day. The challenges of the historical profession placed before historians/medievalists in these regions by the few-in-number and ambiguous early medieval texts of various types hardly have a motivating effect – it is relatively more certain that they will deter their researchers rather than goad them to plunge into the pluridisciplinary methodological circles that their work with these sources must encompass.

Continuing his critical reflections, Ivić further stressed that: “Dealing with any aspect of early medieval culture, whether Croatian or any other, is no easy task. This is common knowledge to anyone who has more seriously dealt with the finest, such as Cassiodorus or Boethius, or modest details such as the

* Ovaj rad je nastao temeljem izlaganja predstavljenog na međunarodnom znanstvenom skupu “Natales grate numeras?”, u povodu 60. godišnjice osnutka Odjela za klasičnu filologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru, Zadar, 7-8. travnja 2017.

1 Ivić 2009, str. 399.

* This paper was delivered as a lecture at the International Conference *Natales grate numeras?* to mark the sixtieth anniversary of the Department of Classical Philology at the University of Zadar, Zadar, 7-8 April 2017.

1 Ivić 2009, p. 399.

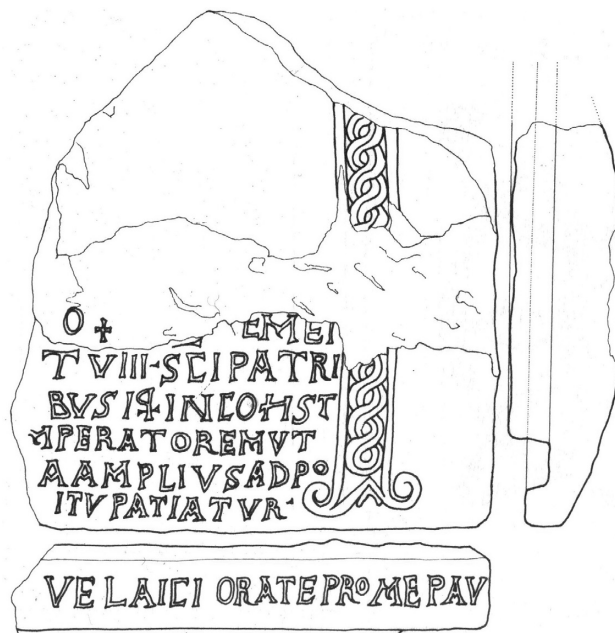


Sl. 1a. Arheološki muzej u Splitu, ulomak sarkofaga s nadgrobnim natpisom Pavla, iz Trogira, kraj VIII. st. (foto: I. Basić)

Fig. 1a. Archaeological Museum in Split, fragment of sarcophagus with funerary inscription of Paul, from Trogir, end of 8th cent. (photo: I. Basić)

teoretičara, maštovitost književnog kritičara, sposobnost usredotočenja na fragment svojstvenu mikrohistoričaru i široki zalet karakterističan za kulturnog antropologa: radi se tu, s jedne strane, o policentričnom istraživanju, uspostavljanju delikatne ravnoteže između tradicionalno razdvojenih i katkad oštro suprotstavljenih znanstvenih disciplina, a s druge, o umijeću prepoznavanja posebnosti u subrimskom svijetu i preživljavanja rimskog u posebnostima njegovih nasljednika². Doista, istraživački alati i stručna sprema što ih se od povjesnika ovog razdoblja zahtijeva te očekuje ne idu u prilog olakom i ishitrenom pristupu problematici, niti donošenju brzih ili nedovoljno promišljenih zaključaka; utoliko će osobito teško biti umnožiti broj onih istraživača koji suvereno raspolažu i barataju polidisciplinarnim vještinama, a još teže izbjeći njihovu pomalo rezigniranu suzdržljivost ili (uostalom posve opravdanu) probirljivost pri odabiru problema kojim će se baviti. Raspoloživi tekstovi su oskudni, podaci koje nude škrti i nepouzdan; odgovori nužno nepotpuni i privremeni, rješenja i hipoteze djelomični te nikada do kraja plauzibilni.

Ukoliko, pak, pred istraživačem stoji tekst uklesan u kamenu, sama ta činjenica – što se radi o epigrafskom izvoru – predstavlja tek i samo na prvi pogled olakotnu okolnost (jer otklanja mogućnost sukcesivnih grešaka u tekstu nastalih njegovim uzastopnim prepisivanjem u vremenskom slijedu, kakve se mogu očekivati u izvorima na mekim materijalima; ujedno bitno umanjuje vjerojatnost da je natpis kasnija



Sl. 1b. Arheološki muzej u Splitu, ulomak sarkofaga s nadgrobnim natpisom Pavla, iz Trogira, kraj VIII. st. (Flèche-Mourges, Chevalier, Piteša 1993, kat. VIII. 4)

Fig. 1b. Archaeological Museum in Split, fragment of sarcophagus with funerary inscription of Paul, from Trogir, end of 8th cent. (Flèche-Mourges, Chevalier, Piteša 1993, cat. VIII.4)

condition of the *coloni* or the rules governing the use of common lands. It requires the knowledge of a historian, the meticulous care of a classical philologist, the boldness of a theorist, the creativeness of a literary critic, the micro-historian's ability to focus on a fragment and the broad scope typical of a cultural anthropologist: on the one hand, this is a matter of polycentric research, the establishment of a delicate balance between traditionally separate and sometimes sharply conflicting scholarly disciplines, and, on the other, the talent to recognize the specific character of the sub-Roman world and the survival of the Roman within the vagaries of its successors.²² Truly, the research tools and vocational training demanded and expected by the study of this period do not favour an easy and swift approach to the problem, nor the formulation of hasty or insufficiently considered conclusions; in this regard, it will be particularly difficult to increase the number of those researchers who command and employ these polydisciplinary skills, and even more difficult to avoid their somewhat resigned restraint or (quite justified, all things considered) fastidiousness in choosing the problems they want to handle. The

2 Ivić 2009, str. 400.

2 Ivić 2009, p. 400.

krivotvorina), dočim heuristika postaje zapravo još zahtjevnijom. Solidan epigrafičar trebao bi, naime, ispuniti određene uvjete: “poznavanje jezika, u našem slučaju latinskoga, njegovih pravila i strukture. Drugi je uvjet savladavanje tehnike strukturiranja natpisa u jezičnom smislu, tj. poznavanje sustava kratica i redosljed te pravila uporabe ustaljenih formula, jezičnih sklopova za pojedine vrste natpisa. Treći uvjet za epigrafičara je poznavanje konteksta u kojemu su natpisi nastali. (...) Odnos epigrafije i povijesti je obostrano ovisan, ali je epigrafija dublja specijalizacija samo jednoga dijela povijesne tematike. S druge strane, tko proučava natpise na takav specijalistički, usko stručni način, mora osim povijesnog konteksta znati i barem temelje arheologije, povijesti umjetnosti i ikonografije, kako bi objasnio međusobni odnos natpisa i cjeline spomenika. Epigrafija – dakle – jest specijalizacija prema uskom dijelu povijesnih vrela, ali istovremeno traži poznavanje srodnih i pomoćnih znanstvenih disciplina.”³

Upravo je jednom takvom, epigrafskom spomeniku, posvećen tekst na stranicama koje slijede, a koji bi trebao pokazati kako i na prvi pogled neveliko i neambiciozno zamišljeno interdisciplinarno istraživanje može iznenaditi množinom rezultata i bogatstvom značenja koje analizirani tekst sadrži. Sveukupne implikacije tog i tako zasnovanog istraživanja – anticipiramo li na trenutak završne produkte ovoga rada – bacaju dobrodošlo svjetlo na kulturni profil prvih srednjovjekovnih stoljeća onakvih društvenih zajednica poput trogirске što ih je M. McCormick prikladno nazvao “obodom Carstva”.⁴

Posrijedi je ulomak poklopca sarkofaga od vapnenca (sl. 1a-b), slučajno pronađen u Trogiru 1861. godine, na mjestu nekadašnjeg ženskog benediktinskog samostana, danas pohranjen u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu (duž. 67-69 cm, šir. 76-77 cm, deb. 10-16 cm).⁵ To je desni dio niskog, plitkog poklopca

available texts are limited and the data they offer are meagre and unreliable; the answers are by necessity incomplete and provisional, the solutions and hypotheses are piecemeal and never definitively plausible.

If, however, a researcher is confronted with a text carved into stone, the very fact alone – that it is an epigraphic source – is only at first glance a mitigating factor (because it eliminates the possibility of successive errors in the text caused by its constant copying over time, which may be expected in sources on soft materials; it also considerably reduces the probability that the inscription is a later forgery), for the heuristics actually become more demanding. A solid epigraphist should, namely, fulfill certain criteria: “Knowledge of the language, in our case Latin, its rules and structure. The second criterion is command of the techniques for structuring inscriptions in the linguistic sense, i.e., familiarity with the system of abbreviations and order and the rules for using established formulas, linguistic configurations for individual types of inscriptions. The third criterion for an epigraphist is knowledge of the context in which inscriptions appear. (...) The relationship between epigraphy and history is co-dependent, but epigraphy is more deeply specialized for only a single facet of historical themes. On the other hand, whoever studies inscriptions in such a specialized, narrowly expertise-based manner must, besides the historical context, have knowledge of at least the foundations of archaeology, art history and iconography, in order to explain the interrelation between the inscription and the entire monument. Epigraphy – therefore – is a specialization for a narrow component of historical sources, but simultaneously requires knowledge of similar and auxiliary scholarly disciplines.”³

The pages that follow are dedicated to just such an epigraphic monument, which should demonstrate that interdisciplinary research – modestly and unambitiously conceived at the outset – can yield a surprising multitude of results and a wealth of meanings in the analysed text. The overall implications for research resting on such foundations – if we anticipate for a moment the final products of this work – throw a welcome light on the cultural profile of the first medieval centuries in the type of communities such as Trogir which M. McCormick appropriately called “the imperial edge.”⁴

The artefact in question is a fragment of a limestone sarcophagus lid (Fig. 1a-b), found by chance in Trogir in 1861, at the site of the former Benedictine

3 Matijašić 2002, str. 48.

4 McCormick 1998.

5 Usprkos često navođenim podacima u literaturi, porijeklo natpisa ponešto je zamagljeno nepreciznim navodima. Bulić 1901, str. 231, uz prijepis natpisa (jedino je drugi redak točno pročitano), navodi da je poklopac sarkofaga “nađen u dvorištu kuće dra. Slade-Šilovića iza crkve sv. Petra u Trogiru, a služio je u podzemnom kanalu”. Babić 1985, str. 26, 29, bilj. 4 navodi: “Kako je sklop kuća nekadašnjeg samostana došao kasnije u vlasništvo obitelji Slade, tako se u literaturi često neprecizno naznačuju nalazi iz ovog sklopa.” Marasović 2011, str. 114, donosi podatak da je obitelj Slade kupila navedene zgrade od samostana sv. Petra (s osloncem na Ostojić 1964, str. 287-288) te je stoga logično porijeklo

3 Matijašić 2002, p. 48.

4 McCormick 1998.

dvoslivnog pokrova. Navrh poklopca bio je izvorno isklesan latinski križ, čiji je duži krak pratio sljeme; pošto je taj krak križa naknadno otučen zajedno s hrbatom poklopca, sljeme je time dodatno spljošteno.⁶ Sačuvani su samo kraći krakovi križa, na skošenim stranama poklopca. U lijevom kutu između otučenog i sačuvanog kraka teče natpis od sedam redaka; šest redaka nalazi se na kosoj plohi poklopca, a jedan, završni redak, prelazi na njegov ravni prednji rub. Veći dio prvog retka natpisa je otučen:

...]o[.....]e mei
 ...]t VIII s(an)c(t)i patri
 ...]bus iq in Const
 antinum ... i]mperatorem ut
 ...]a amplius ad po
 ...]itu patiatur
 [clerici at]que laici orate pro me Pau[lo]

Čitava, prema tome, lijeva strana natpisa nedostaje: sačuvani su samo svršetci redaka. Manje-više potpun je samo sedmi redak, i jedino je njegovo značenje potpuno jasno, a odnosi se na vlasnika grobnice: "Klerici i laici molite za mene, Pavla". Natpis je važan i za najstariju prozopografiju ranosrednjovjekovnog Trogira, jer vlasnik sarkofaga Pavao očito predstavlja odličnog člana gradske elite.

Treći i četvrti redak natpisa još je Lj. Karaman pri prvom objavljivanju spomenika restituirao kao *in*

ulomka iz tog crkvenog ambijenta. Drugdje (str. 153) prenosi informaciju I. Babića o porijeklu iz samostana sv. Petra, kao i onu o pronalasku fragmenta u dvorištu kuće Slade-Šilović. Babić 1985, str. 36-37, br. 8, Babić 2016a, str. 130, Babić 2016b, str. 293, i Babić 2016c, str. 76, navodi da je ulomak pronađen u prizemlju stambene zgrade na mjestu nekadašnjeg samostana. Za dva novouočena ranokršćanska spolija iz okružja samostana sv. Petra v. Babić 2016b, str. 292-293. Autor slijedom toga trijezno zaključuje da "položaj postojeće crkve vjerojatno slijedi tradiciju kulturnog mjesta koja seže u ranokršćansko doba"; u istom kontekstu spominje i nalaz poklopca sarkofaga sa spomenom cara Konstantina (str. 293-294). Usp. također Babić 2016a, str. 130. Pregledno o samostanu sv. Petra: Ostojić 1964, str. 287-291, Babić 2016c, str. 376-385.

6 Važniji radovi su: Karaman 1929, str. 183-188 (prva cjelovita publikacija natpisa); Karaman 1941-1942, str. 98; Ivanišević 1980, str. 969, br. 9; Mihaljčić, Steindorff 1982, str. 47, br. 73; Flèche-Mourges *et al.* 1993, str. 264-265, kat. VIII. 4; Basić 2008, str. 270-271; Piteša 2012, str. 117-120, kat. br. 61. Dosad najpotpuniju bibliografiju donosi Piteša 2012, str. 120. Uz Pitešinu, posljednja cjelovita objava je Delonga 2000. Usp. također Delonga 2001, str. 71, Marasović 2011, str. 153, i Basić 2013b, str. 280-282.

abbey, currently stored in the Archaeological Museum in Split (lng. 67-69 cm, wid. 76-77 cm, thk. 10-16 cm).⁵ This is the right section of a low, shallow lid of a double-gabled roof. A Latin cross was originally carved atop the lid, its longer bar running along the ridge; since this bar of the cross was later broken off together with the lid's ridge, the latter is thus additionally flattened.⁶ Only the shorter bars of the cross have been preserved on the pitched sides of the lid. In the left-hand corner between the battered and preserved bars, there is a seven-line inscription; six lines are on the lid's slanted surface, while one, the closing line,

5 Despite the frequently cited data in the relevant literature, the origin of the inscription has been somewhat obscured by imprecise citations. Bulić 1901, p. 231, accompanied his transcription of the inscription (only the second line was accurately read) with the assertion that the sarcophagus lid was "found in the yard of the house belonging to Dr. Slade-Šilović behind the Church of St. Peter in Trogir, and was used as part of an underground canal." Babić 1985, pp. 26, 29, note 4, stated: "Since the complex of the house belonging to the abbey later became the property of the Slade family, the finds from this complex are therefore incorrectly designated in the literature." Marasović 2011, p. 114 cited the information that the Slade family had purchased this building from the Abbey of St. Peter (relying on Ostojić 1964, pp. 287-288), so it was logical that this fragment had its origin in that ecclesiastical site. Elsewhere (p. 153) he cited information from I. Babić on its origin in the Abbey of St. Peter, as well as the account of its discovery in the yard of the Slade-Šilović house. Babić 1985, pp. 36-37, no. 8, Babić 2016a, p. 130, Babić 2016b, p. 293 and Babić 2016c, p. 76 stated that the fragment was found in the ground floor of the residential building at the former convent's site. On two newly-observed Early Christian spolia from the area of the Abbey of St. Peter, see Babić 2016b, pp. 292-293. Consequently, the author soberly concluded that "the position of the existing church likely adheres to the tradition of a cult site that goes back to the Early Christian era"; in the same context he also noted the find of a sarcophagus lid that mentions the name of Emperor Constantine (pp. 293-294). Cf. also Babić 2016a, p. 130. Overviews of the Abbey of St. Peter: Ostojić 1964, pp. 287-291, Babić 2016c, pp. 376-385.

6 The more important works are: Karaman 1929, pp. 183-188 (the first comprehensive publication of the inscription); Karaman 1941-1942, p. 98; Ivanišević 1980, p. 969, no. 9; Mihaljčić, Steindorff 1982, p. 47, no. 73; Flèche-Mourges *et al.* 1993, pp. 264-265, cat. VIII.4; Basić 2008, pp. 270-271; Piteša 2012, pp. 117-120, cat. no. 61. Thus far the most complete bibliography was compiled by Piteša 2012, p. 120. Besides Piteša's, the most recent comprehensive publication was by Delonga 2000. Cf. also Delonga 2001, p. 71, Marasović 2011, p. 153 and Basić 2013b, pp. 280-282.

Constantinum imperatorem, pretpostavljajući u nedostajućem dijelu između njih superlativ *gloriosissimum* ili kakav drugi počasni pridjev, kojem bi upravo odgovarali raspoloživ prostor i duljina.⁷ Nema naznaka da je epitaf raniji od reljefnog ukrasa ili njemu posterioran.⁸ “Križ – prenosimo Pitešin opis – je reljefno istaknut s profiliranim rubovima i ukrašen dvovrpčanom, dvoprutom pletenicom s naglašenim okulusima u zavojima pletenice. Krak križa na dnu se račva, što je naglašeno profilacijom u obliku obrnutog slova *V*, i svija u dvije nasuprotne volute.”⁹ Sâm reljef zrcali rani stadij u razvoju ikonografije križa predromaničkog razdoblja, što se očituje u “očima”, dvoprutom pleteru te “jonskim” volutama kojima su krakovi zaključeni umjesto uobičajenim kukama. Osim ovih evolutivnih karakteristika, smještaj ovako oblikovane ispune križa na sljeme poklopca, kao i sâm tipološki oblik poklopca, upućuju na dataciju u ranu predromaniku.¹⁰ Oblik poklopca i forma njegova plastičkog ukrasa relativno su pouzdan kronološki orijentir za ranu dataciju: nizak poklopac na dvije vode s križem protegnutim preko cijele plohe usporediv je samo s poklopcem sarkofaga nadbiskupa Ivana Ravenjanina iz Splita te s nekoliko nešto kasnijih sarkofaga iz trijema trogirске rotunde Sv. Marije (koje Karaman nije mogao poznavati). Ni drugdje takva kombinacija poklopca s križem nije poznata prije VIII. stoljeća, npr. sarkofazi nadbiskupâ Feliksa († 723.) i Graziosa († 795.) u Ravenni. Potonji su također opremljeni križevima s “jonskim” volutama na poklopcu (kao i na sanduku). Osim svojih zanimljivih stilskih i tipoloških osobina trogirski je ulomak od izvanredne povijesne važnosti jer ga natpis razotkriva kao jedan od rijetkih natpisnih spomena jednoga bizantskoga cara u okviru dalmatinske epigrafije; ujedno svjedoči da se tokom druge polovice VIII. stoljeća u tom dalmatinskom gradu priznavala vlast bizantskog cara.¹¹

crosses over onto its flat front edge. Most of the first line of the inscription has been broken off:

...]o[.....]e mei
...e]t VIII s(an)c(t)i patri
...]bus iq in Const
antinum ... i]mperatorem ut
...]a amplius ad po
...]itu patiatur
[clerici at]que laici orate pro me Pau[lo]

The entire left-hand side of the inscription is therefore missing: only the ends of the lines have been preserved. Only the seventh line is more or less complete, and only its meaning is entirely clear, pertaining to the tomb's owner: “Clerics and laymen pray for me, Paul.” The inscription is additionally important for the prosopography of early medieval Trogir, because Paul, the owner of this sarcophagus, was obviously an upstanding member of the town's elite.

The third and fourth lines of the inscription were already restored by Ljubo Karaman upon its first publication as in *Constantinum imperatorem*, assuming the superlative *gloriosissimum* or some other honorific adjective between them, which would actually correspond to the available space and length.⁷ There are no indications that the epitaph is earlier than the relief decoration or subsequent to it.⁸ “The cross – to use Piteša's description – is highlighted in relief with moulded edges and adorned with a double-strand, double-ribbon wattle with a prominent oculus in the coils of the wattle. An arm of the cross branches at the bottom, which is emphasised by the moulding in the shape of a reverse letter *V*, and bend into two opposite volutes.”⁹ The relief itself exhibits the early stage in the development of cross iconography in the pre-Romanesque period, which is reflected in the “eyes,” the dual-band interlace and the “Ionian” volutes which are closed instead of ending in the customary hooks. In addition to these evolutionary features, the position

7 Karaman 1929, str. 185.

8 Usp. suprotno gledište: Rapanić 1987, str. 122 (trogirski poklopac višekratno reutiliziran), 191 (“očigledno je da na tom fragmentu ima više nezavisnih natpisa i da se profilirani krak križa ne mora povezati vremenski ni s jednim od tekstova”). Autopsija spomenika ipak daje unekoliko drugačije rezultate. Naime, slova C, M, R i A zadnjeg retka svojim karakterističnim oblicima ukazuju da su uklesana istodobno s glavninom teksta. Odudaraju od nje jedino većim dimenzijama, tako da nema razloga pretpostavljati naknadno uklesavanje tog dijela natpisa.

9 Piteša 2012, str. 119.

10 Usp. Karaman 1929, str. 186-187.

11 Piteša 2012, str. 119 iznosi i, u literaturi od Karamanova vremena ustaljeno, mišljenje da ovaj natpis predstavlja jedini spomen nekog bizantskog cara u

7 Karaman 1929, p. 185.

8 Cf. an opposing view: Rapanić 1987, p. 122 (multiple reuse of the Trogir lid), 191 (“it is obvious that there are several unrelated inscriptions on this fragment, and that the articulated arm of the cross need not be chronologically tied to any of the texts”). A thorough analysis of the monument nonetheless yields several different results. The letters C, M, R and A in the last line, based on their typical forms, indicate that they were carved at the same time as the majority of the text. They only diverge in terms of their larger dimensions, so that there is no reason to assume that this part of the inscription was carved subsequently.

9 Piteša 2012, p. 119.

Premda formula datacije nije sačuvana – niti je, uslijed fragmentarnosti epigrafskog teksta, sasvim izvjesno da se radilo o konvencionalnom obrascu datacije (*temporibus, imperante* i sl.) – spomen cara Konstantina neizostavno je vremenska odrednica, za čije je vladavine natpis sa sarkofaga i nastao. Iz navedenoga proizlazi zaključak da je Trogir u vrijeme narudžbe i klesanja sarkofaga priznavao vlast bizantskih careva. Ime cara ipak ne dopušta automatski preciznu dataciju, jer u dugoj povijesti Bizantskog Carstva ono predstavlja apsolutno najpopularnije carsko ime, završno s posljednjim vladarom, Konstantinom XI. (1449.-1453.). Dva su cara nosila to ime u VII. stoljeću: Konstantin III. (veljača - svibanj 641.) i njegov unuk Konstantin IV. (668.-685.), zatim dvojica u VIII. stoljeću, također djed i unuk: Konstantin V. Kopronim (741.-775.) i Konstantin VI. (780.-797.), jedan car u X. stoljeću: Konstantin VII. Porfirogenet (913.-959.), napokon trojica u XI. stoljeću: Porfirogenetov unuk Konstantin VIII. (1025.-1028.), zet potonjega Konstantin IX. Monomah (1042.-1055.) i Konstantin X. Duka (1059.-1067.). Utoliko je izvjesno jedino da naš natpis ne pripada IX. stoljeću, jer u tom vijeku nije vladao nijedan car toga imena. Raspoloživi se vremenski lûk može ponešto suziti eliminacijom dvojice careva iz Heraklijeve dinastije – budući da treba voditi računa kako stilski kriteriji toga vremena isključuju toliko ranu kronologiju za trogirski sarkofag – te, dakako, eliminirati i posljednjega bizantskog cara, iz dinastije Paleolog. O preostalim šest vladara iz VIII., X. i XI. stoljeća određenije je sudove moguće donijeti jedino uključivanjem stilskih pokazatelja spomenika u raspravu, čime je bogat dijapazon bizantskih careva imena Konstantin u konačnici moguće svesti na jednog od dvojice vladara Izaurijske dinastije: Konstantina V. Kopronima (741.-775.) ili Konstantina VI. (780.-797.). Naime, Lj. Karaman je, raspravljajući o trogirskom ulomku, zapazio da reljefi sarkofaga pokazuju rani stadij predromaničkog stila (“iz prelazne periode formiranja poznate dekoracije troprutaste pleterne plastike”), kakav bi bilo teško datirati u X. ili XI. stoljeće. Tako se izbor odmah u početku suzio na VIII. stoljeće: 741.-775. ili 780.-797. godine.

Kronologija se stilski slaže s tipologijom poklopca i stilom pleternog križa. Dataciju u VIII. stoljeće prihvatili su svi koji su poslije Karamana pisali o natpisu, ali nitko nije posebno proučavao sadržaj teksta. Uz

ranosrednjovjekovnoj epigrafici u Dalmaciji. Valja ipak primijetiti da ciborij iz Ulcinja nedvojbeno nosi imena bizantskih careva Lava V. i Konstantina (813.-820.), čak i ukoliko zanemarimo problematičan spomen cara Nikifora I. (802.-811.) na jednom ulomku ciborija iz susjednog Kotora. Usp. osvrt u Basić 2013a, str. 260.

of the ornamented cross on the ridge of the lid, as well as the lid's very typological shape, indicates dating to the early pre-Romanesque period.¹⁰ The shape of the lid and the form of its decorations serve as a relatively reliable chronological point of reference for an early dating: the low dual-pitched lid with a cross stretched over the entire surface is only comparable to the lid of the sarcophagus of Archbishop John of Ravenna from Split (end of 8th cent.), as well as several somewhat later sarcophagi from the portico of St. Mary's Rotunda in Trogir (about which Karaman had no way of knowing). Even elsewhere, such a combination of a lid with a cross was not known prior to the 8th century, such as, for example, the sarcophagi of Archbishops Felix († 723) and Gratosus († 795) in Ravenna. The latter were likewise furnished with crosses with “Ionian” volutes on the lid (and on the coffin). Besides its interesting stylistic and typological features, the Trogir fragment has considerable historical importance because the inscription sets it apart as one of the rare epigraphic mentions of a Byzantine emperor within the framework of Dalmatian epigraphy; it also testifies to the fact that during the latter half of the 8th century the political authority of the Byzantine emperor was recognized in this Dalmatian town.¹¹

Although the dating formula has not been preserved – nor is it entirely certain, due to the fragmentary nature of the epigraphic text, whether it was a conventional dating formula (*temporibus, imperante* and so forth) – the mention of Emperor Constantine is definitely a chronological marker, as the inscription and the sarcophagus were made during his reign. Based on this, the conclusion which follows is that at the time of the commissioning and carving of the sarcophagus, Trogir recognized the sovereignty of the Byzantine emperors. The emperor's name nonetheless does not allow for automatically precise dating, because in the long history of the Byzantine Empire, this was absolutely the most popular name for its emperors, concluding with its last ruler, Constantine XI (1449-1453). Two emperors bore this name in the 7th century: Constantine III (February-May 641) and his

10 Cf. Karaman 1929, pp. 186-187.

11 Piteša 2012, p. 119 also cites the view – established in the relevant literature since Karaman's time – that this inscription constitutes the sole mention of a Byzantine emperor in the early medieval epigraphic sources of Dalmatia. It is nonetheless worthwhile to mention that the ciborium from Ulcinj undoubtedly bears the name of the Byzantine Emperors Leo V and Constantine (813-820), even if we overlook the problematic mention of Emperor Nicephorus I (802-811) on a ciborium fragment from neighbouring Kotor. Cf. the reference in Basić 2013a, p. 260.

neka sitnija odudaranja u literaturi oko manje važnih pojedinosti poput padeža Pavlova imena u posljednjemu retku natpisa,¹² ili vremenskog odnosa tog retka spram glavnine epitafa,¹³ nakon Karamanova objavljivanja natpisa u posljednjih devedeset godina o njemu nije bilo kvalitativno novih spoznaja.¹⁴ Iako je odavno uočeno da je spomenik “važan jer je to jedini natpisni spomen bizantskog cara na jednom srednjovjekovnom likovnom spomeniku u Dalmaciji, a ujedno je i najstariji spomenik srednjovjekovnog Trogira iz upravo najtamnijeg doba naše povijesti”,¹⁵ daljnje analize sâmog natpisa su izostale. Očuvane riječi ili dijelovi rečenica, istrgnuti iz prvobitnog konteksta, doduše ne pružaju dovoljno podataka da bi se on u potpunosti mogao shvatiti.¹⁶ Naprotiv, pojedine očuvane riječi samo nagovještavaju o čemu bi se u ovom dijelu natpisa moglo govoriti. Utoliko je kontekst prilično teško utvrditi.

Dataciju kakvu je predložio Karaman i argumente koje je za nju ponudio usvojili su, dakle, svi dosadašnji proučavatelji, a prije desetak godina i mi u radu posvećenu tipološkim i ikonografskim aspektima takvih sarkofaga.¹⁷ S datacijama Karamana i mlađih istraživača bili smo u potpunosti suglasni tada, a podržavamo ih i danas. Smatramo ipak da se argumentacija može proširiti. U tom je smislu od izuzetne važnosti jedna od analogija koje je uočio A. Piteša. Upozorivši, naime, na već otprije poznate komparacije u kamenoj

grandson Constantine IV (668-685); followed by two in the 8th century, also a grandfather and grandson: Constantine V Copronymus (741-775) and Constantine VI (780-797); one emperor in the 10th century: Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959); and finally three in the 11th century: Porphyrogenitus' grandson Constantine VIII (1025-1028), the latter's son-in-law Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055) and Constantine X Ducas (1059-1067). It is therefore only certain that our inscription does not belong to the 9th century, because no emperors of that name ruled during that period. The available chronological arc may be narrowed somewhat by eliminating the two emperors from the Heraclian dynasty – since the stylistic criteria of that time exclude such an early chronology for the Trogir sarcophagus – and, certainly, the final Byzantine emperor, from the Palaiologan dynasty. It is only possible to make any more certain assessments of the remaining six rulers from the 8th, 10th and 11th centuries by including the stylistic indicators of the monument under discussion herein, whereby the rich array of Byzantine emperors named Constantine may ultimately be pared down to two rulers from the Isaurian dynasty: Constantine V Copronymus (741-775) and Constantine VI (780-797). Ljubo Karaman, when discussing the Trogir fragment, observed that the relief images on the sarcophagus exhibit the early stage of the pre-Romanesque style (“from the transitional period of formation of the well-known triple-band interlace sculptural decoration”), which could scarcely be dated to the 10th or 11th century. Thus the choice is immediately reduced to the 8th century: 741-775 or 780-797.

The chronology stylistically corresponds to the typology of the lid and the style of the interlaced cross. Dating to the 8th century has been accepted by everyone who has written about the inscription after Karaman, although nobody studied the content of the text in any detail. Besides some minor divergences in the relevant literature over less important details, such as the grammatical case of Paul's name in the final line of the inscription,¹² or the chronological relationship between that line and the rest of the epitaph,¹³ after

12 Ivanišević 1980, str. 969, br. 9, i Ivanišević 1981, str. 169, posljednju riječ čita *Paulus*; ovo, izgleda, preuzima i Burić 1982, str. 140; Flèche-Mourges *et al.* 1993, str. 264, čitaju zadnju riječ *Pau(los)*, vjerojatno uslijed previda.

13 Tako Ivanišević 1980, str. 969, br. 9, i Delonga 2000, str. 148, nasuprot Karamanu, smatraju da su oba natpisa istodobna; Flèche-Mourges *et al.* 1993, str. 264-265, smatraju donji natpis znatno kasnijim. Pozicija uklesanog teksta i duktus natpisa upućuju da je izvorni smještaj sarkofaga nalagao da ga se čita i gleda s prednje duže strane, odnosno da se grobni spomenik prvotno nalazio u ambijentu koji je pretpostavljao da je začelna strana sporedna, možda i nedostupna pogledu (moguće prislonjena uz zid).

14 Tako Burić 1982, str. 155, smatra da se Karamanovim zaključcima o dataciji više nema ništa bitno dodati. Jedina iznimka je Jakšić 2004, str. 9, koji sažeto raspravlja o ulomku, dajući i prijepis teksta; primjećuje da riječ CONST može označavati i grad Konstantinopol, a ne isključivo cara po imenu Konstantin.

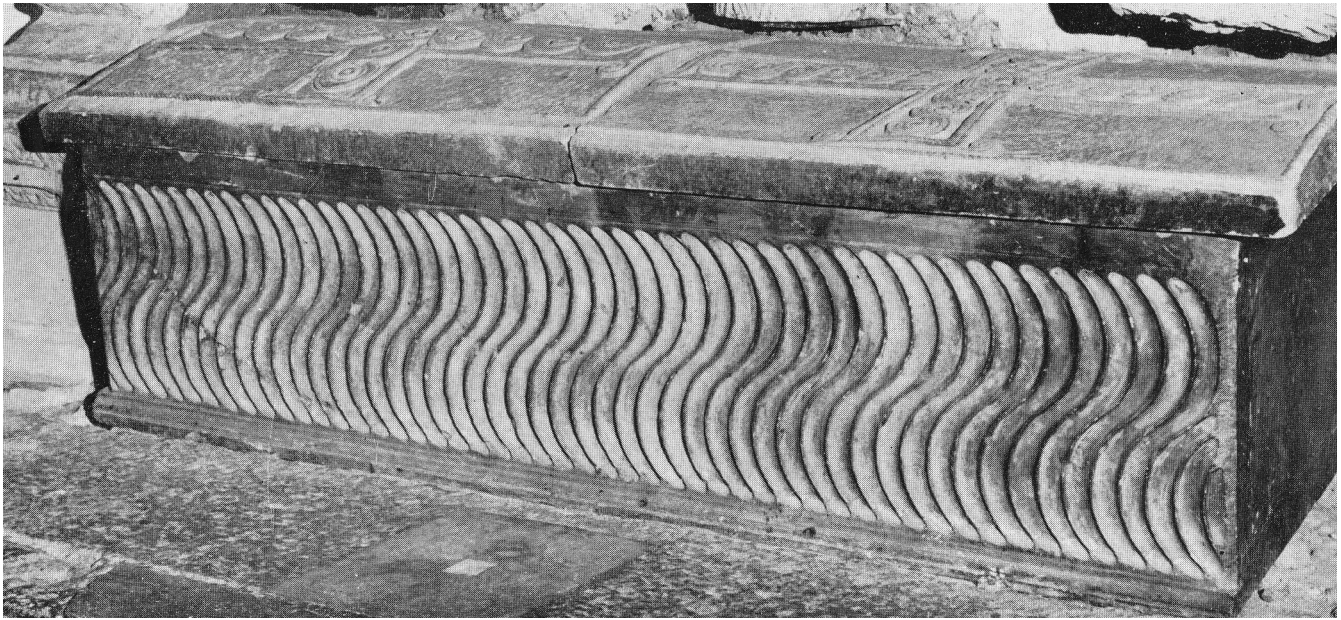
15 Delalle 2006 [1936], str. 24-25.

16 Karaman 1929, str. 184, procjenjuje da je sačuvana približno trećina natpisa; to prihvaća i Delonga 2000, str. 147, koja je mišljenja da je približna dužina sarkofaga iznosila 2 m.

17 Basić 2008, str. 269-270; usp. i Basić 2013c.

12 Ivanišević 1980, p. 969, no. 9 and Ivanišević 1981, p. 169 read the final word as *Paulus*; this, it would appear, was also assumed by Burić 1982, p. 140; Flèche-Mourges *et al.* 1993, p. 264 read the final word as *Pau(los)*, probably as a result of an oversight.

13 Thus Ivanišević 1980, p. 969, no. 9 and Delonga 2000, p. 148, as opposed to Karaman, believed that both inscriptions were contemporary; Flèche-Mourges *et al.* 1993, pp. 264-265 believed the lower inscription to be considerably later. The position of the engraved text and the ductus of the inscription indicate that the



Sl. 2a-d. Bomarzo, crkva Sv. Marije, sarkofag-relikvijar sv. Anselma, oko 795.-816. (Raspi Serra 1974, Tav. I-IV)
Fig. 2a-d. Bomarzo, Church of St. Maria, sarcophagus-reliquary of St. Anselmo, ca. 795-816 (Raspi Serra 1974, Tav. I-IV)

plastici Italije, Dalmacije i Istre – poput sarkofagâ ravenkih nadbiskupa Ivana i Graziosa iz bazilike sv. Apolinara u Classeu, zatim sarkofaga Grgura i Marije iz Ravenne, sarkofaga nadbiskupa Ivana Ravenjanina u Splitu ili Honoratova sarkofaga iz Val Sudige kod Galižane – autor je kao vrlo blisku paralelu istaknuo i jedan dosad neuočen spomenik iz gornjeg Lacija (sl. 2a-d).¹⁸

Taj reljef ukrašava poklopac mramornog sarkofaga (reutilizirani kasnoantički sanduk dekoriran strigilima) u kolegijalnoj crkvi sv. Marije u Bomarzu (ant. *Polimartium*) kraj Viterba. Sarkofag je relikvijar mjesnog biskupa i mučenika, sv. Anselma.¹⁹ Sudeći po dimenzijama i tipu ornamenta, sâm poklopac nije izvoran, već ranosrednjovjekovni, načinjen prilikom reupotrebe sarkofaga za pohranu svečevih moći. Natpis uklesan između gornjih krakova križa i ugaonih bridova poklopca, usprkos nepotpunoj sačuvanosti, datira nastanak spomenika biskupom Benediktom i pontifikatom pape Lava: + *In n(omin)e D(omi)n(i) / [-]e[-] / [---]p/u s(albo) domno / Leonipape / renobatu/m est. Ego / Benedict[us] / ep(is)c(opus) fieri / precepit* – “+U ime Gospodnje (...) na spas gospodina pape Lava je obnovljeno. Ja, biskup Benedikt, dao sam da se načini”.²⁰ Identifikacija pape Lava s Lavom III. (795.-816.) koju su isticali stariji istraživači našla je punu potvrdu pronalaskom natpisa sljedećeg sadržaja u ruševinama crkve sv. Spasitelja unutar istog grada²¹: + *De donis D(e)i et s(an)c(t)i i Salbatoris temporib(us) d(omi)n(i) n(o)stri Leonis tertii pape / et Benedicto ep(iscop)o ego Benedictus pr(es)b(ite)r una cum Gavia ancilla D(e)i et / germanis pro redem(p)tione anime n(o)stre fecimus orate pro nobis peccatoris* – “+Od darova Božjih i Svetoga Spasitelja, u vrijeme našeg gospodina pape Lava Trećeg i biskupa Benedikta, ja svećenik Benedikt zajedno sa službenicom Božjom Gavijom i rođacima, radi otkupljenja naše duše smo (ovo) napravili. Molite za nas grešnike”. Natpis je stjecajem okolnosti kasnije dospio u berlinski *Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum*,²² pa je uslijed toga ovaj važan epigrafski nalaz promaknuo i modernim istraživačima predromaničkih spomenika Lacija,²³ premda predstavlja ključan datacijski oslonac. Njegov sadržaj, međutim, nedvosmisleno potvrđuje kronologiju obaju natpisa iz Bomarza, koji su

Karaman's publication there have been no qualitatively new findings.¹⁴ Even though it was long ago noted that the monument is “important because it is the only mention of a Byzantine emperor on a medieval artistic monument in Dalmatia, and also the oldest monument from medieval Trogir from actually the darkest era of our history,”¹⁵ further analysis of the inscription itself has been lacking. The preserved words or parts of sentences, torn from their original context, certainly do not provide enough data to allow it to be fully comprehended.¹⁶ In fact, the individual preserved words only hint at what may have been conveyed in this part of the inscription. In this vein, the context is rather difficult to ascertain.

The dating proposed by Karaman and the arguments that he offered to back it were therefore adopted by all preceding researchers, including me ten years ago in a work dedicated to the typological and iconographic aspects of such sarcophagi.¹⁷ At the time, I was in complete agreement with the datings proposed by Karaman and more recent scholars, and I continue to uphold them even today. I nonetheless believe that the backing arguments may be expanded. In this sense, one of the analogies observed by A. Piteša is exceptionally important. Namely, while pointing out the already previously known comparisons in the stone sculpture of Italy, Dalmatia and Istria – such as the sarcophagi of the Ravenna Archbishops John and Gratosus from the Basilica of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, then the sarcophagus of Gregory and Maria from Ravenna, the sarcophagus of Archbishop John of Ravenna in Split or the sarcophagus of Honoratus from Val Sudiga at Galižana – he underscored as a very close parallel the thus far unnoticed monument from Upper Lazio (Fig. 2a-d).¹⁸

original position of the sarcophagus necessitated that it be read and viewed down the front side, i.e., that the monument was originally located in a place that implied that the rear side was secondary, perhaps even obscured from view (possibly resting against a wall).

18 Piteša 2012, str. 119.

19 Raspi Serra 1974, str. 32-35; Cimarra 2003, str. 36.

20 Raspi Serra 1974, str. 32, s korekcijama u Cimarra 2003, str. 37-38.

21 Gray 1948, str. 115, br. 100, s korekcijama u Cimarra 2003, str. 39.

22 Danas *Bode-Museum*, s pogrešno zavedenom provenijencijom iz Rima, usp. Cimarra 2003, str. 38-39.

23 Npr. Raspi Serra 1974.

14 Thus Burić 1982, p. 155 believed that there was nothing essential to add to Karaman's conclusions on dating. The sole exception was Jakšić 2004, p. 9, who concisely discussed the fragment, providing a transcription of the text; he noted that the word CONST may also refer to the city of Constantinople, and not exclusively an emperor named Constantine.

15 Delalle 2006 [first published 1936], pp. 24-25.

16 Karaman 1929, p. 184 estimated that nearly a third of the text had been preserved; this was also accepted by Delonga 2000, p. 147, who believed that the approximate length of the sarcophagus was 2 m.

17 Basić 2008, pp. 269-270; cf. also Basić 2013c.

18 Piteša 2012, p. 119.



Sl. 3. Montesorbo, ploča s nadgrobni^m natpisom nepoznatog pokojnika, kasno VIII. ili rano IX. st. (Porta 1974, 220)

Fig. 3. Montesorbo, slab with funerary inscription of an unknown person, late 8th or early 9th cent. (Porta 1974, 220)

bezu^vjetno bili na^činjeni između 795. i 816. godine, za pontifikata Lava III. Ovakvo preciznije vremensko određenje sarkofaga iz Bomarza omogućava nam u narednom koraku da trogirski sarkofag – kao njegov dosad najbliži komparativni primjer – također u relativnoj kronologiji približimo razmeđu VIII. i IX. stoljeća. Ta i takva datacija nipošto ne ide u prilog poistovjećenju vladara na trogirskom natpisu s carem Konstantinom V. Kopronimom (741.-775.); dočim, nasuprot tome, njegova identifikacija s Konstantinom VI. (780.-797.) postaje vrlo čvrsta. Carevanje, naime, ovog pretposljedn^jeg vladara Izaurijske dinastije dijelom se podudara s pontifikatom

This relief adorns the lid of a marble sarcophagus (a reutilized Late Antique coffin decorated with strigils) in the collegiate Church of Santa Maria Assunta in Bomarzo (lat. *Polimartium*) near Viterbo. The sarcophagus was the reliquary of the local bishop and martyr, San Anselmo.¹⁹ Judging by the dimensions and the ornament type, the actual lid is not original, but rather early medieval made as a result of the reuse of the sarcophagus to store the saint's relics. The inscription carved between the upper bars of the cross and the corner edges of the lid, despite not being completely preserved, dates the monument to the time of Bishop Benedict and the pontificate of Leo: + *In n(omin)e D(omi)n(i) / [-]e[-] [-] [---]p/u s(albo) domno / Leoni pape / renobatu/m est. Ego / Benedict[us] / ep(is)c(opus) fieri / precepit* – “+In the name of the Lord (...)for the salvation of Pope Leo, restored. I, Bishop Benedict, had this done.”²⁰ The identification of this Pope Leo with Leo III (795-816), which was emphasized by early scholars, was fully confirmed by the discovery of an inscription with the following content in the ruins of the Church of San Salvatore in the same town²¹: + *De donis D(e)i et s(an)c(t)i Salvatoris temporib(us) d(omi)n(i) n(o)stri Leonis tertii pape / et Benedicto ep(iscop)o ego Benedictus pr(es) b(ite)ra una cum Gavia ancilla D(e)i et / germanis pro redem(p)tionem anime n(ost)re fecimus orate pro nobis peccatoris* – “+Of the gifts of God and the Holy Saviour, in the time of our lord, Pope Leo the Third and Bishop Benedict, I, the priest Benedict together with the servant of God, Gavia and our relatives have made this for the redemption of our souls. Pray for us sinners.” The inscription eventually ended up in Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin,²² so as a result this important epigraphic find was overlooked even by modern researchers of the pre-Romanesque monuments of Latium,²³ although it was a crucial resource for dating. Its content, however, unambiguously confirms the chronology of both inscriptions from Bomarzo, which were undoubtedly made between 795 and 816, during the papacy of Leo III. Such a precise chronological determination of the sarcophagus from Bomarzo in turn makes it possible to further narrow the relative chronology of the Trogir sarcophagus – as its thus far closest comparative example – i.e. to

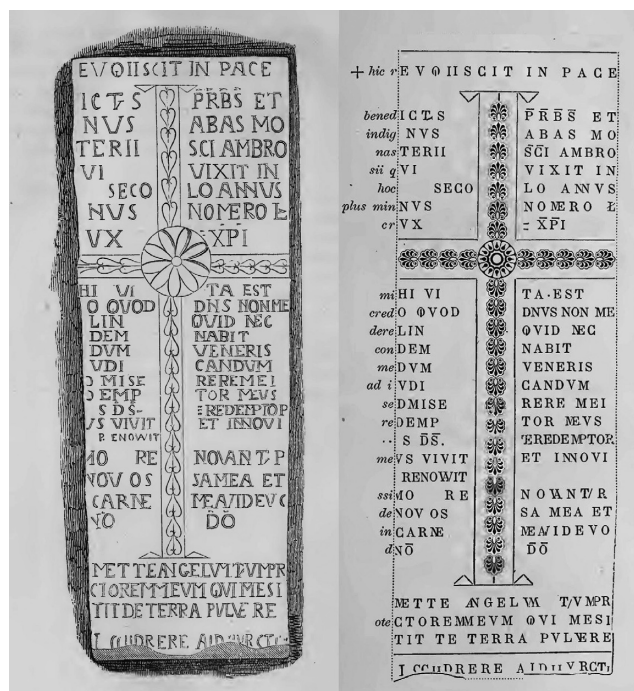
19 Raspi Serra 1974, pp. 32-35; Cimarra 2003, p. 36.

20 Raspi Serra 1974, p. 32, with corrections in Cimarra 2003, pp. 37-38.

21 Gray 1948, p. 115, no. 100, with corrections in Cimarra 2003, p. 39.

22 Today the Bode-Museum, with incorrectly stated provenance from Rome, cf. Cimarra 2003, pp. 38-39.

23 E.g. Raspi Serra 1974.



Sl. 4. Milano, San Ambrogio, ploča s nadgrobnim natpisom opata Benedikta, oko 806. (crteži: Giulini 1854, 74; Forcella 1890, 199)

Fig. 4. Milano, Sant'Ambrogio, slab with funerary inscription of Abbot Benedict, ca. 806 (drawings: Giulini 1854, 74; Forcella 1890, 199)

Lava III. Kopronimova, pak, vladavina, završena četvrt stoljeća prije, čini se kronološki isuviše ranom za uspostavu uvjerljivih analogija između dalmatinskog i lacijskog spomenika.

Drugi italski spomenik na koji valja svrnuti pozornost (dosad u ovom kontekstu sasvim neuočen) potječe iz Montesorba kraj Forlija (sl. 3). Ploča (nadgrobna ploča ili poklopac sarkofaga) od sivog mramora u obliku uspravljenog pravokutnika (vis. 145 cm, šir. 73,5 cm, deb. 9 cm) obrubljena je ravnim linijama što prate njen osnovni obris. Latinski križ ispunjava čitavu dužinu i širinu ploče, ali nije reljefno istaknut, već u razini s kamenom površinom. Profiliranih je rubova i ispunjen trovrpčanom, troprutom pletenicom s naglašenim okulusima u zavojima pletenice (središte svakog okulusa je istaknuto bušenom rupicom). U sjecištu krakova križa zavoj pletenice je duži i širi od ostalih, tvoreći okruglo centralno polje, dok je u nj umetnuta plitka konkavna patera s plastičnim kružnim ispupčenjem u sredini. Krakovi križa na krajevima nisu rascijepljeni nego ravno zaključeni, ali se bočno svijaju u dvije nasuprotne volute popunjene spiralnim zavojima. Sve površine između krakova križa ispunjene su natpisom:

+ *Crux (Christi) / vivit i(n) casa / mortuorum. / (Ihesus Christus) / vincit. Scio quia Red[emp]/tor*

date it, as well, to the turn of the 8th into the 9th century. Such dating certainly does not support the identification of the ruler on the Trogir inscription with Emperor Constantine V Copronymus (741-775); on the other hand, his identification as Constantine VI (780-797) now becomes quite certain. This is because the reign of this penultimate ruler of the Isaurian dynasty partially overlaps with the pontificate of Leo III. The reign of Copronymus, however, which ended a quarter of a century earlier, seems chronologically too early to establish convincing analogies between the monuments of Dalmatia and Lazio.

The second monument from Italy that merits attention (thus far entirely unnoticed in this context) originated in Montesorbo near Forli (Fig. 3). The slab (a gravestone or sarcophagus lid) made of grey marble shaped like an upright rectangle (ht. 145 cm, wid. 73.5 cm, thk. 9 cm) is bordered by straight lines that follow its basic contours. The Latin cross fills the entire length and width of the slab, but it is not emphasized in relief, rather it is at the level of the stone surface. It has articulated edges and is filled with a three-ribbon, triple-strand interlace with prominent oculi in the interlace coils (the middle of each oculus is emphasized by a drilled hole). The interlace coil at the intersection of the cross bars is longer and wider than the rest, creating a round central field, while a shallow concave patera with a sculpted circular protrusion in the middle was inserted into it. The arms of the cross do not divide at the ends, rather they close straight, but at their sides they curve into two facing volutes filled with spiral coils. All surfaces between the arms of the cross are filled with an inscription:

+ *Crux (Christi) / vivit i(n) casa / mortuorum. / (Ihesus Christus) / vincit. Scio quia Red[emp]/tor meus viv[it] / et in novissim[o] die / per ipsum sc[io] / me esse liver[a]/turus.*²⁴

“+ The cross of Christ lives in the house of the dead. Jesus Christ triumphs. I know that my Redeemer lives and I know that by Him I shall be saved on the latter day.”

The inscription obviously has a funerary character and function, and in the Italian literature it has been dated to the final third of the 8th or first third of the 9th century.²⁵ The text of the formula on faith in resurrection was assumed, with minor variations, from the Book of Job (19:25-27), otherwise the most oft-cited biblical passage on resurrection. As opposed to the East, this citation generally appeared in Latin inscriptions in the West in the Early Middle Ages (8th-9th

24 AE 1974, 333; Porta 2009, p. 431; Mastino 2007, p. 292 provided the thus far most accurate transcription.
25 Porta 1974.

meus viv[it] / et in novissim[o] die] / per ipsum sc[io] / me esse liver[a]/turus.²⁴

“+ Križ Kristov živi u kući umrlih. Isus Krist pobjeđuje. Znam da moj Otkupitelj živi i znam da ću po njemu u posljednji dan biti izbavljen.”

Natpis je evidentno nadgrobnog karaktera i funkcije, a u talijanskoj literaturi datira se u posljednju trećinu VIII. ili prvu trećinu IX. stoljeća.²⁵ Tekst je formula vjere u uskrsnuće preuzeta, uz manje varijacije, iz Knjige o Jobu (19:25-27), inače najcitiraniji biblijski pasus o uskrsnuću. Za razliku od Istoka, ovaj se citat uglavnom javlja na latinskim natpisima Zapada u ranom srednjem vijeku (VIII.-IX. stoljeće).²⁶ Pripada tekstovima uobičajeno korištenima u pogrebnoj liturgiji: u *Officium defunctorum*, jedan od rezponzorija je upravo *Credo quod Redemptor meus vivit: et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum: et in carne mea videbo Deum Salvatorem meum.*²⁷ Isti tekstualni predložak oficija umrlih kakav je upotrijebljen u Montesorbu je P. Porta zapazila na nekoliko istodobnih grobnih spomenika: epitafu svećenika Venerija iz Riminija (755.) te Stjepanovu sarkofagu iz Comacchija (VIII. ili prva polovina IX. st.), pretpostavivši da je u sva tri slučaja epigrafski obrazac pristigao iz Ravenne, metropolitanskog sjedišta nadležnog za Montesorbo, Comacchio i Rimini.²⁸ Istovjetna je formula, nadalje, primijenjena na natpisu opatice Ariperge iz samostana San Felice u Paviji iz druge polovine VIII. stoljeća: *Credo eni(m) quia Redemptor vivat* and *+Scio quia Redemptor meus vivit et in novissimo die de terra surrectura su(m) et r[u]rsu[m]*

centuries).²⁶ It belongs to those texts normally used in the funeral liturgy: in the *Officium defunctorum*, one of the responsories is in fact *Credo quod Redemptor meus vivit: et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum: et in carne mea videbo Deum Salvatorem meum.*²⁷ The same textual model for the Office of the Dead as used in Montesorbo was observed by P. Porta on several contemporaneous monuments: the epitaph of the priest Venerius from Rimini (755) and Stephen's sarcophagus in Comacchio (8th or first half of the 9th century), assuming that in all three cases the epigraphic formula came from Ravenna, the metropolitan seat with jurisdiction over Montesorbo, Comacchio and Rimini.²⁸ An identical formula was furthermore noted in the inscription of the Abbess Aripurga from the Abbey of San Felice in Pavia from the latter half of the 8th century: *Credo eni(m) quia Redemptor vivat* and *+Scio quia Redemptor meus vivit et in novissimo die de terra surrectura su(m) et r[u]rsu[m] circu(m) dabor pel[le] mea].²⁹ The first abbot of the abbey of San' Ambrogio in Milan, Benedict (784-806) had this text engraved on his tomb: *[Cred]o quod Dominus non me [dere]linquid nec [con]demnabit [me] dum veneris [ad]judicandum, [se]d miserere mei [red]emptor meus [pi]us Deus redempto[r] me[us] vivit, et in nov[issim]o renovantur ossa mea e[st] in] carne mea videv[o] Domi[no] Deo.³⁰ From the stylistic point of view, Benedict's epitaph is also the closest analogy to the relief from Montesorbo (Fig. 4). An identical**

24 AE 1974, 333; Porta 2009, str. 431; Mastino 2007, str. 292 donosi dosad najtočniju transkripciju.

25 Porta 1974.

26 Felle 2014, str. 787-788. Prethode mu samo tri poznata ranokršćanska teksta iz kasnog VI. stoljeća, iz Rima, Sicilije i Hispanije (Felle 2006, br. 661, 674, 777; Mastino 2007, str. 292-293). Posljednji pronađeni takav tekst je natpis na sarkofagu biskupa Sekundina iz Haïdre (*Ammaedara*, Tunis): *b(ibit) redentor deus meus / in [n]obissimo resurgam / circumdabo denuo pel/lem meam ed in carne m[e]a / bidebo dominum meum* (Felle 2014, str. 805, br. 55, kraj V. ili VI. st.). Koristan uvid u kletve i sankcije biblijskog sadržaja na grobnoj epigrafiji daje Felle 2014, str. 781-782. Stariji su pregledi Ermoni 1924 i Leclercq 1926.

27 Felle 2006, str. 596, 600, 638, 639; Favreau 2007, str. 287-289; Porta 2009, str. 433; Felle 2014, str. 787-788; Felle 2015-2016, str. 401.

28 Porta 2009, str. 433-434. Natpis na Stjepanovu sarkofagu glasi: *+ Scio enim quia redem(p)tor / meus vivit et in novis(s)imo / de terra surrecturum sis et rursus.* Za natpise s citatom Joba u Montesorbu i Riminiju usp. također Mastino 2007, str. 292-293.

26 Felle 2014, pp. 787-788. It is preceded by only three known 6th-century Early Christian texts from Rome, Sicily and Hispania (Felle 2006, nos. 661, 674, 777; Mastino 2007, pp. 292-293). The last discovered text of this type is the inscription on the sarcophagus of Bishop Secundinus from Haïdra (*Ammaedara*, Tunisia): *b(ibit) redentor deus meus / in [n]obissimo resurgam / circumdabo denuo pel/lem meam ed in carne m[e]a / bidebo dominum meum* (Felle 2014, p. 805, n. 55, end of 5th or 6th cent.). Useful insight into condemnations and sanctions with biblical content in funerary epigraphy was provided by Felle 2014, pp. 781-782. Older overviews in Ermoni 1924 and Leclercq 1926.

27 Felle 2006, pp. 596, 600, 638, 639; Favreau 2007, pp. 287-289; Porta 2009, p. 433; Felle 2014, pp. 787-788; Felle 2015-2016, p. 401.

28 Porta 2009, pp. 433-434. The inscription on Stephen's sarcophagus reads: *+ Scio enim quia redem(p)tor / meus vivit et in novis(s)imo / de terra surrecturum sis et rursus.* For the inscriptions with the passage from Job in Montesorbo and Rimini, cf. also Mastino 2007, pp. 292-293.

29 Lomartire, Segagni 2000, p. 248; Favreau 2007, p. 288.

30 Forcella 1890, pp. 199-200, n. 264; Favreau 1995, p. 430; Favreau 2007, p. 289.

*circu(m)dabor pel[le mea].*²⁹ Prvi opat samostana San Ambrogio u Milanu, Benedikt (784.-806.) taj je tekst dao uklesati na svoju grobnicu: [*Cred*]o quod Dominus non me [*dere*]linquid nec [*con*]demnabit [*me*] dum veneris [*adj*]udicandum, [*se*]d miserere mei [*red*]emptor meus [*piu*]s Deus redempto[r me]us vivit, et in nov[issimo] renovantur ossa mea e[*t in*] carne mea videv[o Domi]no Deo.³⁰ Benediktov epitaf je i u likovnom smislu najbliža analogija reljefu iz Montesorba (sl. 4). Identična se epigrafska formula, osim toga, nalazi na više nadgrobnihih natpisa Napuljskog dukata iz VIII. i IX. stoljeća (primjerice u tekstu *carmen sepulchrale* napuljskog vojvode Stjepana III. iz 832.),³¹ što nam dozvoljava da predloženu dataciju natpisa iz Montesorba smatramo još čvršćom. Slijedom svega navedenog, jasno je da kasno VIII. i rano IX. stoljeće predstavljaju kronološki raspon u koji treba smjestiti izradu ovakvih natpisa.

Dosadašnja analiza pokazala nam je, dakle, da na Apeninskom poluotoku postoje spomenici, sepulkralnog karaktera, što predstavljaju dosad najbliže paralele trogirskom sarkofagu. Oni, k tome, omogućuju njegovu precizniju dataciju te potvrđuju da se zaista radi o spomeniku načinjenom na razmeđu VIII. i IX. stoljeća, potkrepljujući time dataciju za koju se založio Karaman, a dodatnim uvidima raščlanio Piteša. Upućuju, uz to, na Konstantina VI. kao cara spomenutog u natpisu. Stekavši ova kulturološka uporišta, želimo u nastavku upozoriti i na neke druge dosad neuočene epigrafske značajke trogirskog natpisa, što će biti od dodatne koristi pri njegovu kronološkom i kulturnom pozicioniranju.

epigraphic formula can additionally be found in several funerary inscriptions in the Duchy of Naples from the 8th and 9th centuries (for example, in the text of the *carmen sepulchrale* of Neapolitan Duke Stephen III from 832),³¹ which allows us to consider the proposed dating of the inscription from Montesorbo even more valid. As a result of all of these aspects, it is clear that the late 8th and early 9th centuries form the chronological range into which the crafting of such inscriptions should be placed.

The preceding analysis has thus shown us that on the Apennine Peninsula there are monuments of a sepulchral nature which constitute the closest parallels thus far known to the Trogir sarcophagus. They moreover facilitate its more precise dating and confirm that this was a monument made at the turn of the 8th into the 9th century, thereby supporting the dating advocated by Karaman, and broken down with additional insight by Piteša. They additionally point to Constantine VI as the emperor mentioned in the inscription. Having established this cultural and chronological setting, I would hereafter like to point out certain other hitherto overlooked epigraphic features of the Trogir inscription, which will prove additionally useful in placing it in its proper chronological and cultural contexts.

Namely, the second line of the inscription – indeed, the one that is entirely legible – reads: *t VIII sci patri* (with the abbreviation mark above *sci*), which previous interpreters have uniformly and without misgivings resolved as: *e]t VIII s(an)c(t)i patri*. This, depending on the identification of the grammatical cases of the last two words, may be translated as “and 8 holy fathers” or “and 8 holy father” (a possible dative singular may be eliminated here without difficulty, because the adjective in that case would have been *sancto*). Neither translation is entirely adequate,

29 Lomartire, Segagni 2000, str. 248; Favreau 2007, str. 288.

30 Forcella 1890, str. 199-200, br. 264; Favreau 1995, str. 430; Favreau 2007, str. 289.

31 Usp. MNDHP II/2, str. 225-226, br. 15-19. Felle 2015-2016, str. 397-402, revizijom nadgrobnihih natpisa iz katakombi sv. Januarija u Napulju utvrdio je autentičnost nekolicine natpisa što ih je Mommsen s nepravom uvrstio u *falsae*; to se, između ostalih, odnosi na natpis CIL X, 359*, čiji tekst u Felleovu revidiranom čitanju glasi: [*credo quod re*]demptor [*meus vivit ---?*] / [*et in car*]ne mea v[idebo d(omi)n(um)?] / [*hic requiesci*]t in pace D[---] / [*qu--- vixi*]t ann(os) pl(us) [m(inus) ---] / [*Basi*]lio p(er)p(etuo) Au[g(usto) et] / [*Constan*]tino filio [---] / [--- D(omi)]ne dum ve[neris? ---] / [*mi*]ser[ere] mei? ---]. Radilo bi se, prema tome, o natpisu datiranom suvladarstvom bizantskog cara Bazilija I. i njegova prvorodenog sina Konstantina (869.-879.), čime je ispravljena prvotna pogrešna datacija suvladarstvom Heraklija i Konstantina III. (613.-641.). O tim natpisima usp. također Favreau 2007, str. 289.

31 Cf. MNDHP II/2, pp. 225-226, no. 15-19. Felle 2015-2016, pp. 397-402, after a revision of funerary inscriptions from the Catacombs of San Gennaro in Naples, established the authenticity of several inscriptions that Mommsen incorrectly classified as *falsae*; this refers, among others, to inscription CIL X, 359*, which in Felle's revised reading is: [*credo quod re*]demptor [*meus vivit ---?*] / [*et in car*]ne mea v[idebo d(omi)n(um)?] / [*hic requiesci*]t in pace D[---] / [*qu--- vixi*]t ann(os) pl(us) [m(inus) ---] / [*Basi*]lio p(er)p(etuo) Au[g(usto) et] / [*Constan*]tino filio [---] / [--- D(omi)]ne dum ve[neris? ---] / [*mi*]ser[ere] mei? ---]. This would therefore be an inscription dated to the co-reign of Emperor Basil I and his first-born son Constantine (869-879), thereby correcting the erroneous dating to the joint rule of Heraclius and Constantine III (613-641). On these inscriptions cf. also Favreau 2007, p. 289.



Sl. 5. Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, ulomak arhitrava s natpisom kneza Branimira, iz Muća Gornjeg, 888. (Delonga 1996, 123)

Fig. 5. Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, fragment of architrave with inscription of Duke Branimir, from Muć Gornji, 888 (Delonga 1996, 123)

U drugom, naime, i to potpuno čitljivom retku, stoji: *t VIII sci patri* (s znakom pokrate nad *sci*), što dosadašnji tumači natpisa složno i bez nedoumica razrješavaju kao: *e]t VIII s(an)c(t)i patri*. Ovo se, ovisno o identifikaciji padeža posljednjih dviju riječi, može prevesti kao “i 8 svetih otaca”, odnosno “i 8 svetog oca” (eventualni dativ jednine ovdje bez teškoća eliminiramo, jer bi pridjev u tom slučaju glasio *sancto*). Ni jedan ni drugi prijevod nije u potpunosti adekvatan, jer bi se u prvom slučaju očekivalo *et VIII sanctorum patrum*, a u drugom *et VIII sancti patris* (pri čemu ostaje neobjašnjeno kako se jedнина “oca” može složiti s množinom od osam otaca). Naše je, međutim, mišljenje da solecizam *et VIII sancti patri* ovdje ne sadrži ni genitiv jednine, niti genitiv množine, već da se radi o nominativu množine. Jednostavnom, naime, provjerom ranosrednjovjekovnih diplomatskih tekstova lako je uvidjeti da ovaj redak trogirskog natpisa zapravo sadrži ostatak uobičajene sintagme što je u klasičnom latinskom glasila: *CCCXVIII sancti patres* ili verbalno: *trecenti decem et octo sancti patres* – “tri stotine i osamnaest svetih otaca”.

Kao i u suvremenom hrvatskom jeziku, u latinskom jeziku glavni brojevi (*cardinalia*) izriču koliko čega ima, a većina ih se ne mijenja po padežima. U latinskom, kao i u živim jezicima, brojevi se mogu pisati brojkama (u latinskom je to sedam slova za osnovne brojeve, dok su sve ostale brojke izvedene, tj. tvore se zbrajanjem ili oduzimanjem osnovnih) ili se mogu pisati riječima (verbalno). Složeni brojevi mogu se pisati sastavljenim ili odvojenim znamenkama, a u potonjem slučaju između preposljednjeg i posljednjeg člana može biti veznik (najčešće sastavni veznik *i* u hrvatskom, odnosno *et* u latinskom). No dok u modernim brojevima pisanima arapskim brojkama takvih veznika među znamenkama nema (ima ih jedino u brojevima pisanima slovima), u rimskim brojkama oni su učestali, naročito u srednjovjekovnom latinitetu. Složeni glavni brojevi mogu se tada razdvojiti na svoje sastavne dijelove na različite načine: grupiranjem stotica, desetica i jedinica u različitim kombinacijama (npr. broj 318 može se

because in the first case one would expect *et VIII sanctorum patrum*, while in the second *et VIII sancti patris* (wherein it remains unexplained as to how the singular “father” can be combined with the plural of eight fathers). It is, however, this author’s opinion that the solecism *et VIII sancti patri* here contains neither the genitive singular nor the genitive plural, rather it is the nominative plural. Namely, based on a simple examination of early medieval diplomatic texts, it is easy to see that this line of the Trogir inscription contains the remains of the standard phrase which in classical Latin reads: *CCCXVIII sancti patres*, or non-numerically: *trecenti decem et octo sancti patres* – “three hundred and eighteen holy fathers.”

As in the modern Croatian language, in Latin the cardinal numbers (*cardinalia*) express how much of something there is, and most are not altered in grammatical cases. In Latin, as in living languages, numbers may be written as numerals (in Latin that means the seven letters for basic numbers, while the remaining numbers are derived, i.e., created by adding or subtracting the basic numbers) or they may be written out as words (verbally). Compound numbers may be written by attached or separate symbols, and in the latter case between the penultimate and final digit there may be a conjunction (most often the coordinating conjunction *and* – *i* in Croatian, *et* in Latin). But while in modern numbers written with Arabic numerals there are no such conjunctions between the digits (they are only used when the numbers are written out verbally), in Roman numerals they are frequent, particularly in medieval Latin. Compound primary numbers may then be separated into their component parts in various ways: by grouping hundreds, tens and ones in various combinations (e.g. the number 318 may be written as *CCCXVIII*, but also as *CCC et XVIII* or *CCCX et VIII* or *CCC et X et VIII*). As opposed to the modern decimal system, the entire numerical value of a Latin number will remain the same regardless of how the values of its individual units are grouped; the total sum was essential. An excellent example of this is the inscription of Duke Branimir from Muć Gornji dated to the year 888 (Fig. 5), where this chronological marker was formulated in the following manner: [...] *Branimiri annor(um) Chr(ist)i sacra de virg(ine) carne ut su(m)ps(it) s(unt) DCCCLXXX et VIII, VI q(ue) indic(tio)* – “(...) of Branimir, the year of Christ, since he received his body by the Holy Virgin, is the eight-hundred and eighty-eighth, and the sixth indiction.”³²

Out of the cardinal numbers in the Latin language, only the hundreds from 200 to 900, the numbers 1, 2

32 Delonga 1996, p. 133.

napisati *CCCXVIII*, ali i *CCC et XVIII* ili *CCCX et VIII* ili *CCC et X et VIII*). Za razliku od modernog dekadskog sustava, cjelovita brojčana vrijednost nekog latinskog broja ostat će ista neovisno o tome kako su grupirani iznosi njegovih pojedinih jedinica; bitan je bio ukupan zbroj. Izvrstan je primjer za to natpis kneza Branimira iz Muća Gornjeg iz 888. godine (sl. 5), gdje je ta vremenska odrednica oblikovana na sljedeći način: [...] *Branimiri annor(um) Chr(ist)i sacra de virg(ine) carne ut su(m)ps(it) s(unt) DCCCLXXX et VIII, VI q(ue) indic(tio)* – “(...) Branimira, godina je Kristovih, otkad je od svete Djevice primio tijelo, osamstoosamdeset i osma, i indikcija šesta”.³²

Od glavnih se brojeva u latinskom jeziku dekliniraju samo stotice od 200 do 900, brojevi 1, 2 i 3 te broj 1000, a ostali su nesklonjivi; u ovom se slučaju, prema tome, deklinirao samo broj 300 (*trecenti*). Prema pravilima latinske gramatike, on se sa svojom imenicom morao slagati u rodu, broju i padežu, što znači da ispravan gramatički lik naše sintagme glasi, kako je navedeno, *CCCXVIII sancti patres* ili *trecenti decem et octo sancti patres*. U epigrafici, dakako, tendencija ka uštedi kamene površine redovito preferira brojke nauštrb slova, pa na Pavlovu trogirskom natpisu nije očekivati verbalnu brojku, već jednu od narednih brojčanih inačica: *CCCX et VIII s(an)c(t)i patri* ili *CCC et X et VIII s(an)c(t)i patri* i tome slično. Da je tome tako, pokazat će detaljniji uvid u diplomatsku i epigrafičku praksu u pisanoj kulturi ranog srednjovjekovlja, koja sadrži upravo ovakva rješenja.

Medievist, naime, naviknut na susretanje s diplomatskom strukturom srednjovjekovnih dokumenata pri njihovu pregledavanju, smjesta će u ovih 318 svetih otaca prepoznati jedan od karakterističnih elemenata tzv. duhovne sankcije, odnosno kazne predviđene za osporavatelje nekog pravnog čina. On se tipično nalazi u završnim klauzulama središnjeg dijela dokumenta (*teksta* ili *korpusa*) i spada u formule (*clausulae finales*) kojima se nastoji štititi pravni učinak akta.³³ Među *clausulae finales* ubraja se i *sanctio*, kojom se izriče nagrada realizatorima pravnog čina (*benedictio*, rjeđe) ili kazna onima koji sprečavaju njegovo izvršenje (*poena*, mnogo češće). Kazne mogu biti materijalne (novčane) ili duhovne (anathema, izopćenje, zazivanje srdžbe Božje i svetih osoba raznih stupnjeva nad osporavateljem i sl.), a mogu se i međusobno kombinirati. Duhovna kazna (*poena spiritualis*) može poprimiti veoma raznolike oblike, katkad sažeta i sasvim jednostavna, ali prigodimice složena i vrlo razvedena.

and 3 and the number 1000 are declined, while the rest cannot be declined; accordingly, on our inscription only the number 300 (*trecenti*) was declined. According to the rules of Latin grammar, it had to comply with its noun by gender, number and case, which means that the grammatically correct form of the phrase reads, as stated, *CCCXVIII sancti patres* or *trecenti decem et octo sancti patres*. In epigraphy, to be sure, the tendency to preserve as much as stone surface as possible meant a regular preference for numbers over letters, so a verbal number cannot be expected on Paul's Trogir inscription, but rather one of the following numerical variations: *CCCX et VIII s(an)c(t)i patri* or *CCC et X et VIII s(an)c(t)i patri* and so forth. That this is so will be shown by a more detailed examination of the notarial and epigraphic practices in the written culture of the Early Middle Ages, which contains precisely such solutions.

A medievalist, accustomed to encountering the diplomatic structure of medieval documents when examining them, will immediately recognize these 318 holy fathers as one of the typical elements of the so-called spiritual sanctions, i.e., the punishments stipulated for those who dispute some legal act. It is typically found in the final clauses of the central part of a document (*text* or *corpus*) and belongs among the formulas (*clausulae finales*) which attempt to protect the legal effect of the act.³³ The *clausulae finales* also include the *sanctio*, which declares a reward to the executors of a legal act (*benedictio*, more rarely) or a punishment to those who would impede its execution (*poena*, more often). Punishments may be financial (monetary) or spiritual (anathema, excommunication, invocation of the wrath of God and holy persons of varying degrees against the contester, etc.), and they may be combined. The spiritual penalty (*poena spiritualis*) may assume various forms, sometimes concise and entirely simple, but occasionally complex and quite intricate.

Poenae spirituales quite readily and often included as their mechanism the curse and anathema, among which the “curse of the 318 fathers” (*maledictio CCCXVIII patrum*) was particularly widespread. The phrase “318 fathers” refers to the alleged number of bishops present at the First Ecumenical Council in Nicaea in 325 AD; although not all of the attending bishops were subsequently canonized, in later times, due to the crucial importance of the Council of Nicaea to the general development of the Church, they were

32 Delonga 1996, str. 123.

33 Boye 1918, str. 129-133; Ostojić 1967, str. 65-69; Stipišić 1985, str. 152; Jaser 2013, str. 40-53.

33 Boye 1918, pp. 129-133; Ostojić 1967, pp. 65-69; Stipišić 1985, p. 152; Jaser 2013, pp. 40-53.

Poenae spirituales vrlo su rado i često kao svoj mehanizam koristile prokletstvo i kletvu, među kojima je osobito prošireno bilo “prokletstvo 318 otaca” (*maledictio CCCXVIII patrum*). Sintagma “318 otaca” odnosi se na navodni broj biskupa nazočnih na prvom ekumenskom crkvenom koncilu u Niceji 325. godine; premda nisu svi tada prisutni biskupi bili poslije kanonizirani, u kasnijim su vremenima zbog stožerne važnosti Nicejskog koncila za opći razvoj Crkve smatrani naročito uglednim skupom “svetih otaca”,³⁴ a zazivanje njihova prokletstva nad osporavateljima pravnog čina držano je osobito učinkovitim. U srednjovjekovnim pravnim aktima ta je duhovna sankcija učestala pojava, a u diplomatskom se materijalu hrvatskoga povijesnog prostora ona može pratiti još od najstarijih isprava u IX. stoljeću, sve do XII. stoljeća. Ilustracije radi, u prvom svesku *Diplomatičkog zbornika kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije* (što obuhvaća raspon od 743. do 1100. godine) od ukupno 175 sakupljenih isprava njih 28 (16 %) sadrži duhovnu sankciju prokletstva 318 otaca. Kako je slikovito formulirao Ostojić, “u našim izvorima crkvena prokletstva ili anateme nalazimo na darovnicama i na potvrdama darovnica, u ostavštinama i legatima, u podjeljivanju kraljevskih i gradskih sloboda i u fundacionalnim poveljama zadužbina. Ukratko, ondje gdje se netko odricao svojega posjeda ili svojih prava u korist neke ustanove ili zaklade bez pridržaja feudalnih privilegija. Stoga su prokletstva u prvom redu bila uperena protiv samih darovatelja i njihovih baštinika, da se ne bi jedni ili drugi poslije predomislili i povukli dar. Izricatelji takvih sankcija nalazili su njihov prazor u Starom zavjetu, koji je obilovao svakovrsnim teškim prokletstvima”.³⁵

Prijetnja srdžbom 318 svetih otaca Nicejskoga sabora (njih samih ili s drugim svecima) najčešća je među prokletstvima u sankcijama sadržanima u

considered a reputable group of “holy fathers,”³⁴ and the invocation of their curse against the contesters of a legal act was deemed especially effective. In medieval legal acts, this spiritual sanction appears frequently, and in the diplomatic sources from the Croatian historical territories, it may be found from the oldest documents in the 9th century and through to the 12th century. By way of illustration, in the first volume of *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (which encompasses the period from 743 to 1100), out of the total of 175 collected documents, 28 of them (16%) contain the spiritual sanction of the 318 fathers. As picturesquely formulated by Ostojić: “In our sources ecclesiastical curse or anathema can be found in deeds of gift and in confirmations of such deeds, in wills and testaments, in the conferral of royal and municipal privileges and in the founding charters of endowments. Briefly, anywhere anybody forfeited a possession or right to the benefit of an institution or endowment without retaining feudal privileges. Thus the curses were primarily directed toward the donors and their heirs themselves, so that neither would subsequently change their mind and revoke the donation. Those who pronounced such sanctions found their earliest inspiration in the Old Testament, which abounded in all manner of severe curses.”³⁵

The threat of the wrath of the 318 holy fathers of the Council of Nicaea (on their own or with other saints) is most common among the curses in the sanctions contained in the Croatian diplomatic sources of the Early Middle Ages. It was already present in Trpimir’s ducal charter (840 or 852) and in its confirmation which was issued by his son Muncimir (892).³⁶

34 Porijeklo tog broja traži se u broju Abrahamovih slugu (Post XIV, 14: “Kad je Abram čuo da mu je bratić zarobljen, skupi svoju momčad – rođenu u njegovu domu – njih trista osamnaest, pa pođe u potjeru do Dana”). U ranom II. stoljeću broj je resemantiziran (u tzv. Barnabinoj poslanici) kao simbol Krista (brojčanoj vrijednosti 300 + 10 + 8 u alfabetu odgovara τ + ι + η, pri čemu je slovo tau istovremeno znak križa, a jota i eta inicijali Isusa Krista). Usp. Ostojić 1967, str. 66, bilj. 2; Aubineau 1966; Feniello, Martin 2015, str. 256. Honigmann je izračunao da su na I. nicejskom saboru bila 194 prisutna biskupa, čemu se usprotivio Gelzer smatrajući realnijim broj od 220 ili 237. Usp. Ferrua 1957, str. 380, Aubineau 1966, Honigmann 1939, Honigmann 1942-1943, Honigmann 1950 i literaturu navedenu u Strika 2004, str. 57-58, bilj. 86.

35 Ostojić 1967, str. 68-69.

34 The origin of this number has been sought in the number of Abraham’s servants (Gen. 14:14: “And when Abram heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued them unto Dan”). In the early 2nd century the number was resemanticized (in the so-called Epistle of Barnabas) as a symbol of Christ (the numerical value of 300 + 10 + 8 corresponds to τ + ι + η in the alphabet, wherein the letter *tau* is simultaneously the symbol of the cross, while *iota* and *eta* are the initials of Jesus Christ). Cf. Ostojić 1967, p. 66, note 2; Aubineau 1966; Feniello, Martin 2015, p. 256. Honigmann counted 194 bishops present at the first Council of Nicaea, which was refuted by Gelzer, who considered 220 or 237 a more realistic number. Cf. Ferrua 1957, p. 380, Aubineau 1966, Honigmann 1939, Honigmann 1942-1943, Honigmann 1950 and the literature cited in Strika 2004, pp. 57-58, note 86.

35 Ostojić 1967, pp. 68-69.

36 Trpimir’s charter: *And insofar as anyone may attempt to diminish, alienate or forcefully deny [the right of the church in Split], may he be visited by the wrath of our*

hrvatskom diplomatskom materijalu ranoga srednjovjekovlja. Zastupljena je već u Trpimirovoj kneževskoj ispravi (840. ili 852.) te njezinoj potvrđnici koju je izdao njegov sin Muncimir (892.).³⁶ Tipologiju i sintaksu prokletstva 318 svetih otaca u diplomatskim izvorima uspostavio je još I. Ostojić,³⁷ a javlja se u ukupno 28 dosad poznatih isprava:

36 Trpimirova isprava: *A ako bi tko pokušao umanjiti, ote- ti ili se silom oprijeti (splitskoj crkvi) neka ga stigne srdžba Gospoda spasitelja i svih svetaca, prokletstvo 318 otaca i neka bude sapet nerazrješivim okovom prokletstva do sudnjega dana; neka se po božjoj volji istrigne od roda i domovine, žene i djece onaj koji bi se bezobzirno usudio ovo naše već učinjeno darovanje oteti svetoj majci crkvi. Stoga neka bude onaj koji po- čini takvo nedjelo lišen milosti pobožnih vladara koji već budu tada kad se budu s njim parničili sveti namjesnici; neka se svaki onaj koji zaboravi na pokajnike ugasivši svjetlo njihovih duša nagradi na posljednjem danu velikoga suda đavlom i njegovim gnjusnim anđelima i Judom Iskariotom, Kristovim izdajicom paklenim bezdanom, gdje vatra ne trne i crv bezbožnika ne umire* (Klaić 1967, str. 135, bilj. 196).

Pokuša li netko (darovane stvari) oteti ili uzeti ili se silom suprotstaviti, neka je sve do sudnjega dana žigosan nerazrješivom vezom izopćenja i prokletstvom 318 otaca; i neka se onaj koji se drsko usudi oduzeti svetoj majci Crkvi ovo naše učinjeno darovanje po Božjoj osudi odijeli od roda i domovine, žene i djece. Stoga neka milost vladara štiti svete namjesnike koji se u toj stvari budu parničili s njim (tj. s prijestupnikom). Onaj koji počinu takvo nedjelo – (koji je kao) onaj koji zaboravlja na umrle i trne svjetlo njihovih duša – neka na posljednjem danu velikog suda bude nagrađen đavlom i njegovim sramotnim anđelima i Judom Iskariotom, Kristovim izdajicom, u paklenom bezdanu gdje se vatra ne gasi i crv bezbožnika ne umire (Klaić 1972, str. 20).

Muncimirova isprava: *Tko bi pak poslije upaljen zubljava lakomosti i podignut na rogovima oholosti, omaložavajući našu odluku, htio malo prije spomenutu crkvu (u Putalju) oduzeti od vlasništva svetih mučenika Dujma i Staša ili pokušao, na bilo koji način, spomenuto darovanje oštetiti, neka ga snađe srdžba Svemogućega gospodara nebesa, Spasitelja svijeta, te svih svetih, neka je nerazrješivo svezan vezom prokletstva 318 otaca; k tomu neka padne na njega i na njegov dom, kao i na njegove pomagače, deset zala, koja su se zbila u Egiptu, a guba Sirca Naamana njih neka nikada ne ostavi; neka ih proguta zemlja kako Datana i Abirona, a na posljednjem sudu, imajući protiv sebe dosljednost svetaca, neka s vragom i njegovim strašnim anđelima te Judom Iskariotom budu nagrađeni u ognju paklenom, gdje se vatra ne trne i crvi ne umiru* (Barada 1937, str. 69-71; Brković 2011, str. 117).

37 Ostojić 1967, str. 66-67. Autor u svoja razmatranja nije uključio četiri isprave: darovnicu Mihajla Krešimira II. za Vranjic (950. ili 969.), presudu dubrovačkog priora

The typology and syntax of the curse of the 318 holy fathers in diplomatic sources was already established by I. Ostojić,³⁷ and it appears in a total of 28 thus far known documents (see Table).

Lord Saviour and all of the saints, the damnation of the 318 fathers, and may he be beset by the irremovable shackles of anathema until judgement day; may anyone who would unscrupulously dare to seize our donation from the holy mother Church, by God's will, be torn from his kin and country, his wife and children. Therefore, let he who would perpetrate such a misdeed be denied the mercy of pious rulers who are present when the holy officials litigate against him; may all of those who forget the penitent, extinguishing the light of their souls, be damned on the final day of great judgement, in concert with the devil and his repugnant angels and Judas Iscariot, to the flaming abyss, where the fire never abates and the worm of the godless never dies (Klaić 1967, p. 135, note 196).

Should anyone attempt to seize or take or forcefully impede [the donated assets], may he be branded until judgement day with an inseparable bond of excommunication and the damnation of the 318 fathers; and may he who brazenly dares to take from the holy mother Church our completed donation be separated from family and country, wife and children. So may the clemency of the ruler protect the holy officials who litigate on this matter with him [i.e., the offender]. May he who commits such a misdeed – [who is like unto] the one who forgets the dead and extinguishes the light of their souls – be rewarded on the final day of great judgement with the devil and his reprehensible angels and Judas Iscariot, Christ's betrayer, in the hellish abyss where the fire never subsides and the worm of the godless never dies (Klaić 1972, p. 20).

Muncimir's charter: *Whosoever subsequently, goaded by the teeth of avarice and lifted by the horns of arrogance, denigrating our decision, would wish to seize the previously mentioned church [in Putalj] from the ownership of our holy martyrs Domnio and Anastasius or attempt, in any manner whatsoever, to impinge upon the aforementioned donation, may he be visited by the wrath of the Almighty Lord of Heaven, the Saviour of the world, and all of the saints, may he be inextricably tied by the bond of the damnation of the 318 fathers; furthermore, may the ten plagues which afflicted Egypt befall him and his home, and on his accomplices, and the leprosy of Naaman the Syrian never leave them; may the Earth swallow them as it did Dathan and Abiram, and at the final judgement, having against them the consistency of the saints, may he be rewarded, as the devil and his horrible angels and Judas Iscariot, with the furnace of hell, where the fire never abates and the worms never die* (Barada 1937, pp. 69-71; Brković 2011, p. 117).

37 Ostojić 1967, pp. 66-67. The author did not include four documents in his discussion: the charter of Mihajlo Krešimir II for Vranjic (950 or 969), the

Dokument / Document	Formula / Formula	Datacija / Dating	Izdanje / Publication
Trpimirova darovnica Splitskoj nadbiskupiji / Trpimir's charter of donation to the Split Archdiocese	<i>iram domini et salvatoris et sanctorum omnium maledictionem quidem CCC patrum et octodenos uinculo insolubili anathemate maranatha denodetur</i>	840.-844./852.	CD I, 5
Muncimirova potvrđnica Trpimirove darovnice Splitskoj nadbiskupiji / Muncimir's confirmation of Trpimir's charter to the Split Archdiocese	<i>iram omnipotentis celorum arbitri, saluatoris mundi incurrat et sanctorum omnium maledictionis vinculo CCC decem et octo patrum insolubiliter denodetur</i>	892.	CD I, 24
Oporuka zadarskog priora Andrije / Will of the Zadar Prior Andrew	<i>iram dei omnipotentis patris et filii et spiritus sancti incurrat et maledictionem a 318 sancti patres</i>	918.	CD I, 27
Darovnica Mihajla Krešimira II. za Vranjic / Charter of Mihajlo Krešimir II for Vranjic	<i>iram sui factoris incurrat ac perpetua maliditione atque CCCXVIII(!) sanctorum patrum dampnatione multentur</i>	950./969.	CD I, 41
Cartula traditionis zadarskog priora Madija samostanu sv. Krševana / Cartula traditionis of the Zadar Prior Madius to the Abbey of St. Chrysogonus	<i>iratum habeat patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et maledictionem a CCC et XVIII^o sancti patres</i>	986.	CD I, 46
Chartula donationis zadarskih plemića samostanu sv. Krševana / Chartula donationis of Zadar nobles to the Abbey of St. Chrysogonus	<i>iram omnipotentis dei incurrat et trecentorum decem et octo sanctorum patrum maledictionem habeat</i>	986.-999.	CD I, 50
Oporuka Agape, kćeri zadarskog tribuna Dabra / Will of Agapa, daughter of Zadar Tribune Dabro	<i>iratum habeat patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et maledictionem a CCCX et VIII sancti patres</i>	999.	CD I, 49
Oporuka splitskog nadbiskupa Pavla / Will of Split Archbishop Paulus	<i>incorrerà nell'ira dell'onnipotente dio e la biastemma dei 318 santi padri</i>	1020.	CD I, 59
Darovnica splitskog đakona Petra benediktinskom samostanu na Sustipanu / Charter of Split Deacon Peter to the Benedictine abbey in Sustipan	<i>caschi nell'ira di dio et nella maleditione dei 318 santi padri et 12 apostoli</i>	poslije 1020./after 1020.	CD I, 60
Darovnica Jelenice, sestre bana Godemira, zadarskom samostanu sv. Krševana / Charter of Jelenica, sister of Ban Godemir, to the Abbey of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar	<i>iram omnipotentis dei incurrat et maledictionem CCC^{torum} X et octo sanctorum patrum habeat</i>	1028.	CD I, 66

Petra Slabe u korist benediktinskog samostana na Lokrumu (između 1050. i 1055.), privilegij i darovnicu Petra Krešimira IV. u korist samostana sv. Ivana Biogradskog (1060.) i Zvonimirovu darovnicu s potvrđnicom posjeda u korist Splitske nadbiskupije (1078.). Formule iz navedenih isprava ovdje smo pribrojili onima koje donosi Ostojić. Pitanje diplomatske i tekstualne autentičnosti pojedinih isprava ovdje ostavljamo po strani. Analizu sankcije u ispravama iz CD I (ali mnogo plošnije) izvršio je i Brković 1993, str. 13-23.

judgement of Dubrovnik Prior Peter Slaba to the benefit of the Benedictine abbey on Lokrum (between 1050 and 1055), the privileges and charter of Petar Krešimir IV to the benefit of St. John's Abbey in Biograd (1060) and Zvonimir's charter with confirmation of possession to the Split Archdiocese (1078). The formulas from these documents have been here added to those cited by Ostojić. The question of the diplomatic and textual authenticity of individual documents shall be set aside here. An analysis of the sanctions in the documents from CD I (albeit far more superficially) was conducted by Brković 1993, pp. 13-23.

Darovnica bana i carskog protospatara S. zadarskom samostanu sv. Krševana / Charter of ban and imperial protospatharios S. to the Abbey of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar	<i>insuper iratum abeat patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et maledictionem a CCCX et VIII sanctos patres</i>	1042.- 1044.	CD I, 76
Oporuka Zadranske Dauzete / Will of the Zadar woman Dauzeta	<i>iratum abeat trinum et unum deum et maledictione a tricenti decem et octo sancti patres</i>	1044.	CD I, 77
Presuda dubrovačkog priora Petra Slabe za benediktinski samostan na Lokrumu / Judgment of the Dubrovnik Prior Peter Slaba for the Benedictine abbey on Lokrum	<i>iram dei omnipotentis patris et filii et spiritus sancti incurrat et sanctorum omnium ac maledictionis vinculo tercentorum decem et octo patrum insolubiliter denodetur</i>	1050.- 1055.	CD I, 80
Isprava o osnutku samostana sv. Petra na Rabu / Document on the establishment of St. Peter's Abbey on Rab	<i>anathematis uinculo perpetuo religetur et omnipotentis dei omniumque prophetarum et duodecim apostolorum ac trecentum et quadraginta quatuor (!) patrum incurrat maledictionem</i>	1060.	CD I, 86
Privilegij i darovnica Petra Krešimira IV. za samostan sv. Ivana u Biogradu / Privileges and charter of Peter Krešimir IV for St. John's Abbey in Biograd	<i>ira diuini furoris illi habundanter affluat et sicut ille Iudas proditor dispereat; insuper illorum tercentum decem et octo sanctorum patrum maledictionem habeat</i>	1060.	CD I, 91
Imunitet i darovnica Petra Krešimira IV. samostanu sv. Tome u Biogradu / Immunity and charter granted by Peter Krešimir IV to the St. Thomas Abbey in Biograd	<i>iram habeat omnipotentis dei et omnium sanctorum super illos maneat nec non et trecentorum decem et octo patrum anatematis uinculo innodentur</i>	1060.- 1062.	CD I, 97
Isprava o osnutku ženskog benediktinskog samostana u Trogiru / Document on the establishment of the Benedictine abbey in Trogir	<i>trinum et unum dominum habeat iratum et CCCXVIII sanctorum patrum consequatur maledictionem</i>	1064.	CD I, 99
Darovnica splitskog nadbiskupa Lovre ženskom benediktinskom samostanu sv. Eufemije / Charter of Split Archbishop Lawrence to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Euphemia	<i>iratum habeat trinum et unum deum et CCC^{torum} X et VIII sanctorum patrum consequatur maledictionem</i>	1068.	CD I, 112
Zvonimirova potvrđnica splitskoj nadbiskupiji za posjed Sv. Jurja Putaljskog / Zvonimir's confirmation of the possession of the Church of St. George at Putalj to the Split Archdiocese	<i>trinum et unum deum iratum habeat et maledictionem CCCXVIII sanctorum patrum incurrat et aliorum sanctorum</i>	1075.	CD I, 142
Zvonimirova darovnica Pustice u Lažanima splitskom benediktinskom samostanu sv. Eufemije / Zvonimir's charter granting Pustica in Lažane to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Euphemia in Split	<i>trinum et unum deum habeat iratum et CCC^{torum} decem et octo sanctorum patrum consequatur maledictionem</i>	1076.- 1078.	CD I, 170
Zvonimirova darovnica i potvrđnica posjeda Splitskoj nadbiskupiji / Zvonimir's charter and confirmation of possession to the Split Archdiocese	<i>irratum habeat trinum et vnum deum et maledictionem trecentorum decem et octo patrum et aliorum sanctorum incurrat</i>	1078.	CD I, 161

Zvonimirova koncesija cetinske župe pod jurisdikciju Splitske nadbiskupije / Zvonimir's concession of the Cetina County to the jurisdiction of the Split Archdiocese	<i>ira omnipotentis dei ueniat super eum et maledictiones CCCX et VIII sanctorum patrum incurrant super ipsum et XII apostolorum</i>	1078.	CD I, 163
Darovnica Dabra, opata benediktinskog samostana na Sustipanu kod Splita, istom samostanu / Charter of Dabro, abbot of the Benedictine abbey at Sustipan, near Split, to that abbey	<i>caschi nell'ira di dio trino et vno et nella maledizione dei 318 santi padri</i>	1078.	CD I, 166
Darovnica Petra Crnog samostanu sv. Petra u Selu / Charter of Petar Crni to St. Peter's Abbey in Selo	<i>iratum habeat trinum et unum deum et maledictionem CCCX et VIII sanctorum patrum consequatur et in perpetuo nostram possideat maledictionem</i>	1080.- 1100.	CD I, 178
Zvonimirova darovnica Konjuštine u Zmini splitskom nadbiskupu Lovri / Zvonimir's charter granting Konjuština in Zmina to the Split Archbishop Lawrence	<i>iratum habeat trinum et unum deum et habeat maledictionem CCCX et VIII sanctorum patrum</i>	1083.	CD I, 180
Potvrđnica Stjepana II. Zvonimirove darovnice splitskom benediktinskom samostanu sv. Eufemije za posjed Pusticu u Lažanima / Confirmation by Stephen II of Zvonimir's charter to the Abbey of St. Euphemia in Split granting possession over Pustica in Lažane	<i>trinum et unum deum habeat iratum et CCC^{torum} X et VIII sanctorum patrum consequatur maledictionem</i>	1089.	CD I, 189
Darovnica Stjepana II. benediktinskom samostanu na Sustipanu kod Splita za posjed Radunu / Charter of Stephen II granting possession of Radun to the Benedictine abbey at Sustipan, near Split	<i>incorra nella disgratia di dio trino et vno et nella maledizione dei santi padri</i>	1089.	CD I, 190
Oporuka splitskog priora Petra / Will of Split Prior Peter	<i>iram omnipotentis incurrat et uinculo maledictionis CCC^{torum} XVIII patrum insolubiliter denotetur</i>	poslije 1097./after 1097.	CD I, 210

Formula te duhovne sankcije može se odnositi isključivo na prokletstvo 318 otaca: *habeat* ili *incurrat* ili *consequatur maledictionem CCCX et VIII sanctorum patrum* i *vinculo maledictionis CCC^{torum} XVIII patrum insolubiliter denotetur*. Obrazac ove sankcije može se ujedno kombinirati s drugim svetim osobama, pribrojenima uz 318 otaca: *maledictiones CCCX et VIII sanctorum patrum incurrant super ipsum et XII apostolorum* ili *et aliorum sanctorum*; *sanctorum omnium maledictionem quidem CCC patrum et octodecim incurrat, vinculo insolubili anathemate maranatha denotetur* ili slično; *anathematis vinculo perpetuo religetur et omnipotentis dei omniumque prophetarum et duodecim apostolorum ac CCCXVIII sanctorum patrum incurrat maledictionem*; i *maledictionem CCC et XVIII sanctorum patrum consequatur et in perpetuo nostram possideat maledictionem*.

The formula for this spiritual sanction may refer exclusively to the curse of the 318 fathers: *habeat* or *incurrat* or *consequatur maledictionem CCCX et VIII sanctorum patrum* and *vinculo maledictionis CCC^{torum} XVIII patrum insolubiliter denotetur*. The formula for this sanction may also be combined with other holy personages, counted together with the 318 fathers: *maledictiones CCCX et VIII sanctorum patrum incurrant super ipsum et XII apostolorum* or *et aliorum sanctorum*; *sanctorum omnium maledictionem quidem CCC patrum et octodecim incurrat, vinculo insolubili anathemate maranatha denotetur* or similarly; *anathematis vinculo perpetuo religetur et omnipotentis dei omniumque prophetarum et duodecim apostolorum ac CCCXVIII sanctorum patrum incurrat maledictionem*; and *maledictionem CCC et XVIII sanctorum patrum consequatur et in perpetuo nostram possideat maledictionem*.

Već je iz ovog osnovnog pregleda vidljivo da se rastavljanje broja 318 vršilo na najrazličitije načine: *CCC patrum et octodenos*, *CCC decem et octo*, *CCC^{torum} XVIII*, *CCC et XVIII^o*, *CCCX et VIII* (pet puta), *CCC^{torum} decem et octo*, *CCC^{torum} X et octo*, *CCC^{torum} X et VIII* (dvaput), kao i da je povremena upotreba pasiva s raznolikim sintaktičkim preoblikama često tvorila lik *CCCXVIII sancti patres*, umjesto uobičajenijeg *CCCXVIII sanctorum patrum* (oporuka priora Andrije iz 918., *cartula traditionis* priora Madija iz 986., oporuka Agape iz 999., oporuka nadbiskupa Pavla iz 1020., darovnica đakona Petra sustipanskom samostanu poslije 1020., darovnica bana S. samostanu sv. Krševana iz 1042.–1044., oporuka Dauzete iz 1044., darovnica opata Dabra sustipanskom samostanu iz 1078., darovnica Stjepana II. sustipanskom samostanu iz 1089.). Rastavljanje brojki na Pavlovu natpisu u Trogiru, kao i gramatička konstrukcija *sancti patri* koja se nalazi u njegovu tekstu, stoga dobiva svoju punu potvrdu.

Navedena gramatička konstrukcija *CCCX et VIII sancti patri* može se dodatno osvijetliti komparativnim vrelima, što će do kraja potvrditi njezino korištenje. Tako, na primjer, u donaciji što ju je u studenom 790. godine klerik Arnipert namijenio samostanu San Salvatore di Monte Amiata formula sankcije glasi: *aveas annathemas da Dominus noster Ihesum Christus et da tricentum et dece et octo sancti patri et mansionem aveat cum Iuda Scariothi*.³⁸ Istovrsna je sintagma upotrijebljena i u tekstu sankcije unutar darovnice Rajnerija i Berarda samostanu San Salvatore a Fontebona iz siječnja 1003. godine: *excommunicatus sit ad trecento et decem octo sancti Patri, qui canones constituunt*.³⁹ Nadalje, jedna isprava iz Terama u Abruzzima iz 1018. godine formulira kletvu: *abeat maledictione a XXIII seniores et a CCCX et VIII patri sancti qui cotidie astant ante Deum*.⁴⁰ Giselbert i Trasmund su lipnja 1063. godine biskupiji Fermo namijenili donaciju, uz sintagmu u završnim klauzulama: *et habeat anatema a domino nostro Ihesu Christo*, da trecenti decem et octo sancti patri *qui in Niceno concilio sancti canones constituerunt, et recipiat pena quale Iudas qui dominum suum traditus fuerit*.⁴¹ Izvjesni Albert je samostanu San Salvatore a Fontebona u travnju 1109. godine također ustupio dar, uvjetovavši: *nullo modo vindicare valead pro sua ad presuntiones cum tricenti decem et octo sancti patri anafetmatizatus (sic) et omine et excommunicatus persistat et cum Iuda traditore, qui Deum suum vindidi semnalis aterrimis atrocis*

This basic overview is enough to show that the number 318 can be broken down in the most diverse ways: *CCC patrum et octodenos*, *CCC decem et octo*, *CCC^{torum} XVIII*, *CCC et XVIII^o*, *CCCX et VIII* (five times), *CCC^{torum} decem et octo*, *CCC^{torum} X et octo*, *CCC^{torum} X et VIII* (twice), just as the occasional use of the passive with various syntactic reformulations often created the figure *CCCXVIII sancti patres*, instead of the customary *CCCXVIII sanctorum patrum* (will of Prior Andrew of 918, the *cartula traditionis* of Prior Madius of 986, the will of Agapa of 999, the will of Archbishop Paul of 1020, the charter of Deacon Peter to the Sustipan abbey after 1020, the charter of Ban S to the Abbey of St. Chrysogonus of 1042-1044, the will of Dauzeta of 1044, the charter of Abbot Dabro to the Sustipan abbey of 1078, the charter of Stephen II to the Sustipan abbey of 1089). The separation of the numbers in the inscription of Paul in Trogir, as well as the grammatical construction *sancti patri* which can be seen in his text, thus obtains its full confirmation.

The aforementioned grammatical construction *CCCX et VIII sancti patri* may be additionally illuminated using comparative sources, which will entirely confirm its use. Thus, for example, in a donation intended for San Salvatore Abbey on Mount Amiata by the cleric Arnipert in 790, the sanction formula reads: *aveas annathemas da Dominus noster Ihesum Christus et da tricentum et dece et octo sancti patri et mansionem aveat cum Iuda Scariothi*.³⁸ An identical phrase was also used in the text of the sanction contained in the charter of Rainieri and Berardo for the abbey of San Salvatore a Fontebona of January 1003: *excommunicatus sit ad trecento et decem octo sancti Patri, qui canones constituunt*.³⁹ Furthermore, a document from Teramo in Abruzzo of 1018 is formulated as a curse: *abeat maledictione a XXIII seniores et a CCCX et VIII patri sancti qui cotidie astant ante Deum*.⁴⁰ Giselbert and Trasmund made a donation to the diocese of Fermo in June 1063, with this phrase in the concluding clauses: *et habeat anatema a domino nostro Ihesu Christo*, da trecenti decem et octo sancti patri *qui in Niceno concilio sancti canones constituerunt, et recipiat pena quale Iudas qui dominum suum traditus fuerit*.⁴¹ A certain Albert also ceded a gift to the abbey of San Salvatore a Fontebona in April 1109, with the proviso: *nullo modo vindicare valead pro sua ad presuntiones cum tricenti decem et octo sancti patri anafetmatizatus (sic) et omine et excommunicatus persistat et cum Iuda traditore, qui Deum*

38 CDT II/1, str. 31.

39 ACOSB I, str. 173.

40 CCT, str. 56, br. 26.

41 CCF, str. 305.

38 CDT II/1, p. 31.

39 ACOSB I, p. 173.

40 CCT, p. 56, n. 26.

41 CCF, p. 305.

(sic) et clauteris iustus participet et morte, quem Anna et Sasiras pertullerunt in corpore quidem pretuvangi fraudatis in anima et in novissimo venturo iudicio cum ante tribunal Cristi ad iudicandum venerimus in conspectu Domini rationem sententiam ibidem puniendi perpetualiter feriant.⁴² Samostanu Cluny je svećenik Dominik lipnja 1138. godine darovao nekretnine i pokretnine, zazivajući na potencijalnog osporavatelja: *et postea incurrat ira Dei omnipotentis Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, et beate Marie perpetue virginis (?) et omnes apostolos atque virgines Dei, scilicet martires atque confessores et simus exscumnicati et anatdemati, in actis de trecentum decem et octo sancti patri qui canones constituerunt.*⁴³

Trogirski je natpis, međutim, stariji od dalmatinsko-hrvatskog diplomatskog materijala u kojem se navedena formula uobičajeno susreće, te izravne veze između epigrafičkog i diplomatskog diskursa na prvi pogled nema (iako, kako će se vidjeti, oba proizlaze iz iste kulturne podloge). Sudeći po literaturi, takve se formule rijetko javljaju na natpisima, a u epigrafiji istočnog Jadrana ovo je prvi takav primjer. U kakvom se kontekstu *maledictio CCCXVIII sanctorum patrum* pojavljuje u epigrafskim tekstovima? Ona ondje pripada tzv. formulama za zaštitu groba, točnije sankcijama predviđenima za svakoga tko bi pokušao povrijediti, uzurpirati ili na bilo koji način oštetiti sakrosanctnost grobnice. U tom smislu funkcija formule prokletstva 318 otaca na grobnim spomenicima analogna je funkciji koju ista formula ispunjava u diplomatskim tekstovima: u prvom slučaju štiti se nepovredivost posljednjeg počivališta, u drugom slučaju štiti se nepovredivost pravnog akta.⁴⁴ I u ispravama i u grobnoj epigrafici prelama se ista frazeologija. Upotreba ove imprecacije u oba medija potječe, dakle, iz iste tradicije, ali postoje i neke razlike, prije svega polazeći od činjenice da je kletva 318 otaca u epigrafici neusporedivo rjeđa nego u diplomaciji.

Formule protiv povrede groba, slično kao *clausulae finales* u ispravama, vrlo su raznolike: sankcije i u ovom slučaju mogu biti materijalne te duhovne, pri čemu proklinjanje uzurpatora spada u potonje.⁴⁵ U

*suam vindidi semnalis aterrimis atrocis (sic) et clauteris iustus participet et morte, quem Anna et Sasiras pertullerunt in corpore quidem pretuvangi fraudatis in anima et in novissimo venturo iudicio cum ante tribunal Cristi ad iudicandum venerimus in conspectu Domini rationem sententiam ibidem puniendi perpetualiter feriant.*⁴² The Cluny Abbey was given both real property and movable assets by the priest Dominic in June 1138, invoking against any potential contester: *et postea incurrat ira Dei omnipotentis Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, et beate Marie perpetue virginis (?) et omnes apostolos atque virgines Dei, scilicet martires atque confessores et simus exscumnicati et anatdemati, in actis de trecentum decem et octo sancti patri qui canones constituerunt.*⁴³

The Trogir inscription is, however, older than the Dalmatian-Croatian diplomatic materials in which this formula is usually found, and there are no direct links between the epigraphic and notarial discourse at first glance (although, as will be seen, both originated from the same cultural foundation). Judging by the relevant literature, such formulas rarely appear in inscriptions, and this is the first example in the epigraphy of the eastern Adriatic. In which contexts does *maledictio CCCXVIII sanctorum patrum* appear in epigraphic texts? There it belongs to the so-called formulas for the protection of the tomb, more accurately sanctions foreseen for anyone who would attempt to violate, usurp or in any way whatsoever damage the sanctity of the grave. In this sense, the formula for the curse of the 318 fathers on funerary monuments is analogous to the function which the same formula fulfills in diplomatic texts: in the first case it protects the inviolability of the final resting place, and in the second it protects the inviolability of the legal act.⁴⁴ The same phrase appears in both documents and funerary epigraphy. The use of this imprecation in both media therefore originated in the same tradition, but there are some differences, above all due to the fact that the curse of the 318 fathers is incomparably rarer in epigraphy than in diplomatics.

Formulas against the desecration of graves, similar to the *clausulae finales* in documents, are very diverse: in this case as well, sanctions could be both material and spiritual, wherein the damnation of a usurper falls among the latter.⁴⁵ In the more recent literature – as

42 Casanova 1916, str. 71.

43 RCAC V, str. 411, br. 4058.

44 Le Blant 1856, str. 291-292; Ferrua 1957; Speyer 1969, str. 1268-1271; Pietri 1997, str. 1458-1459; Taft, Kazhdan 1991; Saradi 1994, str. 443-444.

45 Usp. npr. ILCV, 3855 (Rim): *In no(mine) d(omi)ni ego Formusanus c(u)ond(am) una cum / coniuge mea Sufua sepulchrum istu(m) / fieri rogabimus pro remedium anim(a)e / n(ost)r(a)e et si aliouis sepulchru(m) istum / biolare bolueri(t) (h)abea(t) anathema / da patre et filiu et s(an)c(tu)m(!) sp(iritu)m(!) et cum / Iuda traditore (h)abea(t) portione; ILCV, 3858a*

42 Casanova 1916, p. 71.

43 RCAC V, p. 411, n. 4058.

44 Le Blant 1856, pp. 291-292; Ferrua 1957; Speyer 1969, pp. 1268-1271; Pietri 1997, pp. 1458-1459; Taft, Kazhdan 1991; Saradi 1994, pp. 443-444.

45 Cf. e.g. ILCV, 3855 (Rome): *In no(mine) d(omi)ni ego Formusanus c(u)ond(am) una cum / coniuge mea Sufua sepulchrum istu(m) / fieri rogabimus pro remedium*

novijoj literaturi – nasuprot starijim gledištima – izraženo je mišljenje da todobni strah od povrede groba ne proistječe iz straha od nesahranjenosti tijela, već iz tabuiziranja fizičkog kontakta s posmrtnim ostacima i uznemiravanja istih,⁴⁶ što predstavlja kontinuitet pretkršćanskih kulturnih praksi i nema nikakve veze s vjerom u uskrsnuće tijela kakvu je iskazivala nova, kršćanska religija. Vjerovanje u uzročno-posljedičnu vezu između netaknutosti mrtvog tijela i uskrsnuća u vječni život u ranokršćanskoj je i ranosrednjovjekovnoj sepulkralnoj epigrafiji rijetko i gotovo nikada eksplicitno.⁴⁷ Nadalje, ono što je zabrinjavalo autore epigrafskih tekstova bila su prije svega korisnička prava prvog vlasnika-naručitelja grobnice i njegova povlastica da zaštiti svoje počivalište od profanacije unošenjem tuđega trupla; potreba da tijelo ostane sahranjeno i neuznemiravano u grobu bila je od sekundarnog značenja.

Kao i u slučaju novčanih globi za povredu groba isplaćivanih Crkvi kao instituciji, i u ovome se Crkva nadovezala na postojeće pretkršćanske običaje, uz manje prilagodbe.⁴⁸ Epitafi s kletvama upućenima potencijalnom oskrvnitelju poznati su u poganskim, latinskim i grčkim epitafima klasične antike. Njihova je sintaksa, tipologija i frazeologija širenjem novih religija na području Carstva potom bez većih teškoća prilagođena judeokršćanskim vjerskim shvaćanjima.⁴⁹ I poganski i ranokršćanski nadgrobni natpisi s elementom duhovne sankcije najčešći su u Maloj Aziji, na koju otpada čak polovina svih poznatih natpisa; izvan maloazijskog ozemlja većina tih natpisa datira

opposed to older views – the view has been expressed that the fear of desecration of tomb at that time was not rooted in fear of the non-interment of a body, but rather due to the taboo against physical contact with bodily remains and the disturbance thereof,⁴⁶ which represented continuity with pre-Christian cult practices and had nothing to do with belief in the resurrection of the body as expounded by the new, Christian faith. Belief in a causal link between the integrity of a corpse and resurrection into eternal life was rare and virtually never explicit in Early Christian and early medieval sepulchral epigraphy.⁴⁷ Furthermore, what concerned the writers of epigraphic texts was above all the property rights of the first owner/buyer of a tomb and his privilege to protect his resting place from violation by the interment of another's body; the need for the body to remain buried and undisturbed in a grave had secondary significance.

As in the case of monetary fines for grave desecration paid to the Church as an institution, even here the Church tied itself to pre-Christian customs, with some minor adjustments.⁴⁸ Epitaphs with curses aimed at potential desecrators were known in the pagan, Latin and Greek, epitaphs of Classical Antiquity. Their syntax, typology and phraseology were then, with the spread of new religions in the Empire's territory, adapted to Judeo-Christian religious notions without greater difficulty.⁴⁹ Both pagan and Early Christian funerary inscriptions with elements of spiritual sanctions were

(Rim, IV.-VIII. st.): ...]iqoc[...]/[...]a[...]/[... co]nss(ulibus) cc(larissimis) Kal(endis) [...]e[...]/[...]nolqeu Thodora [...]/[... deposita(?)] est in pace mense Martio [...]/[... si quis coc sepulchrum pos[t mortem meam(?)]/[violav]er[i]t ausat anathema q(u)eiiti [...]/[...]et ante tribunal d(omi)no Ze[su Chr(ist)o]/[Nazar]enu fiat fiat [fiat]; ILCV, 3866 (Rim, VI. st.): Hic requiescit in pa/ce Argentia qui(!) bix/it plus minus annos XL lo/cum bero quem sibi benerabi/lis abbatissa Gratiōsa prepa/raberat se vibam mihi eum ces/sit coniuro per patrem et fi/lium et spiritum s(an)c(tu)m et di/em tremendam iudicii ut nul/lus presumat locum istum / ubi requiesco violare quod / si qui po(s)t (h)anc coniura/tionem presumerit ana/t(h)ema (h)abeat de Iuda et re/prā Naman Syri (h)abeat.

46 Rebillard 2009, str. 68.

47 Premda nevelik broj epitafa, doduše, oskrvnuće groba sankcionira lišavanjem uskrsnuća. Ferrua 1957, str. 378; Rebillard 2009, str. 66.

48 Boye 1918, str. 78-95; Jalabert, Mouterde 1926, str. 675-679; Saradi 1994, str. 441.

49 Rebillard 2009, str. 66.

anim(a)e / n(ost)r(a)e et si alioius sepulchru(m) istum / biolare bolueri(t) (h)abea(t) anathema / da patre et filiu et s(an)c(tu)m(!) sp(iritu)m(!) et cum / Iuda traditore (h)abea(t) portione; ILCV, 3858a (Rome, 4th-8th cent.): ...]iqoc[...]/[...]a[...]/[... co]nss(ulibus) cc(larissimis) Kal(endis) [...]e[...]/[...]nolqeu Thodora [...]/[... deposita(?)] est in pace mense Martio [...]/[... si quis coc sepulchrum pos[t mortem meam(?)]/[violav]er[i]t ausat anathema q(u)eiiti [...]/[...]et ante tribunal d(omi)no Ze[su Chr(ist)o]/[Nazar]enu fiat fiat [fiat]; ILCV, 3866 (Rome, 6th cent.): Hic requiescit in pa/ce Argentia qui(!) bix/it plus minus annos XL lo/cum bero quem sibi benerabi/lis abbatissa Gratiōsa prepa/raberat se vibam mihi eum ces/sit coniuro per patrem et fi/lium et spiritum s(an)c(tu)m et di/em tremendam iudicii ut nul/lus presumat locum istum / ubi requiesco violare quod / si qui po(s)t (h)anc coniura/tionem presumerit ana/t(h)ema (h)abeat de Iuda et re/prā Naman Syri (h)abeat.

46 Rebillard 2009, p. 68.

47 Although a small number of epitaphs, to be sure, sanction desecration of the grave by depriving resurrection. Ferrua 1957, p. 378; Rebillard 2009, p. 66.

48 Boye 1918, pp. 78-95; Jalabert, Mouterde 1926, pp. 675-679; Saradi 1994, p. 441.

49 Rebillard 2009, p. 66.

iz vremena nakon IV. stoljeća, u pojedinim slučajevima kasnijih i od VI. stoljeća.⁵⁰

U korpusu salonitanske ranokršćanske epigrafije od ukupno 825 natpisa njih 132 sadrži neku vrstu formule zaštite groba (127 latinskih i 5 grčkih), čime se Salona i njezina regija izdvajaju kao područje od posebne skrbi za zaštitu grobnih mjesta u kasnoj antici.⁵¹ Svi ti natpisi, međutim, osim jednog jedinog⁵² odnose se isključivo na materijalnu sankciju, tj. na financijsko obeštećenje koje je uzurpator ili oskrvritelj groba dužan platiti.⁵³ Ta se svota, sudeći po salonitanskim natpisima, mogla plaćati gradskoj općini, tj. municipalitetu (ili njegovim podjedinicama: kuriji, kolegijima), zatim fisku, pa Crkvi, ili se mogla dijeliti između Crkve i grada.⁵⁴ Zabranjuje se sknaviti grobnicu (*violare*), otvarati sarkofag (*aperire*), unositi novog pokojnika (*ponere, imponere, superponere, ordinare, condere*) i sl. Čini se da je osnovna motivacija vlasnika salonitanskih grobnica bila osigurati trajno posjedovanje groba i spriječiti njegovu uzurpaciju. Na ranokršćanskom Zapadu ovakva je praksa materijalne sankcije za povredu groba s Crkvom kao ubiračem globe – iz razloga koje zasad nije moguće dokučiti – ograničena jedino na Rim (Ostija), Konkordiju, Puteole i Salonu, odnosno manifestira se kao specifičnost salonitansko-srednjodalmatinske regije.⁵⁵

most common in Asia Minor, which accounted for as many as one half of all known inscriptions of this type; outside of the lands of Asia Minor, most of these inscriptions date to the time after the 4th century, and in some cases even later than the 6th century.⁵⁰

In the body of Salonitan Early Christian epigraphy consisting of a total of 825 inscriptions, 132 of them contain some type of formula for the protection of graves (127 Latin and 5 Greek), whereby Salona and its surroundings may be distinguished as an area of particular care for the protection of graves in Late Antiquity.⁵¹ All inscriptions, however, except for a single one,⁵² pertain exclusively to material sanctions, i.e., financial compensation which a usurper or desecrator of graves is obliged to pay.⁵³ This sum, judging by the Salonitan inscriptions, could have been paid to the urban municipality/*municipium* (or its subordinate units: *curiae, collegia*), or to the *fiscus* or the Church, or it could have been divided between the Church and the municipality.⁵⁴ The desecration (*violare*) of a tomb, the opening (*aperire*) of a sarcophagus, the interment of another deceased individual (*ponere, imponere, superponere, ordinare, condere*), etc. were all prohibited. It would appear that the basic motivation of the owners of graves in Salona was to secure permanent possession of their graves and to prevent their usurpation. In the Early Christian West, such practices of material sanctions for the desecration of graves with the Church as the collector of fines – for reasons that

50 Rebillard 2009, str. 66, s uputama na literaturu.

51 Caillet 1989, str. 458-461; Prévot 2010, str. 52.

52 Salona IV-I, str. 250-256, br. 69, čija je datacija nešto problematična.

53 Caillet 1988, str. 43, upozorava na malo istraživanu činjenicu da su nadgrobni natpisi (naročito na sarkofazima) često dospijevali pod zemlju, ukapanjem pod pločnik crkve ili u tlo oko nje; uslijed toga prestali su biti oku vidljivi, te su stoga prijepisi odgovarajućeg epigrafskog teksta morali biti registrirani u lokalnim pismohranama (*gesta municipalia* i dr.). Posljednja se volja vlasnika groba tako mogla kontrolirati i kad je spomenik bio fizički nedostupan, a sadržavala je klauzule, termine i formule zaštite grobnice. Civilna (magistrati) i crkvena administracija, dakle, mogla je raspolagati duplikatom odredaba sankcije, i inače korištenih u oporučnim tekstovima. Ova okolnost nedostatno je proučavana u literaturi, a značajna je jer osvjetljava transmisiju teksta s kamena na meke materijale i obrnuto; utoliko i recepciju gorenavedenih termina i formula u širem diskursu.

54 Prévot 2010, str. 54-55.

55 Caillet 1988, str. 33; Rebillard 2009, str. 65; Prévot 2010, str. 52. U literaturi se manje spominju epigrafski nalazi tog tipa izvan Salone, npr. CIL III, 15016 = ILS, 8248 (Biskupija kod Knina, lokalitet Katića Bajami, druga pol III. ili IV. st.): *Sarco<F=E>agum ita de<f=E>/endunt ut super avo/rum [su]orum corpora / nullu[s e]xtraneum ponat / quos si quis posuerit det /*

50 Rebillard 2009, p. 66, with references to the relevant literature.

51 Caillet 1989, pp. 458-461; Prévot 2010, p. 52.

52 Salona IV-I, pp. 250-256, no. 69, the dating of which is somewhat problematic.

53 Caillet 1988, p. 43 pointed out the scarcely researched fact that funerary inscriptions (particularly on sarcophagi) often ended up below ground, buried under the flooring of a church or in the ground around it; they therefore ceased being visible to the eye, so that transcripts of the corresponding epigraphic text thus had to be registered in local archives (*gesta municipalia*, etc.). The last will of the grave's owner could be verified in this manner even when the monument was physically inaccessible, but contained clauses, terms and formulas for the grave's protection. Civilian (magistrates) and ecclesiastical administration could therefore have at their disposal duplicates of the stipulations of sanctions, otherwise also used in testate texts. This circumstance has not been sufficiently studied in the relevant literature, but it is significant because it sheds light on the transmission of texts from stone to soft materials and vice versa, and thus also the reception of the aforementioned terms and formulas in the broader discourse.

54 Prévot 2010, pp. 54-55.

Upotrijebljene formule, uz rijetke iznimke, su stereotipne: *si quis hoc sarcophagum aperire voluerit...* ili *si quis super hoc corpus aliud ponere voluerit...*⁵⁶

U sâmom Trogiru, ranokršćanski sarkofag s epigrafičkom formulom o oskvrnuću groba, datiran 402. godinom, otkriven je 1990. godine pored crkve sv. Barbare u središtu grada.⁵⁷ U ovom slučaju radi se o materijalnoj sankciji, s uvjetovanjem plaćanja određenog novčanog iznosa, uobičajenoj u salonitanskoj regiji: “ako bi tko htio oskvrnuti grobnicu neka dade katoličkoj crkvi...”.⁵⁸ Sarkofag sličnog epigrafskog sadržaja, okvirno datiran u prvu polovinu V. stoljeća, pronađen je još prije stotinjak godina u temeljima prednje strane trogirске katedrale (zaštita od oskvrnuća groba sankcionirana je svotom od dvije unce zlata).⁵⁹ Treći natpis tog tipa, također iz V. stoljeća, potječe iz perivoja Garagnin na kopnenom dijelu Trogira, vjerojatno izvorno dio groblja nastalog u ovisnosti o cemeterijalnoj bazilici na Ošljaku: onaj tko uzurpira sarkofag Ursikla i Tercije dužan je Crkvi platiti kaznu od četiri unce zlata.⁶⁰ Te i takve formule o povredi groba, odnosno o sekundarnom korištenju grobnice, javljaju se u ranokršćanskoj salonitanskoj epigrafiji u znatnom broju primjera. Istovjetni tekstualni predlošci očigledno su cirkulirali u kasnoantičkoj sepulkralnoj epigrafiji nedalekog Tragurija, na zapadnom rubu salonitanskog agera. Uzevši u obzir ranosrednjovjekovni Pavlov natpis, čini se dopuštenim zaključiti da transmisija modelâ za nadgrobne formule u Trogiru nije pretrpjela znatnijih lomova na razmeđu kasne antike i ranoga srednjeg vijeka. Kontinuitet epigrafske prakse u tom gradu između ranokršćanskog doba i ranog srednjovjekovlja, prema tome, ne bi trebao biti upitan. Ono pak što je u epigrafičkom smislu ovdje novost u odnosu na ranokršćansko razdoblje jest pojava duhovne sankcije na Pavlovu natpisu.

fisco auri pondo dua. Natpis je reutiliziran u popločanju tamošnje ranokršćanske crkve. Šire: Marun 1896, str. 124; Patsch 1900, str. 87-88, br. 16; Marun 1998, str. 72; Babić 2006, str. 102.

56 Prévot 2010, str. 52.

57 Kovačić 1992; Basić 2008, str. 262-263.

58 Kovačić 1992, str. 302 = AE 1993, 1255. Formula glasi: *si quis s[epulcrum viola]/re voluerit det ec(c)les(iae) s(anctae?) cat[holicae]*.

59 ILJug III, 2791: *si quis volu/erit posterior tempore hu/nc sepulc{h}rum violare {vo}/ {voluerit} det p(o)enae nomi/ne auri uncias duas*; Kovačić 1992, str. 303.

60 CIL III, 2704 = CIL III, 9706 = ILS, 8256 = ILCV, 3834: *si quis vero voluerit sine conscientia supra / sibi praesumere det poen(a)e nomine sanctae {a}ec(c)[l]esiaie / ante litis ingressum auri unc(ias) IIII*; Ivanišević 1980, str. 966; Kovačić 1992, str. 303.

cannot be discerned for the time being – were limited solely to Rome (Ostia), Concordia, Puteoli and Salona, and it manifested itself as a distinctive feature of Salona and central Dalmatia.⁵⁵ The formulas used, with rare exceptions, are stereotypical: *si quis hoc sarcophagum aperire voluerit...* or *si quis super hoc corpus aliud ponere voluerit...*⁵⁶

In Trogir itself, an Early Christian sarcophagus with an epigraphic formula for the protection of the grave, dated to 402 AD, was discovered in 1990 next to the Church of St. Barbara in the heart of the town.⁵⁷ In this case it is a material sanction, with the stipulation on payment of a certain monetary sum, customary in the Salona area: “should anyone intend to desecrate the grave, may he give to the Catholic church...”⁵⁸ A sarcophagus with similar epigraphic content, roughly dated to the first half of the 5th century, was found approximately one hundred years ago in the foundations of the front side of the Trogir cathedral (protection from grave desecration was sanctioned by payment of an amount of two ounces of gold).⁵⁹ The third inscription of this type, also from the 5th century, originally came from the Garagnin Gardens in the mainland portion of Trogir, probably originally part of the cemetery that emerged in conjunction with the cemeterial basilica at Ošljak: “whosoever usurps the sarcophagus of Ursiclus and Tertia must pay the Church a fine of four ounces of gold.”⁶⁰ Formulas like this one on the desecration of graves, i.e., on the secondary use of graves, appear in the Early Christian epigraphy of Salona in a considerable number of examples. The simultaneous

55 Caillet 1988, p. 33; Rebillard 2009, p. 65; Prévot 2010, p. 52. Epigraphic finds of this type outside of Salona are less mentioned in the relevant literature, e.g. CIL III, 15016 = ILS, 8248 (Biskupija near Knin, Katića Bajami site, latter half of 3rd or 4th cent.): *Sarco<F=E>agum ita de<f=E>/endunt ut super avo/rum [su]orum corpora / nullu[s e]xtraneum ponat / quos si quis posuerit det / fisco auri pondo dua.* The inscription was reutilized in the pavement of the local Early Christian church. More in: Marun 1896, p. 124; Patsch 1900, pp. 87-88, n. 16; Marun 1998, p. 72; Babić 2006, p. 102.

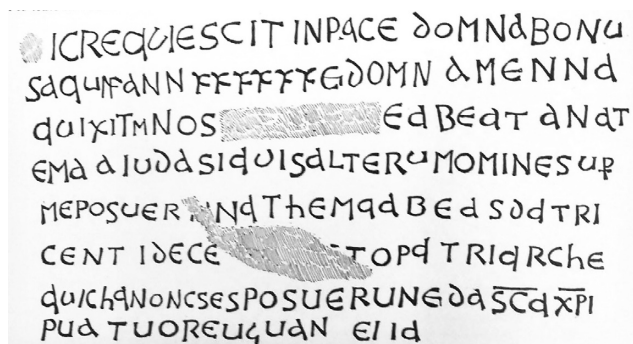
56 Prévot 2010, p. 52.

57 Kovačić 1992; Basić 2008, pp. 262-263.

58 Kovačić 1992, p. 302 = AE 1993, 1255. The formula reads: *si quis s[epulcrum viola]/re voluerit det ec(c)les(iae) s(anctae?) cat[holicae]*.

59 ILJug III, 2791: *si quis volu/erit posterior tempore hu/nc sepulc{h}rum violare {vo}/ {voluerit} det p(o)enae nomi/ne auri uncias duas*; Kovačić 1992, p. 303.

60 CIL III, 2704 = CIL III, 9706 = ILS, 8256 = ILCV, 3834: *si quis vero voluerit sine conscientia supra / sibi praesumere det poen(a)e nomine sanctae {a}ec(c)[l]esiaie / ante litis ingressum auri unc(ias) IIII*; Ivanišević 1980, p. 966; Kovačić 1992, p. 303.



Sl. 6. Rim, *Lapidario Cristiano ex Lateranense dei Musei Vaticani, nadgrobni natpis Bonuze i Mene, iz crkve S. Agata dei Goti, VI. - VIII. st. (Leclercq 1910, fig. 1587)*

Fig. 6. Rome, *Lapidario Cristiano ex Lateranense dei Musei Vaticani, funerary inscription of Bonusa and Menna, from the Church of Sant'Agata dei Goti, 6th-8th cent. (Leclercq 1910, fig. 1587)*

Sustavan pregled sačuvanih formula u epigrafičkoj i diplomatičkoj građi daje podlogu za određivanje različitih tipova te sankcije i karakterističnih promjena u stilu i terminologiji, koje mogu poslužiti kao kriteriji za dataciju tih spomenika. Sistematizacije teksta duhovnih sankcija u europskom diplomatičkom gradivu nažalost i dalje nedostaju, uz iznimku anglosaske diplomatike,⁶¹ što nas onemogućava da pouzdano identificiramo tip kletve upotrijebljene u Trogiru i njen tekstualni predložak (daljnju otegotnu okolnost predstavlja svakako i fragmentarna sačuvanost natpisa). Utoliko je i svaka restitucija epigrafskog teksta otežana i nesigurna.⁶² Svakojake spekulacije u tom smjeru su moguće i manje ili više plauzibilne, ali zasad nažalost nedokazive. Neovisno o tome, ostaje nesporno da trogirski natpis predstavlja ostatak formule za zaštitu groba, tj. da je sadržavao obrazac sankcije (318 otaca), ime pokojnika (Pavao), kao i podatak o vladajućem caru (najvjerojatnije Konstantinu VI.).

Usporedba s nekoliko latinskih i grčkih natpisa iz drugih sredina, koji sadrže sankciju “prokletstva 318 otaca” – inače općenito rijetkih – dostajat će da se utvrdi pripadnost trogirskog natpisa istom tipu sankcije, ali i da se precizno ukaže na specifičnosti trogirske formulacije navedene sankcije kao zasad jedinog sačuvanog njenog traga u istočnojadranskoj epigrafici. U tom su smislu tri natpisa od iznimne važnosti.

textual models obviously circulated in the Late Antique sepulchral epigraphy of nearby Tragurium, on the western edge of the Salona ager. Having taken into account Paul's medieval inscription, it would appear permissible to conclude that the transmission of models for sepulchral formulas in Trogir did not endure significant interruptions at the transition between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. The continuity of epigraphic practices in this town between the Early Christian era and the early medieval period should not, therefore, be brought into question. A novelty here in the epigraphic sense in comparison to the Early Christian era is the appearance of spiritual sanctions in Paul's inscription.

A systematic overview of the preserved formulas in the epigraphic and notarial materials provides a foundation for the determination of various types of these sanctions and typical changes in style and terminology, which may serve as a criterion for the dating of these monuments. The systematization of the texts of spiritual sanctions in the European diplomatic materials is unfortunately still absent, with the exception of Anglo-Saxon diplomatics,⁶¹ which prevents us from reliably identifying the type of anathema used in Trogir and its textual model (a further exacerbating circumstance is certainly the fragmentary preservation of the inscription). To this extent, any restoration of an epigraphic text is rendered difficult and uncertain.⁶² All manner of speculation in this regard is possible and more or less plausible, but thus far, unfortunately, unprovable. Regardless, it remains undisputed that the Trogir inscription represents the remains of a formula for the protection of the tomb, i.e., that it contained the sanction formula (involving the 318 fathers), the name of the deceased (Paul), and information on the reigning emperor (most likely Constantine VI).

A comparison with several Latin and Greek inscriptions from other areas that contain the sanction of the “curse of the 318 fathers” – otherwise generally rare in epigraphy – will be sufficient to ascertain whether the Trogir inscription belongs to the same type of sanction, but also to precisely underscore the specific aspects of the Trogir formulation of this sanction as the only thus far preserved trace of it in eastern Adriatic epigraphy. In this sense, three inscriptions are exceptionally important.

61 Hofmann 2008, str. 247 i d.

62 Usp. Karaman 1929, str. 184: “Teško je rekonstruirati smisao čitava natpisa po malom preostalom dijelu. To ne ću ovdje ni pokušati da učinim.” O morfologiji *maledictiones* u srednjovjekovnoj historiografiji v. Bougard 2015, str. 222-224.

61 Hofmann 2008, p. 247 ff.

62 Cf. Karaman 1929, p. 184: “It is difficult to reconstruct the meaning of the entire inscription from the small remaining portion. I shall not attempt to do so here.” On the morphology of *maledictiones* in medieval historiography, see Bougard 2015, pp. 222-224.

CAEDOVIA REDEM TOR M SVI
VITETIMOV S M O D I E S V S C I T A
VITME HIC RE P V I E S C I T I N P A
CE V E N E R I V S P R B . Q V I V I X I T
A I N . Q V A D R A S I N A D V O
D E P O S I T . E S T D I E . X I . M . F E B .
I N D . V I I I . Q . H . T . V . M . V I O L . H A B E
P A T A N A T E M A . A D C C X V I I I
P A T . P . V E R B . D N S E R S I V B . E P C E
P O R T E I V A R A D . D N I N . I H X P

Sl. 7. Rimini, crkva S. Matteo, nadgrobni natpis svećenika Venerija, 755. ili 770. (Tonini 1856, 284)
Fig. 7. Rimini, Church of San Matteo, funerary inscription of the priest Venerius, 755 or 770 (Tonini 1856, 284)

Prvi je natpis izvjesne Bonuze iz groblja oko crkve Sant'Agata dei Goti u Rimu (ILCV, 3856) (sl. 6). Natpis se okvirno datira između početka VI. i kraja VIII. stoljeća, uzimajući kao *terminus post quem* podizanje same crkve za Ricimerove uprave (459.-472.⁶³):

(H)ic requiescit in pace domna Bonu/sa q(uae) vix(it) ann(os) XXXXXX et domno Menna / q(ui) vixit (an)nos [...]e (h)abeat anat(h)/ema a Iuda si quis alterum (h)omine(m) sup(er) / me posueri(t) anathema (h)abeas da tri/centi decem et octo patriarche / qui chanon(e)s esposuerun(t) et da s(an)c(t)a Chr(ist)i / (q)uat(t)uor eugvangelia

“Ovdje počiva u miru gospa Bonuza koja je živjela 60 godina i gospodin Mena koji je živio [...] godina. Neka je proklet od Jude ako tko drugog čovjeka položi nada mnom. Proklet bio od tristo osamnaest patrijarha koji su uspostavili kanone, i od sveta Kristova četiri evanđelja.”

Pokojnica je očito preminula prije svoga supruga, jer je mjesto za unos njegove dobi u trenutku smrti ostavljeno prazno.⁶⁴ Natpisom se anatemizira potencijalni oskvrnitelj grobnice, koji bi se usudio posmrtnim ostacima Bonuze i Mene pridružiti tijela drugih pokojnika. Na nj se zaziva anatema Jude Iškariotskog, četiriju evanđelja te, za nas najzanimljivija, anatema 318 otaca koji su uspostavili kanone [na Nicejskom

The first inscription belonged to a certain Bonusa from the graveyard around the Church of Sant'Agata dei Goti in Rome (ILCV, 3856) (Fig. 6). The inscription has been roughly dated to between the beginning of the 6th and the end of the 8th century, taking as its *terminus post quem* the erection of the church itself during the Ricimer's rule (459-472⁶³):

(H)ic requiescit in pace domna Bonu/sa q(uae) vix(it) ann(os) XXXXXX et domno Menna / q(ui) vixit (an)nos [...]e (h)abeat anat(h)/ema a Iuda si quis alterum (h)omine(m) sup(er) / me posueri(t) anathema (h)abeas da tri/centi decem et octo patriarche / qui chanon(e)s esposuerun(t) et da s(an)c(t)a Chr(ist)i / (q)uat(t)uor eugvangelia

“Here rests in peace lady Bonusa, who lived 60 years, and lord Menna who lived [...] years. May Judas curse anyone who would put another man on top of me. May he be cursed by the three hundred and eighteen patriarchs who established the canons, and by Christ's four holy Gospels.”

The deceased woman had obviously died before her husband, as the place for the entry of his age at the time of death was left empty.⁶⁴ The inscription condemned any potential desecrator of the tomb who would dare to add the body of another deceased to the mortal remains of Bonusa and Menna. The curse of Judas Iscariot, the four Gospels and – most interesting to us – the 318 fathers who established the canons [at the Council of Nicaea], here called the ‘patriarchs,’ is invoked against them. Furthermore, Bonusa's inscription is an outstanding example of deteriorating Latin, which can also explain the morphosyntax of the language used in the Trogir inscription. Namely, instead of the correct phrase – *Anathema habeas de trecentis decem et octo patriarchis qui canones esposuerunt et da sanctis Christi quatuor Evangeliiis* – we encounter a largely deformed one: *Anathema abeas da tricenti decem et octo patriarche qui chanones esposuerunt et da sancta Christi quatuor Eugvangelia*.⁶⁵ The Vulgar Latin passive construction *da tricenti decem et octo patriarche* could have also been used in the Trogir inscription, all the more so since a line in it ends with the word *patri*, so it is very possible that even here the bishops of the holy council were mentioned as patriarchs (*patriarche*), rather than fathers (*patri*), wherein the word would have been separated at the end of the line, with its remainder passing to the

63 Usp. Mathisen 2009.

64 Cartocci 2001. Ferrua 1957, str. 380 i bilj. 6, datira epitaf u VIII. stoljeće te kritizira Diehla što ga je uvrstio u seriju *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae veteres*.

63 Cf. Mathisen 2009.

64 Cartocci 2001. Ferrua 1957, p. 380 and note 6 dated the epitaph to the 8th century and criticized Diehl for including it in the series *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae veteres*.

65 Cf. Cruttwell 1878, p. 21.

koncilu], a ovdje su nazvani “patrijarsima”. Uz to, Bonuzin natpis je izvrstan primjer iskvarenog latiniteta, što će nam objasniti i morfosintaksu jezika upotrijebljenog na trogirskom natpisu. Naime, umjesto ispravne sintagme – *Anathema habeas de trecentis decem et octo patriarchis qui canones exposuerunt et da sanctis Christi quatuor Evangeliiis* – susrećemo se s uvelike deformiranom: *Anathema abeas da tricenti decem et octo patriarche qui chanones esposuerunt et da sancta Christi quatuor Eugvangelia*.⁶⁵ Vulgarnolatiniska pasivna konstrukcija *da tricenti decem et octo patriarche* mogla je biti upotrijebljena i na trogirskom natpisu, utoliko više što na njem riječju *patri* redak završava, pa je vrlo moguće da se i tu svete koncilске biskupe spominjalo kao patrijarhe (*patriarche*), a ne kao oce (*patri*), pri čemu bi riječ na kraju retka bila prelomljena, a njena druga polovica prešla u (nesačuvani) početak idućeg retka. U protivnom, upotrijebljen je sintaktički neispravan lik *CCCX et VIII sancti patri*, zacijelo unutar sintagme *habeat anathema da tricenti decem et octo sancti patri*. Solucije su, dakle: *habeat anathema da CCCX et VIII sancti patri* ili *habeat anathema da CCCX et VIII sancti patriarche*. Takav vokabular u oba slučaja pretpostavlja da su u Trogiru kao gradu dalmatoromanske populacije zacijelo cirkulirale formule prokletstva u vulgarnom latinitetu,⁶⁶ koje su potom na različite načine adaptirane za uporabu u epigrafiji.

Drugi za nas važan komparativni primjer je, ovdje već spominjani, natpis svećenika Venerija iz Riminija (sl. 7):

*Credo quia redem(p)tor m(eu)s vi/vit et in novissimo die suscita/vit me. Hic requiescit in pa/ce Veneriu(s) pr(es)b(iter) qui vixi(t) / ann(is) quadraginta duo. / Deposit(us) est die XI m(ense) Feb(ruario) / ind(ictione) VIII. Q(ui) h(unc) t(umulu)m viol(averit) habe/at anathema ad CCCXVIII / pat(ribus) verb(o) d(omi)n(i) Sergi(i) v(enera)b(ilis) ep(is)c(opi) / port(ione) c(um) Iuda trad(itore) D(omi)ni n(ostr)i I(esu) Chr(isti)*⁶⁷

“Vjerujem da Otkupitelj moj živi i da će me u posljednji dan probuditi. Ovdje počiva u miru svećenik Venerije koji je živio četrdesetdvije godine. Sahranjen je 11. dana mjeseca veljače, 8. indikcije. Tko oskvrne ovaj grob, neka je proklet od 318 otaca, po riječi gospodina Sergija časnog biskupa, neka bude u dioništvu s Judom izdajicom Gospodina našega Isusa Krista.”

(unpreserved) beginning of the next line. Otherwise, the syntactically incorrect term *CCCX et VIII sancti patri* was used, certainly in the phrase *habeat anathema da tricenti decem et octo sancti patri*. The solutions are, therefore: *habeat anathema da CCCX et VIII sancti patri* or *habeat anathema da CCCX et VIII sancti patriarche*. In both cases, this vocabulary assumes that sanction formulas in Vulgar Latin⁶⁶ had certainly circulated in Trogir, as a town with a Dalmato-Romance population, and were then adapted in various ways for use in epigraphy.

Another important comparative example in this regard is the already mentioned inscription of the priest Venerius from Rimini (Fig. 7):

*Credo quia redem(p)tor m(eu)s vi/vit et in novissimo die suscita/vit me. Hic requiescit in pa/ce Veneriu(s) pr(es)b(iter) qui vixi(t) / ann(is) quadraginta duo. / Deposit(us) est die XI m(ense) Feb(ruario) / ind(ictione) VIII. Q(ui) h(unc) t(umulu)m viol(averit) habe/at anathema ad CCCXVIII / pat(ribus) verb(o) d(omi)n(i) Sergi(i) v(enera)b(ilis) ep(is)c(opi) / port(ione) c(um) Iuda trad(itore) D(omi)ni n(ostr)i I(esu) Chr(isti)*⁶⁷

“I believe that my Redeemer lives and that he shall awaken me on the final day. Here rests in peace the priest Venerius, who lived forty-two years. He was interred on the 11th day of the month of February, 8th indiction. May whosoever desecrates this tomb be cursed by the 318 fathers, at the word of the honourable bishop lord Sergius, may he be a companion to Judas the betrayer of Our Lord Jesus Christ”

Besides the citation on resurrection from the Book of Job in the initial part, originally from the Office of the Dead (see above), the inscription contains the chronological designations of the death of the deceased, as well as formulas to protect the grave. Here any violator is threatened with the anathema of the 318 fathers and the fate of Judas Iscariot,⁶⁸ but, by the same token, it is specified that the sanction was pronounced by a certain Bishop Sergius. It is precisely the mention of Sergius which simplifies the dating of the funerary inscription of Venerius, because in his capacity as metropolitan of Ravenna Archbishop Sergius (748-769) administered Rimini, and during

65 Usp. Cruttwell 1878, str. 21.

66 O takvima drugdje (npr. na Sardiniji) v. Feniello, Martin 2011, str. 123-124. O vulgarnom latinitetu u dalmatinskoj epigrafiji v. Skok 1915 i Zović 2015.

67 Muratori 1742, str. MCMLV; Tonini 1856, str. 284-287.

66 On these elsewhere (e.g. on Sardinia) see Feniello, Martin 2011, pp. 123-124. On Vulgar Latin in Dalmatian epigraphy, see Skok 1915 and Zović 2015.

67 Muratori 1742, p. MCMLV; Tonini 1856, pp. 284-287.

68 Gray 1948, p. 82, n. 51 did not understand that the number CCCXVIII in this inscription belonged to the damnation of the 318 fathers; according to the author, the mention of Archbishop Sergius allowed dating to 755 or 770.



Sl. 8. Cagliari, Museo archeologico, sarkofag s nadgrobni^m natpisom monahinje Greke, VI.-VIII. st. (Ferrua 1957, 384)

Fig. 8. Cagliari, Museo archeologico, sarcophagus with funerary inscription of the nun Greca, 6th-8th cent. (Ferrua 1957, 384)

Uz citat o uskrsnuću iz Knjige o Jobu u početnom dijelu, porijeklom iz liturgije mrtvih (o čemu v. gore), natpis donosi vremenske oznake pokojnikove smrti, kao i formule zaštite groba. Ovdje se prijestupniku prijati anatemom 318 otaca i sudbinom Jude Iškariotskog,⁶⁸ ali se isto tako precizira da je sankcije izrekao izvjesni biskup Sergije. Upravo spomen Sergija olakšava dataciju Venerijeva nadgrobnog natpisa, jer je Riminijem u svojstvu metropolita upravljao ravenski nadbiskup Sergije (748.-769.) za čijeg je biskupovanja osma indikcija padala jedino u 755. godinu (premda je jednako moguća i 770. godina, u slučaju da je natpis načinjen nedugo nakon nadbiskupove smrti).⁶⁹ Pozivanje na nadbiskupa u tekstu natpisa tumači se Sergijevom odredbom o nepovredivosti grobova, što je uključivalo anatemu 318 otaca.⁷⁰

Treći značajan natpis u ovom kontekstu potječe sa Sardinije (sl. 8). I ovaj put je to epitaf, ali na grčkom jeziku, i to uklesan na pročelju reutiliziranog antičkog sarkofaga:

+ μνήσθητι κ(ύρι)ε τῆς δούλης / (σ)ου Γρεκά, μονάστρια· ἄμ/ή(ν). Ἄνάθεμα ἕξουσιν / τῶν ἁγίων τριακοσίω/ν ἐξήκοντα πέντε πατ/έρον ὃς ἐξανοίξῃ τό λαρν/άκι τοῦτο, ὅτι ὧδε οὐδ'ἐ χρυσάφι οὐδὲ ἄρσῆμι.⁷¹

68 Gray 1948, str. 82, br. 51, ne shvaća da brojka CCCXVIII u ovom natpisu pripada prokletstvu 318 otaca; prema autorici, spomen nadbiskupa Sergija dopušta dataciju u 755. ili 770. godinu.

69 Ferrua 1957, str. 381 i bilj. 7.

70 Ferrua 1957, str. 381.

71 Ferrua 1957, str. 385; Dresken-Weiland 1998, str. 102, kat. 294. Dadea 2008, str. 186, bilj. 81, i Martorelli 2010,

his tenure as bishop the eighth indiction fell solely in 755 (although 770 is equally possible, in case the inscription was made not long after the archbishop's death).⁶⁹ The reference to the archbishop in the text of the inscription has been interpreted as the directive by Sergius concerning the inviolability of tombs, which also entailed the anathema of the 318 fathers.⁷⁰

The third significant inscription in this context is from Sardinia (Fig. 8). It is also an epitaph, but in Greek, engraved on the face of a reused Roman-era sarcophagus:

+ μνήσθητι κ(ύρι)ε τῆς δούλης / (σ)ου Γρεκά, μονάστρια· ἄμ/ή(ν). Ἄνάθεμα ἕξουσιν / τῶν ἁγίων τριακοσίω/ν ἐξήκοντα πέντε πατ/έρον ὃς ἐξανοίξῃ τό λαρν/άκι τοῦτο, ὅτι ὧδε οὐδ'ἐ χρυσάφι οὐδὲ ἄρσῆμι.⁷¹

“Remember, Lord, your servant the nun Greca, amen. May the curse of the three hundred and sixty-five holy fathers beset anyone who opens this coffin, for there is neither gold nor silver herein.”

As with Bonusa's inscription from Rome, the Sardinian epitaph of the nun Greca has no precise chronological designations, so that the proposed dating ranges from the 5th to 9th centuries, wherein most researchers prefer the 6th century, more precisely in the aftermath of the Byzantine reconquest of the island in 534.⁷² More surprising here than those uncertainties is the number of holy fathers, which here totals 365 instead of the canonical 318. Although there are a number of instances when mistakes were made in the writing of these numerals,⁷³ the appearance of

69 Ferrua 1957, p. 381 and note 7.

70 Ferrua 1957, p. 381.

71 Ferrua 1957, p. 385; Dresken-Weiland 1998, p. 102, cat. no. 294. Dadea 2008, p. 186, note 81 and Martorelli 2010, p. 49 cite the older literature; Dadea (pp. 186-187) convincingly rejected the link between this nun and St. Greca from Decimomannu; the origin of the sarcophagus is also questionable – Dadea believed that it may not have originated on Sardinia, and certainly not in Decimomannu.

72 The inscription was first published in Spano 1859, with numerous errors. Ruggeri-Sanna 1999, pp. 426-427 and Mastino 2000, p. 610 advocated the year 534 as the *terminus ante quem non*. Martorelli 2010, p. 50 provided the state of research. It was last published in Strinna 2017, p. 39, who in note 106 summed up the majority of older publications.

73 For example, number 408 is cited at places – cf. Bougard 2015, p. 226. Gray 1948, pp. 116-117, n. 103 cited the inscription of Bishop Leo from the atrium of the cathedral in Civita Castellana (871) with a donation to the benefit of the Blessed Virgin Mary with the curse of 371 (!) fathers. The charter of Mihajlo Krešimir II for Vranjic (950/969) cites 319 fathers, while the document on

“Sjeti se, Gospodine, službenice svoje monahinje Greke, amen. Neka stigne kletva svetih tristošezdesetpet otaca svakoga tko otvori ovaj kovčeg, jer ovdje nema ni zlata ni srebra.”

Kao i kod Bonuzinog natpisa iz Rima sardinijski epitaf monahinje Greke nema preciznih vremenskih oznaka, tako da je datacija predlagana u rasponu od V. do IX. stoljeća, pri čemu je većina novijih istraživača najsklonija VI. stoljeću, točnije nakon bizantske rekonkviste otoka 534. godine.⁷² Ono što iznenađuje više od tih nedoumica jest broj svetih otaca, koji ovdje iznosi 365 umjesto kanonskih 318. Premda je poznat niz navrata kada je dolazilo do grešaka u zapisivanju te znamenke,⁷³ pojava ovog konkretnog broja na Sardiniji zaista je neobična, i izazvala je opširnu diskusiju u talijanskoj literaturi,⁷⁴ bez definitivnog rješenja. Pozornost, naime, izaziva precizna podudarnost te brojke s brojem biskupa prisutnih na Drugom nicejskom koncilu 787. godine. Drugdje u epigrafskim izvorima takva podudarnost nije dokumentirana. Ukoliko se ne

this very specific number on Sardinia is truly unusual, and it has sparked an extensive debate in the Italian literature,⁷⁴ that has yet to be definitively resolved. Attention is, namely, aroused by the precise correspondence between this number and the number of bishops present at the Second Nicaean Council in 787. Such a coincidence has not been documented on any other inscription. Insofar as this is not a carver's error, the consequences are far-reaching, because the selection of “365 holy fathers” could directly be reflected in the dating of the monument (it would certainly have to be later than the year 787); on the other hand, this choice would have reflected a deliberate reference by the composer of the inscription to the recent ecumenical ecclesiastical synod directed against iconoclasm, i.e., the conscious replacement of the “canonical” Nicaean fathers of Early Christian Antiquity with the “new” Nicaean council fathers as the restorers of orthodoxy – this time in an iconodule key. The coincidence is in any case striking and probably not arbitrary.

From these several epigraphic examples, it is clear that it was a case of a formula for the protection of tomb in Trogir as well, with its sole remainder represented by the text (...) *et VIII sancti patri*. The fact that the Trogir inscription is on the lid of a sarcophagus eases the identification of this part of the epitaph. The text pertains to the care for violations of the interment in the sarcophagus. Furthermore, the conjunctive of the present in the third person singular *patiatur* (“may he endure”), which ends the main portion of the inscription, is a clear indicator of invocation of a curse on the perpetrator of the profanation.⁷⁵

str. 49, donose stariju literaturu; Dadea (str. 186-187) uvjerljivo odbacuje vezu ove monahinje sa sv. Grekom iz mjesta Decimomannu; upitno je i porijeklo sarkofaga – Dadea smatra da provenijencijom možda nije ni sa Sardinije, a pouzdano ne iz Decimomannua.

72 Natpis je prvi put objavljen u Spano 1859, s brojnim greškama. Ruggeri, Sanna 1999, str. 426-427, i Mastino 2000, str. 610, zalažu se za 534. godinu kao *terminus ante quem non*. Martorelli 2010, str. 50, daje pregled mišljenja različitih istraživača. Posljednji put objavljen je u Strinna 2017, str. 39, koji u bilj. 106 sumira većinu starijih publikacija.

73 Primjerice, ponegdje ih se navodi 408 – usp. Bougard 2015, str. 226. Gray 1948, str. 116-117, br. 103, donosi natpis biskupa Lava iz atrija katedrale u Civita Castellana (871.) s donacijom u korist Blažene Djevice Marije i kletvom 371 (!) oca. Darovnica Mihajla Krešimira II. za Vranjic (950./969.) navodi 319 otaca, a isprava o osnutku samostana sv. Petra na Rabu (1060.) navodi 344 sveta oca. Isprava iz Corneta iz 976. godine navodi 300 svetih otaca i 12 svetih patrijarha: *da tricentum sancti patri seniores et de duodeci sancti patriarche* (Egidi 1914, str. 6). I u ovom primjeru upotreba pasivne konstrukcije rezultirala je sintagmom *sancti patri* (umjesto *sancti patres*).

74 Cavedoni 1860, drži da se radi o broju otaca Drugoga nicejskog koncila iz 787. godine; Ferrua 1957, str. 386, doduše upozorava da se u grčkim sinaksarijima koncilu iz 787. godine pripisuje baš 365 biskupa, ali svejedno smatra da se radi o pogrešci klesara te datira natpis u VI. stoljeće. Za potpuniju bibliografiju o toj dilemi v. Ruggeri, Sanna 1999, str. 426-427, bilj. 151, i Mastino 2000, str. 610, bilj. 47. Martorelli 2010, str. 50, prenosi mišljenje Enrica Morinija da broj 365 ne može biti slučajna (čak i ako se radi o grešci) što bi značilo da je natpis morao nastati nakon 787. godine.

the establishment of St. Peter's Abbey on the island of Rab (1060) cites 344 holy fathers. The document from Corneto of 976 cites 300 holy fathers and 12 holy patriarchs: *da tricentum sancti patri seniores et de duodeci sancti patriarche* (Egidi 1914, p. 6). In this example as well, the use of the passive construction results in the phrase *sancti patri* (instead of *sancti patres*).

74 Cavedoni 1860 maintained that this was the number of fathers at the Second Nicaean Council of 787; Ferrua 1957, p. 386, to be sure, pointed out that in the Greek synaxaria exactly 365 bishops are attributed to the council of 787, but he nonetheless believed that this was a carver's error and dated the inscription to the 6th century. For a more complete bibliography on this dilemma, see Ruggeri, Sanna 1999, pp. 426-427, note 151 and Mastino 2000, p. 610, note 47. Martorelli 2010, p. 50 cited the view of Enrico Morini that the number 365 cannot be coincidental (even if it had been an error) which would mean that the inscription had to have emerged after 787.

75 Cf. ILCV 395 = ISConcor 56 = MH-1963-52 = AE 1891, 103 = AE 2010, 532 (Concordia, late 4th or early 5th cent.): *Fl(avio) Martidio p(rae)p(osito) auxiliariorum*

radi o pogrešci klesara, konzekvence su dalekosežne, jer bi se odabir broja "365 svetih otaca" izravno odražavao na dataciju spomenika (on bi neizostavno morao biti mlađi od 787. g.); s druge strane, taj bi odabir zrcalio promišljeno referiranje sastavljača natpisa na recentan ekumenski crkveni sabor uperen protiv ikonoklazma, tj. svjesnu zamjenu »kanonskih« nicejskih otaca ranokršćanske starine »novim« nicejskim koncilskim ocima kao obnoviteljima pravovjerja – ovaj put u ikonodulskom ključu. Koincidencija je u svakom slučaju upadljiva i vjerojatno nije proizvoljna.

Iz ovih je nekoliko epigrafskih primjera jasno da se i u Trogiru radi o formuli zaštite groba, čiji jedini ostatak predstavlja tekst (...) *et VIII sancti patri*. Činjenica da se trogirski natpis nalazi na poklopcu sarkofaga olakšava identifikaciju ovog dijela epitafa: tekst se odnosi na brigu o povredi ukopa u sarkofagu. Nadalje, konjunktiv prezenta u trećem licu jednine *patiatur* ("neka trpi"), kojim završava glavni dio natpisa, jasan je pokazatelj zaziva prokletstva na počinitelja profanacije.⁷⁵

Fragmentarnost Pavlova natpisa ne dopušta da se utvrdi točan kontekst u kojemu se unutar njega javlja ime cara Konstantina. No da se ime vladajućeg cara moglo javiti u kontekstu nadgrobnih tekstova potvrđuju dva italska natpisa. Prvi je natpis iz Tivolija (CIL XIV, 3898):

Locus Let(a)e cum filiis suis Proclanum et Gemmulum / hic requiescit in pace / locum quem sibi comparabirum(!) in oratorium / sancti Alexsandri qui se animas suas con / commendaberum sub inperium dom(i)ni Eracli Impe/ratoris Piissimi indictione prima / hic requiescit in pace / [.....]/ditet incurrat in tipo Saffire et iac/ae(t?) qui eum locum sine parentis(!) / aperuerit

Nesmetano počivanje Lete, Proklana i Gemula u njihovoj grobnici ovdje se nastoji zaštititi zazivanjem prijeko smrti Ananije i Safire (Djela apostolska 5) na onoga tko bi profanirao grobno mjesto; prva indikcija u sprezi s vladavinom bizantskog cara Heraklija datira natpis u 613. ili 628. godinu.

Drugi natpis potječe iz Ravenne (CIL XI, 6779):

]/[is]simo [et Piissimo Imperatore d(omi)no n(ostro) Heraclio] / p(er)p(etuo) Aug(usto) ann(o) XXII p(ost) c(onsulatum) [eiusdem d(omi)n(i) n(ostri) anno XXI atque Hera]/clio Novo Constan[tino] filio ipsius anno XX indic(tione) VI] / et si quis huuc mo[numentum] ... vi]olaverit non (h)avea[nt] partem cum fidelibus] / set cum Iuda trad[itore] partem habeat] / excepto Inga neg[otiatore] ...] / loco isto dedi so[]

The fragmentary quality of Paul's inscription precludes any determination of the exact context in which the name of Emperor Constantine appears. However, that the name of a reigning emperor could appear in the context of funerary texts is confirmed by two Italic inscriptions. The first is an inscription from Tivoli (CIL XIV, 3898):

Locus Let(a)e cum filiis suis Proclanum et Gemmulum / hic requiescit in pace / locum quem sibi comparabirum(!) in oratorium / sancti Alexsandri qui se animas suas con / commendaberum sub inperium dom(i)ni Eracli Impe/ratoris Piissimi indictione prima / hic requiescit in pace / [.....]/ditet incurrat in tipo Saffire et iac/ae(t?) qui eum locum sine parentis(!) / aperuerit

The unimpeded final rest of Leta, Proclanus and Gemmulus in their tomb is here meant to be protected by an invocation of the sudden deaths of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5) against anyone who would profane their grave site; the first indiction together with the reign of Byzantine Emperor Heraclius dates the inscription to 613 or 628.

The second inscription comes from Ravenna (CIL XI, 6779):

]/[is]simo [et Piissimo Imperatore d(omi)no n(ostro) Heraclio] / p(er)p(etuo) Aug(usto) ann(o) XXII p(ost) c(onsulatum) [eiusdem d(omi)n(i) n(ostri) anno XXI atque Hera]/clio Novo Constan[tino] filio ipsius anno XX indic(tione) VI] / et si quis huuc mo[numentum] ... vi]olaverit non (h)avea[nt] partem cum fidelibus] / set cum Iuda trad[itore] partem habeat] / excepto Inga neg[otiatore] ...] / loco isto dedi so[]

The funerary inscription of this unidentified individual has been dated on the basis of multiple chronological determinants: by the twenty-second year of the reign of Emperor Heraclius, then by the twentieth year of the reign of his elder son and co-ruler Heraclius New Constantine [Constantine III], and finally by the 6th indiction, which gives 632 AD. The potential desecrator of the tomb is furthermore threatened with the loss of a place among the faithful and placement in the ranks of Judas, the betrayer of the Lord.

It is therefore permissible to assume that formulations such as *sub imperium domini Eracli Imperatoris Piissimi* or *Piissimus Imperator dominus noster Heraclius perpetuus Augustus* may have legitimately appeared in the epigraphy of Byzantine Dalmatia, and applied, to be sure, even to later emperors in the

75 Usp. ILCV 395 = ISConcor 56 = MH-1963-52 = AE 1891, 103 = AE 2010, 532 (Konkordija, kasno IV. ili rano V. st.): *Fl(avio) Martidio p(rae)p(osito) auxiliariorum mill(tum) Eovi[or]um qui militavit ann(os) XXXVIII Fl(avius) Exupe(r)an//tius / filius patri carissimo arcam compara(vit) / et ordinavit [su]is si quis eam conticerivit / capitis periculum patia/tur.*

mili(tum) Eovi[or]um qui militavit ann(os) XXXVIII Fl(avius) Exupe(r)an//tius / filius patri carissimo arcam compara(vit) / et ordinavit [su]is si quis eam conticerivit / capitis periculum patia/tur.

mo[numentum ... vi]/olaverit non (h)avea[ft partem cum fidelibus] / set cum Iuda trad[itore partem habeat] / excepto Inga neg[otiatore ...] / loco isto dedi so[] //

Nadgrobní natpis nepoznate osobe datiran je višestrukim vremenskim odrednicama: prvo 22. godinom vladavine cara Heraklija, zatim 20. godinom vladavine njegova starijeg sina i suvladara Heraklija Novog Konstantina [Konstantin III.], na koncu 6. indikcijom, što sveukupno daje 632. godinu. Uz to, ošteti telju grobnice prijeti se gubitkom mjesta među vjernima te svrstavanjem uz Judu, izdajicu Gospodina.

Dopušteno je, stoga, pretpostaviti da su se formulacije poput *sub imperium domini Eracli Imperatoris Piissimi* ili *Piissimus Imperator dominus noster Heraclius perpetuus Augustus* mogle mjerodavno pojaviti i u epigrafici Bizantske Dalmacije, dakako primijenjene i na kasnije careve u slijedu njihovih vladavina. U tom kontekstu je ime cara Konstantina (VI.) na trogirskom natpisu sasvim očekivano.

Grčko-bizantsko porijeklo proklinjanja kao jedne od sastavnica duhovne sankcije je nedvojbeno, kako u epigrafiji,⁷⁶ tako i u pragmatičnoj pismenosti na mekim

sequence of their reigns. In this context, the name of Emperor Constantine (VI) in the Trogir inscription is entirely expected.

The Graeco-Byzantine origin of damnation as one of the components of the spiritual sanction is unambiguous, whether in epigraphy,⁷⁶ or in narrative and

76 Kletva 318 otaca javlja se na grčkom jeziku i u nekolici ranokršćanskih natpisa Istočnoga Rimskog Carstva. Npr. ICG, 1631 (Ipsos, Frigija, lokalitet Ayazini, 500.-650. g.): ✠ να ἔχη τον τρη/ακοσήον κὲ ὀκτὸ / κὲ δέκα πατέρον / τὸ ἀνάθεμα ὅπου / ἐπάρη φυτὸν ὄδε, / κὲ πηαστῆ / μόνος Κ(ύριος) – “Neka bude proklet od 318 otaca onaj koji ovdje uzme biljku i neka bude uhvaćen. Jedan je Gospodin!” Podrobnije o natpisu: Haspels 1971, str. 322-323, br. 59; Ramsay 1908, str. 397, br. 28. Potom, ICG, 1903 (Atena, VI. ili prva pol. VII. st.). Tekst je vrlo fragmentarno sačuvan, ali dio koji spominje kletvu 318 svetih otaca je jasan (τὸ ἄλημα ἔχην κατά/[ρ]α τῆ ἁγίῳ πατέρον). Natpis je objavljen i u: AE 2001, 603, br. 1835; IG II/III (2nd ed.) 5, br. 13325; SEG 51, br. 246; Sironen 2001, str. 265-266, br. 9; šire o njemu v. Gauthier 2003, str. 612, br. 299 (skeda S. Follet). Paris – Holleaux 1885, str. 83, br. 13 = Cumont 1895, str. 273, n. 87 = ALA 112 (Afrodizija, 5. st. ili kasnije): ✠ ῥίπτων χῶματα ἐν τῷ + τυχίῳ [ἔχει τὸ ἀνά]θεμα ἀπὸ τῶν τῆ πατέ + ρων ὠ[ς ἐκθρὸς] τοῦ + θ(εο)ῦ + – “Onaj koji baci zemlju na zid neka je proklet od 318 otaca kao neprijatelj Božji”. O natpisu: Ramsay 1897, str. 555, br. 429; Reinach 1906, str. 105, br. 18; MAMA VIII, br. 428; Roueché 1989, br. 112 i T. XXIX; Grégoire 1922, str. 248. Šire o ranokršćanskim formulama za zaštitu groba: Robert 1978; Feissel 1980, str. 462-463.

Jedan od poznatijih je natpis CIG IV, 8704, uklesan u kamene blokove mosta na rijeci Iris (Evrotas) kod Lakedemona (Sparte). Most i obližnju kapelu Spasitelja izgradio je monah Nikodem kao vjersku zakladu. Epigrafski tekst sadrži fundacijsku ispravu (κτητορικὸν τύπον, τυπικὴ διατύπωσις) kao i dekret

76 The curse of the 318 fathers appeared in the Greek language and in several Early Christian inscriptions of the Eastern Roman Empire. E.g. ICG, 1631 (Ipsos, Phrygia, Ayazini site, 500-650): ✠ να ἔχη τον τρη/ακοσήον κὲ ὀκτὸ / κὲ δέκα πατέρον / τὸ ἀνάθεμα ὅπου / ἐπάρη φυτὸν ὄδε, / κὲ πηαστῆ / μόνος Κ(ύριος) – “May he who seizes the plant be cursed by the 318 fathers and may he be apprehended. One is the Lord!” For more on the inscription: Haspels 1971, pp. 322-323, n. 59; Ramsay 1908, p. 397, n. 28. Then, ICG, 1903 (Athens, 6th or first half of 7th cent.). The text is very fragmentarily preserved, but the portion that mentions the curse of the 318 holy fathers is clear (τὸ ἄλημα ἔχην κατά/[ρ]α τῆ ἁγίῳ πατέρον). The inscription was published in: AE 2001, 603, n. 1835; IG II/III (2nd ed.) 5, n. 13325; SEG 51, n. 246; Sironen 2001, pp. 265-266, n. 9; for more on it, see Gauthier 2003, p. 612, n. 299 (lemma S. Follet). Paris, Holleaux 1885, p. 83, no. 13 = Cumont 1895, p. 273, n. 87 = ALA 112 (Aphrodisias, 5th cent. or later): ✠ ῥίπτων χῶματα ἐν τῷ + τυχίῳ [ἔχει τὸ ἀνά]θεμα ἀπὸ τῶν τῆ πατέ + ρων ὠ[ς ἐκθρὸς] τοῦ + θ(εο)ῦ + – “May whosoever throws earth on the wall be cursed by the 318 fathers as an enemy God.” On the inscription: Ramsay 1897, p. 555, n. 429; Reinach 1906, p. 105, n. 18; MAMA VIII, n. 428; Roueché 1989, n. 112 and Pl. XXIX; Grégoire 1922, p. 248. For more on Early Christian formulas to protect the grave: Robert 1978; Feissel 1980, pp. 462-463.

One of the better known is inscription CIG IV, 8704, carved in the stone blocks on the bridge over the River Iri (Eurotas) at Lacedaemon (Sparta). The bridge and the nearby Saviour’s Chapel were built by the monk Nicodemus as a religious endowment. The epigraphic text contains the foundational document (κτητορικὸν τύπον, τυπικὴ διατύπωσις) as well as the decree (χρισόβουλλος λόγος) of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VIII (Reg. II, 2, no. 826, May 1027), whereby the ruler grants immunity to the bridge and chapel, placing them under the jurisdiction of the strategos of the Peloponnese theme (i.e., removing it from the previous jurisdiction of the bishop). The anathema of the holy Apostles, 318 fathers and the curse of Judas Iscariot were applied in sanction formulas. A transcription and broad interpretation of the inscription were given by Ζακὼθνος 1957, pp. 98-100. For more on the inscription: Фрейденберг 1958, pp. 342, 344; Robert, Robert 1963, p. 136, n. 100; Feissel 1980, p. 466, note 59; Feissel, Philippidis, Braat 1985, pp. 301-302; Armstrong *et al.* 1992, pp. 298-299, 304-305; Saradi 1994, p. 450 and note 64.

materijalima.⁷⁷ Prokletstvo 318 otaca Nicejskog koncila nije bilo osobito zastupljeno u ranobizantskom razdoblju, ali je poslije postalo vrlo popularno u svim vrstama dokumenata; u notarskim je aktima sankcija te vrste apsolutno prva po učestalosti.⁷⁸ Jednako je nedvojbeno da je *poena spiritualis* kao klauzula ušla u diplomatsku strukturu dokumenata Zapada – prvenstveno Italije – s bizantskih pravnih područja (dobar primjer su ravenski papirusi VI., VII. i VIII. stoljeća).⁷⁹ Dijakronijska i sinkronijska analiza, međutim, pokazala je da prodor navedenih imprecakija kao dijela bizantske diplomatske tradicije nije bio posvemašnji, niti posvuda vremenski sukladan, već je doživljavao značajne regionalne varijacije. Primjerice, u latinskim ispravama VIII. i IX. stoljeća iz langobardske Italije

(χρισόβουλλος λόγος) bizantskog cara Konstantina VIII. (Reg. II, 2, br. 826, svibanj 1027.), kojim vladar daje imunitet mostu i kapeli, stavljajući ih pod nadležstvo stratega teme Peloponez (tj. izuzimajući ih iz dotadašnjeg nadležstva biskupa). U formulama sankcije primijenjena je anatema svetih apostola, 318 otaca i kletva Jude Iškariotskog. Transkripciju i opširno tumačenje natpisa daje Ζακυθηνος 1957, str. 98-100. Šire o natpisu: Фрейденберг 1958, str. 342, 344; Robert, Robert 1963, str. 136, br. 100; Feissel 1980, str. 466, bilj. 59; Feissel, Philippidis-Braat 1985, str. 301-302; Armstrong *et al.* 1992, str. 298-299, 304-305; Saradi 1994, str. 450 i bilj. 64.

77 Feniello, Martin 2015, str. 241-243, s osloncem na Feissel 1980.

78 Saradi 1994, str. 506, navodi da je ta kletva prisutna u preko 120 dokumenata iz svih područja Carstva. O sankciji u bizantskim ispravama usp. Dölger 1956, str. 157-158; Dölger, Karayannopoulos 1968, str. 49, 122; Saradi 1994, str. 455.

79 Feniello, Martin 2011, str. 110; Feniello, Martin 2015, str. 242. Feniello, Martin 2015, str. 245, uočavaju donekle različito shvaćanje proklinjanja u sklopu duhovne sankcije na Istoku i na Zapadu: dok bi u grekofonom Bizantskom Carstvu kletva imala prvenstveno teološki značaj (u smislu kršćanske pravovjernosti), na Zapadu bi latinska *sanctio spiritualis* bila prije svega rezultat nedostatka snažne centralne vlasti, odn. aparata prisile koji bi mogao nametnuti materijalnu sankciju bilo kojeg tipa; u tom je kontekstu učestala i raznovrsna primjena proklinjanja odraz “kulture presedana” (Zimmermann 1994, str. 40) u društvima za koje je svojstven izostanak djelotvornih javnih institucija. Kvantitativno umnožavanje i kvalitativno usložnjavanje tih i takvih kletvi na latinskom Zapadu od X. do XII. stoljeća – za razliku od Istoka – po mišljenju autorâ zasigurno proizlazi dijelom iz tako ocrtane društvene situacije. Za stanje istraživanja i stariju literaturu v. Feniello, Martin 2011, str. 105-106; Feniello, Martin 2015, str. 239-240; Saradi 1994; Zimmermann 1974-1975; Zimmermann 1994; Little 1975; Little 1993. Usp. i uravnotežen pregled literature u Hofmann 2008, str. 28-56.

literary sources and documents.⁷⁷ The curse of the 318 fathers of the Council of Nicaea was not particularly well-represented in the early Byzantine period, but later it became very popular in all types of documents; in notary acts, sanctions of this type were absolutely the most common.⁷⁸ It is equally certain that the *poena spiritualis* as a clause entered the diplomatic structure of documents in the West – primarily Italy – from the Byzantine legal sphere (good examples are the Ravenna papyri of the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries).⁷⁹ Diachronous and synchronous analyses, however, have shown that the penetration of these imprecations as a part of the Byzantine notarial tradition was not all-encompassing, nor everywhere chronologically aligned, rather it underwent considerable regional variations. For example, in the Latin documents of the 8th and 9th centuries from *Langobardia Minor* (the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento), the damnation of contesters was exceptionally rare in legal acts; and even in these cases, it was a matter of very subdued forms of maledictions, with largely curtailed force.⁸⁰ In the complex military-political, social and linguistic milieu of southern Italy during the Early and High

77 Feniello, Martin 2015, pp. 241-243, relying on Feissel 1980.

78 Saradi 1994, p. 506 stated that this curse was present in over 120 documents from all territories of the Empire. On the sanction in Byzantine documents, cf. Dölger 1956, pp. 157-158; Dölger, Karayannopoulos 1968, p. 49, 122; Saradi 1994, p. 455.

79 Feniello, Martin 2011, p. 110; Feniello, Martin 2015, p. 242. Feniello, Martin 2015, p. 245 observed a somewhat different understanding of curses within the system of spiritual sanctions in the East and West: while in the Grecophone Byzantine Empire, the curse primarily had a theological significance (in the sense of Christian orthodoxy), in the West, the Latin *sanctio spiritualis* was above all the result of an absence of a powerful central government, i.e., a coercive apparatus that could impose material sanctions of any type; in this context, the frequent and diverse application of curses was a reflection of “cultural precedents” (Zimmermann 1994, p. 40) in societies which were characterized by an absence of effective public institutions. The quantitative multiplication and qualitative variegation of these and such curses in the Latin West from the 10th to 12th centuries – as opposed to the East – ensued, in the opinion of these authors, in part from the social situation so described. For the status of research and the older literature, see Feniello, Martin 2011, pp. 105-106; Feniello, Martin 2015, pp. 239-240; Saradi 1994; Zimmermann 1974-1975; Zimmermann 1994; Little 1975; Little 1993. Cf. also the balanced overview of the literature in Hofmann 2008, pp. 28-56.

80 Feniello, Martin 2011, p. 111; Feniello, Martin 2015, p. 243.

(*Langobardia Minor*: vojvodstva Spoleto i Benevento) proklinjanje osporavatelja se u pravnim aktima javlja iznimno rijetko; a i u tim slučajevima radi se o tipološki vrlo suzdržljivim oblicima kletvi, uvelike reducirane snage.⁸⁰ U složenoj vojno-političkoj, društvenoj i jezičnoj slici južne Italije ranog i razvijenog srednjeg vijeka, treba razlikovati (u jezičnom pogledu latinska) ozemlja autonomnih jedinica proisteklih iz bizantskih političkih tradicija s jedne strane (Napulj, Amalfi, Gaeta, nastali raspadom Napuljskog dukata, izvorno pod vrhovnom jurisdikcijom Ravenskog egzarhata), dočim su im s druge strane suprotstavljene pojedine regije gdje je grčki bio dominantan jezični medij (južna i istočna Kalabrija, južna Basilicata, južni Salento, neke zone kneževine Salerno u južnoj Kampaniji) te su posljedično proizvodile pravne akte na grčkom jeziku, i to s jasnim obilježjima bizantske pravne kulture. U političkom pak smislu ta su područja bila najvećim dijelom postupno ustrojena u bizantsku tematsku organizaciju, tj. sačinjavala su integralni dio Carstva. S treće pak strane, u zaleđu italjskih bizantskih tema i autonomnih gradova tirenskog primorja prostirale su se langobardske državne formacije, koje su se – posredno ili neposredno – također povremeno nalazile pod snažnim utjecajem helenizacije i bizantske carske politike, ali isto tako na razmeđu karolinških interesnih i kulturnih zona.⁸¹ Tako kompozitni profil navedenih regija nužno je utjecao na znatne razlike razvidne u utjecaju bizantske pravne kulture: dok, primjerice, grekofona Kalabrija u diplomatiji čuva formule imprecacije veoma nalik onima u središnjim pokrajinama Carstva, istodobno latinski tekstovi carskih gradova bivšega Napuljskog dukata izražavaju bizantski utjecaj u mnogo manjoj mjeri.⁸² Neujednačenosti u diplomatskoj praksi uočene su čak i u dokumentima prostorno bliskih bizantskih posjeda u Italiji: primjerice, u ispravama Napuljskog dukata anatema je rijetka te u principu rezervirana za crkvene donacije, dočim je u susjednom Amalfiju mnogo češća, s primjenom u dokumentima različitih vrsta – crkvenim i svjetovnim donacijama, oporukama, kodicilima i vladarskim ispravama.⁸³ Zaseban

Middle Ages, a distinction should be drawn between, firstly, the Latin (in the linguistic sense) territories of autonomous units rooted in Byzantine political traditions (Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta, which emerged from the collapse of the Duchy of Naples, originally under the supreme jurisdiction of the Exarchate of Ravenna), and, secondly, individual regions in which Greek was the dominant linguistic medium (southern and eastern Calabria, southern Basilicata, southern Salento, certain zones in the Principality of Salerno in southern Campania), which consequently produced legal acts in Greek, with clear features of Byzantine legal culture. In the political sense, these territories were mostly encompassed in the Byzantine thematic organization, i.e., they were integral components of the Empire. Thirdly, Lombard state formations extended in the hinterland of the Byzantine themes and autonomous cities of the Tyrrhenian littoral, which – directly or indirectly – also occasionally came under the strong influence of Hellenization and Byzantine imperial policy, but also, by the same token, on the fringes of Carolingian zones of influence.⁸¹ Such a composite profile of these regions necessarily influenced considerable differences apparent in the influence of Byzantine legal culture: while, for example, Grecophone Calabria retained the imprecation formulas very similar to those of the Empire's central regions in its diplomacies, the contemporary Latin texts of the imperial cities of the former Duchy of Naples reflected a Byzantine influence to a much lesser degree.⁸² Incongruences in notarial practices have also been observed in documents from geographically nearby Byzantine possessions in Italy: for example, in the documents of the Duchy of Naples, the anathema was rare and generally reserved for church donations, while in neighbouring Amalfi it was much more frequent, with application in documents of various types: ecclesiastical and secular donations, wills, codicils and documents issued by rulers.⁸³ A special case was Apulia, a Latinophone

80 Feniello, Martin 2011, str. 111; Feniello, Martin 2015, str. 243.

81 Usp. Peters-Custot 2009; Saradi 2009; Feniello, Martin 2015, str. 246-247.

82 Feniello, Martin 2011, str. 116; Feniello, Martin 2015, str. 247-248.

83 Martin 2011b, str. 60, 75. Usp. Feniello, Martin 2011, str. 124: "Il ricorso all'anatema nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia, in Sicilia e in Sardegna, in definitiva, presenta una sua configurazione a macchia di leopardo, complessa e disomogenea, che segue una geografia che non corrisponde solo a differenze culturali, sociali

81 Cf. Peters-Custot 2009; Saradi 2009; Feniello, Martin 2015, pp. 246-247.

82 Feniello, Martin 2011, p. 116; Feniello, Martin 2015, pp. 247-248.

83 Martin 2011b, pp. 60, 75. Cf. Feniello, Martin 2011, p. 124: "Il ricorso all'anatema nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia, in Sicilia e in Sardegna, in definitiva, presenta una sua configurazione a macchia di leopardo, complessa e disomogenea, che segue una geografia che non corrisponde solo a differenze culturali, sociali ed etniche, ma appare legata anche alle più generali condizioni politiche ed amministrative." On this, already Ferrari 1910, pp. 33-38 and especially Brandileone 1924. Feniello even postulated something of an "anathema line" ("ligne de l'anathème") as a line of demarcation



Sl. 9. Classe, bazilika S. Apollinare, natpis nadbiskupa Ivana V., 731. (foto: R. Kavazović)
Fig. 9. Classe, Basilica of Sant'Apollinare, inscription of Archbishop John V, 731 (photo: R. Kavazović)

je slučaj Apulije, s jezične točke gledišta latinofone pokrajine (a etnički nastanjene uglavnom langobardskom populacijom); ondje je za bizantske vladavine duhovna sankcija u dokumentima bila usko socijalno determinirana – jer se primjenjivala samo na pravne akte klera – dok su grčko-bizantske tradicije u diplomatskim formulama ostale vrlo snažne, što će se nastaviti i za normanske vladavine.⁸⁴ Langobardske kneževine u dubljem zaleđu u tom su smislu prilično raznolike: u Salernu su anateme i prokletstva vrlo rijetki, a ukoliko su zastupljeni, onda je to ograničeno na periferiju, na područja što gravitiraju Napuljskom dukatu; isto vrijedi za zemlje ovisne o opatiji Monte Cassino.⁸⁵ Središnja područja *Langobardiae Minor* ne odražavaju grčko-bizantski utjecaj u imprecacijama, koje su ponajviše zapadnog tipa.

Za ilustraciju može poslužiti Kneževina Spoleto, u čijim se privatnim ispravama VIII. stoljeća anatema doduše javlja razmjerno rijetko (u manje od 7 % poznatih dokumenata; redovito su to *chartae donationis*), ali je u našem kontekstu simptomatično što se upravo u najstarijoj ispravi nalazi sankcija prokletstvom 318

province from the linguistic standpoint (and ethnically inhabited primarily by Lombards); during Byzantine rule there, the spiritual sanction in documents was narrowly socially determined – because it was applied solely to the legal acts of the clergy – while the Graeco-Byzantine traditions in notarial formulas remained very strong, which would continue under Norman rule as well.⁸⁴ The Lombard principalities in the deeper interior were rather diverse in this sense: in Salerno anathemas and curses were rare, and insofar as they were present then this was limited to the peripheries, in the territories that gravitated toward the Duchy of Naples; the same is valid for the lands dependent upon the Monte Cassino Abbey.⁸⁵ The central territories of *Langobardia Minor* did not reflect the Graeco-Byzantine influence in imprecations, which were mostly of the Western type.

The Duchy of Spoleto can serve as an illustration. To be sure, the anathema appears relatively rarely in its private documents from the 8th century (in less than 7% of known documents; these were regularly *chartae donationis*), but in the present context it is indicative that the oldest document contains a sanction entailing the curse of the 318 fathers, whereas an analysis of the remaining ones confirmed an unambiguous Greek influence (the threat of the Final

ed etniche, ma appare legata anche alle più generali condizioni politiche ed amministrative.” O tome već Ferrari 1910, str. 33-38, i naročito Brandileone 1924. Feniello čak postulira svojevrstu “liniju anateme” (“ligne de l’anathème”) kao crtu razgraničenja dviju različitih kulturnih sfera – bizantske i langobardske (Feniello, Martin 2015, str. 262).

84 Feniello, Martin 2011, str. 117-118; Feniello, Martin 2015, str. 248-249.

85 Feniello, Martin 2011, str. 118-120; Feniello, Martin 2015, str. 249-250.

between the two different cultural spheres: Byzantine and Lombard (Feniello, Martin 2015, p. 262).

84 Feniello, Martin 2011, pp. 117-118; Feniello, Martin 2015, pp. 248-249.

85 Feniello, Martin 2011, pp. 118-120; Feniello, Martin 2015, pp. 249-250.

otaca, dočim je i analiza ostalih pokazala nedvosmi-slen grčki utjecaj (prijetnje Posljednjim sudom i vječ-nošću u paklu u društvu Jude Iškariotskog i sl.).⁸⁶

Pragmatična, pak, pravna pismenost bizantske Sardinije osobito obiluje anatemama kao sastavnica-ma sankcije, pri čemu ima naznaka da je ta tradicija ondje bila vrlo stara i razvijena, što je utjecalo na obo-gaćivanje takvih tekstova novim kletvama i sukcesiv-nim gomilanjem anatemâ: prokletstvom Oca, Sina i Duha Svetoga, Blažene Djevice Marije, dvanaestorice apostola, šestorice proroka, dvadesetčetvorice staraca Apokalipse, 318 svetih otaca i sudbinom Jude Iškari-otskog.⁸⁷

Intertekstualnost ovih formula očita je, kako na ra-zini medija (kamen, meki materijali), tako i na razini vrste izvora (diplomatički obrasci, sankcije za povre-du groba). U bazilici San Apollinare in Classe čuva se vrlo dug natpis iz 731. godine o donaciji ravenkog nadbiskupa Ivana VI. u korist redovnika Sv. Apoli-nara (sl. 9),⁸⁸ čiji za nas relevantan dio glasi: *aeter-nam condemnatione(m) sustineat cum traditore Iuda et his qui petierit, et qui largire temptaverit constrictus anathematis vinculo s(an)c(t)or(um) trecentor(um) dec(em) et octo patrum*.⁸⁹ U crkvi San Lorenzo u Tivoliju nalazio se (u međuvremenu izgubljeni) po-svetni i donatorski natpis, datiran pontifikatom pape Grgura IV. (827.-844.) i trećom indikcijom u 840. godinu. Osporavateljima donacije u korist crkve pri-jeti se: *sit illi alienum regnum Dei, et a trecentorum decem VIII patrum sententia seu decreto anathema-tis vinculo subiaceat, et cum Iuda traditore Domini partem omnem habeat*.⁹⁰ A. Feniello i J.-M. Martin uočili su, osim toga, u Napulju oblik duhovne sank-cije u dokumentima izričito definiran kao “običajna imprecakcija” (*imprecatio solita*), što znači da se on-dje – ali i u drugim gradovima tirenskog primorja – zasigurno raspolagalo generičkim formulama veoma

Judgement and eternity in hell in the company of Ju-das Iscariot and so forth).⁸⁶

On the other hand, the pragmatic legal literacy of Byzantine Sardinia abounds in anathemas as com-ponents of sanctions, wherein there are indications that this tradition was very old and developed there, which influenced the enhancement of such texts with new maledictions and the successive accumulation of anathemas: the damnation of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the Virgin Mary, the twelve Apostles, the six prophets, the Four and Twenty Elders of Revelation, the 318 holy fathers and the fate of Judas Iscariot.⁸⁷

The intertextuality of these formulas is obvious, both at the level of the medium (stone, soft materials), and at the level of type of source (diplomatic formulas, sanctions for tomb desecration). A very long inscription from 731 is held in the Basilica of Sant’Apollinare in Classe, testifying to the donation of Archbishop John VI to the benefit of the monks of Sant’Apollinare (Fig. 9).⁸⁸ The part relevant to this discussion reads: *aeter-nam condemnatione(m) sustineat cum traditore Iuda et his qui petierit, et qui largire temptaverit constrictus anathematis vinculo s(an)c(t)or(um) trecentor(um) dec(em) et octo patrum*.⁸⁹ The Church of San Lorenzo in Tivoli once contained (in the meantime lost) dedi-catory and donation inscription, dated by the papacy of Pope Gregory IV (827-844) and the third indiction to 840. Those who would dispute this donation to the church’s benefit are threatened with: *sit illi alienum regnum Dei, et a trecentorum decem VIII patrum sen-tentia seu decreto anathematis vinculo subiaceat, et cum Iuda traditore Domini partem omnem habeat*.⁹⁰ A. Feniello and J.-M. Martin additionally noticed, in Naples, the form of a spiritual sanction in documents explicitly defined as “standard imprecations,” which means that there – but also in other towns of the Tyr-rhenian littoral – generic formulas with very similar

86 Usp. Feniello, Martin 2011, str. 110.

87 Vidi Martin 2011a, str. 201 i bilj. 80, gdje autor upu-ćuje na zanimljivu kletvu zapisanu latinskim jezikom i grčkim pismom: ἄπατα (*habeat*) ἀνάθεμα ἄβα πάτηρ ἔδ φίλιου ἔ σπῆριτου σάντου ἔ δε σάντα Μαρία ἔ δέ δώδεκη ἀπόστολους ἔ IS προφέτας ΚΔ σενοιῶρες ΤΙΗ σάντους πάτρεις ἔσσόρτη κουν Ιουδα τραγιτόρη φιάτ φιάτ ἄμεν. Serra 2015, str. 232-234, daje sintetičnu sliku o kletvama u sankcijama sardinij-skih pisanih spomenika, s osloncem na Saradi 1994; Little 1975; Little 1993; Zimmermann 1974-1975; Zimmermann 1994.

88 Gray 1948, str. 57-58, br. 19; Guillou 1969, str. 275-276 (transkripcija), 276-277 (lekcija).

89 Guillou 1969, str. 277.

90 Mai 1831, str. 231-232; Pacifici 1925-1926, str. 188-192.

86 Cf. Feniello, Martin 2011, p. 110.

87 See Martin 2011a, p. 201 and note 80, where the au-thor pointed to an intriguing curse written in Latin language and Greek script: ἄπατα (*habeat*) ἀνάθεμα ἄβα πάτηρ ἔδ φίλιου ἔ σπῆριτου σάντου ἔ δε σάντα Μαρία ἔ δέ δώδεκη ἀπόστολους ἔ IS προφέτας ΚΔ σενοιῶρες ΤΙΗ σάντους πάτρεις ἔσσόρτη κουν Ιουδα τραγιτόρη φιάτ φιάτ ἄμεν. Serra 2015, pp. 232-234 provided a synthetic picture of curses in the sanctions of Sardinian monuments, relying on Saradi 1994; Little 1975; Little 1993; Zimmermann 1974-1975; Zimmer-mann 1994.

88 Gray 1948, pp. 57-58, n. 19; Guillou 1969, pp. 275-276 (transcription), 276-277 (reading).

89 Guillou 1969, p. 277.

90 Mai 1831, pp. 231-232; Pacifici 1925-1926, pp. 188-192.

srodne sintakse, upotrebljavanima i izvan diplomatskih tekstova, u drugim tipovima pismenosti i drugim medijima.⁹¹ Ovo se prvenstveno odnosi na epigrafiju, jer u Napulju postoji niz potvrda za korištenje istovjetnih formula, i to upravo u kontekstu sepulkralne epigrafije, točnije formula za zaštitu groba.

U svemu, dakle, snažnija prisutnost duhovne sankcije 318 svetih otaca karakteristična je za područja bitno obilježena bizantskom tradicijom dugog trajanja (Sardinija, Sicilija, Kalabrija, Apulija, gradovi Napuljskog i Rimskog dukata, Pentapol [Rimini], Ravenna s okolicom, *Langobardia Minor*) i iradijacijom utjecaja bizantske pravne kulture, te redovito predstavljaju kontaktnu zonu s carskim teritorijima različitog statusa. U tom pogledu su na obje obale jadranskog bazena konvergentne pojave u diplomatskim rješenjima jasno uočljive.⁹² Naime, bizantska je provenijencija duhovne sankcije – a u tom sklopu naročito prokletstva 318 crkvenih otaca – u ranosrednjovjekovnim diplomatskim dokumentima Dalmacije i Hrvatske nakon Šufflayevih analiza u literaturi uglavnom prihvaćena.⁹³ No, njihovi

syntax were certainly available, used even outside of diplomatic texts, in other types of literacy and other media.⁹¹ This primarily pertains to epigraphy, because in Naples there are many instances of the use of identical formulas, precisely in the context of sepulchral epigraphy, more accurately formulas for the protection of tombs.

All things considered, the more notable presence of the spiritual sanction of the 318 holy fathers is typical of the areas essentially marked by a Byzantine tradition of long duration (Sardinia, Sicily, Calabria, Apulia, the cities of the Duchies of Naples and Rome, the Pentapolis [Rimini], Ravenna with its vicinity, Langobardia Minor) and the spread of the influence of Byzantine legal culture, and they regularly signify the contact zone with imperial territories of varying status. In this regard, the convergent phenomena in diplomacies are clearly apparent on both coasts of the Adriatic basin.⁹² Namely, the Byzantine origin of spiritual sanctions – particularly the curse of the 318 ecclesiastical fathers – in early medieval diplomatic documents in Dalmatia and Croatia after Šufflay's analyses in the literature has generally been accepted.⁹³ However, their models

91 MNDHP II/2, str. 223, br. 11; 226, br. 21; 239, br. 33. Tako Feniello, Martin 2011, str. 114-115 i Feniello, Martin 2015, str. 259-260, zapažaju u Napulju intertekstualnost obrazaca sankcije u diplomatskoj građi i istovjetnih formula za zaštitu groba u ranosrednjovjekovnoj epigrafiji, pri čemu je važno primijetiti da se radi o izoliranim primjerima (svedenima na Napulj, dok npr. u Amalfiju i Gaeti nema takvih slučajeva). Autori ujedno primjećuju srodne primjere u Rimu i Ravenni, izvodeći plauzibilan zaključak kako takva praksa mora potjecati iz vrlo starih tradicija bizantskog Egzarhata. O istome: Mazzoleni 1998, str. 883.

92 Bougard 2015, str. 225, također utvrđuje da je među duhovnim sankcijama ona s kletvom 318 otaca najčešća u Bizantskoj Italiji ili u regijama pod bizantskim utjecajem. Peters-Custot 2012, str. 54, spominje ovu kaznenu klauzulu kao jedan od primjera "de parfaite cohérence de la diplomatie italo-grecque avec le modèle byzantin".

93 Usp. Šufflay 1904, str. 66-69, 70, 73, gdje se nalazi analiza ranosrednjovjekovnog diplomatskog materijala iz Zadra, Trogira, Splita i Dubrovnika. Iz autorove argumentacije proizlazi da ova vrsta sankcije u dalmatinskim ispravama sadrži vrlo stare značajke i ponegdje naglašeno arhaičnu stilizaciju, što upućuje na dugotrajan razvoj s ishodištem u kasnoantičko-bizantskoj pravnoj tradiciji; duhovna sankcija zadržava se u pragmatičnoj pismenosti do pojave prvih općinskih notara, kada naglo nestaje iz tekstova ispravâ.

Nasuprot starijem mišljenju prema kojem je na sankciju u dalmatinskim poveljama utjecala sankcija i iz bizantskih *vladarskih* povelja (Станојевић 1922, str. 4-5), Mošin 1954, str. 44, 50-51, je upozorio da je duhovna sankcija uobičajena u bizantskim crkvenim i privatnopravnim ispravama, dočim ne ovisi o

91 MNDHP II/2, p. 223, no. 11; 226, no. 21; 239, no. 33. Thus, in Naples Feniello, Martin 2011, pp. 114-115 and Feniello, Martin 2015, pp. 259-260 observed the intertextuality of sanction formulas in the notarial documents and identical formulas for the protection of tombs in early medieval epigraphy, wherein it is important to note that these are isolated examples (limited to Naples, while, e.g., in Amalfi and Gaeta there are no such cases). The authors also noted similar examples in Rome and Ravenna, drawing the plausible conclusion that such practices had to have originated in the very old traditions of the Byzantine Exarchate. On the same matter: Mazzoleni 1998, p. 883.

92 Bougard 2015, p. 225 also established that among the spiritual sanctions the one containing the curse of the 318 fathers was most frequent in Byzantine Italy or in the regions under Byzantine influence. Peters-Custot 2012, p. 54 mentioned this penal clause as one of the examples of "de parfaite cohérence de la diplomatie italo-grecque avec le modèle byzantin."

93 Cf. Šufflay 1904, pp. 66-69, 70, 73, where there is an analysis of the early medieval charters from Zadar, Trogir, Split and Dubrovnik. Based on the author's arguments, it follows that these two types of sanctions in Dalmatian documents contain very old features and a sometimes markedly archaic stylization, which indicates long-lasting development with its source in the Late Antique/Byzantine legal tradition; the spiritual sanction was retained in pragmatic literacy until the appearance of the first municipal notaries, when it suddenly disappeared from the texts of documents.

As opposed to the older view according to which the sanction in the Dalmatian charters was also influenced

predlošci ili predšasnici stariji od IX. stoljeća – kakve bi se moglo očekivati u obalnim gradovima carske Dalmacije – ipak nisu identificirani. Da je takvih tekstualnih modela nedvojbeno bilo,⁹⁴ da su cirkulirali u gradovima Bizantske Dalmacije – te, po svemu sudeći, otamo dospijevali u obliku diplomatskih formula na obližnji teritorij Hrvatske kneževine – ukazuju ostaci jednog takvog epigrafičkog teksta na Pavlovu epitafu u Trogiru. Njihovo prepoznavanje dosad je bilo uvelike otežano lošim stanjem istraženosti i zastarjelim istraživačkim konceptualizacijama kontinuiteta između ranokršćanskog i predromaničkog doba, ali i realnom malobrojnošću raspoloživih izvora VII. i

formularu carskih povelja (u njima je duhovna sankcija izuzetno rijetka prije XII.–XIII. st., a potvrđena tek od 1079. g.). Stoga duhovna sankcija nije mogla u zapadnu diplomatiku prodrijeti iz bizantskih carskih povelja, već jedino iz crkvenih i privatnopravnih dokumenata (štoviše, po Mošinovu mišljenju tim je putem ušla u papinske i zapadne vladarske povelje te u isprave bugarskih i srpskih vladara). Isto zaključuje Saradi 1994, str. 455.

Usputni pokušaj Klaić 1966-1967, str. 240-243, i Klaić 1967, str. 134-136, da obesnaži Šufflayeve zaključke o genezi i razvitku duhovne sankcije u dalmatinskoj diplomatiki uspješno je opovrgnuo Margetić 2002, str. 132, bilj. 45, a opravdano kritizirao Brković 1993, str. 12, bilj. 5, i Brković 2011, str. 116, bilj. 134. Nada je Klaić (s osloncem na Boye 1918, str. 95, 98, 139, 159) smatrala da se duhovne sankcije šire iz Italije i iz crkvenih institucija (pape, biskupi, duhovne korporacije, koncili), zaključujući kako su “najzad, duhovnim kaznama zaštićivani primarno crkveni posjedi u Italiji, pa je odatle sankcija prodrila najprije u talijansku notarsku i papinsku ispravu a s njom i k nama”. Kritika N. Klaić proizašla je, kako se čini, i iz njezina doslovnog neshvaćanja Šufflayevih tvrdnji. Domaća literatura o problemu je inače oskudna: Nagy 1925, str. 35-36, Barada 1937, str. 42, Ostojić 1967, str. 65-66, Brković 1993, str. 12, i Brković 2011, str. 116, slažu se s Šufflayjem da je porijeklo formula kletvi u hrvatskim ispravama bizantsko, tj. da obrasci sankcija duhovnih kazni potječu iz vrlo stare bizantske prakse. Šufflayeve analize su, u hrvatskoj historiografskoj produkciji, još uvijek najbolje i veoma iskoristive. U posljednje vrijeme o tome su pisali i drugi autori (npr. Brković 1993, Brković 2011, str. 115-118), no te analize nemaju komparativnu dimenziju. Relevantan komparativan tekst, s prikazom po talijanskim pokrajinama, može se naći u: Feniello, Martin 2011 i Feniello, Martin 2015.

94 Karaman 1929, str. 182, to je formulirao na sljedeći način: “Naravno je pretpostaviti, da je u tim gradovima relativno visoke kulture i davnih epigrafijskih tradicija bizantinska uprava i vlast od više stoljeća morala biti spomenuta također na spomenicima i natpisima.”

or predecessors older than the 9th century – of a sort which may have been expected in the coastal towns of imperial Dalmatia – were nonetheless not identified. That such textual models certainly existed,⁹⁴ that they had circulated in the towns of Byzantine Dalmatia – whence, by all indications, they also made their way into the diplomatic forms in the nearby territory of

by the sanctions from the charters of Byzantine rulers (Stanojević 1922, pp. 4-5), Mošin 1954, pp. 44, 50-51 pointed out that the spiritual sanction was customary in Byzantine ecclesiastical and private legal documents, whereas not so in the imperial charters (in them the spiritual sanction was exceptionally rare prior to the 12th-13th cent., and confirmed only since 1079). Thus the spiritual sanction could not have penetrated into western diplomatics from Byzantine imperial charters, but rather solely from ecclesiastical and private legal documents (moreover, in Mošin's opinion this was how it entered papal documents and documents issued by Western rulers, and the documents of Bulgarian and Serbian rulers). The same was concluded by Saradi 1994, p. 455.

An incidental attempt by Klaić 1966-1967, pp. 240-243 and Klaić 1967, pp. 134-136 to undermine Šufflay's conclusions on the genesis and development of the spiritual sanction in Dalmatian diplomatics was successfully refuted by Margetić 2002, p. 132, note 45, and justifiably criticized by Brković 1993, p. 12, note 5 and Brković 2011, p. 116, note 134. Nada Klaić (relying on Boye 1918, pp. 95, 98, 139, 159) believed that spiritual sanctions spread from Italy and from ecclesiastical institutions (the pope, bishops, monastic communities, councils), concluding that “ultimately, spiritual penalties primarily protected ecclesiastical possessions in Italy, and thence the sanction spread first into Italian notary and papal documents and with the latter to us.” Klaić's criticism ensued, it would appear, from her literal misunderstanding of Šufflay's assertion. The domestic literature on the problem is otherwise meagre: Nagy 1925, pp. 35-36, Barada 1937, p. 42, Ostojić 1967, pp. 65-66, Brković 1993, p. 12 and Brković 2011, p. 116 agreed with Šufflay that the origin of the malediction formula in Croatian documents is Byzantine, i.e., that the sanction formula for spiritual penalties originated in a very old Byzantine practice. Šufflay's analyses are still the best in Croatian historiographic production and very useful. More recently other scholars (e.g. Brković 1993, Brković 2011, pp. 115-118) have written about this, but these analyses do not have a comparative dimension. A relevant comparative text, with an overview of individual Italian provinces, may be found in: Feniello, Martin 2011 and Feniello, Martin 2015.

94 Karaman 1929, p. 182 formulated this in the following manner: “It is natural to assume that in these towns with a relatively high culture and long-standing epigraphic tradition, the many centuries of Byzantine administration and authority had to have been mentioned on monuments and in inscriptions.”

VIII. stoljeća,⁹⁵ što se postupno prevladava tek u najnovije vrijeme.⁹⁶

Budući da, kao prvo, naš natpis potječe iz Trogira, grada Bizantske Dalmacije, zatim da se na njem spominje i bizantski car (po našem mišljenju Konstantin VI.), pa dodavši da je u tekstu upotrijebljena formula sankcije 318 svetih otaca i, na koncu, da ga je moguće datirati u posljednja desetljeća VIII. stoljeća, veza s bizantskim pravnim i političkim sustavom prilično je jasna.

Naručitelj natpisa i vlasnik sarkofaga, trogirski građanin Pavao, očigledno pripadnik gradske elite, predstavlja jednog od članova dalmatinskoga protopatricijata, društvenoga sloja u kojem treba tražiti nositelje urbane kulture kakva je bila u stanju iznjediti likovne i epigrafske produkte relativno visokih zahtjeva, poput monumentalne grobnice koja je bila predmet ovog rada. Analiza pravnih i gospodarskih aspekata društvenog položaja serva, kao i ostalih pripadnika socijalne skale, već je odavno ukazala na kontinuitet vladajuće elite u gradskim zajednicama na istočnoj

the Croatian Duchy – is shown by the remains of one such epigraphic text in Paul's epitaph in Trogir. Their recognition has thus far been rendered difficult by the poor state of research and outmoded research conceptualizations of the continuity between the Early Christian and pre-Romanesque eras, as well as in the actual small number of available sources from the 7th and 8th centuries,⁹⁵ which has been gradually overcome only in the most recent period.⁹⁶

Given that, firstly, the inscription in question here originated in Trogir, a town in Byzantine Dalmatia, that the Byzantine emperor (Constantine VI in this author's opinion) is mentioned in it, that, furthermore, the formula of the sanction of the 318 holy fathers is used, and, finally, that it may be dated to the final decades of the 8th century, the link to the Byzantine legal and political system is rather clear.

95 I dalje je od koristi davnašnji pregled Ferluga 1978, str. 87-164; na problem dvostoljetnog manjka izvora o zbivanjima na istočnojadranskoj obali upozorava Goldstein 1992, str. 125-149. Novije uvide u kulturni i društveni profil postrimske Dalmacije VII. i VIII. st. daju: Dzino 2010, str. 118-174, naročito str. 155-161, Dzino 2014, Dzino 2017, str. 161-163; Shepard 2017. Budak 2017, str. 175-179, 183, donosi popis vijesti o komunikaciji Istok-Zapad preko dalmatinskog ozemlja do 800. godine. Curta 2010 upozorava na slabu istraženost i tanak kulturni profil nazočnosti Bizanta kroz VII. i VIII. stoljeće u Dalmaciji, odnosno na nedostatak svjedočanstava o materijalnoj i duhovnoj kulturi tog "prijelaznog razdoblja" (str. 269: "The archaeology of Byzantine Dalmatia is still at a very incipient stage").

96 Količina novouočenih izvora izravne ili posredne bizantske provenijencije iz ranosrednjovjekovne Dalmacije, kao i kvaliteta radova njima posvećenih, u posljednje se vrijeme povećava, što se vidi posebno u domeni pravne povijesti – usp. Lonza 2016, naročito str. 141-144, i Petrak 2016b (autor raspravlja o *Nomokanonu sv. Metoda* iz treće četvrtine IX. st. kao staroslavenskoj prilagodbi bizantske pravne tradicije i njegovoj recepciji u hrvatskoj pravnoj kulturi). Usp. također Basić 2015, str. 444, Gračanin 2015, Basić 2016 i Basić 2017. Petrak 2015 analizira duhovnu sankciju "prokletstva 318 otaca" u zadarskim srednjovjekovnim pravnim aktima, upozoravajući na njeno bizantsko porijeklo. Štoviše, uspoređujući tip sankcije zadarskih isprava X. i XI. stoljeća s drugim latinskim ispravama iz Dalmacije i Italije što sadrže navedenu sankciju, pokušava utvrditi specifičnosti zadarske formulacije navedene sankcije kao "jednog sačuvanog fragmenta bizantske pravne kulture u našem podneblju".

95 The rather old overview by Ferluga 1978, pp. 87-164 is still useful; the problem of a two-century dearth of sources on events in the eastern Adriatic seaboard was pointed out by Goldstein 1992, pp. 125-149. More recent insights into the cultural and social profile of post-Roman Dalmatia in the 7th and 8th cent. are provided by: Dzino 2010, pp. 118-174, particularly pp. 155-161, Dzino 2014, Dzino 2017, pp. 161-163; Shepard 2017. Budak 2017, pp. 175-179, 183 provided a list of data on East-West communications through Dalmatian territory up to the year 800. Curta 2010 highlighted the poor state of research and the thin cultural profile of the presence of Byzantium through the 7th and 8th centuries in Dalmatia, and the absence of testimony on the material and spiritual culture of this "transitional period" (p. 269: "The archaeology of Byzantine Dalmatia is still at a very incipient stage").

96 The quantity of newly-noticed sources of direct or indirect Byzantine provenance from early medieval Dalmatia, as well as the quality of the works dedicated to them, has increased in recent years, and this has been particularly apparent in the realm of legal history – cf. Lonza 2016, particularly pp. 141-144 and Petrak 2016b (the author discussed the *Nomocanon of St. Methodius* from the third quarter of the 9th cent. as an Old Slavonic adaptation of the Byzantine legal tradition and its reception in Croatian legal culture). Cf. also Basić 2015, p. 444, Gračanin 2015, Basić 2016 and Basić 2017. Petrak 2015 analysed the spiritual sanction of the "curse of the 318 fathers" in Zadar's medieval legal acts, pointing out its Byzantine origin. Moreover, by comparing the type of sanction in the Zadar documents of the 10th and 11th centuries with other Latin documents from Dalmatia and Italy that contain this sanction, he attempted to ascertain the specific character of the Zadar formulation of this sanction as "a preserved fragment of the Byzantine legal culture in Croatia's territory."

obali Jadrana.⁹⁷ Taj je bio čvrsto zasnovan na ranijim oblicima gradskih društvenih struktura kasnoantičke i ranobizantske tradicije, pa je na to važno upozoriti i u ovom kontekstu. Umjetnine kakve predstavlja ovaj najstariji spomenik srednjovjekovnog Trogira,⁹⁸ podrazumijevaju određenu razinu kulturnog profila i duhovne klime u carskim gradovima Dalmacije, kakva nije moguća bez prethodno postojećih složenijih oblika društvene organizacije. Boljem razumijevanju mehanizama funkcioniranja tih društava i njihove duhovne kulture Pavlov nas natpis približava u značajnoj mjeri.

The Trogir citizen Paul, who commissioned the inscription and owned the sarcophagus, obviously a member of the town's elite, was a member of the Dalmatian proto-patriciate, a social class in which one should seek the bearers of urban culture that was able to produce artistic and epigraphic products that met relatively high demands, such as the monumental tomb that is the subject of this work. An analysis of the legal and economic aspects of the social status of the *servi*, as well as the remaining members of the social classes, had already long before demonstrated the continuity of the ruling elite in urban communities in the eastern Adriatic seaboard.⁹⁷ This component was firmly rooted in the earlier forms of urban social structures of the Late Antique and early Byzantine traditions, so it is vital to point out in this context as well. Artworks such as this oldest monument of medieval Trogir⁹⁸ imply a certain cultural profile and spiritual climate in the imperial cities of Dalmatia, which would not have been possible without the prior existence of more complex forms of social organization. A better understanding of the mechanisms by which these societies and their spiritual culture functioned is brought closer to us by Paul's inscription to a considerable degree.

97 Budak 1994, str. 152-154, naročito str. 153 i bilj. 419.

98 Iako je još Karaman 1929, str. 188, točno primijetio: "Ulomak sarkofaga u Trogiru jest takodjer najstariji spomenik srednjovjekovnog Trogira. (...) Sarkofag nam je eto svjedokom kulturnog života u Trogiru već koncem VIII. vijeka", ipak dosad nije bilo pokušaja da se sadržaj natpisa detaljnije raščlani te kontekstualizira. Tako Ferluga 1978, premda opširno raspravlja o različitim aspektima kontinuiteta kasnoantičke i bizantske uprave u Dalmaciji – a u tom kontekstu i o natpisu nepoznatog prokonzula iz Trogira – začudo posve mimoilazi drugi trogirski fragment (iako je objavljen u istom Karamanovu članku gdje i prethodni natpis). Isto tako, Klaić 1985 u svojoj sintezi trogirske srednjovjekovne povijesti sasvim ignorira ovaj epigrafski izvor. To vrijedi i za nedavni pokušaj pregleda rane predromaničke sakralne arhitekture u VII. i VIII. stoljeću (Jarak 2013), gdje se usprkos posebnim poglavljima posvećenima skulpturi uzalud traži bilo kakva informacija o trogirskom natpisu, ključnom za datacije širih skupina kamene plastike. Za nacrt urbane i kulturne fizionomije Trogira u ranom srednjem vijeku v. Rapanić 1980.

97 Budak 1994, pp. 152-154, particularly p. 153 and note 419.

98 Although even Karaman 1929, p. 188 accurately noticed: "The sarcophagus fragment in Trogir is also the oldest monument of medieval Trogir. (...) The sarcophagus is thus a witness to cultural life in Trogir already at the end of the 8th century," there have nonetheless not been any attempts to break down and contextualize the content of the inscription. So Ferluga 1978, although he extensively discussed various aspects of the continuity of Late Antique and Byzantine administration in Dalmatia – and in this context, also the inscription of an unidentified consul from Trogir – surprisingly bypassed the other Trogir fragment entirely (even though it had been published in the same article by Karaman in which the preceding inscription was included). By the same token, in her synthesis of Trogir's medieval history, Klaić 1985 entirely ignored this epigraphic source. This also applies to a recent attempt at an overview of early pre-Romanesque church architecture in the 7th and 8th centuries (Jarak 2013), where, despite separate chapters dedicated to sculpture, one may seek in vain any information on the Trogir inscription, crucial to dating a broader group of stone sculpture. For a sketch of the urban and cultural physiognomy of Trogir in the early Middle Ages, see Rapanić 1980.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

AE	L'Année épigraphique, Paris
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, Paris
Bull. Arch. Sard.	Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, Cagliari
CRAI	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, Paris
HZ	Historijski zbornik, Zagreb
Hort. Art. Mediev.	Hortus Artium Medievalium, Zagreb – Motovun
ILCV	Inscriptiones Latinae christianae veteres, Berlin
MEFRM	Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Âge, Rome
PPUD	Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, Split
REG	Revue des études grecques, Paris
SHP	Starohrvatska prosvjeta, Split
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split
VHAD	Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva, Zagreb

IZVORI / SOURCES

ACOSB I	<i>Annales Camaldulenses ordinis sancti Benedicti</i> , tom. I, Appendix, G. B. Mittarelli, A. Costadoni (eds.), Venetiis 1755.
CCF	<i>Cronache della città di Fermo</i> , G. De Minicis (ed.), [Documenti di storia italiana, IV], Firenze 1870.
CCT	<i>Cartulario della chiesa Teramana. Codice latino in pergamena del sec. XII dell'Archivio vescovile di Teramo</i> , F. Savini (ed.), Roma 1910.
CD I	<i>Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae. Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije</i> , vol. I, J. Stipišić, M. Šamšalović (eds.), Zagreb 1967.
CDT II/1	<i>Codice diplomatico toscano</i> , vol. II/1, F. Brunetti (ed.), Firenze 1833.
CIG IV	<i>Corpus inscriptionum graecarum</i> , vol. IV, E. Curtius (ed.), Berlin 1877.
ICG	C. Breytenbach et al. (eds.), <i>Inscriptiones Christianae Graecae: A Digital Collection of Greek Early Christian Inscriptions from Asia Minor and Greece</i> , Berlin 2016. (http://repository.edition-topoi.org/collection/ICG)
IG II/III (2 nd ed.) 5	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae II/III (ed. altera). Pars V: Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Herulorum incursionem et Imp. Mauricii tempora</i> , E. Sironen (ed.), Berlin – New York 2008.
MAMA VIII	J. M. R. Cormack, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, VIII. Monuments from Lycaonia, the Pisido-Phrygian borderland, Aphrodisias</i> , Manchester 1962.
MNDHP II/2	<i>Monumenta ad Neapolitani ducatus historiam pertinentia</i> , B. Capasso (ed.), tom. II/2, Napoli 1892.
RCAC V	<i>Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny</i> , tom. V, A. Bruel (ed.), Paris 1894.
Reg. II	<i>Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453. 2. Teil, Regesten von 1025-1204</i> , F. Dölger, P. Wirth (eds.) [Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der Neueren Zeit. Reihe A, Regesten, 1/2], München 1995.
SEG 51	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , vol. 51, A. Chaniotis et al. (eds.), Amsterdam 2005.

LITERATURA / LITERATURE

Armstrong et al. 1992	P. Armstrong, W. G. Cavanagh, G. Shipley, <i>Crossing the river: observations on routes and bridges in Laconia from the Archaic to Byzantine periods</i> , Annual of the British School at Athens 87, Athens 1992, 293-310.
-----------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

- Aubineau 1966 M. Aubineau, *Les 318 serviteurs d'Abraham (Gen., XIV, 14) et le nombre des Pères au concile de Nicée (325)*, Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 61/1, Paris 1966, 5-43.
- Babić 1985 I. Babić, *Starokršćanski ulomci u Trogiru*, PPUD 25, Split 1985, 25-47.
- Babić 2006 I. Babić, *Spolije na tlu ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske*, SHP ser. III, 33, Split 2006, 91-125.
- Babić 2016a I. Babić, *Barokna preinaka samostanske crkve sv. Petra u Trogiru i graditelji iz roda Macanović-Raguseo*, Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti 40, Zagreb 2016, 129-139.
- Babić 2016b I. Babić, *Četiri kasnoantička spolija iz Trogira / Four Late Antique spolia from Trogir*, VAHD 109, Split 2016, 291-303.
- Babić 2016c I. Babić, *Trogir – grad i spomenici*, Split 2016.
- Barada 1937 M. Barada, *Dvije naše vladarske isprave*, Croatia Sacra VII/13-14, Zagreb 1937, 1-96.
- Basić 2008 I. Basić, *Quelques aspects de la (dis)continuité typologique et iconographique de la production des sarcophages dans l'Adriatique orientale du haut Moyen âge*, Ikon 1, Rijeka 2008, 259-290.
- Basić 2013a I. Basić, *Novi katalog splitske ranosrednjovjekovne plastike (prikaz / review of Piteša 2012)*, Ars Adriatica 3, Zadar 2013, 257-260.
- Basić 2013b I. Basić, *Poleogeneza Splitska na razmeđu kasne antike i ranoga srednjeg vijeka*, doktorska disertacija, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu / unpublished PhD dissertation, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, 2013.
- Basić 2013c I. Basić, *Prilog valorizaciji periodizacijske komponente Karamanova opusa*, in: *Zbornik 3. kongresa hrvatskih povjesničara umjetnosti (Zagreb, 25.–27. XI. 2010.)*, A. Žmegač (ed.), Zagreb 2013, 319-323.
- Basić 2015 I. Basić, *Sjeverna i srednja Dalmacija u ranome srednjem vijeku*, in: *Nova zraka u europskom svjetlu: Hrvatske zemlje u ranome srednjem vijeku (oko 550 – oko 1150)* [Povijest Hrvata, I], Z. Nikolić Jakus (ed.), Zagreb 2015, 427-462.
- Basić 2016 I. Basić, *O recepciji kasnoantičke auličke tradicije u srednjobizantskom historiografskom diskurzu (primjeri iz »dalmatinskog dossiera« De administrando imperio)*, in: *Spomenica dr Tibora Živkovića*, I. R. Cvijanović, S. Rudić (eds.), Beograd 2016, 93-128.
- Basić 2017 I. Basić, *New evidence for the re-establishment of the Adriatic dioceses in the late eighth century*, in: *Imperial Spheres and the Adriatic: Byzantium, the Carolingians and the Treaty of Aachen (812)*, M. Ančić, J. Shepard, T. Vedriš (eds.), London – New York 2017, 261-287.
- Bougard 2015 F. Bougard, *Jugement divin, excommunication, anathème et malédiction: la sanction spirituelle dans les sources diplomatiques*, in: *Exclure de la communauté chrétienne. Sens et pratiques sociales de l'anathème et de l'excommunication (IV^e-XII^e siècle)* [Haut Moyen Âge, 23], G. Bühner-Thierry, S. Gioanni (eds.), Turnhout 2015, 215-238.
- Boye 1918 F. Boye, *Über die Poenformeln in den Urkunden des früheren Mittelalters*, Archiv für Urkundenforschung 6, Leipzig 1918, 77-148.
- Brandileone 1924 F. Brandileone, *Le clausole penali nei documenti bizantini dell'Italia meridionale*, Studi bizantini 1, Napoli 1924, 13-27.
- Brković 1993 M. Brković, *Sankcija u ispravama hrvatskih narodnih vladara*, Croatica Christiana Periodica 17/31, Zagreb 1993, 11-24.
- Brković 2011 M. Brković, *Diplomatička analiza Trpimirove i Muncimirove darovnice. U počast Mihe Barade*, Povijesni prilozi 41, Zagreb 2011, 85-129.
- Budak 1994 N. Budak, *Prva stoljeća Hrvatske*, Zagreb 1994.
- Budak 2017 N. Budak, *One more Renaissance? Dalmatia and the revival of the European economy*, in: *Imperial Spheres and the Adriatic: Byzantium, the Carolingians and the Treaty of Aachen (812)*, M. Ančić, J. Shepard, T. Vedriš (eds.), London – New York 2017, 174-191.

- Bulić 1901 F. Bulić, *Zapisnik šeste glavne skupštine "Bihaća", hrvatskoga društva za istraživanje domaće povijesti*, VHAD N.S. V, Zagreb 1901, 228-232.
- Burić 1982 T. Burić, *Predromanička skulptura u Trogiru*, SHP ser. III, 12, Split 1982, 127-160.
- Caillet 1988 J.-P. Caillet, *L'amende funéraire dans l'épigraphie chrétienne de Salone*, VAHD 81, Split 1988, 33-45.
- Caillet 1989 J.-P. Caillet, *L'apport de l'épigraphie de Salone à l'histoire de la Dalmatie dans l'Antiquité tardive*, CRAI CXXXIII/2, Paris 1989, 449-461.
- Cartocci 2001 M. C. Cartocci, *L'epitaffio di Bonusa e Menna*, Studi sull'oriente cristiano 5/2, Roma 2001, 187-192.
- Casanova 1916 E. Casanova, *Il cartulario della Berardenga*, Bullettino senese di storia patria XXIII/1, Siena 1916, 45-94.
- Cavedoni 1860 C. Cavedoni, *Annotazioni sopra l'iscrizione greca del Regio Museo*, Bull. Arch. Sard. VI/4, Cagliari 1860, 51-56.
- Cimarra 2003 L. Cimarra, *Testimonianze epigrafiche e manufatti altomedievali a Bomarzo*, Biblioteca e Società 48/3-4, Viterbo 2003, 35-40.
- Cruttwell 1878 C. T. Cruttwell, *A History of Roman Literature from the earliest period to the death of Marcus Aurelius*, New York 1878.
- Cumont 1895 F. Cumont, *Les inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Asie Mineure*, MEFRM 15, Rome 1895, 245-299.
- Curta 2010 F. Curta, *A note on trade and trade centers in the Eastern and Northern Adriatic region between the eighth and the ninth century*, Hort. Art. Mediev. 16, Zagreb – Motovun 2010, 267-276.
- Dadea 2008 M. Dadea, *Santa Greca: la martire di Decimomannu*, in: *Per una riscoperta della storia locale: la comunità di Decimomannu nella storia*, C. Decampus et al. (eds.), Decimomannu 2008, 177-202.
- Delalle 2006 I. Delalle, *Trogir. Vodič po njegovoj historiji, umjetnosti i životu*, Zagreb 2006.
- Delonga 1996 V. Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments of Early Medieval Croatia*, Split 1996.
- Delonga 2000 V. Delonga, *Kat. III.37*, in: *Hrvati i Karolinzi. Katalog*, A. Milošević (ed.), Split 2000, 147-148.
- Delonga 2001 V. Delonga, *Pismenost karolinškog doba i njeni hrvatski odjeci – latinska epigrafička baština u hrvatskim krajevima*, in: V. Delonga, N. Jakšić, M. Jurković, *Arhitektura, skulptura i epigrafika karolinškog doba u Hrvatskoj*, Split 2001, 54-87.
- Dölger 1956 F. Dölger, *Byzantinische Diplomatik. 20 Aufsätze zum Urkundenwesen der Byzantiner*, Ettal 1956.
- Dölger, Karayannopulos 1968 F. Dölger, J. Karayannopulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre I. Die Kaiserurkunden*, München 1968.
- Dresken-Weiland 1998 J. Dresken-Weiland, *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage*, Bd. 2. Italien mit einem Nachtrag Rom und Ostia, Dalmatien, Museen der Welt, Mainz am Rhein 1998.
- Duchesne, Bayet 1876 L. Duchesne, C. Bayet, *Mémoire sur une mission au mont Athos*, Paris 1876.
- Dzino 2010 D. Dzino, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat. Identity Transformations in Post-Roman and Early Medieval Dalmatia*, Leiden – Boston 2010.
- Dzino 2014 D. Dzino, *The rise and fall of the Dalmatian 'Big-men': Social structures in Late Antique, Post-Roman and Early Medieval Dalmatia (ca. 500-850)*, Studia Academica Šumenensia 1, Šumen 2014, 127-152.
- Dzino 2017 D. Dzino, *Post-Roman Dalmatia: Collapse and regeneration of a complex social system*, in: *Imperial Spheres and the Adriatic: Byzantium, the Carolingians and the Treaty of Aachen (812)*, M. Ančić, J. Shepard, T. Vedriš (eds.), London – New York 2017, 155-173.
- Dzino, Parry 2014 D. Dzino, K. Parry, *Introduction: Byzantium, its neighbours and its cultures*, in: *Byzantium, Its Neighbours and Its Cultures*, D. Dzino, K. Parry (eds.), Brisbane 2014, 1-9.

- Egidi 1914 P. Egidi, *Un documento cornetano del secolo decimo*, *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano* 34, Roma 1914, 1-6.
- Ermoni 1924 V. Ermoni, *Amende*, in: *DACL I/1*, Paris 1924, 1573-1574.
- Favreau 1995 R. Favreau, *Études d'épigraphie médiévale*, Limoges 1995.
- Favreau 2007 R. Favreau, *Inscriptions et résurrection des corps*, in: *De litteris, manuscriptis, inscriptionibus... Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Walter Koch*, T. Kölzer et al. (eds.), Wien – Köln – Weimar 2007, 279-292.
- Feissel 1980 D. Feissel, *Notes d'épigraphie chrétienne (IV)*, *BCH* 104/1, Paris 1980, 459-475.
- Feissel, Philippidis-Braat 1985 D. Feissel, A. Philippidis-Braat, *Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance, III: inscriptions du Péloponnèse*, *Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et civilisation byzantines* 9, Paris 1985, 267-395.
- Felle 2006 A. E. Felle, *Biblia epigraphica. La Sacra Scrittura nella documentazione epigrafica dell'Orbis christianus antiquus, III-VIII secolo* [*Inscriptiones christianae Italiae. Subsidia*, 5], Bari 2006.
- Felle 2014 A. E. Felle, *Expressions of hope quoted from Biblical texts in Christian funerary inscriptions (3rd-7th cent. C.E.)*, in: *Die Septuaginta – Text, Wirkung, Rezeption. 4. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 19.–22. Juli 2012* [*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*, 325], W. Kraus, S. Kreuzer (eds.), Tübingen 2014, 775-824.
- Felle 2015-2016 A. E. Felle, *Epigrafi dalla catacomba di S. Gennaro a Napoli. Status quaestionis e nuove acquisizioni per l'edizione nelle Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae*, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia LXXXVIII*, Roma 2015-2016, 389-422.
- Feniello, Martin 2011 A. Feniello, J.-M. Martin, *Clausole di anatema e di maledizione nei documenti (Italia meridionale e Sicilia, Sardegna, X-XII secolo)*, *MEFRM* 23/1, Rome 2011, 105-127.
- Feniello, Martin 2015 A. Feniello, J.-M. Martin, *Quelques réflexions sur la malédiction (Italie méridionale, X^e-XII^e siècle)*, in: *Exclure de la communauté chrétienne. Sens et pratiques sociales de l'anathème et de l'excommunication (IV^e-XII^e siècle)* [*Haut Moyen Âge*, 23], G. Bühner-Thierry, S. Giovanni (eds.), Turnhout 2015, 239-262.
- Ferluga 1978 J. Ferluga, *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia*, Venezia 1978.
- Ferrari 1910 G. Ferrari, *I documenti greci medioevali di diritto privato dell'Italia meridionale e loro attinenze con quelli bizantini d'Oriente e coi papiri greco-egizii* [*Byzantinisches Archiv*, 4], Leipzig 1910.
- Ferrua 1957 A. Ferrua, *Gli anatemi dei padri di Nicea*, *Civiltà cattolica* 108/IV, Roma 1957, 378-387.
- Flèche-Mourges et al. 1993 M.-P. Flèche-Mourges, P. Chevalier, A. Piteša, *Catalogue des sculptures du haut Moyen-Age du Musée archéologique de Split, I*, VAHD 85, Split 1993, 207-305.
- Forcella 1890 V. Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e degli altri edifici di Milano dal secolo VIII ai giorni nostri*, vol. III, Milano 1890.
- Фрейденберг 1958 М. М. Фрейденберг, *Экскуссия в Византии XI-XII вв*, *Ученые записки Великолукского государственного педагогического института* 3, Великие Луки 1958, 339-365.
- Gauthier 2003 P. Gauthier, *Bulletin épigraphique*, REG 116, Paris 2003, 559-684.
- Giulini 1854 G. Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia, al governo ed alla descrizione della città e campagna di Milano ne secoli bassi*, vol. 1, Milano 1854.
- Goldstein 1992 I. Goldstein, *Bizant na Jadranu od Justinijana I. do Bazilija I*, Zagreb 1992.
- Gračanin 2015 H. Gračanin, *Bizant na hrvatskom prostoru u ranome srednjem vijeku*, in: *Nova zraka u europskom svijetu: Hrvatske zemlje u ranome srednjem vijeku (oko 550 – oko 1150)* [*Povijest Hrvata*, I], Z. Nikolić Jakus (ed.), Zagreb 2015, 495-516.
- Gray 1948 N. Gray, *The paleography of Latin inscriptions in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries in Italy*, *Papers of the British School at Rome* 16, Rome 1948, 38-163.
- Grégoire 1922 H. Grégoire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*, tom. 1, Paris 1922.

- Guillou 1969 A. Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'Empire Byzantin au VII^e siècle: l'exemple de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie*, Roma 1969.
- Haspels 1971 C. H. E. Haspels, *Highlands of Phrygia: Sites and Monuments*, Princeton 1971.
- Hofmann 2008 P. Hofmann, *Infernal Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Charters*, PhD Thesis, University of St. Andrews 2008.
- Honigmann 1939 E. Honigmann, *La liste originale des Pères de Nicée*, Byzantion 14, Bruxelles 1939, 17-76.
- Honigmann 1942-1943 E. Honigmann, *The original lists of the members of the Council of Nicaea, the Robber-Synod and the Council of Chalcedon*, Byzantion 16, Bruxelles 1942-1943, 20-80.
- Honigmann 1950 E. Honigmann, *Un liste inédite des Pères de Nicée: Cod. Vatic. gr. 1587, fol. 335v-357v.*, Byzantion 20, Bruxelles 1950, 63-71.
- Ivanišević 1980 M. Ivanišević, *Trogir u povijesnim izvorima od 438. do 1097. godine*, Mogućnosti XXVII/10-11, Split 1980, 964-992.
- Ivanišević 1981 M. Ivanišević, *Neobjelodanjeni ranosrednjovjekovni latinski natpisi iz Trogira*, SHP ser. III, 11, Split 1981, 169-177.
- Ivić 2009 N. Ivić, *Bespuća filološke zbiljnosti*, in: *Napulj i druga imaginarna mjesta*, Zagreb 2009, 399-405.
- Jakšić 2004 N. Jakšić, *Pre-Romanesque Sarcophagi in Early Medieval Dalmatia*, Hort. Art. Mediev. 10, Zagreb – Motovun 2004, 7-14.
- Jalabert, Mouterde 1926 L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes*, in: *DACL VII/1*, Paris 1926, 623-694.
- Jarak 2013 M. Jarak, *Crkvena arhitektura 7. i 8. stoljeća. Uvod u studij predromanike*, Split 2013.
- Jaser 2013 C. Jaser, *Ecclesia maledicens. Rituelle und zeremonielle exkommunikationsformen im Mittelalter*, Tübingen 2013.
- Karaman 1929 Lj. Karaman, *Spomenici u Dalmaciji u doba hrvatske narodne dinastije i vlast Bizanta na istočnom Jadranu u to doba*, in: *Šišićev zbornik*, G. Novak (ed.), Zagreb 1929, 181-195.
- Karaman 1941-1942 Lj. Karaman, *O spomenicima VII. i VIII. stoljeća u Dalmaciji i o pokrštenju Hrvata*, VHAD XXII-XXIII, Zagreb 1942-1943, 73-113.
- Karbić, Grbavac 2015 D. Karbić, B. Grbavac, *Pravo i pragmatična pravna pismenost*, in: *Nova zraka u europskom svjetlu: Hrvatske zemlje u ranome srednjem vijeku (oko 550 – oko 1150)* [Povijest Hrvata, I], Z. Nikolić Jakus (ed.), Zagreb 2015, 237-253.
- Katičić 1998 R. Katičić, *Litterarum studia: književnost i naobrazba ranoga hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja*, Zagreb 1998.
- Klaić 1966-1967 N. Klaić, *Diplomatička analiza isprava iz doba narodne dinastije (II dio)*, HZ XIX-XX, Zagreb 1966-1967, 225-263.
- Klaić 1967 N. Klaić, *O Trpimirovoj darovnici kao diplomatičkom i historijskom dokumentu*, VAHD LXII (1960), Split 1967, 105-155.
- Klaić 1972 N. Klaić, *Izvori za hrvatsku povijest do 1526. godine*, Zagreb 1972.
- Klaić 1985 N. Klaić, *Trogir u srednjem vijeku. Knj. II, sv. I: Javni život grada i njegovih ljudi*, Trogir 1985.
- Kovačić 1992 V. Kovačić, *Ranokršćanski natpis iz Trogira*, Diadora 14, Zadar 1992, 301-310.
- Kovačić 1995 V. Kovačić, *Zabat s formulom zagovora iz Trogira*, PPUD 35 [Petriciolijev zbornik I], Split 1995, 293-302.
- Le Blant 1856 E. Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^e siècle*, tom. I, Paris 1856.
- Leclercq 1924 H. Leclercq, *Amendes (dans le droit funéraire)*, in: *DACL I/1*, Paris 1924, 1575-1598.
- Leclercq 1926 H. Leclercq, *Imprécations*, in: *DACL VII/1*, Paris 1926, 463-468.
- Liccardo 2008 G. Liccardo, *Redemptor meus vivit. Iscrizioni cristiane antiche dell'area napoletana*, Trapani 2008.
- Little 1975 L. K. Little, *Formules monastiques de malédiction aux IX^e et X^e siècles*, Revue Mabillon LVIII/262, Paris 1975, 377-399.

- Little 1993 L. K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions. Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France*, Ithaca – London 1993.
- Lomartire, Segagni 2000 S. Lomartire, A. Segagni, *Cat. 264: Tomba della badessa Aripurga, seconda metà dell'VIII secolo*, in: *Il futuro dei Longobardi. L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno*, C. Bertelli, G.-P. Brogiolo (eds.), Milano 2000, 248-249.
- Lonza 2016 N. Lonza, *Zadarski fragment Lex Dei iz 9. stoljeća i pitanje pravnih izvora rano-srednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih gradova*, Rad HAZU 525, Zagreb 2016, 127-144.
- Mai 1831 A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita*, tom. V, Roma 1831.
- Marasović 2011 T. Marasović, *Dalmatia praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji 3. Korpus arhitekture – Srednja Dalmacija*, Split – Zagreb 2011.
- Margetić 2002 L. Margetić, *O Šufflayevu radu Die dalmatinische Privaturkunde*, HZ 49, Zagreb 1996, 33-40 = *Prikazi i diskusije*, Split 2002, 125-132.
- Martin 2011a J.-M. Martin, *Les actes sardes (XI^e-XII^e siècle)*, in: *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e-XII^e siècle) I: La fabrique documentaire*, J.-M. Martin et al. (eds.), Rome 2011, 191-205.
- Martin 2011b J.-M. Martin, *Les documents de Naples, Amalfi, Gaète (IX^e-XII^e siècle). Écriture, diplomatique, notariat*, in: *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e-XII^e siècle) I: La fabrique documentaire*, J.-M. Martin et al. (eds.), Rome 2011, 51-85.
- Martorelli 2010 R. Martorelli, *Insedamenti monastici in Sardegna dalle origini al XV secolo: linee essenziali*, Rivista dell'Istituto di storia dell'Europa Mediterranea 4, Roma 2010, 39-72.
- Marun 1896 L. Marun, *Izvjestaj Upraviteljstva Hrvatskoga starinarskog društva u Kninu o društvenom radu i napredku kroz zadnji tromjesec*, SHP II/2, Knin 1896, 124-125.
- Marun 1998 L. Marun, *Starinarski dnevnic*, M. Petrinec (ed.), Split 1998.
- Mastino 2000 A. Mastino, *L'indizione in due iscrizioni cristiane dalla Sardegna vandala o bizantina*, in: *ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΑΙ. Miscellanea epigrafica in onore di Lidio Gasperini*, vol. II, G. Paci (ed.), Tivoli 2000, 595-611.
- Mastino 2007 A. Mastino, *La Risurrezione della carne nelle iscrizioni latine del primo cristianesimo*, in: *Morte-Risurrezione nei Padri della Chiesa* [Dizionario di spiritualità biblico-patristica, 45], Roma 2007, 289-332.
- Mathisen 2009 R. Mathisen, *Ricimer's church in Rome: how an Arian barbarian prospered in a Nicene world*, in: *The power of religion in Late Antiquity*, N. Lenski, A. Cain (eds.), Farnham – Burlington 2009, 307-325.
- Matijašić 2002 R. Matijašić, *Uvod u latinsku epigrafiju*, Pula 2002.
- Mazzoleni 1998 D. Mazzoleni, *Considerazioni sull'epigrafia dei secoli VI-VII in Italia*, in: *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Split-Poreč, 25. 9-1. 10. 1994.*, vol. II, N. Cambi, E. Marin (eds.), Città del Vaticano – Split 1998, 881-892.
- McCormick 1998 M. McCormick, *The Imperial Edge: Italo-Byzantine Identity, Movement and Integration, A.D. 650-950*, in: *Studies on the internal diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, H. Ahrweiler, A. E. Laiou (eds.), Washington D.C. 1998, 17-52.
- Michel 1924 C. Michel, *Anathème*, in: *DAACL I/2*, Paris 1924, 1926-1940.
- Mihaljčić, Steindorff 1982 R. Mihaljčić, L. Steindorff, *Glossar zur frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte im östlichen Europa, Beiheft 2: Namentragende Steininschriften in Jugoslawien vom Ende des 7. bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 1982.
- Mošin 1954 V. Mošin, *Sankcija u vizantijskoj i u južnoslavenskoj ćirilskoj diplomaciji*, Anali Historijskog instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku 3, Dubrovnik 1954, 27-52.
- Muratori 1742 L. A. Muratori, *Novus thesaurus veterum inscriptionum*, tom. IV, Mediolani 1742.
- Nagy 1925 J. Nagy, *Diplomatičko-paleografske studije*, Vjesnik Kr. državnog arkiva u Zagrebu I, Zagreb 1925, 17-45.
- Ostojić 1964 I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima. Sv. 2. Benediktinci u Dalmaciji*, Split 1964.

- Ostojić 1967 I. Ostojić, *Religiozni elementi u diplomatskim izvorima stare Hrvatske*, Crkva u svijetu 2/3, Split 1967, 49-70.
- Pacifici 1925-1926 V. Pacifici, *Tivoli nel medio-evo (parte prima)*, Atti e Memorie della Società Tiburtina di Storia e d'Arte V-VI, Tivoli 1925-1926, 3-368.
- Paris, Holleaux 1885 P. Paris, M. Holleaux, *Inscriptions de Carie*, BCH 9, Paris 1885, 68-84.
- Patsch 1900 C. Patsch, *Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina 7, Wien 1900, 33-166.
- Perret 1851 L. Perret, *Catacombes de Rome, vol. V: Inscriptions, figures et symboles gravés sur pierre*, Paris 1851.
- Peters-Custot 2009 A. Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale post-byzantine, IX^e-XIV^e siècle. Une acculturation en douceur*, Rome 2009.
- Peters-Custot 2012 A. Peters-Custot, *La mention du sénatus-consulte velléien dans les actes grecs d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile*, in: *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e-XII^e siècle) II: Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques*, J.-M. Martin et al. (eds.), Rome 2012, 51-72.
- Petrak 2015 M. Petrak, *Bizantska duhovna sankcija prokletstva 318 otaca u zadarskim srednjovjekovnim pravnim aktima*, in: *Antiquitatis sollemnia. Antidoron Mate Suić. Znanstveni skup, 3-7. studenog 2015. u Zagrebu i Zadru. Sažetci priopćenja*, J. Marohnić, B. Kuntić-Makvić (eds.), Zagreb 2015, 33.
- Petrak 2016a M. Petrak, *Nobile hoc Romani Imperii monumentum: Laudes imperiales in Byzantine Dalmatia*, *Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité* 63, Liège 2016, 263-278.
- Petrak 2016b M. Petrak, *O najstarijoj bizantsko-slavenskoj pravnoj zbirci u Hrvatskoj*, in: *Liber amicorum-zbornik radova posvećen Antunu Cvitaniću*, Ž. Radić (ed.), Split 2016, 79-92.
- Pietri 1997 C. Pietri, *Inscriptions funéraires latines*, in: *Christiana respublica. Éléments d'une enquête sur le christianisme antique*, Rome 1997, 1407-1468.
- Piteša 2012 A. Piteša, *Ranosrednjovjekovni kameni spomenici u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu / Early medieval stone monuments in the Archaeological Museum in Split*, Split 2012.
- Porta 1974 P. Porta, *Una lastra marmorea inedita della pieve di Montesorbo con raffigurazione di croce a treccia ed iscrizione latina*, *Felix Ravenna* 107-108, Ravenna 1974, 219-239.
- Porta 2009 P. Porta, *Evergetismo ecclesiastico tra medio e alto Adriatico: sculture altomedievali del territorio ferrarese*, in: *Ideologia e cultura artistica tra Adriatico e Mediterraneo orientale (IV-X secolo). Il ruolo dell'autorità ecclesiastica alla luce di nuovi scavi e ricerche. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Bologna-Ravenna, 26-29 Novembre 2007*, R. Farioli Campanati et al. (eds.), Bologna 2009, 425-442.
- Prévot 2010 F. Prévot, *Formules de protection de la tombe*, in: *Salona IV. Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IV^e-VII^e siècles*, vol. 1, N. Gauthier et al. (eds.), Rome – Split 2010, 52-58.
- Ramsay 1897 W. M. Ramsay, *The cities and bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. I/2, Oxford 1897.
- Ramsay 1908 W. M. Ramsay, *Luke the Physician and Other Studies in the History of Religion*, New York 1908.
- Rapanić 1980 Ž. Rapanić, *Iz prošlosti srednjovjekovnoga Trogira*, *Mogućnosti* XXVII/10-11, Split 1980, 993-1000.
- Rapanić 1987 Ž. Rapanić, *Predromaničko doba u Dalmaciji*, Split 1987.
- Raspi Serra 1974 J. Raspi Serra, *Corpus della scultura altomedievale, vol. VIII. Le diocesi dell'Alto Lazio*, Spoleto 1974.
- Rebillard 2009 E. Rebillard, *The care of the dead in Late Antiquity*, Ithaca – London 2009.
- Reinach 1906 T. Reinach, *Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias*, REG XIX/84-85, Paris 1906, 79-150, 205-298.
- Robert, Robert 1963 J. Robert, L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique*, REG LXXVI/359-360, Paris 1963, 121-192.

- Robert 1978 L. Robert, *Malédictiones funéraires grecques*, CRAI CXXII/2, Paris 1978, 241-289.
- Roueché 1989 C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity. The late Roman and Byzantine inscriptions including texts from the excavations at Aphrodisias*, London 1989.
- Ruggeri, Sanna 1999 P. Ruggeri, D. Sanna, *L'epigrafia paleocristiana della Sardegna: Theodor Mommsen e la condanna delle "falsae"*, in: *La Sardegna paleocristiana tra Eusebio e Gregorio Magno. Atti del Convegno nazionale di studi, Cagliari, 10-12 ottobre 1996*, A. Mastino et al. (eds.), Cagliari 1999, 405-435.
- Saradi 1994 H. Saradi, *Cursing in the Byzantine notarial acts: A form of warranty*, Byzantina 17, Thessaloniki 1994, 441-533.
- Saradi 2009 H. Saradi, *A history of the Greek notarial system*, in: *Handbuch zur Geschichte des Notariats der europäischen Traditionen*, M. Schmoeckel, W. Schubert (eds.), Baden-Baden 2009, 523-558.
- Serra 2015 P. Serra, *Genesi e testualità della scrittura sarda medioevale: sondaggi e ipotesi sulla "Carta di Nicita"*, in: *Modelli epistemologici, metodologie della ricerca e qualità del dato. Dalla linguistica storica alla sociolinguistica storica*, P. Molineili, I. Putzu (eds.), Milano 2015, 216-241.
- Shepard 2017 J. Shepard, *Introduction: Circles overlapping in the Upper Adriatic*, in: *Imperial Spheres and the Adriatic: Byzantium, the Carolingians and the Treaty of Aachen (812)*, M. Ančić, J. Shepard, T. Vedriš (eds.), London – New York 2017, 1-22.
- Sironen 2001 E. Sironen, *Lateinische Ehreninschriften für Constantin den Großen und seine Nachfolger und andere Inschriften der Spätzeit aus Attika*, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 136, Bonn 2001, 257-266.
- Skok 1915 P. Skok, *Pojave vulgarno-latinskoga jezika na natpisima rimske provincije Dalmacije*, Zagreb 1915.
- Spano 1859 G. Spano, *Sarcophago greco del Regio Museo di Cagliari*, *Bull. Arch. Sard.* V/11, Cagliari 1859, 164-167.
- Speyer 1969 W. Speyer, *Fluch*, in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, VII, Stuttgart 1969, 1160-1288.
- Станојевић 1922 С. Станојевић, *Студије о српској дипломатици X. Санкција*, Глас Српске краљевске академије 100, Beograd 1922, 1-48.
- Stipišić 1985 J. Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti u teoriji i praksi*, Zagreb 1985.
- Strika 2004 Z. Strika, *Kada i gdje se prvi put spominje zadarski biskup?*, *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 46, Zadar 2004, 31-64.
- Strinna 2017 G. Strinna, *Litteris semigraecis ac barbaris exarata monumenta. Sulla scripta sarda in caratteri greci*, *Archivio storico sardo* LII, Cagliari 2017, 9-47.
- Svennung 1949-1950 J. Svennung, *L'évolution de la préposition italienne da a partir de de ab dans le latin*, *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi* XXI, Bruxelles 1948-1950, 55-85.
- Šišić 1914 F. Šišić, *Priručnik izvora hrvatske historije I/1 (do god. 1107.): uvod, natpisi i isprave*, Zagreb 1914.
- Šufflay 1904 M. Šufflay, *Die dalmatinische Privaturkunde* [Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 147], Wien 1914.
- Taft, Kazhdan 1991 R. F. Taft, A. Kazhdan, *Cursing*, in: *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 1, A. P. Kazhdan (ed.), New York – Oxford 1991, 565.
- Tonini 1856 L. Tonini, *Della storia civile e sacra riminese, II. Rimini dal principio dell'era volgare all'anno MCC*, Rimini 1856.
- Ζακυθηνός 1957 Δ. Α. Ζακυθηνός, *Κάστρον Λακεδαιμόνος*, *Ἑλληνικά* 15, Thessaloniki 1957, 95-111.
- Zimmermann 1974-1975 M. Zimmermann, *Protocoles et préambules dans les documents catalans du X^e au XII^e siècle: évolution diplomatique et signification spirituelle*, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 10, Paris 1974-1975, 41-76.
- Zimmermann 1994 M. Zimmermann, *Le vocabulaire latin de la malédiction du IX^e au XII^e siècle. Construction d'un discours eschatologique*, *Atalaya. Revue française d'études médiévales hispaniques* 5, Paris 1994, 37-55.
- Zović 2015 V. Zović, *Vulgarni latinitet na natpisima rimske provincije Dalmacije / Vulgar Latin in inscriptions from the Roman province of Dalmatia*, VAHD 108, Split 2015, 157-222.