

ROTONDA SV. TROJSTVA (CRKVA SV. DONATA) U ZADRU: PROBLEM FUNKCIJE SKRIVENE PROSTORIJE I JUŽNE PRIGRADNJE*

THE ROTUNDA OF HOLY TRINITY (ST. DONATUS' CHURCH) IN ZADAR: THE FUNCTION OF THE HIDDEN CHAMBER AND THE SOUTHERN ANNEX*

U radu se obrađuju dvije intrigantne prostorije u sklopu kompleksne crkve Sv. Trojstva (sv. Donata) u Zadru. Jedna je oku skrivena u međuprostoru donje i gornje sjeverne bočne apside. Ta je možda mogla biti namijenjena riznici ili depozitoriju crkvenih dragocjenosti. Slični ambijenti uočeni su na primjerima ravenskih kasnoantičkih građevina. Druga prostorija jest u biti cijela južna prigradnja koje više nema, a za koju se, na temelju analogija i baroknih intervencija koje su tješnje povezale crkvu sv. Donata s kapitularnom dvoranom, odnosno sakristijom zadarske katedrale, pretpostavlja da je mogla biti namijenjena sekretonu ili dvorani za vijećanje, svojevrsnoj sakristiji.

Cljučne riječi: Donat, sakristija, prigradnja, riznica, obred, matronej, Bizant

This paper analyzes two intriguing chambers in the complex structure of the Holy Trinity (St. Donatus) Church in Zadar. One is out of sight, hidden in the space between the lower and upper northern lateral apse. It could have been used as a treasury or depository of church treasures. Similar spaces are found in Late Antiquity structures in Ravenna. The other chamber is actually the entire – now gone – southern annex to the church. Based on analogies, and also on the Baroque alterations that resulted in a closer connection between St. Donatus' Church and the chapter house and sacristy of the Zadar Cathedral, it is believed it could have been used as a sekreton or conference hall – a sacristy of a sort.

Key words: Donatus, sacristy, annex, treasury, ritual, matroneum, Byzantium

* Ovaj rad posvećujem svom dragom profesoru Pavuši Vežiću povodom sedamdesete obljetnice njegova rođenja i pedesete godišnjice uspješnih konzervatorskih i povijesno-umjetničkih angažmana.

* This work is dedicated to my dear Professor Pavuša Vežić on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, also celebrating his fifty-year long and successful career in heritage conservation and art history.

UVOD

„Građevine katkada postanu simbolom grada u kojemu se nalaze.“¹ Rotonda Sv. Trojstva u Zadru, odnosno crkva sv. Donata, jedan je od najupečatljivijih simbola grada Zadra (Sl. 1). Monumentalna građevina podignuta tijekom više desetljeća ranog srednjeg vijeka plijenila je pažnju mnogih pisaca i znanstvenika koji su je često vezivali uz dvije dominantne struje onog razdoblja: karolinšku i bizantsku umjetnost.² I iako je niz istraživača zaslužan za prepoznavanje stilskih elemenata njezina vizualnog identiteta,³ može se s pravom reći da je pravo razotkrivanje građevine nastupilo tek pedesetih godina 20. st. zahvaljujući istraživanjima Instituta za historijske nauke u Zadru pod vodstvom akademika Ive Petriciolija te potom kasnih 60-ih s konzervatorskim radovima Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika u Zadru u kojima je i dalje sudjelovao I. Petricioli, a uz njega Ksenija Radulić i Pavuša Vežić.⁴ Upravo je potonji 80-ih godina kao voditelj radova stručnim angažmanom i pedantnim dešifriranjem slojevitosti građevine postao neraskidivo (po)vezan uz nju, na isti način kao što je ona, „građevina jedinstvene forme te velike kulturno-povijesne i umjetničke vrijednosti“,⁵ neraskidivo vezana uz njegovo ime. Dvije značajne edicije P. Vežića publicirane su nakon tih istraživanja i znanstvenih spoznaja,⁶ a ovom prilikom posebna mi je čast pridodati jednu crticu u otkrivanju još uvijek *tajnovitih* ambijenata u povijesti crkve sv. Donata. U prilogu se, stoga, kao prvo analizira skrivena prostorija u podu sjeverne bočne apsida na razini matroneja, koja je mogla biti u namjeni riznice (radi se o prostoriji koja nije vidljiva pukim obilaženjem građevine pa stoga u sebi sadrži dozu tajnovitosti), dok je glavno težište stavljeno na one prostorije kojih više nema i čija je funkcija još uvijek tajna/zagonetka istraživačima, a kojima ću barem pokušati pretpostaviti namjenu u vidu pomoćnih, sasvim specifičnih sakristijskih ambijenata (grč. *sekreton*, lat. *secretaria*).

Započinjući raspravu o crkvi sv. Donata svakako na početku treba naglasiti njezin smještaj u sklopu najvažnije sakralne rezidencije grada – episkopalnog kompleksa.⁷

1 P. Vežić, 2002, 7.

2 Od važnijih pisaca navodim Konstantina Porfirogeneta (M. Suić, 1981, 5-29; M. Lončar, 1999, 235-243) i Thomasa G. Jacksona (T. G. Jackson, 1887, 249-260).

3 Iznosim samo one ključne autore: R. Eitelberger, 1861, 32-37; 1884, 84-137; C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 384-390; G. Smirich, 1901, 46-65; V. Brunelli, 1913, 185-201; C. M. Iveković, 1928.

4 P. Vežić, 1985, 47-56.

5 P. Vežić, 2002, 7.

6 U publikacijama P. Vežića zastupljena je cjelokupna historiografija te je suvišno na ovom mjestu izlagati sva imena autora koji obrađuju crkvu sv. Donata (P. Vežić, 2002, 57-59). Ujedno su Vežićeve edicije bogate dokumentarnim i grafičkim prilozima na osnovi kojih je došao do neoborivih zaključaka o bitnim konstruktivnim elementima i fazama gradnje. Stoga će upravo one biti i najčešće citirane u tekstu. Prvi sistematični znanstveni rad na temu građevine jest magisterij samoga konzervatora: P. Vežić, 1991. Potom slijede monografije: P. Vežić, 1985; 2002. Uz monografije crkva je također sustavno obrađena i u disertaciji istog autora – *Episkopalni kompleks u Zadru*, obranjenom 1994. na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zadru, a nedavno je i ona publicirana kao knjiga. P. Vežić, 2013, 35-44, 50, 66-67, 100-104, 131. Naravno, tu je i veći broj znanstvenih članaka koji će biti citirani dalje u raspravi.

7 P. Vežić, 1995, 150-161; 1998, 55-70; 2000, 155-164, v. kat. br. III. 48 i III. 49.



Slika 1. Južna strana rotunde Sv. Trojstva u Zadru, današnje stanje
Figure 1. Southern side of rotunda of Holy Trinity in Zadar, present

izvor / source: P. Vežić, 2002, 56

INTRODUCTION

“Buildings sometimes become symbols of the cities they are in.”¹ The rotunda of Holy Trinity (St. Donatus’ Church) in Zadar is one of the most distinctive symbols of Zadar (Fig. 1). Built over decades in the Early Middle Ages, the monumental structure attracted the attention of numerous writers and scientists, who often associated it with two dominant influences in the art of the period – Carolingian and Byzantine.² Although a number of researchers deserve credit for identifying the elements of its visual identity,³ we can say with all reason that the true revelations about this structure occurred not earlier than in the 1950s, during the research carried out by the Zadar Institute for Historical Sciences headed by Ivo Petricioli, and then in late 1960s, during the conservation work carried out by the Zadar Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and with participation of I. Petricioli, Ksenija Radulić and Pavuša Vežić.⁴ It was the name of Pavuša Vežić that, due to his professional commitment and meticulous deciphering of the

1 P. Vežić, 2002, 7.

2 Of relevant authors, I will mention here Constantine Porphyrogenitus (M. Suić, 1981, 5-29, 6; M. Lončar, 1999, 235-243) and Thomas G. Jackson (T. G. Jackson, 1887, 249-260).

3 I am mentioning here only the crucial authors: R. Eitelberger, 1861, 32-37; 1884, 84-137; C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 384-390; G. Smirich, 1901, 46-65; V. Brunelli, 1913, 185-201; C. M. Iveković, 1928.

4 P. Vežić, 1985, 47-56.

Vrijeme njezina nastanka povezuje se s razdobljem druge polovine 8. st., kada se većina antičkih i (post)rimskih spomenika u neposrednoj blizini negira, čime oni postaju temelji na kojima se podiže građevina. Tako su se u podnožju perimetralnog plašta crkve zatekli dijelovi vijenaca i tambura rimskih spolija, odnosno dijelovi žrtvenika u podnožju njezinih potporanja nutarnjeg prstena.

U kraćem opisu rotonde Sv. Trojstva valja istaknuti jezgrovitost njezina tlocrta i dvije faze građenja. U prvoj fazi crkva je podignuta kao monumentalna centralna građevina kružnog tlocrta s tri duboke potkovaste apside na istočnoj strani i ulazom na zapadnoj strani (pritom je orijentacija usmjerena na pravilan geografski položaj I-Z). Rotonda je u interijeru bila podijeljena na dva ophoda uz pomoć potporanja, vjerojatno stupovima, dok je perimetralni zid s unutarnje strane raščlanjen plitkim nišama. U elevaciji je građevina bila jednoetažna, prekrivena drvenim gredama od kojih su sačuvani materijalni ostatci. Na njima se provela i analiza metodom radioaktivnog izotopa ugljika koja je upućivala na vrijeme 710., +/- 25, kao godine obaranja drva.⁸ To je ujedno bila donja granica za dataciju rotonde, no ona se kasnije istom metodom korigirala na godinu 750. +/- 20 godina.⁹ Datacija druge polovine 8. st. odgovarala bi stilskim crtama same rotonde s plitkim lezenama na vanjskom plaštu koje se penju do nivoa krovišta. Međutim, desetljeće nakon tih analiza provela su se nova mjerenja u dendrokronološkom laboratoriju na Sveučilištu Cornell u SAD-u koja su polučila rezultate vezane uz kasniji period, točnije dataciju u 866. godinu.¹⁰ Iako se, dakle, rezultati ne podudaraju, za raspravu oni i nisu od presudne važnosti jer se težište stavlja na funkciju danas zamrlih liturgijskih prostora crkve.

U drugoj fazi svojeg nastanka crkva je doživjela drastične promjene. Ona se podiže u visinu i širi na bočnim stranama dobivši na sjeveroistočnoj i jugozapadnoj strani anekse (Sl. 2). Centralni kružni prostor s tri apside ostaje netaknut; na sjeveroistočnoj strani podiže se aneks nepravilnog trapezoidnog oblika s vratima na sjevernoj strani, dok se uz oblinu rotonde priljubljuje zavojito stepenište koje vodi na njezin gornji kat, matronej (Sl. 3). On prati prstenasto oblikovanje donjeg nivoa građevine u cijelom njezinu obujmu, uključujući i tri apside na začelju. Gornji kat dosta je niži od donje etaže. S jugozapadne strane podignut je pravokutni aneks identične visine kao crkva, zbog čega je uspostavljena komunikacija na galeriji dvama dvostrukim prolazima sa stupom po sredini. Prigradnja je u biti zahvaćala jugozapadni dio rotonde sve do južne bočne apside. Zbog nastale masivnosti interijer građevine je na donjem nivou i na galeriji podijeljen monumentalnim trapezoidnim pilonima te dvama stupovima pred apsidama. Na

complex nature of St. Donatus in the 1980s, became inextricably connected with this structure, just like the rotunda – “a structure of a unique form and of great cultural, historical and artistic value”⁵ – is inextricably connected with his name. Two important publications by P. Vežić resulted from this research.⁶ I am honored to be able to add this small contribution of mine to the discovering of the still *mysterious* chambers linked with the history of St. Donatus' Church. First, the paper analyzes the chamber hidden in the floor of the northern lateral apse on the matroneum level that could have been used as a treasury (unlike other, accessible rooms, this chamber cannot be seen during a regular visit to the church – hence this veil of mystery). The paper then focuses on the rooms which are now gone and the purpose of which is still a mystery. I am trying to make a hypothesis about their function here, suggesting they were used as specific sacristy rooms (Gr. *sekretion*, Lat. *secretaria*).

When discussing St. Donatus' Church, one should be sure to underline that it is located in the Episcopal Complex – the city's most important sacral residence.⁷ Its origins can be traced to the second half of the 8th century, when the function of most of the antique and (post)Roman monuments in the immediate vicinity was neutralized and turned into foundations of new structures. This is how fragments of cornices and drums of Roman *spolia* ended up underneath the church's perimeter wall and fragments of an altar underneath the inner side of the church's round walls.

When describing the rotund of the Holy Trinity, it is important to notice its compact ground plan and the fact that it was built in two phases. In the first phase, it was erected as a monumental round-plan structure of a central type, with three deep, horseshoe-shaped apses on its eastern side and the entrance on its western side (the church has an exact east-west orientation). The rotunda's interior was divided in two ambulatories supported – probably – by columns, while the perimeter wall was segmented by shallow niches on the inside. The structure was a single-storied one, covered with wooden beams the remains of which have been preserved. Radiocarbon dating indicated

8 D. Srdoč – A. Slipečević – B. Obelić, 1974, 19.

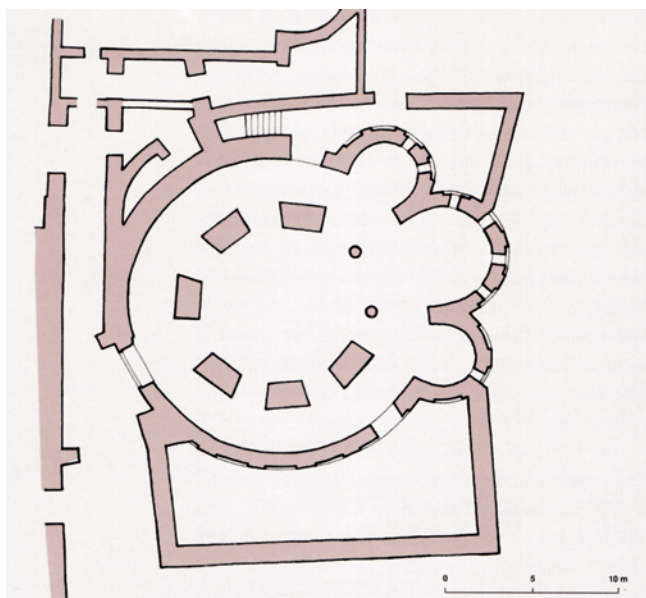
9 P. Vežić, 2002, 118, 125; 1985, 43, crtež 7.

10 M. Jarak, 1995, 119.

5 P. Vežić, 2002, 7.

6 As the complete historiography can be found in P. Vežić's publications, there is no need to cite here the names of all the authors studying St. Donatus' Church (P. Vežić, 2002, 57-59). Vežić's works also contain numerous documents and illustrations that helped him make irrefutable conclusions about the relevant structural elements and phases of the construction. This is why they are the ones cited here the most. The first systematic scientific paper on the rotunda is its own conservationist's master's thesis: P. Vežić, 1991. Then follow monographs: P. Vežić, 1985; 2002. Besides in the monographs, the church was also systematically analyzed in the doctoral thesis of the same author – *Episcopal Complex in Zadar* – defended at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zadar in 1994 and recently also published as a book (P. Vežić, 2013, 35-44, 50, 66-67, 100-104, 131). Of course, there is also a number of scientific papers which will be cited further in this discussion.

7 P. Vežić, 1995, 150-161; 1998, 55-70; 2000, 155-164 (cat. no. III. 48, III. 49).



Slika 2. Tlocrt prizemlja crkve kao kompleksne građevine, 9. st.
Figure 2. Ground floor plan of St. Donatus' Church as complex structure, 9th century

izvor / source: P. Vežić, 2002, 84

vanjskom oplošju apsida dosljedno se provela raščlanjenost plitkim lezenama koje se protežu do nivoa krovništva. Druga faza datira se u prva desetljeća 9. st.¹¹

S obzirom na provedena kemijska istraživanja drvenih greda prvotnog krovništva i stilskih analiza većeg broja znanstvenika, napuštena je pretpostavka M. Suića (kao i nekih istomišljenika prije njega) koji su crkvu, barem njezin prvi projekt, datirali u kasnoantičko razdoblje, iako su tragovi teorije o ranoj dataciji građevine ostali zadržani kod određenih autora.¹² Crkva sv. Donata nedvojbeno je ranosrednjovjekovni produkt, no jednako tako vrlo je zanimljivo što su elementi koji proizlaze upravo iz kasnoantičkih građevina pronađeni u koncepciji zadarske crkve, o čemu će biti riječi u nastavku.

U iščitavanju pak funkcije ova je crkva dugo bila više nego intrigantna te još uvijek plijeni pozornost znanstvenika. Prvi koji je vrlo uvjerljivo pretpostavio razloge njezina postojanja u namjeni tzv. palatinske kapele, preciznije u ovom slučaju biskupove ili rezidencijalne kapele, odnosno crkve ili oratorija, bio je njezin najzaslužniji istraživač – P. Vežić: „Dakle, kompleksna rotunda – ujedno rezidencijalna kapela, (...) svojom strukturom i veličinom izražava novi status gradske uprave, ali i samoga grada u sustavu pokrajine i carske vlasti u njoj. S njom zadarski *episkopium* postaje svojevrsni vladarski *palatium* te možda baš u toj

that the trees they were made from had been felled in AD 710. +/- 25.⁸ It was also the flower limit for the rotunda's dating, but, using the same method, it was later corrected to AD 750. +/- 20.⁹ This dating to the second half of the 8th century corresponded with the style characteristics of the rotunda, with its shallow lesenes on the outer wall reaching the roof frame. However, a decade after these analyses, new tests were carried out in the dendrochronological laboratory at the Cornell University, yielding different dating results – AD 866.¹⁰ The results are not the same, but the fact is not crucial for this discussion because it is focused on the function of the church's liturgical premises which are not in use today.

In the second phase of its construction, the church underwent drastic changes. Its height was increased and it was extended laterally; annexes were built on its north-eastern and southwestern sides (Fig. 2). The round central plan with three apses remained intact. An asymmetrical trapezoid annex with a door on its northern side was built on the northeastern side and a winding staircase leading to the rotunda's upper floor, matroneum, was built along its round wall (Fig. 3). The matroneum follows the ring-shaped lower part of the structure along its entire perimeter, including three apses on the rear wall. The upper floor is much lower than the lower story. A rectangular annex, of equal height as the church, was erected on the southwestern side, thus providing two gallery-level double walkways, each with a column in the center. The annex extended along the rotunda's southwestern side all the way to the southern lateral apse. Due to this newly added mass, the interior had to be segmented on both lower and gallery levels. It was done using monumental trapezoid pillars and two columns in front of the apses. The outer wall of the apses was consistently segmented using shallow lesenes extending to the roof frame. The second phase is dated to the early decades of the 9th century.¹¹

Based on the chemical analysis of the wooden beams of the original roof and analyses of the style carried out by a number of scientists, the hypothesis of M. Suić (and others before him) that the church – or at least its first project – should be dated to Late Antiquity has been abandoned, although traces of the early-dating theory remain in works of some authors.¹² While it is beyond doubt that St. Donatus' Church is an early medieval product, the fact that elements typical of Late Antiquity were found in the conception of this Zadar church is also very interesting. This will be discussed further in the next.

8 D. Srdoč – A. Slipečević – B. Obelić, 1973-1974, 19.

9 P. Vežić, 2002, 118, 125; 1985, 43, drawing 7.

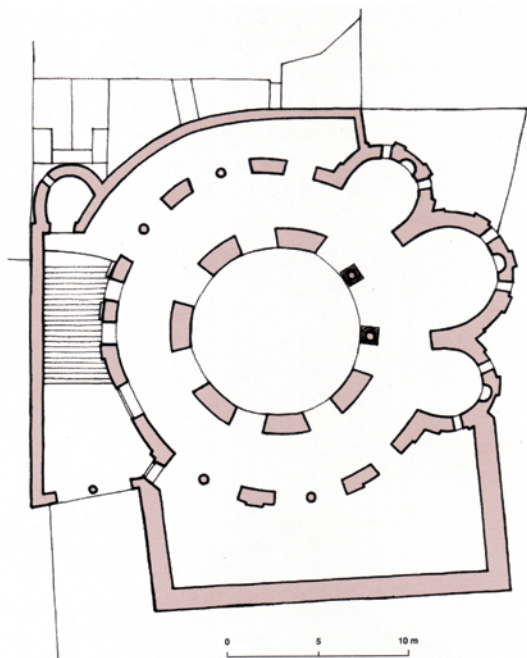
10 M. Jarak, 1995, 119.

11 P. Vežić, 2013, 38-41; 2002, 125.

12 M. Suić, 1981, 335-336; M. Jarak, 1995, 117-123.

11 P. Vežić, 2013, 38-41; 2002, 125.

12 M. Suić, 1981, 335-336; M. Jarak, 1995, 117-123.



Slika 3. Tlocrt galerije crkve Sv. Trojstva, 9. st.
 Figure 3. Plan of gallery of Church of Holy Trinity, 9th century
 izvor / source: P. Vežić, 2002, 85

ideji valja sagledavati prestrajavanje episkopija i osobito izgradnju palatinske kapele u njemu.¹³

Rotonda Sv. Trojstva, odnosno crkva sv. Donata u svom vizualnom, pa i u funkcionalnom smislu odraz je političke situacije onodobne sredine koja je mahom bila prožeta dvojakim utjecajima s dva različita stilska i liturgijska pola: Istoka i Zapada.¹⁴ Ona je zorni primjer bivalentne kulture koja je prevladavala u Zadru kao glavnom gradu bizantskog temata, ali i gradu koji je od samih početaka pripadao rimskoj Crkvi i njezinim obrednim smjernicama.¹⁵ Stoga i samu građevinu treba promatrati u dvojakom ili sinteznom stilu proizaslom iz bizantskog i franačkog ishodišta, jer će se u njoj jednako tako pretakati i obredi proizišli iz navedenih centara. To se također očitava i u gradskim i crkvenim čelnicima: gradski prior predstavnik je bizantske carske vlasti, a gradski biskup rimske ili papinske vlasti.¹⁶

13 P. Vežić, 2002, 124.

14 P. Vežić, 2002, 18.

15 P. Vežić, 2002, 22-23, 99-100. Inače, autor u monografiji iznosi tezu o zadarskim biskupima koji su od 732. godine i proklamacije edikta bizantskog cara Lava III. formalno priznavali carigradskog patrijarha, no koji su praktički i dalje provodili obrede rimske Crkve (P. Vežić, 2002, 13; R. Katičić, 1998, 237). Međutim, suvremena historiografija opovrgava navedenu tezu te kritički razlaže povijesne fakte o konstantnoj pripadnosti Dalmacije zapadnom centru kršćanske religije, odnosno Rimu, kao što je to bilo od samih početaka, dakle od vremena kasne antike („U svjetlu novijih istraživačkih rezultata više ni u kojem pogledu ne može biti govora o gubitku jurisdikcije Rima nad istočnim Jadranom, ni u VIII. stoljeću, a ni poslije, sve do vremena Focijeva raskola u drugoj polovini IX. stoljeća“: I. Basić, 2014, 149-195; citat na 154-155. U radu je navedena opsežna literatura o tom pitanju).

16 P. Vežić, 2002, 18.

As regards its function, this church has been more than intriguing for a long time and it still attracts scientists' attention. The first one who very convincingly posited its original use as a palatine chapel or – to be more precise – a bishop's or residential chapel/church/oratory, was the church's most deserving explorer P. Vežić: "With its structure and dimensions... this complex rotunda – also a residential chapel – reflects the new status of the city government and also of the status of the city itself in the province and in the Imperial rule in it. With the church, Zadar's *episkopium* became the ruler's *palatium* of a sort. Perhaps this is the notion that explains the reorganization of the episkopium and the construction of the palatine chapel in it".¹³

Visually, and even functionally, the rotunda of Holy Trinity (St. Donatus' Church) reflected the political situation of the time and place it was built in – the influence of two different styles and liturgies: Eastern and Western ones.¹⁴ It is a picturesque example of the bivalent culture that dominated in Zadar as the capital of a Byzantine theme on the one hand and a city that had belonged to the Roman Church and its liturgy guidelines on the other.¹⁵ This is why the structure itself should be observed in the context of the elements of dual, or synthesized, styles that it contains – the Byzantine and Frankish one – because the liturgies from these centers also mixed in it. It was also reflected in the appointments of city and church officials: the prior was appointed by the Byzantine Imperial authorities and the bishop by the Roman or Papal authorities.¹⁶

The church was reconstructed into a complex structure when the bishop of Zadar was Donatus. Capable and skilled in diplomacy, he managed not only to achieve and maintain peace in the city over several decades, but also to raise local culture and art to the level found in some important European capitals.¹⁷

HIDDEN CHAMBERS IN THE CHURCHES OF S. VITALE AND SAN APOLLINARE IN CLASSE IN RAVENNA – HIDDEN CHAMBER IN ST. DONATUS' CHURCH IN ZADAR

Evidence of some other functions of Zadar's St. Donatus' Church in the early medieval period can be found in the short but colorful and very exact description in

13 P. Vežić, 2002, 124.

14 P. Vežić, 2002, 18.

15 P. Vežić, 2002, 22-23, 99-100. In his monograph, the author outlines a theory that, since the edict of the Byzantine Emperor Leon III in AD 723, the bishops of Zadar had formally recognized the Patriarch of Constantinople while still performing the liturgy of the Roman Church (P. Vežić, 2002, 13; R. Katičić, 1998, 237). However, modern historiography rejects this theory and offers historical facts about Dalmatia's constant affiliation with Rome as the Western center of Christianity since the very beginning – in other words, since Late Antiquity ("In the light of new discoveries, there can be no discussion about Rome's loss of jurisdiction over Eastern Adriatic, either in the 8th century or later, until the Photian Schism in the second half of the 9th century"; I. Basić, 2014, 149-195; quote on pp. 154-155. The work cites ample literature on this.).

16 P. Vežić, 2002, 18.

17 M. Ančić, 2001, 80; P. Vežić, 2002, 21-35; P. Vežić, 2002a, 235-240.

Vrijeme preuređivanja crkve kao kompleksne građevine jest vrijeme kada je Zadar srećom imao vrlo sposobnog biskupa u osobi Donata koji je svojim diplomatskim talentima i angažmanima uspio zadobiti i održati mir u gradu na više desetljeća, ali i podignuti kulturno i umjetničko stvaralaštvo na razinu kakvu su imale ni manje ni više nego neke važne europske prijestolnice.¹⁷

SKRIVENE PROSTORIJE CRKAVA SAN VITALE I S. APOLLINARE IN CLASSE U RAVENI – SKRIVENA PROSTORIJA CRKVE SV. DONATA U ZADRU

O nekim drugim funkcijama koje je zadarska crkva sv. Donata imala u ranom srednjem vijeku svjedoči nam kratak, ali vrlo slikovit i precizan opis iz rukopisa *De administrando imperio*, napravljenog u ime bizantskog Konstantina VII. Porfirogeneta (nastao sredinom 10. st., što je gornja vremenska okosnica za sam opis):

„*luxta autem illud est aliud quoque templum rotundum S. Trinitatis, et supra illud rursum aliud instar catechumenorum, itidem rotundum, in quod cochlea ascenditur.*”¹⁸

„Jest pak i drugi hram blizu njega, presvođen, Sveto Trojstvo, i ponad samoga hrama opet drugi hram poput katekumena, i sam presvođen, u koji i uzlaze pužastim stepeništem.”¹⁹

Njime otkrivamo detaljnije činjenice o funkciji galerije crkve. U zapisu stoji izraz *ta katekhoumena*, koji su J. Jeličić-Radonić, a potom M. Lončar uspješno povezali uz funkciju oratorija koju su imale brojne građevine na području Konstantinopola, odnosno Bizanta.²⁰ Mogućnost katekumenejona kao prostorije namijenjene podučavanju katekumena, pripravnika za obred krsta u ranom srednjem vijeku, sasvim je odbačena te su gornji prostori crkve usprkos tome što su zadržali ranokršćanski naziv služili kao oratoriji, ambijenti za molitvu određenih pripadnika elite kršćanske zajednice. Sasvim je logično pretpostaviti da je gornji kat crkve koja je vezana uz episkopalni sklop tijesno vezan uz biskupovu ulogu i njegove (privatne) liturgijske običaje.²¹ Tako je Valerio de Ponte u 7. st. zapisao podatak o matroneju kao *congregatio oratori*, dakle mjestu na kojem se nalazi više manjih oratorija, molitvenih prostora.²²

Međutim, jedna oku skrivena prostorija (kao što je već prethodno nagoviješteno) i još jedna dostupnija prostorija (obje, dakle, na razini matroneja) mogle su biti namijenjene riznici (depozitoriju) kao i sakristiji crkve (Sl. 4). O prvoj, dakle, onoj skrivenoj, već je P. Vežić zapisao: „Skrivena prostorija u podu sjeverne apside na galeriji ima vlastitu kalotu

the manuscript *De administrando imperio*, written in the name of Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in the mid-10th century, which is the upper limit for the dating of the description.

“*luxta autem illud est aliud quoque templum rotundum S. Trinitatis, et supra illud rursum aliud instar catechumenorum, itidem rotundum, in quod cochlea ascenditur.*”¹⁸

“And there is another temple next to it, vaulted, Holy Trinity. And above this temple there is yet another temple, like *catechumeneon*, also vaulted, into which a spiraling stairway leads.”¹⁹

The description offers detailed facts about the function of the church gallery. Jeličić-Radonić and then M. Lončar successfully associated the term used in it, *ta katekhoumena*, with the function of oratory, similar to the function of numerous structures in Constantinople and Byzantium in general.²⁰ The theory that the space was used as a catechumeneon – a room for catechumens, Christian trainees preparing for the rite of Baptism – was fully discarded. Despite retaining their Early Christian name, the upper premises of the church were used as oratories, prayer rooms for the elite of the Christian community. It is logical to assume that the upper floor of a church connected with the episcopal complex was closely connected with the bishop's activities and his (private) liturgical practice.²¹ For example, in his 17th-century manuscript, Valerio de Ponte mentions the matroneum as a *congregatio oratori* – a place where several small prayer rooms (oratories) are located.²²

However, one hidden chamber (as we indicated before) on the matroneum level and another, more accessible chamber occupying both stories could have been used as a treasury (depository) and as a sacristy (Fig. 4). P. Vežić writes about the first, hidden chamber:

“The chamber hidden in the floor of the northern apse on the gallery has its own calotte which covers it and an entrance in the center of the calotte (Drawing 22). Along the chamber's round wall there is a wooden bench or shelf, supported by stone consoles. Traces of flames and soot-specks indicate that a fire broke out here once. We cannot rule out the possibility that the other apses also had similar chambers; however, no architectural remains have been preserved.”²³ The same researcher supposes that it could

17 M. Ančić, 2001, 80; P. Vežić, 2002, 21-35; 2002a, 235-240.

18 K. VII. Porfirogenet, 1840, cap. 29, 139-140.

19 P. Vežić, 2002, 11; K. VII. Porfirogenet, 1840, cap. 29, 138 (prijevod: M. Lončar).

20 O oratorijima u Konstantinopolu: T. F. Mathews, 1977, 128-130; R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 199. O oratorijima Sv. Donata: M. Suić, 1981, 6; J. Jeličić-Radonić, 1992, 348; M. Lončar, 1999, 235.

21 P. Vežić, 2002, 102.

22 D. Farlati, 1775, 17-I; P. Vežić, 2002, 39.

18 K. VII. Porfirogenet, *De thematibus et administrando imperio*, cap. 29, 139-140.

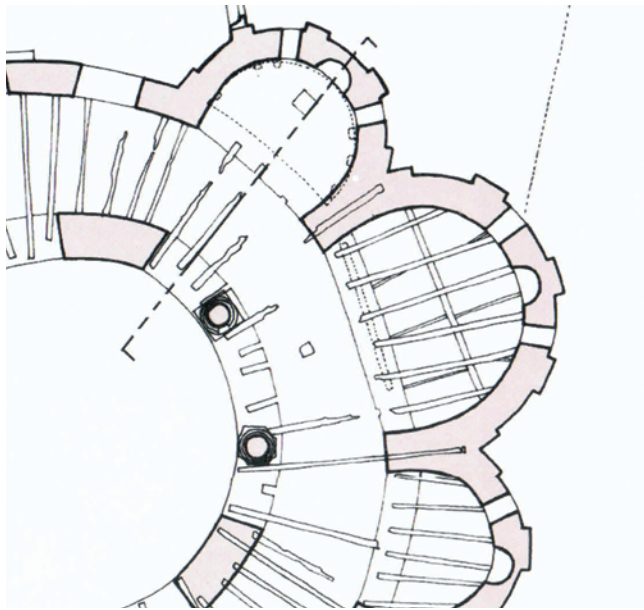
19 P. Vežić, 2002, 11; K. VII. Porfirogenet, cap. 29, 138 (translated by Miljenko Lončar).

20 On oratories in Constantinople: T. F. Mathews, 1977, 128-130; R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 199. On oratories in St. Donatus' Church: M. Suić, 1981, 6; J. Jeličić-Radonić, 1992, 348; M. Lončar, 1999, 235.

21 P. Vežić, 2002, 102.

22 D. Farlati, 1775, 17-I; P. Vežić, 2002, 39.

23 P. Vežić, 1985, 17. Or: “Underneath the northern lateral apse, a part of a wooden bench or shelf and a trace of its original position on the wall were found in this hidden chamber. The remains preserved indicate that the wooden bench followed the chamber's round wall.” P. Vežić, 2002, 52, 91.



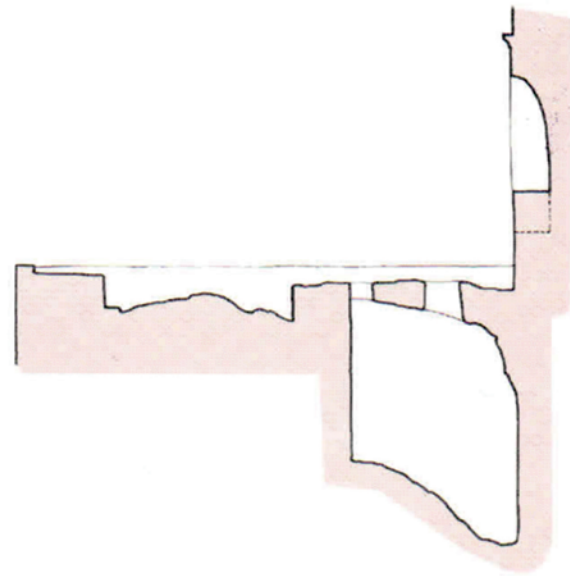
Slika 4. Tlocrt triju apsida i skrivnice na galeriji rotonde
 Figure 4. Plan of three apses and hidden chamber on rotunda's gallery

izvor / source: P. Vežić, 2002, 91

koja je prekriva te ulaz urezan usred kalote (crtež 22). Uz obli zid prostorije je drvena klupa ili polica, oslonjena na kame- ne konzole. Tragovi plamena i gareži upućuju na požar koji je ovdje nekoć zavladao. Nije isključena mogućnost da su slične prostorije imale i ostale apsida. No, tragova njihovih konstrukcija nema.²³ Isti istraživač pretpostavlja da je to mogao biti *prostor za čuvanje crkvenih dragocjenosti*, tzv. *eukterij*, dok I. Petricioli predlaže za prostoriju zanimljiv termin: „Prostor između tih dvaju svodova korišten je izgleda kao skrivnica.”²⁴

Prostorija koja ima otežan pristup – preko podnice ga- lerije i skrivenost između dviju polukalota upućuje na odre- đenu funkciju koju nisu trebali vidjeti vjernici laici koji bi se nalazili na galeriji za vrijeme obreda. „Urezan ulaz usred kalote” govori o rjeđem pohodu same prostorije te samim time i o njezinoj namjeni koja ukazuje na neki specifičan kult ili funkciju. Svakako je šuplji prostor povrh polukalote donje apsida praktično iskorišten u određene svrhe na što upućuje oprema – klupa ili polica na kamenim konzolama (Sl. 5). Kratki, ali važni podaci mogli bi tako ukazivati na namjenu koju su imali sakristijski ambijenti, dakle za čuvanje i pohranu liturgijskog posuđa, relikvija i crkvenih dragocje- nosti, iako su same sakristije uz navedeno imale znatno širu

23 P. Vežić, 1985, 17. III.: „Pod sjevernom bočnom apsidom, u spomenutoj skrivenoj prostoriji otkriven je dio drvene klupe ili police i trag njezinoj izvornog položaja u zidu. Prema sačuvanim ostacima moguće je pretpostaviti da je drvena klupa pratila oblinu prostorije.” P. Vežić, 2002, 52, 91.
 24 P. Vežić, 2002, 87; N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 124.



Slika 5. Presjek kroz skrivenu prostoriju između polukalote sjeverne apsida i poda galerije

Figure 5. Cross section of hidden chamber between northern apse's semi-calotte and gallery floor

izvor / source: P. Vežić, 2002, 91

have been an *eukterion*, a place where valuables belong- ing to the church were kept. I. Petricioli offers an interesting name for the chamber: “It seems that the place between these two vaults was used as a *skrivnica* (hiding place in Croatian).”²⁴

The fact that the chamber with more difficult access (through the gallery floor) is hidden between two semi- calottes indicates that it had a function not supposed to be witnessed by the congregation present on the gallery during a liturgy. “An entrance in the center of the calotte” suggests that the chamber was seldom visited, which, in turn, suggests that it was used for a cult or some other specific function. The hollow space above the semi-calotte of the lower apse certainly had a practical use, as can be seen from the bench or shelf supported by stone consoles (Fig. 5). This meager but important information could indi- cate the purpose of sacristy spaces – for safekeeping and storing of liturgy objects, relics and other precious items, although sacristies as such had a much more extensive purpose. The term used by Petricioli here – *skrivnica* – is a convenient one; it is a Croatian equivalent for the Latin term *secretaria* (derived from Lat. *secretus* – hidden, secret, secluded). There are no written sources about a *skrivnica* or treasury – a depository of a sort – in the immediate vicin- ity of the apse or anywhere on the gallery level; however, there are analogies supporting its assumed purpose.

24 P. Vežić, 2002, 87; N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 124.

namjenu. Pritom je zgodan izraz koji je Petricioli upotrijebio – skrivnica, a što bi bio ekvivalent latinskom terminu *secretaria* (lat. *secreta* – skrovnica, tajna, skrivena). Pisani podatci o skrivnici ili riznici, odnosno svojevrsnom depozitoriju, spremištu u neposrednoj blizini apside ili pak negdje na razini galerije ne postoje, no zato postoje analogije koje mogu govoriti tome u prilog.

Sličnu, dakle skrivenu, prostoriju imale su dvije znamenite crkve koje se nalaze na suprotnoj, zapadnoj strani Jadrana i koje se datiraju u razdoblje kasne antike, a radi se o crkvama San Vitale i S. Apollinare in Classe u Raveni. San Vitale je dodatno zanimljiv u relaciji sa zadarskom crkvom Sv. Donata jer je nerijetko uspoređivan s njom, iako je i u tom slučaju riječ o drugačijim tlocrtima. Naime, obje crkve pripadaju centralno koncipiranim građevinama premda je San Vitale u osnovi oktogonalan, a Sv. Donat rotunda. San Vitale ima jednu duboku poligonalnu (iznutra polukružnu) apsidu na začelju, dok Sv. Donat ima tri duboke potkovaste apside. No San Vitale uz apsidu ima bočne prostore, dvije veće pastoforije i dvije dodatne manje uz svaku od njih, a sva četiri ambijenta bila su u funkciji memorija ili mauzoleja (Sl. 6).²⁵ Oni manji ambijenti između glavne apside i vanjske veće pastoforije bili su vertikalno podijeljeni u više etaža (ukupno tri), a svaka je bila presvođena bačvastim svodom. U najdonju se može ući direktno iz ophoda crkve, prolazeći blizu prezbiteterija. S obzirom na to da nema tragova neke ograde koja bi priječila prolaz, C. Smith zaključuje da su u te prostore mogli ulaziti i laici.²⁶ Paralelno s tom etažom protežu se one i na gornjim nivoima: štoviše u čak četiri gornje prostorije (izvedene u dva vertikalna niza, dakle po dvije sa svake strane glavne apside) moglo se ulaziti preko galerije ili matroneja.

Dok su, dakle, one prostorije na najdonjoj razini u funkciji prolaza ili određenih vestibula, one na gornjoj su ipak bile odvojene i imale ograničen pristup. Stepence kojima se uspinjalo na nivo galerije bile su na zapadnom dijelu crkve. Između dviju galerijskih prostorija uz samu apsidu, u elevaciji druge i treće, nalazi se još jedna manja između njih. Tim malim prostorijama pravokutnog oblika prilazilo se uz pomoć uskih stepenica iz nivoa prostorija na razini galerije.²⁷ Ulaz u tu središnju prostorijicu vjerojatno je bio zatvaran uz pomoć vrata (*trap door*) koja su se također nalazila na zapadnoj strani crkve. Stoga C. Smith razmatra: „trap doors and wooden staircases have very little ceremonial quality, and their presence and location in the side-chamber complexes at San Vitale suggest that the mid-level chambers were meant to be hidden from casual view and intended for only limited access”.²⁸ Zanimljivo je da prostorije na razini galerija imaju i udubljenja

Each of the two well-known churches on the opposite, western shore of the Adriatic, dated to Late Antiquity, had such a hidden chamber. These are the churches of San Vitale and S. Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna. San Vitale is also interesting because of frequent comparisons made with St. Donatus' Church in Zadar, despite of their different ground plans. Both churches are central-plan structures, although San Vitale has an octagonal base and San Donatus is a rotunda. San Vitale has a deep polygonal (semicircular on the inside) apse on its rear wall and St. Donatus has three deep horseshoe-shaped apses. However, in addition to the apse, San Vitale has lateral chambers – two large pastophoria and two smaller ones next to each of them. All of these four chambers were used as memoria or mausoleums (Fig. 6).²⁵ The smaller chambers between the main apse and the large outer pastophorium were vertically divided into three stories, each of them with a barrel vault. The lower one can be accessed directly from the church's ambulatory in the vicinity of the presbytery. As no traces of a fence that would hinder access to it, C. Smith concludes that laymen, too, were allowed in these chambers.²⁶ The stories on the upper levels are parallel with this story: access to as many as four upper chambers (arranged in two vertical arrays – two on each side of the main apse) was possible from the gallery or matroneum.

So, while the chambers on the lowest level were used as passages or vestibules, the upper-level ones were separated and access to them was limited. The stairs leading to the gallery were in the western part of the church. There is another chamber between the two gallery chambers next to the apse, on the level of the third and fourth one. These small rectangular chambers can be accessed using a narrow staircase from the chambers on the gallery level.²⁷ Access to this small central chamber was probably through a trap door that was also on the church's western side. This is why, in C. Smith's opinion, "trap doors and wooden staircases have very little ceremonial quality, and their presence and location in the side-chamber complexes at San Vitale suggest that the mid-level chambers were meant to be hidden from casual view and intended for only limited access".²⁸ Interestingly, the premises on the gallery level have recesses for the shelves that once contained certain objects (books?).²⁹

The situation in the Church of S. Apollinare is essentially identical. Although it is a different type of structure (S. Apollinare is a longitudinal three-apsed basilica), it has a chamber at its rear wall, next to the sanctuary, that was probably used for a similar purpose. The lateral chambers

25 C. Smith, 1990, 181-204, sl. 2, 4 i 5.

26 C. Smith, 1990, 191.

27 C. Smith, 1990, 192, sl. 19.

28 C. Smith, 1990, 192.

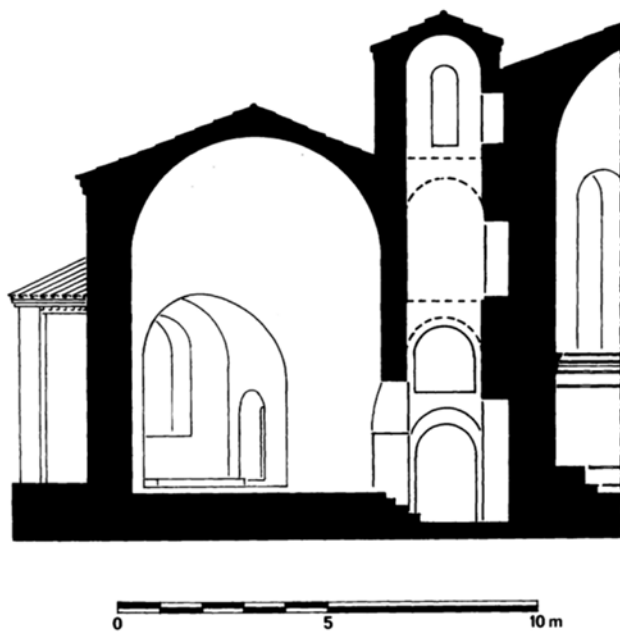
25 C. Smith, 1990, 181-204, fig. 2, 4 and 5.

26 C. Smith, 1990, 191.

27 C. Smith, 1990, 192, fig. 19.

28 C. Smith, 1990, 192.

29 C. Smith, 1990, 189, 197.



Slika 6. Presjek pastoforije i triju prostorija uz svetište crkve San Vitale u Ravenni

Figure 6. Cross section of pastophorium and three chambers next to shrine of San Vitale Church in Ravenna

izvor / source: C. Smith, 1990, 185

za police na kojima su se svojevremeno nalazile određene stvari (knjige?).²⁹

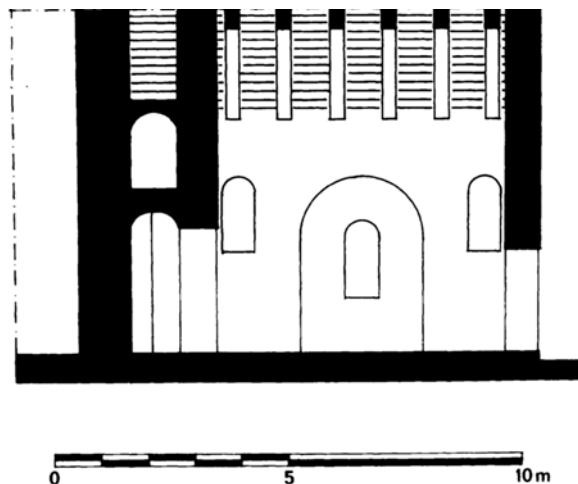
Identičnu situaciju u suštinskom smislu nalazimo i kod S. Apollinare. Premda je riječ o drugačijem tipu građevine, budući je S. Apollinare longitudinalna trobrodna bazilika, ona na začelju, u samoj blizini svetišta, posjeduje prostoriju vjerojatno slične namjene. Naime, bočne prostorije uz svetište podijeljene su, kao u slučaju San Vitale, na više etaža (Sl. 7). Njihovi gornji prostori ili ambijenti potpuno su izolirani od ostalog dijela crkve i imaju pristup samo iz donje etaže svake pastoforije ili iz svake manje bočne komore (sobe) koje su bile bez prozora. U obje od tih prostorija vjerojatno se ulazilo uskim spiralnim stubama smještenim na krajnjim, zaobljenim kutovima malih odaja.³⁰ Pristup ulazima prostorija je preko lukova većih prostorija – pastoforija s obje sjeverne i južne strane.

Primjetno je u oba slučaja da obje izolirane prostorije, gornji ambijenti pastoforija kod S. Apollinare te prostorija povrh galerije San Vitale, imaju sljedeću identičnu odliku, a to je da su potpuno samodostatne i ne ovise o glavnom svetištu. One su, dakle, potpuno izdvojene i imaju ograničen pristup uz pomoć uskog stepeništa koje se rastvara iz prostorija koje su, da ponovimo, u San Vitale na razini galerije, a u S. Apollinare iz bočnih prostorija uz glavnu apsidu.

adjacent to the sanctuary are segmented into several stories, as in S. Vitale (Fig. 7). Their upper spaces are completely isolated from the rest of the church and can be accessed only from the lower story of each pastophorium, or from every small side chamber (each of them windowless). Access to both of these chambers was probably possible using a narrow spiral staircase found in the distant round corners of the small chambers.³⁰ Access to the chamber entrances was via the arches of the large chambers – pastophoria – on both northern and southern sides.

It is obvious that, in both cases, both isolated chambers, upper spaces of the pastophoria in S. Apollinare and the intermediate space above the gallery in S. Vitale, have the same characteristic: they are self-sufficient and independent of other parts of the church. In other words, they are totally isolated and access to them is limited – using the narrow staircase widening from the chambers that, as mentioned above, are located on the gallery level in S. Vitale and adjacent to the main apse in S. Apollinare. In both cases, these are high-level spaces, lateral to the shrine. Because they had been intentionally hidden, they were forgotten for centuries and were rediscovered not earlier than in the 18th century.³¹

C. Smith logically assumes that the hidden and hardly accessible chambers, both the chamber between two stories in San Vitale and the upper, isolated story in the pastophoria of San Apollinare, were likely used for storing specific objects or remains of certain deceased persons and objects related to them, as well



Slika 7. Presjek južne pastoforije s prikazom sobe na gornjoj etaži u crkvi S. Apollinare Nuovo

Figure 7. Cross section of southern pastophorium with chamber on upper floor in S. Apollinare Nuovo Church

izvor / source: C. Smith, 1990, 185

29 C. Smith, 1990, 189, 197.

30 C. Smith, 1990, 192, sl. 3, 6 i 7.

30 C. Smith, 1990, 192, fig. 3, 6 and 7.

31 C. Smith, 1990, 199.

U oba slučaja riječ je povišenim ambijentima po bokovima svetišta. Zbog toga što su s namjerom skrivene, bile su stljećima zaboravljene i ponovno otkrivene tek u 18. st.³¹

C. Smith između ostalog iznosi logičnu pretpostavku: skrivene i teško dostupne prostorije, bilo da je riječ o prostoriji između dviju etaža bilo gornjoj, izoliranoj etaži u pastoforijama San Apollinare, očito su mogle služiti za pohranu specifičnih predmeta ili zemnih ostataka određenih pokojnika, odnosno stvari vezanih za njihovu ličnost, kao i crkvenih dragocjenosti. Doista je u tom pogledu zanimljiva prostorija na međurazini koja nije primjetna u interijeru ni u eksterijeru građevine. Ona, kao ni prostorija u San Apollinare, nema prozor ni danje svjetlo, a obje su prostorije teško dostupne, nisu vidljive ni istaknute u prostoru, zbog čega Smith naglašava njihovu specifičnost.³² Dodatnu težinu tim malim, gotovo zanemarivim ambijentima u usporedbi s ostatkom građevine kojima pripadaju pridonose značenja upravo tih građevina u društvenom *milieu* grada Ravene. Premda je suviše na ovom mjestu donositi bogatu historiografiju ili nabrajati odlike i komponente koje su vezane uz podizanje građevine kao što je San Vitale ili San Apollinare, dovoljno će biti reći da su se obje građevine počele graditi prije Justinijanove rekonkviste, dakle kratko prije 540., pod patronatstvom ortodoksne struje grada Ravene koju su predvodili sami biskupi.³³ Stoga su spomenuta sakralna zdanja postala simboli ortodoksnih kršćana koje su podupirali carevi,³⁴ jasno prepoznatljivi znakovi vladajuće struje podignuti u tkivu grada, a oni se dodatno očituju upravo na bočnim komorama sa strana svetišta, koje su funkcionirale kao manji oratoriji, mauzoleji, knjižnice te možda kao spremišta ili riznice.

U tom smislu i u toj funkciji mogla bi se potražiti i adaptacija prostora u svrhovit ambijent povrh sjeverne apside crkve Sv. Trojstva u Zadru. Iako on možda i nije konstruiran ili prenamijenjen u izvornom projektu, u neko doba tom vakuumu povrh polukalote pridana je zanimljiva funkcija određenog skrovišta. Dakako, logično je promišljanje da su možda i ostali prostori povrh drugih dviju polukalota imali neku funkciju, ali mogući tragovi toj pretpostavci ne postoje (osmišljeni ulaz, konzole za gredu ili policu). Zajedničke odlike prostorija koje su istaknute kod ravenskih slučajeva nalaze se i u zadarskom primjeru: skrivenost i otežana dostupnost prostorije, neprimjetnost u interijeru i eksterijeru građevine, prostorija na gornjoj etaži građevine kojoj se prilazi s galerije ili matroneja i ambijent u samoj blizini svetišta te prostor bez danjeg svjetla. Sukladno ovim odlikama mogli bismo prostoriji povrh sjeverne polukalote pret-

as valuables belonging to the church. Indeed, interesting in this context is the mezzanine chamber not visible either from inside or from outside of the building. Just like the chamber in San Apollinare, it has no windows – and thus no access to daylight. Neither of the chambers is easily accessible or visible. This, according to Smith, makes them specific.³² It was the importance of the two churches for the social milieu of Ravenna that gave additional importance to these small chambers which are almost negligible when compared to the rest of the structures they belong to. It is needless to remind of the rich historiography and the characteristics and components of the construction of San Vitale and San Apollinare; we can merely mention here that the construction of both structures began before Justinian's reconquest (immediately before AD 540), under the patronage of the orthodox fraction in the City of Ravenna led by bishops themselves.³³ This is why these structures (and the premises in them) symbolized the orthodox fraction supported by emperors.³⁴ They are distinctive symbols, particularly manifesting (which is very interesting) in the case of chambers lateral to the shrine, which functioned as small oratories, mausoleums, libraries and, perhaps, as depositories or treasuries.

The adaptation of the chamber above the northern apse of the Church of Holy Trinity in Zadar could be interpreted as something along these lines. While it may have not been included or converted as part of the original project, an interesting function was given to this vacuum above the semi-calotte at a certain moment in time – it was to be used as a hiding place. It is only logical to assume that the chambers above the other two semi-calottes also had a purpose, but there is no evidence (access to them, consoles for beams or shelves) supporting the assumption. The distinguishing features of the chambers in the Ravenna churches can be found in Zadar, too: their hidden nature and difficult access; their invisibility from inside or outside of the church; the chamber on the upper story having access from the gallery or matroneum; a chamber immediately next to the matroneum; and a chamber with no daylight. Based on these features, we could assume that the chamber above the northern semi-calotte was used as the depository or treasury of the rotunda of Holy Trinity, although there is no solid evidence of it. Certainly it can be dated to the period when the second phase of the construction took place and when the entire floor / matroneum was used as an oratory, or an array of small oratories.

31 C. Smith, 1990, 199.

32 C. Smith, 1990, 199. Za kasnoantičko razdoblje upravo je karakteristična pojava oratorija u većim crkvama, odvojenih fizički ili samo vizualno, što je već uočio i T. F. Mathews. T. F. Mathews, 1982, 125-138.

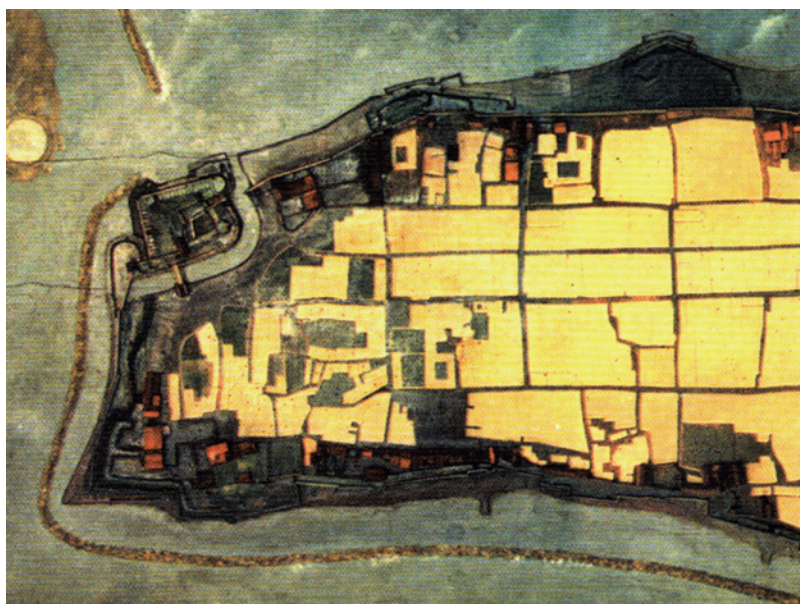
33 C. Smith, 1990, 201.

34 C. Smith, 1990, 203.

32 C. Smith, 1990, 199. Physically or merely visually isolated oratories are typical of large churches in Late Antiquity, as noticed by T. F. Mathews. T. F. Mathews, 1982, 125-138.

33 C. Smith, 1990, 201.

34 C. Smith, 1990, 203.



Slika 8. Maketa Zadra u Pomorskom muzeju Venecije i rektificirani tlocrt crkve sv. Donata po crtežu s iste makete

izvor / source: P. Vežić, 2002, 39

postaviti funkciju spremišta ili riznice rotonde Sv. Trojstva, iako doista ne postoji nikakvi čvrsti dokazi tome. Svakako, njezina datacija odgovara drugom projektu podizanja građevine kada je cijeli kat – matronej – funkcionirao kao oratorij ili skupina manjih molitvenih ambijenata.

SEKRETA CRKVE SV. SOFIJE U KONSTANTINOPOLU – SEKRETA ILI SEKRETON CRKVE SV. DONATA U ZADRU

Već je spomenuto kako se po drugom projektu rotonda Sv. Trojstva podiže u visinu i širi po bokovima, sa sjeverne i južne strane. Gornji kat, matronej, u funkciji je više manjih oratorija, dok su prostori sa strana – posebice prigradnja devastirana u vremenu 1927.-1930., u nedostatku dokumentacije ostali neprotumačeni.

Južna prigradnja po prvi put je dokumentarno zabilježena na maketi Zadra iz 16. st., koja se čuva u Pomorskom muzeju u Veneciji (Sl. 8).³⁵ Potom je T. G. Jackson prvi prepoznao „povezanost rotonde s otuđenim prostorom njezine južne prigradnje”.³⁶ Već u njegovo vrijeme perimetralni zidovi bili su interpolirani u susjedne stambene zgrade koje su prekrile pogled na crkvu. Gotovo stoljeće nakon

35 I. Petricioli, 1958, 101-124, 117; P. Vežić, 2002, 39.

36 Jackson je uočio dva velika dvojna prolaza „mukotrpnim radom penjući se na tavane i spuštajući se u podrum” (I. Petricioli, 1958, 493). Izvorno: „In company with Monsignor Bianchi and Professor Smirich, the Imperial Conservator of Monuments at Zara, I penetrated a dense network of courts and houses to the south of the church, and by hunting in cellars and mounting to attics succeeded in tracing at H and G walls four feet thick, forming a square building of the full height of the double-storied aisle.” T. G. Jackson, 1887, 255. Isti ne bilježi precizno prolaze iz gornjeg kata prigradnje prema galeriji, već ga u tome korigira Giovanni Smirich (G. Smirich, 1901, 49-51; P. Vežić, 2002, 50).

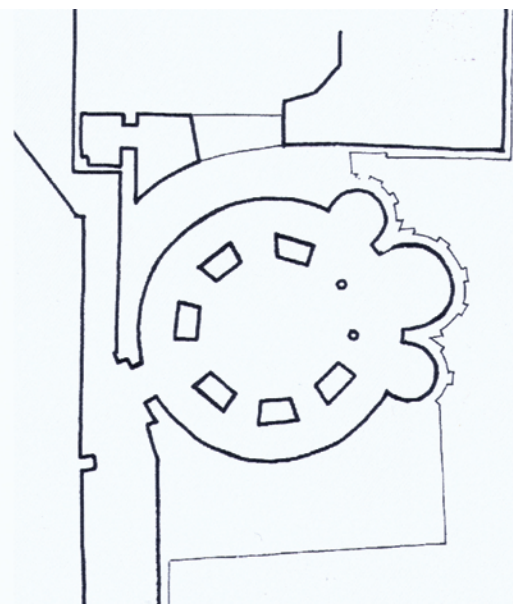


Figure 8. Scale model of Zadar in Maritime Museum in Venice and plan of St. Donatus' Church rectified on the basis of the scale model

SEKRETON IN CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA IN CONSTANTINOPLE – SEKRETA OR SEKRETON IN ST. DONATUS' CHURCH IN ZADAR

We already mentioned that, in the second phase, the rotunda's height was increased and it was extended laterally on its northern and southern sides. The upper floor – matroneum – was used as an array of small oratories. The function of the lateral chambers – particularly the annex destroyed between 1927 and 1930 – remains uninterpreted due to lack of documents.

The southern annex was documented for the first time on the 14th-century scale model of Zadar kept in the Maritime Museum in Venice (Fig. 8).³⁵ Later, T. G. Jackson was the first one to recognize the “connection between the rotunda and the spaces in its alienated southern annex”.³⁶ As early as in his time, the perimeter walls were interpolated into the neighboring residential buildings that obstructed the view of the church. In 1980, almost one century after Jackson, I. Petricioli published documents and materials that cast some more light on the isolation of St. Donatus'

35 I. Petricioli, 1958, 101-124, 117; P. Vežić, 2002, 39.

36 Jackson noticed two large double passages when “hunting in cellars and mounting to attics” (I. Petricioli, 1958, 493). Or, in the original text: “In company with Monsignor Bianchi and Professor Smirich, the Imperial Conservator of Monuments at Zara, I penetrated a dense network of courts and houses to the south of the church, and by hunting in cellars and mounting to attics succeeded in tracing at H and G walls four feet thick, forming a square building of the full height of the double-storied aisle.” T. G. Jackson, 1887, 255. However, he did not make an accurate note on the passages leading from the annex's upper floor to the gallery. It was Giovanni Smirich (G. Smirich, 1901, 49-51. P. Vežić, 2002, 50) who corrected him.



Slika 9. Smiricheva studija dvojnih prolaza između galerije i jugozapadne prigradnje

Figure 9. Smirich's study of double passages between gallery and southwestern annex

izvor / source: P. Vežić, 2002, 50

Jacksona, I. Petricoli 1980. publicira dokumente i građu koja je nešto više otkrivala činjenice o činu izolacije crkve sv. Donata za vrijeme talijanske uprave u Zadru.³⁷ Crkva je u tom radikalnom konzervatorskom zahvatu oslobođena od nekoliko stambenih zgrada koje su u međuvremenu podignute na dijelu prostora bivšeg foruma, ali i od vlastitog tkiva koje je od Donatova vremena bilo njezin sastavni i funkcionalni dio.³⁸ Kako je rekao Petricoli: „Ni u kakvoj stručnoj publikaciji nije komentiran taj (konzervatorski) zahvat niti opravdan takav pristup obnovi crkve sv. Donata.”³⁹

Što se tiče izvorne namjene južne prigradnje, teško je zapravo postaviti hipoteze razloga njezina podizanja ako ne postoje nikakvi materijalni zapisi o tome. Jedna od funkcija mogla bi biti u stavci statike i podupirača obline masivne rotonde i njezinih svodova, no širina, odnosno općenito veće dimenzije prigradnje s južne strane govore o nekoj većoj svrsi.⁴⁰ Ona gotovo „za trećinu opsega rotonde prekriva njezin plašt.”⁴¹ Prigradnja se prema ophodu galerije rotonde otvarala dvama udvojenim prolazima (Sl. 9). U središtu prolaza nalaze se mramorni stupovi od kojih je jedan s bazom rimskog polustupa, a drugi s antičkom

Church during Italian administration in Zadar.³⁷ These radical conservation alterations separated the church from a few residential buildings that had been erected in the former Forum, but also from its own fabric that, since the days of Donatus, had been its integral and functional part.³⁸

As Petricoli puts it: “No professional publication has ever commented on these (conservation) alterations or justified such an approach to the reconstruction of St. Donatus’ Church.”³⁹

As for the original purpose of the southern annex, it is hard to make any hypothesis about the reasons for its construction because no written evidence has been found yet. While it could have had a static purpose – supporting the massive rotunda and its vaults – the width and general large size of the annex on the southern side indicate that it could have had other purposes, too.⁴⁰ It “covers almost one third of the circumference of the rotunda’s perimeter wall.”⁴¹ Two double passages led from the annex to the ambulatory on the rotunda’s gallery (Fig. 9). In the center of each passage there are marble columns – one with the base of a Roman half column and the other with an Antiquity base instead of a capital. The finely executed lintels above them and the column material certainly indicate a specific, more solemn purpose that the annex must have had. There was another door leading from the annex to the gallery narthex. That door was the same as the one leading to the gallery ring, which means that it also consisted of the elements of Roman spolia. Above the architrave was a lunette with a cross in it. There was another door, east of the double passages leading toward the sanctuary. The door leads to the matroneum. On the northern side there is also an asymmetrical trapezoid annex leading to a spiral staircase and, further, to the matroneum.

Although no written material or evidence of the function of the small northern annex and large southern annex have been found, I will try, at least hypothetically, to identify their purpose by comparing them with St. Sophia’s Church in Constantinople. Of course, St. Sophia is an example par excellence and is hard (even thankless) to associate it with the Zadar church. However, researchers of the Zadar’s rotunda have already made constructive parallels between these two structures (just like between the rotunda and the Church of San Vitale!). Certainly, there are substantial differences: the

37 Radi se o građi koja je tada pronađena u Historijskom arhivu u Zadru, a manji dio pronašla je Ksenija Radulić kod arhitekta Luigija Leporinija u Rimu. I. Petricoli, 1980, 493-516.

38 P. Vežić, 2002, 42-43.

39 I. Petricoli, 1980, 495.

40 Dimenzije su sljedeće: JZ zid dug je 19,70 m, SZ do nartekse dug je 6,85 m, a JI do apsida 10,30 m. Zidovi su pri dnu debeli čak 1,20 m, što je veća debljina od perimetralnih zidova rotonde. No što su viši, zidovi su tanji, tako da je na visini 3. kata stambene kuće debljina zida iznosila 0,82 m. I. Petricoli, 1980, 499.

41 P. Vežić, 2002, 88.

37 These are the materials found at the time in the Historical Archives of Zadar; their smaller part was found by Ksenija Radulić in the architect Luigi Leporini’s collection in Rome. I. Petricoli, 1980, 493-516.

38 P. Vežić, 2002, 42-43.

39 I. Petricoli, 1980, 495.

40 The dimensions are as follows: length of SW wall – 19.70m; length of NW wall to the narthex – 6.85m; length of SE wall to the apse – 10.30m. At the bottom, the walls are 1.20m thick, which is more than the thickness of the perimeter walls of the rotunda. However, the thickness decreases with the height: on the level of the third floor of a residential house, the walls are 0.82m thick. I. Petricoli, 1980, 499.

41 P. Vežić, 2002, 88.

bazom na mjestu kapitela. Fini nadvojni lukova povrh njih i materijal samih stupova svakako govore u prilog specifične, odnosno svečanije funkcije koju je prigradnja morala imati. Prigradnja je još jednim vratima bila povezana s nartekсом galerije. Ta su vrata bila jednaka onima koja uvode u prsten galerije, a bila su napravljena također od antičkih spolija. Nad nadvratnikom je bila luneta usred koje je bio urezan križ. Još su jedna vrata bila istočno od dvojnih prolaza prema svetištu i otvarala su se prema matroneju crkve. Sa sjeverne strane imamo također aneks nepravilnog trapezoidnog oblika koji vodi prema zavojitom stubištu, a njime prema matroneju.

I iako u oba slučaja, manje prigradnje sa sjeverne i veće sa južne strane, nemamo nikakvih zapisa i dokaza njihovim funkcijama, pokušat ću im, barem hipotetski, prepoznati namjenu uspoređujući ih s crkvom sv. Sofije u Konstantinopolu. Naravno, Sv. Sofija je primjer *par excellence* i teško ju je (štoviše, čak i nezahvalno) dovoditi u vezu sa zadarskom crkvom, međutim, paralele u konstruktivnom pogledu između dviju građevina (kao i slučaju crkve San Vitale sa Sv. Donatom!) već su se provlačile u dokumentaciji istraživača zadarske rotunde. Svakako ipak postoje suštinske razlike: prva je longitudinalna građevina s centralnim karakterom, dok je druga centralna građevina s prigradnjama po bočnim stranama koje prekrivaju njezin centralni karakter. Prva je nastala u doba kasne antike, a druga tijekom ranog srednjeg vijeka. No obje su vezane za ulogu crkvenog predvodnika grada te obje imaju galerije s vrlo specifičnim funkcijama. O jednoj od njih već je bilo govora u tekstu kad je, upravo uz pomoć izraza *ta katekoumena* koji je vezan za konstantinopolske crkve,⁴² a posebno uz samu katedralu sv. Sofije, u ambijentima na galerijama Sv. Donata prepoznata funkcija oratorija.

O drugoj funkciji, o *sekretonu* ili *sekretama*, valjalo bi ipak napisati ponešto prije nego se podastru pretpostavke o njima u sklopu zadarske crkve.

Sekreton (grč. *σέκρετον*) ured je namijenjen administrativnim poslovima crkve ili, uvriježenim terminom rečeno – sakristija. Određeni sinonim u latinskom jeziku – *secretarium* – prvi se put u pisanim dokumentima pojavljuje 303. a odnosi se na sudnicu, tribunal.⁴³ Premda je izraz zvučno blizak prethodno objašnjenom ambijentu – skrivenoj prostoriji (skrivnici) kakvu smo zatekli u Sv. Donatu i u sklopu ravenskih crkava, oni nipošto nisu istoznačni niti su imali istovjetnu namjenu.

Sekreton je u okviru Sv. Sofije prvi identificirao C. Mango na jugozapadnom uglu crkve, netom povrhu prilazne rampe koja iz donjeg nivoa vodi na gornji kat – galeriju (Sl.

former is a longitudinal structure of a central type and the latter is a central-type structure with lateral annexes covering its central plan. The former was erected in Late Antiquity and the latter in Early Middle Ages. However, both were associated with the roles of the respective local church dignitaries and both have galleries with specific functions. One of them was already discussed in this paper when, using the term *ta katekoumena*, associated with the churches of Constantinople⁴² – particularly with the St. Sophia's cathedral – the chambers in the gallery of St. Donatus' were interpreted as oratories.

Their second function, *sekreton* or *secretaria*, should be discussed to an extent before hypotheses about such chambers in the Zadar church are made.

In Greek, *sekreton* (*σέκρετον*) means an office intended for administrative affairs of a church; it is usually called a sacristy. It is first mentioned as *secretarium* in AD 303 and it refers to a court, tribunal.⁴³ Although the term is etymologically similar to the above explained chamber (*skrivnica* – hidden chamber), found both in St. Donatus and in the churches of Ravenna, they are far from being the same and their purposes were also not the same.

In St. Sophia, *sekreton* was first identified by C. Mango in the southwestern corner of the church, just above the access ramp leading from the lower level to the upper floor – gallery (Fig. 10).⁴⁴ The history of this part of St. Sophia's Church and its structure (particularly the mosaics in its rooms) were analyzed by Robin Cormack and Ernest J. W. Hawkins.⁴⁵ They made solid assumptions about the function of the rooms on the upper floor of the southwestern corner as a specific part of the Patriarchate of the Great Church.⁴⁶

The rooms on the upper floor, located partly over the entrance vestibule and partly over the access ramp on the southern end of the western part of St. Sophia's gallery, served as a sacristy. Sources identify them as Small *Sekreton* and Large *Sekreton*. A door at the end of the ramp leads to one of them. It is a long and relatively low room which is the largest room of that part and it lies immediately above the entrance vestibule to the inner narthex. The width and length of the room are almost identical. In some documents, the room is referred to as the Room Over the Vestibule (Fig. 11).⁴⁷ Some other smaller rooms are located next to it. Opposite them there is a large room

42 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 199.

43 <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-4884> (6 March, 2017)

44 C. Mango, 1959, 51-54. Particularly based on the documents in C. Porphyrogenitus' book, *De Cerimoniis*. 1.31, 11.

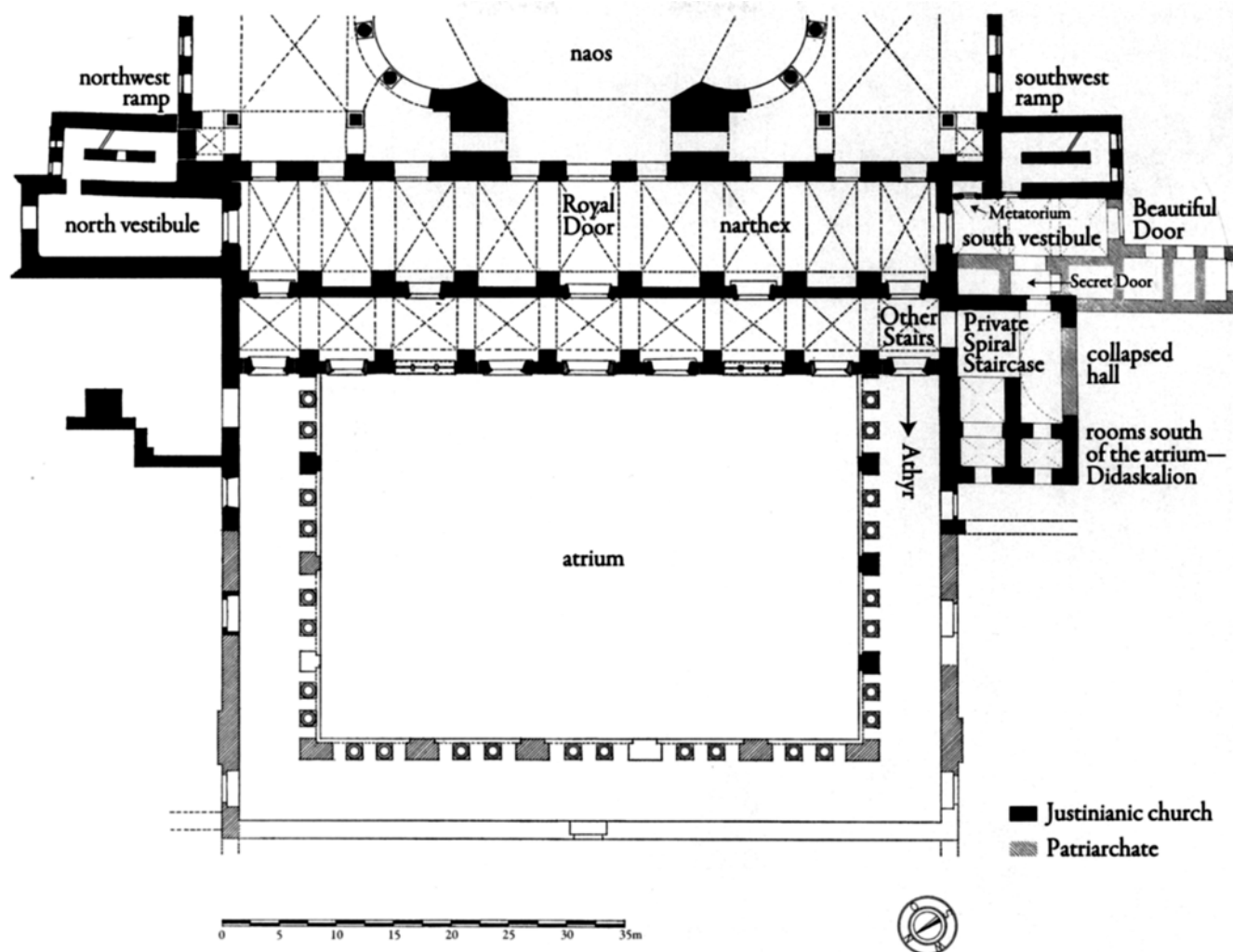
45 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, fig. 1 and 2.

46 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 178.

47 There were some other, smaller rooms east and west of it. The three west of it were damaged when a minaret was erected in the 16th century and when the Fossatis carried out their restoration activities in the 19th century. Today, the room can be accessed through the marble door on the southern end of the Room Over the Vestibule. R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 178, note 10.

42 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 199.

43 <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-4884> (6. 3. 2017.)



Slika 10. Tlocrt nartekse, južnog vestibula i prigradnji crkve sv. Sofije u Konstantinopolu

Figure 10. Plan of narthex, southern vestibule and annexes of St. Sophia's Church in Constantinople

izvor / source: P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 2014, 119

10).⁴⁴ Interpretaciju povijesti i analizu strukture, posebice mozaika, u prostorima tog dijela crkve sv. Sofije dali su Robin Cormack i Ernest J. W. Hawkins.⁴⁵ Oni su pritom postavili čvrste pretpostavke o funkciji soba na gornjem katu jugozapadnog ugla kao određenog dijela Nadbiskupije Velike Crkve (*Patriarchate of the Great Church*).⁴⁶

Prostorije na katu koje se nalaze dijelom povrh ulaznog vestibula, a dijelom povrh prilazne rampe na južnom kraju zapadnog dijela galerije Sv. Sofije namijenjene su sakristijskim funkcijama i u izvorima se dijele na Mali i Veliki *Sekreton*. U jedan od njih vode vrata na kraju spomenute rampe, a radi se o dugačkoj i relativno niskoj prostoriji koja

of similar proportions, extending directly over the ramp. It is therefore known as the Room Over the Ramp (Fig.12).⁴⁸ Both large rooms are lit today by small rectangular windows on the southern wall.⁴⁹ The Room Over the Ramp can be seen as an attic of a sort, above the ramp.⁵⁰ Next to them is a room called Alcove which, according to researchers, could have served as a diaconicon for the small oratory located in the vicinity of the entrance to the Room Over the Vestibule.⁵¹

44 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 179, fig. 46.

45 It is believed that the rooms originally had another door before the Fossati restoration, on the southern part of the partition wall between the rooms. R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 180-181.

46 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 186.

47 "Alcove" is also a square room. It is accessed via the archivolt in the NW corner of the Room Over the Ramp. This room used to connect the two large rooms. R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 194, 195, 196, 199.

44 C. Mango, 1959, 51-54. Na osnovi dokumentacije posebno knjige K. VII. Porfirogeneta, 1829, 1.31, 11.

45 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, sl. 1 i 2.

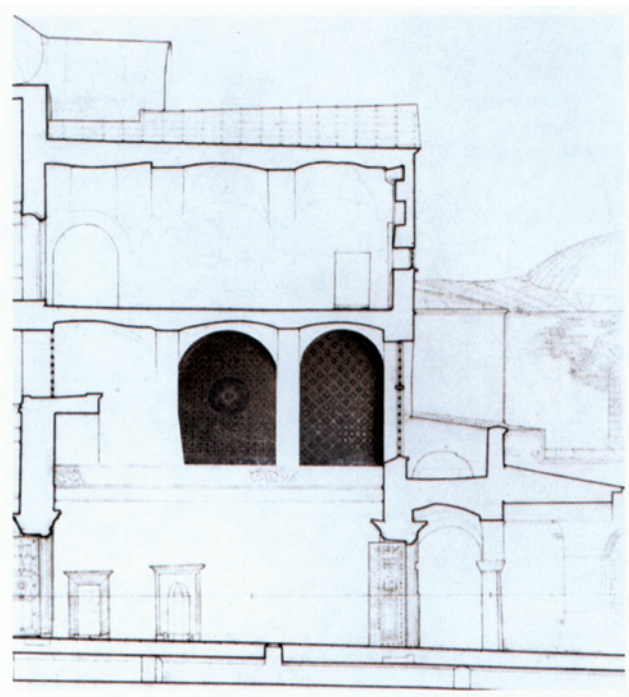
46 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 178.

je ujedno najveća prostorija tog dijela i nalazi se direktno iznad ulaznog vestibula unutarnjeg nartekusa. Dimenzije prostorije gotovo se podudaraju u dužini i širini, a u nekim dokumentima autori je nazivaju „sobom povrh vestibula“ (Sl. 11).⁴⁷ Pored nje su još neke manje prostorije, a nasuprot njima je jedna veća prostorija sličnih proporcija koja se pruža točno povrh rampe. Stoga se ta prostorija naziva „sobom povrh rampe“ (Sl. 12).⁴⁸ Obje veće sobe imaju prirodno osvjetljenje preko malih pravokutnih prozora probijenih na južnom zidu.⁴⁹ Soba povrh rampe svojevrsno je potkrovlje samoj rampi.⁵⁰ Uz njih se nalazi i soba zvana „Alcove“ koja je, kako smatraju istraživači, mogla biti u funkciji dijakonikona za maleni oratorij koji se nalazio u blizini ulaza „sobe povrh vestibula“.⁵¹

Izgradnja obiju soba datira se u kasno 6. st.⁵² One su, dakle, nastale kao prigradnje justinijanovoj građevini, ali ne opet dugo nakon nje, te su podignute u jedinstvenom graditeljskom zahvatu.

S obzirom na poziciju patrijarhata i sukladno dokumentima, autori Cormack i Hawkins tumače prostorije na razini galerije jednim dijelom patrijarhata unutar same katedrale. Odnosno, prihvaćaju Mangovu pretpostavku da se one s obzirom na poziciju pored, ali opet izvan same galerije crkve te uzduž južne strane crkve i po prirodi dekoracije mozaicima u samim sobama, mogu identificirati na način da je „soba povrh vestibula“ bila Veliki *Sekreton*, a „soba povrh rampe“ Mali *Sekreton*.⁵³

One su, dakle, bile u funkciji *sekreta*, odnosno kao *sekreton* u smislu dvorane za sastanke, pa čak i koncile, i čini se da su to bile prostrane sobe. S hodnikom galerije komunicirale su preko velikih vrata.⁵⁴ One nisu bile sakristije u užem smislu te riječi jer se sakristija katedrale, tzv. *skeuophylakion*, nalazila na začelju građevine.⁵⁵ U *sekretama* je, na primjer, patrijarh Ivan III. Skolastikos (565.-577.) održao vijećanje 574. godine u vezi s progonom monofizitskih biskupa.⁵⁶ Osim koncila i vijećanja, *sekreton* je imao još jednu funkciju, a ta je bila – glavni ulaz u patrijarhat. Ulaz je vjerojatno bio preko ulaznih vrata s južne strane vestibula, a ona



Slika 11. Presjek južnog vestibula i sobe povrh njega, crkva sv. Sofije u Konstantinopolu

Figure 11. Cross section of southern vestibule and Room Over the Vestibule, St. Sophia's Church in Constantinople

izvor / source: P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 2014, 120

Both rooms is dated to the late 6th century.⁵² It means that they were built as additions to Justinian's structure, but relatively soon after its construction. They were built at the same time.

Based on the documents and the position of the Patriarchate, Cormack and Hawkins interpret the gallery-level rooms as part of the patriarchate within the cathedral itself. In other words, they accept Mango's assumption that, based on the fact that these rooms are located next to the gallery and yet outside it and along the southern side of the church, as well as based on the nature of the mosaics contained in them, the Room Over the Vestibule was the Large *Sekreton* and the Room over the Ramp was the Small *Sekreton*.⁵³

They were used as *sekreta*, or a *sekreton* for meetings and even councils. It seems they were spacious. A large door led from them to the gallery corridor.⁵⁴ Strictly speaking, they were not sacristies, because the sacristy of the cathedral, the so-called *skeuophylakion*, was located at the rear part of the structure.⁵⁵ For example, it was the *sekreta* that Patriarch John III Scholasticus (AD 565 – 577) used for

47 Bile su još neke manje prostorije istočno i zapadno od nje, a one tri zapadno oštećene su u 16. st. podizanjem minareta i za vrijeme Fossatijevih restauracija u 19. st. Današnji je ulaz u ove prostorije preko mramornih vrata na južnom kraju sobe povrh vestibula. R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 178, bilj. 10.

48 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 179, sl. 46.

49 Pretpostavlja se da su sobe izvorno imale još jedna vrata prije restauracije Fossatijevih na južnom dijelu pregradnog zida između soba. R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 180-181.

50 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 186.

51 „Alcove“ je prostorija također kvadratnog tlocrta, a u nju se pristupa preko arhivolta na SZ uglu sobe povrh rampe. Ta je soba bila poveznica ovih dviju većih. R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 194, 195, 196, 199.

52 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 191-192.

53 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, bilj. 43, 44, 53; P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 2014, 123, sl. 5.

54 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 210; P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 2014, 123.

55 R. F. Taft, 2001, 66-83.

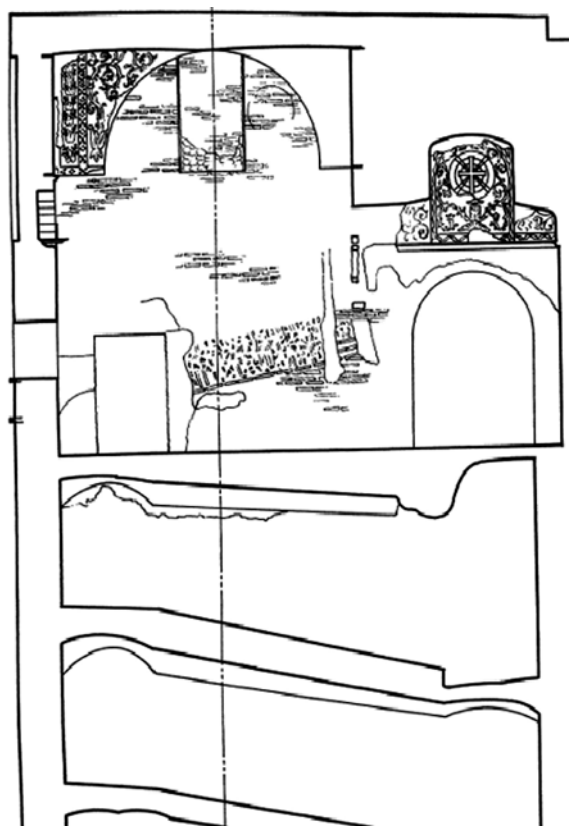
56 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 202; P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 2014, 152.

52 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 191-192.

53 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, note 43, 44, 53; P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 2014, 123, fig. 5.

54 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 210; P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 2014, 123.

55 R. F. TAFT, 2001, 66-83.



Slika 12. Soba povrh rampe u sklopu jugozapadne prigradnje crkve sv. Sofije u Konstantinopolu

Figure 12. Room Over the Ramp in southwestern annex of St. Sophia's Church in Constantinople

izvor / source: R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 188

su bila nasuprot rampe koja je vodila na gornji kat galerije, a time i na *sekreton*, odnosno *sekrete*.⁵⁷

U Veliki *Sekreton* patrijarh je tako mogao ulaziti direktno iz nadbiskupske palače preko spiralnog stepeništa koje je devastirano prilikom podizanja minareta.⁵⁸ To je stepenište, sudeći prema pisanim izvorima, bilo namijenjeno isključivo nadbiskupu, odnosno bilo je njegovo privatno, vlastito stepenište. Ono je bilo povezano preko manjeg predvorja sa zapadnim vratima Velikog *Sekretona*. S druge strane, palača patrijarha bila je zaštićena od galerije zaključanim vratima.⁵⁹ Privatno spiralno stepenište s razlogom se može nazvati privatnim, jer nije bilo dostupno ni vidljivo javnosti i običnim laicima.⁶⁰

Identifikaciji soba na tom dijelu konstantinopolske katedrale dodatno je pomogla dokumentacija iz 10. st. koja

the AD 574 conference on the persecution of Monophysitic bishops.⁵⁶ Besides hosting councils and conferences, the *sekreton* also served as the main entrance to the patriarchate. Its door was probably opposite the entrance on the southern side of the vestibule which, in turn, was opposite the ramp leading to the gallery's upper floor and, thus, to the *sekreton*, or *sekreta*.⁵⁷

The patriarch could thus enter Large *Sekreton* directly from the Archbishop's Palace via the spiral staircase that was destroyed when the minaret was built.⁵⁸ According to written sources, the staircase was intended for the archbishop only --it was his own private staircase. A small anteroom connected it with the western door of Large *Sekreton*. On the other side, the door leading to it from the gallery was locked.⁵⁹ We can safely say that the spiral staircase was intended for private use because it was neither accessible nor visible to the public and ordinary laymen.⁶⁰

The 10th-century documents describing numerous liturgies and ceremonies that the Emperor himself took part in contributed to identification of the purpose of the rooms in this part of the Constantinople cathedral. For example, one such document describes the ritual performed by Patriarch and Emperor together – the worshipping of the relic of True Cross on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The relic was kept in Small *Sekreton*. As part of the ritual, both of them would enter Large *Sekreton*, where a procession would be formed. The procession would then carry the relic down the Large Spiral Staircase, then via *didaskalion* and down another flight of stairs and through Large Door to the narthex and, finally, via Royal Gate to the church's nave, all the way to the pulpit.⁶¹ Interestingly, in the original document, the spiral staircase is called *Κοχλίον*, or *cochlea*.⁶²

56 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 202; P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 2014, 152.

57 P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 2014, 152, 153.

58 P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 2014, 153, note 130.

59 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 178, fig. 5; P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 2014, 153.

60 P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 2014, 154.

61 According to a quote from *De ceremoniis*, 1.31., the name Large Spiral Staircase is an alternative for the name "private spiral staircase". R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 175. *Didaskalion* is a hall intended for the training of catechumens. There is another interesting ritual that adds color to the architecture: When Theophylact was consecrated patriarch in AD 933, the Emperor came down the Large Spiral Staircase, but on his own. The patriarch was leading the procession through the city then. The two met in front of the Beautiful Gate (Splendid Door) and then they entered the church together. Beautiful Gate is the southern door that Michael III (AD 841-867) decorated with a pair of ancient bronze door jambs. When leaving the rooms on the southern side of the atrium, the Emperor apparently used the door leading to the western side of the vestibule. Although the Emperor would occasionally use this route in Late Antiquity, he usually entered the church on the western side, via the atrium and to the main entrance of the narthex. There he would take off his crown. Only in Middle Byzantine Period did he use the southern access, via the vestibule (which had earlier been intended for the Patriarch) to the Beautiful Gate (where he would take his crown off) and then to the narthex door. There he would meet the Patriarch and they would enter the church together through the Royal Gate. P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 1977, 153-155; G. Majeska, 1997, 39-51.

62 K. VII. Porphyrogenet, cap. I, 28, 1829, 157-158.

57 P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 2014, 152, 153.

58 P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 2014, 153, bilj. 130.

59 R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 178, sl. 5; P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 2014, 153.

60 P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 2014, 154.

opisuje niz obreda i liturgijskih ceremonija u kojima je sudjelovao i car. Tako je u jednom od njih opisan ritual koji su obnašali patrijarh i car zajedno, a radi se o štovanju relikvije pravog križa na blagdan Uzvišenja Sv. Križa koja se čuvala u Malom *Sekretonu*. Obred nije na tome završavao, već bi nakon toga obojica ušla u Veliki *Sekreton*, gdje se formirala procesija koja je pronosila relikvije preko Velikog spiralnog stepeništa, zatim bi preko *didaskaliona* sišla drugim kramkom stepenica i ušla preko Velikih vrata u narteks te konačno preko Kraljevskih vrata u brod crkve sve do ambona.⁶¹ Vrlo je zanimljivo da se u izvorniku spiralno stepenište naziva *Κοχλίον*, odnosno *cochlea*.⁶²

Nakon ovog kraćeg opisa konstruktivnih elemenata i funkcija dviju prostorija prigradnje na jugozapadnom uglu povrh vestibula, odnosno prilazne rampe Sv. Sofije u Konstantinopolu, bilo bi vrlo zgodno protumačiti i prigradnju s južne strane rotunde Sv. Trojstva u Zadru elementom koji je na svojoj gornjoj etaži imao *sekreton* – sakristiju ili biskupov ured, a možda se čak nešto slično moglo nalaziti i u samom prizemlju prigradnje. Nažalost, nemamo nikakvih zapisa koji bi nam u tome pomogli i ponuđeno mišljenje time potvrdili, kao što su to učinili povijesni dokumenti u slučaju konstantinopolske prijestolnice. I tu, mogli bismo s pravom reći, završava svaka pretpostavka. Na temelju analogija ne mogu se postavljati činjenice. No, prije nego stavimo finalnu točku na raspravu, vjerujem da ipak možemo učiniti jedan korak naprijed u hipotetskom tumačenju nestale prigradnje funkcijom kakvu su imale bizantske *sekreta*, bez obzira što konačan odgovor neće biti moguć dok nam to pisani izvori ne podastru. U nedostatku istih, pružit ću par orisa koji nam mogu, barem u sfumatu, ponuditi kakvu-takvu sliku o funkcijama južne prigradnje crkve sv. Donata.

Vratit ćemo se nakratko u 10. st., u kratki, ali jezgrovit opis iz *De Administrando Imperio* koji je preveo Milenko Lončar. Sveti Donat opisan je kao sklop od dva hrama, jedan iznad drugoga, a zajednička im je oznaka „(...) zao-bljenost. Donjemu je spomenut titular, Sveto Trojstvo, a posebnost gornjega je to što naliči katekumeneju i što je

After this short description of the structural elements and functions of the two rooms over the vestibule and over the access ramp in the southwestern annex to St. Sophia's Church in Constantinople, it would be convenient to interpret the southern annex to the rotunda of Holy Trinity in Zadar as an element that contained a *sekreton* – a sacristy or bishop's office – on its upper story. It is also possible that similar room was also in the annex's ground floor. Unfortunately, there are no written documents that would substantiate this theory, such as the historical documents referred to in the case of the Constantinople cathedral. So this is where all the assumptions must stop. Facts cannot be reconstructed on the basis of analogies. However, before we conclude the discussion, I believe a step forward can still be made in hypothesizing that the function of the missing annex was similar to the one of the Byzantine *sekreta*, despite the fact that no final answer can be found before relevant written documents are found. In the meantime, I will propose here a few descriptions that, if vaguely, can outline the functions of the southern annex of St. Donatus' Church.

We will return for a moment to the 10th century and to the short but concise description from *De Administrando Imperio*, translated by Milenko Lončar. It describes St. Donatus as a complex of two temples, one above each other, both of them "round. The patron saint of the lower one is mentioned – Holy Trinity. The distinguishing feature of the other is that it resembles a catechumeneon and that a winding staircase connects it with the ground floor".⁶³ The authors considers the gallery on the upper floor a separate church, "resembling a catechumeneon". P. Vežić thinks that, because of the separate access, it can be considered a separate church but that, inside, they constitute a single space. "...as joint rituals are carried out in them, we can consider it as a single church. There are no traces of any original horizontal structure that would divide the central cylinder to the upper and lower parts".⁶⁴

In addition to his meticulous translation and clarifications of Greek expressions, M. Lončar also presents and explains the functions of some rooms/spaces that were tightly connected with the catechumeneon or gallery in Byzantium, referring to T. Mathews. Lončar says: "*On each catechumenenumor closely connected to it there is a part called palace except in St. Sophia's which makes part of the emperor's palace and is connected with it on gallery level. Usually, that part contains rooms for rest (koitón), for changing clothes (metatorum) and the reception and the dinig hall (triclinium)*".⁶⁵

61 Po citatu iz *De ceremoniis*, 1.31. naziv Veliko spiralno stepenište je alternativa nazivu privatnog spiralnog stepeništa. R. Cormack – E. J. W. Hawkins, 1977, 175. *Didaskalion* je dvorana namijenjena za instrukcije katekumena. Zanimljiva je još jedna obredna slika koja daje živost arhitekturi: na dan posvete patrijarha Teofilakija 933. godine car je nanovo sišao preko Velikog spiralnog stepeništa, ali bez patrijarha (koji vodi procesiju po gradu) s kojim se susreće pred Lijepim vratima odakle ulaze skupa u crkvu. Lijepim vratima smatraju se ona južna vrata vestibula koja je Michael III. (841.-867.) ukrasio parom antičkih brončanih vratnica. Čini se da je car na tu prigodu napustio sobe koje se nalaze s južne strane atrija preko vrata koja vode u vestibul sa zapadne strane. Iako je car u kasnoj antici ulazio na određene prilike ovom rutom, on je uglavnom ulazio u crkvu sa zapadne strane preko atrija do glavnog ulaza u narteks gdje skida krunu. Tek u srednjem bizantskom razdoblju on prilazi s južne strane, preko vestibula (koji je ranije bio namijenjen patrijarhu), odakle dolazi do Lijepih vrata (gdje iza zavjese skida krunu), potom do vrata narteksa gdje se sastaje s patrijarhom i skupa preko Kraljevskih vrata ulaze u crkvu. P. Niewohner – N. Teteriatnikov, 1977, 153-155; G. Majeska, 1997, 39-51.

62 K. VII. Porfirogenet, 1829, cap. I, 28, 157-158.

63 M. Lončar, 1999, 237; T. G. Jackson, 1887, 255.

64 P. Vežić, 1985, 18.

65 M. Lončar, 1999, 238.

s prizemljem povezan zavojitim stubištem.”⁶³ Galeriju na katu pisac drži drugom crkvom, „poput katekumena”. P. Vežić smatra da se zbog posebna prilaza može govoriti o drugoj crkvi, no da su one u unutrašnjosti jedinstven prostor: „(...) u njima se odvija zajednički obred te se po tome može govoriti samo o jednom hramu. Nikakvih tragova nekakvoj izvornoj horizontalnoj konstrukciji koja bi dijelila središnji cilindar na gornji i donji nema.”⁶⁴

Međutim, nakon pedantnog prijevoda i pojašnjenja grčkih izraza, M. Lončar fino izlaže i nudi čitatelju na razmatranje funkcije nekih prostora/ambijenata koji su bili tijesno povezani uz katekumenejon ili galeriju na području Bizanta, pozivajući se pritom na T. Mathews. Lončar kaže: „Na katekumeneju ili blisko povezan s njim postoji i dio koji se zove palača, osim u Sv. Sofiji koja je sama u sklopu carskog dvora i povezana je s njim na razini galerije. U tom su dijelu redovito prostori za odmor (*koitón*), za presvlačenje (*metatorij*) i salon za prijem i blagovanje (*triklinij*).”⁶⁵

U biti, to su sve prostori koji na neki način imaju zajednički nazivnik u jedinstvenom ambijentu crkvene arhitekture, a radi se o sakristiji. U tom pogledu stječe se dojam da je Lončar pažljivo, ali i diskretno iznio hipotezu o prostorima blizu katekumenejona Sv. Donata, odnosno o prostorima koji su se nalazili u sklopu prigradnje kao ambijentima koji su mogli biti namijenjeni raznim funkcijama (u skladu s bizantskom analogijom), a koje se jednako tako mogu obnašati i u sakristiji.

Ostali šturi podatci koji bi nam jasnije dešifrirali sakristijske prostore u prigradnjama nalaze se u doslovce nekoliko kratkih crtica iz zadarske povijesti.

Neizostavno je na prvom mjestu nanovo spomenuti biskupa Donata. Činjenica jest da je bio u Konstantinopolu te da je vrlo vjerojatno ne samo vidio njegovu katedralu već i kročio njome.⁶⁶ Uz to što je možda prolazio kongregacijskim prostorom katedrale, nije naodmet pretpostaviti da je pohodio i njezine pomoćne ambijente, a možemo čak zamisliti da je kao crkveni diplomat bio primljen u jednom od biskupovih ureda, možda baš u jednoj od *sekreta*.

Činjenica govori da su obje sekrete, Mali i Veliki *Sekretion*, podignute kao svojevrsne prigradnje Justinijanovoj građevini, iako još uvijek u razdoblju kasne antike. Oni su se tako nalazili na jugozapadnom uglu katedrale. Bile su to prostrane prostorije koje su se velikim vratima otvarale prema katekumenejonu ili predvorju galerije. Uz to su tijesno bile povezane s nadbiskupskom palačom. Ako se osvrnemo na zadarski slučaj, vidimo da se jedna od prigradnji rotunde Sv. Trojstva nalazila također s jugozapadne strane

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Essentially, all these rooms have a common denominator of a sort – it is the single space of sacristy. In this sense, Lončar carefully and discretely makes a hypothesis about the chambers near the catechumeneon in St. Donatus and about the chambers that belonged to the former annex, suggesting they could have been used for various purposes (based on the analogy with Byzantine examples) – the purposes for which the sacristy could have been used, too.

Other very meagre information that could help us solve the mystery of the sacristy spaces in the annexes can be found in Zadar’s history.

Naturally, we should mention here Bishop Donatus once again. It is known that he visited Constantinople and it is very likely that he not only saw its cathedral but that he also entered it.⁶⁶ We can assume that, in addition to visiting the congregational part of the cathedral, he might have seen its auxiliary rooms. As he was a diplomat in service of the Church, he could have been admitted to one of Bishop’s offices, perhaps even to one of the *sekreta*?

The fact is that both *sekreta*, Small Sekretion and Large Sekretion, were built as additions of a sort to Justinian’s structure, although still Late Antiquity. They were located on the cathedral’s southwestern corner. They were spacious rooms with large doors connecting them with the catechumeneon or the gallery’s antechamber. Also, they were well-connected with the Archbishop’s Palace. If we observe the Zadar example, we can see that one of the rotunda’s annexes was also built on its southwestern side and that the room on the gallery level was spacious. Also, double passages divided by columns and an ordinary door connected this room with the rotunda’s catechumeneon/gallery/oratories/matroneum, and another door connected it with the antechamber of the gallery. The spiral (shell-like) stairway, *Κοχλίον* or *cochlea*, led to that level. The southern annex directly faced the new wing of the Archbishop’s Palace, about which we will say more soon (Fig. 13). Indeed, both examples have a few important identical features. Perhaps it is not surprising then that, in his description of St. Donatus’ Church, Bianchi mentions that Porphyrogenitus compared it with his own cathedral – something not expressly said in the 10th-century document: “Poche notizie troviamo di questo tempio negli scrittori delle cose nostre. Porfirogenito ne fa un breve cenno, e lo rassomiglia a s. Sofia;...”⁶⁷ Were it the terms like catechumeneon or *Κοχλίον* (*cochlea*), typical of the Constantinople architecture terminology, that made Bianchi make

63 M. Lončar, 1999, 237; T. G. Jackson, 1887, 255.

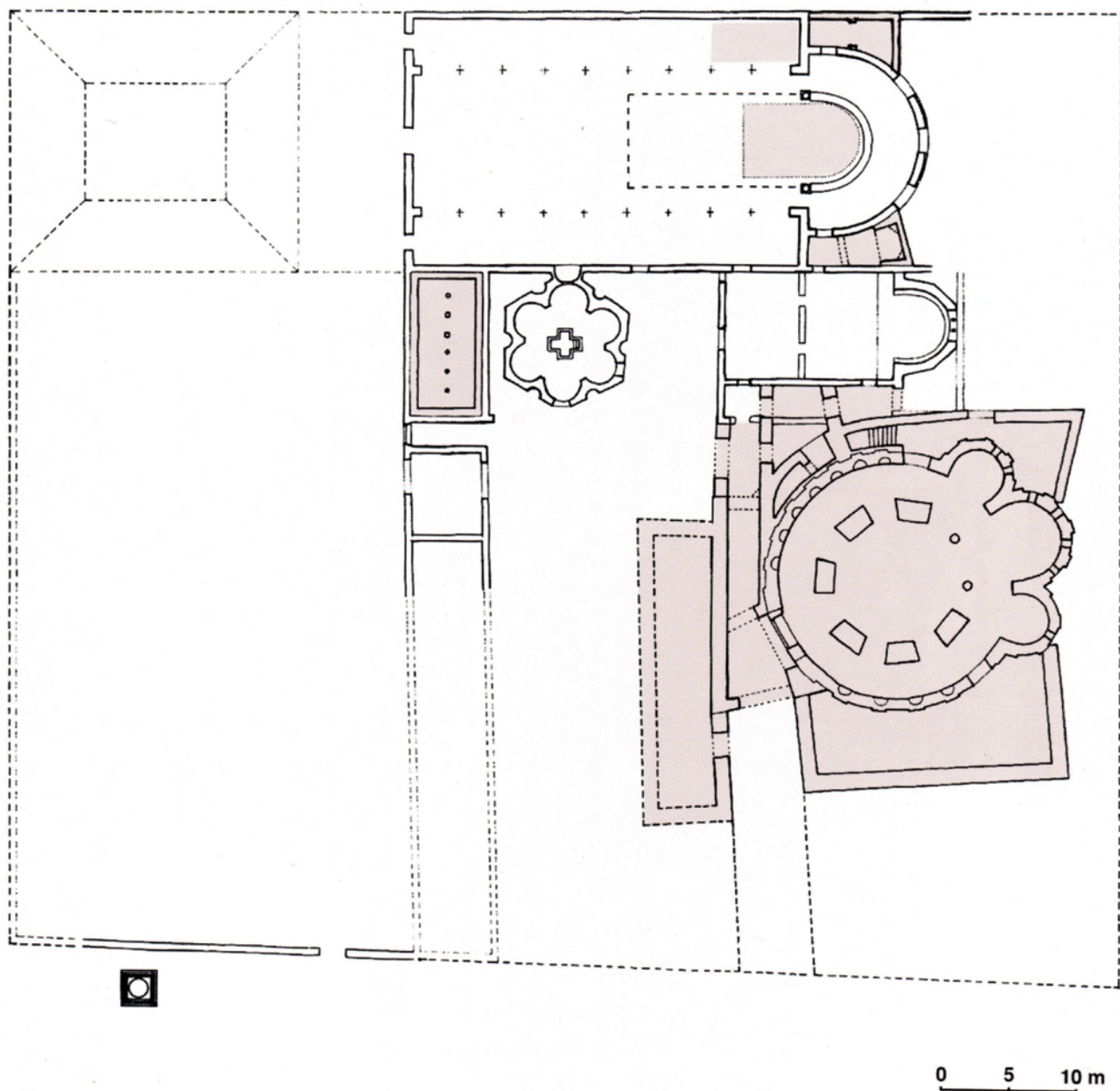
64 P. Vežić, 1985, 18.

65 M. Lončar, 1999, 238.

66 Carlo Federico Bianchi tako spominje biskupa Donata kao mogućeg osnivača kapitula, odnosno pripisuje mu tu ulogu s obzirom na Donatovu reputaciju administrativnog organizatora episkopalnog sklopa. C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 166.

66 Carlo Federico Bianchi mentions Bishop Donatus as a possible founder of the chapter house. He attributes this role to him based on Donatus’ reputation of an administrative organizer of the episcopal complex. C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 166.

67 C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 386.



Slika 13. Zadarski episkopalni sklop iz kasnoantičkog razdoblja s ranosrednjovjekovnim intervencijama koje su istaknute na crtežu

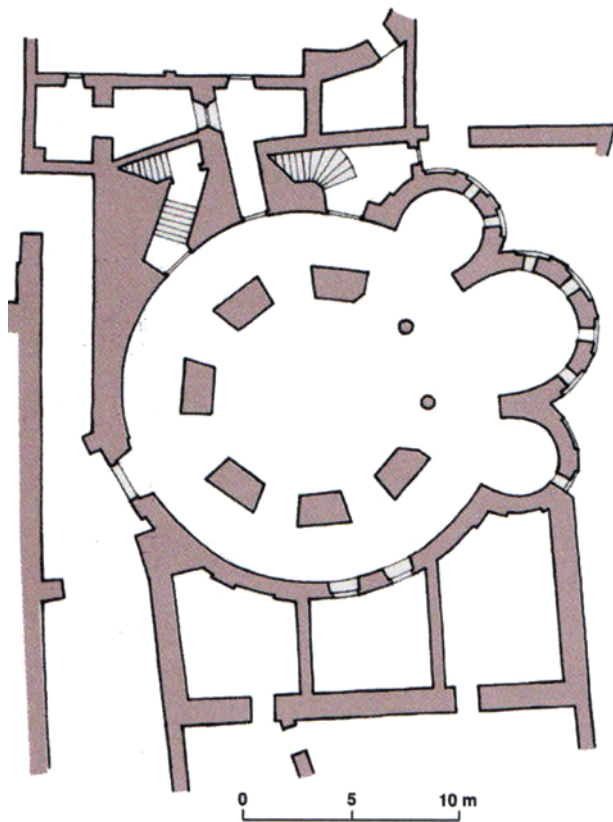
te da je prostorija na razini galerije bila prostrana i da se, dvojnim prolazima podijeljenim stupovima te još jednim običnim vratima, otvarala prema katekumenejonu/galeriji/oratorijima/matroneju rotunde, odnosno jednim vratima prema predvorju same galerije. Do te razine vodilo je pužasto stepenište, odnosno *Κοχλίον* ili *cohlea*. Južna prigradnja nalazila se točno nasuprot novom krilu nadbiskupske palače, o čemu će više riječi biti uskoro (Sl. 13). Doista, oba primjera imaju nekoliko ključnih podudarnosti. Možda u tom smislu i nije neobično da je Bianchi opisujući crkvu sv. Donata naveo kako je Porfirogenet usporodio upravo potonji hram s vlastitom stolnom crkvom,

Figure 13. Late Antiquity episcopal complex in Zadar, with designated Early Medieval alterations

izvor / source: P. Vežić, 2002, 63

this comparison or was it something else, we cannot safely say. Certainly, the *DAI* makes no direct analogies between the two churches.

When making analogies with Constantinople, one could assume that Bishop Donatus almost certainly took part in one of the rituals that were carried out in a still Late Antiquity or Early byzantine way. Perhaps he even attended a ritual of paying a tribute to the cross relics kept in Small Sekreton. Although the information about worshipping the said relics are dated to the 10th century, it is not likely that they were still in Constantinople in such a late period. Most of the relics related to the Passion of Christ



Slika 14. Plan prizemlja rotonde, 18. st.

Figure 14. Rotunda's ground floor plan, 18th century

izvor / source: P. Vežić, 2002, 132

što ne stoji izričito i u dokumentu iz 10. st.: „Poche notizie troviamo di questo tempio negli scrittori delle cose nostre. Porfirogenito ne fa un breve cenno, e lo rassomiglia a s. Sofia...“⁶⁷ Jesu li Bianchija nagnali termini katekumenejon, odnosno *Κοχλίον* (*cochlea*), koji su svojstveni konstantinopolskoj terminologiji o arhitekturi, da iznese usporedbu ili je posrijedi bilo nešto drugo, pitanje je koje također nema jednoznačnog odgovora. Svakako, u *DAI* nema izravne analogije dviju građevina.

U analogiji s Konstantinopolom mogla bi se izložiti misao da je biskup Donat bio gotovo sigurno sudionikom na jednom od obreda koji se odvijao na još uvijek kasnoantički ili ranobizantski način. Možda je čak bio prisutan na obredu čašćenja relikvija križa koje su se čuvale u Malom *Sekretu*. Iako podatci o štovanju navedenih relikvija datiraju u 10. st., malo je vjerojatno da su se relikvije zatekle u Konstantinopolu u tako pozno doba. Naime, većina relikvija vezanih uz Kristovu pasiju stiže u grad u 8. st.⁶⁸ Posljednje misli su zanimljive jer možda i njima nalazimo pandan u zadarskoj

came to the city in the 8th century.⁶⁸ This is interesting because an analogy for it can also be found in the Zadar church. It is known that *Scala santa* (also known as *Sacrario* – a holy staircase) in St. Donatus' Church had been worshipped since Middle Ages. According to a manuscript, it had been worshipped at least since 1480.⁶⁹ Archbishop Zmajević continued this traditional cult – he even had the stairs covered with marble. In his day, on Maundy Thursday, after a service in the cathedral, the Archbishop and Providur General (Venetian commander of the regional state administration) would go to St. Donatus' Church to honor the *Scala santa* (as written in the *Sacra congregazione* decree of 1736).⁷⁰ On three other occasions in the year the same ritual would be repeated: Epiphany, Whitsuntide and All Saints' Day. The Maundy Thursday mass would be celebrated two times: a regular one and a solemn one (“una piana e una solenne”).

So can the worshipping of the Passion of Christ on *Scala santa* on Maundy Thursday be associated with Bishop Donatus or, at least, with his time? Is worshipping of the relic of the Passion of Christ (a piece of the wooden cross) in the southwestern part of the Constantinople cathedral in any way connected with the ritual of kneeling on the staircase leading to the upper floor of the Zadar rotunda?⁷¹ For now (and maybe forever), there is no real answer to this question.

It is not known which route did the procession, headed by two representatives of the authorities, took on its way to St. Donatus. Was it via the northern annex or via the backyard between the cathedral and rotunda? In the Early Middle Ages, the northern annex that had an antechamber in front of the staircase also had its entrance facing north, towards the rear wall of the cathedral.⁷²

Still, this series of unanswered questions is followed by something that could be of importance for our efforts to interpret the function/functions of the southern annex of St. Donatus' Church. Clearly, in its original shape and dimensions, it existed until the 16th century. Evidence of it is the scale model kept in the Maritime Museum in Venice. “The annex is clearly visible there; in those days it was probably still in function.”⁷³ The plaster preserved on the edges of the opening can also be seen as evidence of it, says Petricioli. The annex was first devastated in Baroque, in 1732 and

67 C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 386.

68 H. A. Klein, 2006, 79-99.

68 H. A. Klein, 2006, 79-99.

69 C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 387.

70 C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 387; P. Vežić, 2002, 104. M. Ančić recently hypothesized that the matroneum (oratory) could have been used as a chapel for the head of the city's civil administration, the Dux of Zadar. M. Ančić, 2009, 105-130.

71 We cannot ignore the opinion of P. Vežić here. When pondering on one of the functions the Zadar rotunda might have had, he mentioned the fact that central-plan structures had symbolized the Holy Grave in Jerusalem. P. Vežić, 2002, 102.

72 In the Romanesque period, there was a door at the very bottom of the staircase. The antechamber probably lost its primary purpose at the time. P. Vežić, 2013, 50.

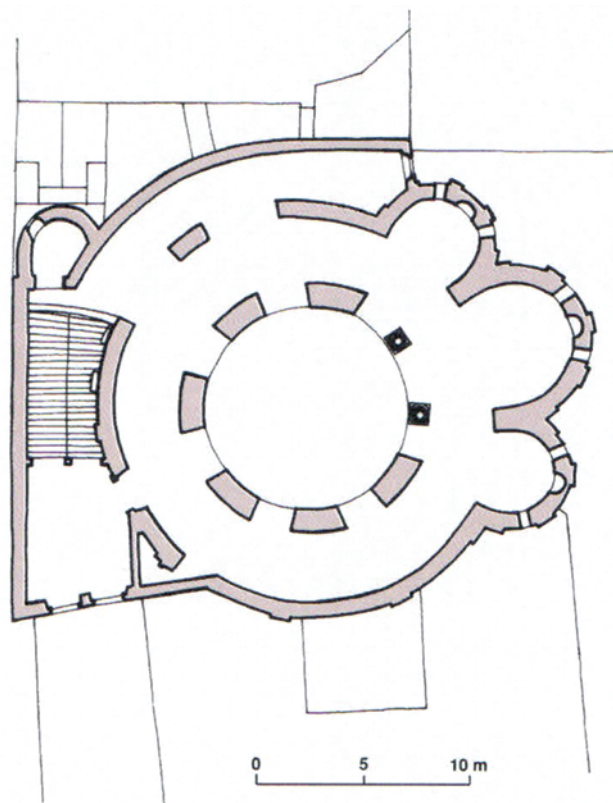
73 I. Petricioli, 1985, 500.

crkvi. Naime, poznato je da se od srednjovjekovnog razdoblja u crkvi sv. Donata štuje pobožnost prema tzv. *Scali santi* koja se još zove i *Sacrario*, a postoji (po jednom rukopisu) barem od 1480.⁶⁹ Nadbiskup Zmajević nastavio je njegovati tradicionalni kult, štoviše, dao je obložiti stepenice mramorom. U njegovo vrijeme za blagdana Velikog četvrtka, nakon službe u katedrali, nadbiskup i Generalni providur odlaze u Sv. Donat častiti *Scalu santu*, što je zapisano u dekretu *Sacra congregazione* iz 1736.⁷⁰ Još tri puta na godinu obavlja se isti ritual, na blagdane: Bogojavljanje, Duhovi i Svi sveti. Misa na Veliki četvrtak slavi se čak dva puta: jedna je obična, druga svečana („una piana e una solenne“).

Je li stoga uopće moguće povezati štovanje Isusove muke na dijelu *Scale sante* na Veliki četvrtak upravo s Donatom ili barem njegovim vremenom? Ima li kakve veze štovanje relikvije Kristove pasije (drveta križa) u jugozapadnom dijelu konstantinopolske katedrale s obredom klečanja na stepeništu koje vodi prema katu zadarske rotonde?⁷¹ Pitanja su na koja za sada (a možda i definitivno) nema pravog odgovora.

Nije poznato kojom je rutom procesija predvođena dvama predstavnicima vlasti stizala u crkvu sv. Donata, preko sjeverne prigradnje ili preko dvorišta između katedrale i rotunde. Svakako, sjeverna prigradnja koja u doba ranog srednjeg vijeka ima pretprostor pred stubištem ima ulaz okrenut prema sjeveru, prema začelju katedrale.⁷²

Ipak, nakon niza pitanja na koja nemamo odgovor, slijedi ono što bi moglo biti od veće važnosti u razmatranju i u potrazi za funkcijom/funkcijama južne prigradnje crkve sv. Donata. Ona je, dakle, u svojem originalnom obliku i gabaritima postojala sve do 16. st. o čemu svjedoči maketa iz Pomorskog muzeja u Veneciji. „Tamo je jasno označena prigradnja, u to vrijeme vjerojatno još u funkciji.“⁷³ Tome u prilog, kako i Petricioli ističe, govori i žbuka sačuvana na stranama otvora. Prvi put se prigradnja devastira u barokno doba, 1732. i 1733., kada kompletno nestaje gornja etaža, prolazi se zazidavaju, a na njihovom se mjestu probijaju prozori s polukružnim nadvojem tipa *mezzaluna*.⁷⁴ Unutar perimetralnih zidova prigradnje podižu se stambene višekratnice (Sl. 14, 15). Slični prozori napravljeni su i na sjevernoj prigradnji. Stubište se podiže na višu razinu, a pod nižim krakom provlače se dva prolaza. Jedan je, što je sada jako važno, vodio direktno u sakristiju katedrale, a drugi u novi



Slia 15. Plan galerije rotunde, 18. st.

Figure 15. Plan of rotunda's gallery, 18th century

izvor / source: P. Vežić, 2002, 132

1733, when the entire upper story was removed, passages were sealed up and windows with semicircular *mezzaluna* lintels were made in their stead.⁷⁴ Residential multistory buildings were erected within the perimeter walls of the annex (Fig. 14 and 15). Similar windows were made on the northern annex, too. The staircase was elevated to a higher level and two passages were made underneath its lower part. One – importantly – led directly to the cathedral's sacristy, and the other to the newly made part of the staircase and to the beginning of *Scala Santa*.⁷⁵ Obviously, the worshipping of the older *sacrarium* was maintained and a direct passage to the cathedral's sacristy was opened, clearly because the entire southern annex was dying away! The fact that the church now had a Baroque connection with the sacristy space – after both ground floor and first floor of the annex had been devastated – convincingly indicates that there must have been a sacristy space somewhere in the original annex. Indeed, if the Archbishop or clergy in

69 C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 387.

70 C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 387; P. Vežić, 2002, 104. M. Ančić je nedavno iznio predodžbu o matroneju (oratoriju), odnosno o kapeli namijenjenoj civilnom predvodniku grada, zadarskom duksu. M. Ančić, 2009, 105-130.

71 U tom pogledu ne može se zanemariti i mišljenje P. Vežića jer, kada je razmatrao o jednoj od funkcija koju je zadarska rotonda mogla imati, iznio je činjenicu o centralnim građevinama kao svojevrsnim simbolima memorije Sv. Groba u Jeruzalemu. P. Vežić, 2002, 102.

72 Tu se u doba romanike otvaraju vrata na samom dnu stubišta. Tada je pretprostor vjerojatno izgubio primarnu namjenu. P. Vežić, 2013, 50.

73 I. Petricioli, 1985, 500.

74 P. Vežić, 1985, 19. Prigradnju Zmajević doslovno prodaje da bi nabavio sredstava za barokno preuređenje crkve. P. Vežić, 2002, 63, 132.

74 P. Vežić, 1985, 19. Zmajević literally sold the annex in order to obtain funds for the Baroque remodeling of the church. P. Vežić, 2002, 63, 132.

75 P. Vežić, 2002, 132-133; 1985, 46, drawings 13 and 14.

krak stubišta, odnosno na početak *Scale Sante*.⁷⁵ Dakle, čuva se štovanje prema starijem *sakrariju*, dok se, sasvim očito s obzirom na to da odumire cjelokupna južna prigradnja, otvara direktan prolaz prema sakristiji katedrale! Ta činjenica, koja govori o sada baroknoj poveznici crkve sa sakristijskim ambijentom kada se devastira i prizemlje i prvi kat prigradnje, vrlo uvjerljivo govori u prilog o izvorno sakristijskom ambijentu koji se negdje u sklopu nje nalazio. Doista, ako nadbiskupu ili općenito kleru nije bila potrebna sakristija (u nedostatku prethodne), probijanje direktnog prolaza nije bio neophodan potez jer je komunikacija između crkve i katedrale postojala i ranije. Lako je moguće da se sakristija nalazila na obje etaže prigradnje: na donjoj je ona mogla biti u službi većeg kongregacijskog prostora, a na gornjoj u službi oratorija.

Gornja etaža prigradnje vrlo je prostrana i u tlocrtima istraživača nije zabilježena eventualna pregrada u njezinu interijeru, što je ispravan postupak s obzirom na nedostatak dokumentacije, mada je jednako tako za očekivati da je oveći prostor mogao ili čak morao biti podijeljen nekim pregradnim elementima. Zahvalna je u tom smislu sugestija koju je predložio P. Vežić da je zapadniji dio kata južne prigradnje bio vrlo vjerojatno jedinstveni prostor prolazi- ma otvoren prema matroneju, dok je istočnija strana kata s vratima u blizini svetišta mogla biti zaseban ambijent, možda baš određen za *sekretion*.⁷⁶

Kompleksna rotunda u vrijeme gradnje bila je fizički povezana s novim krilom biskupske palače, štoviše, oni su istovremeno podignuti. Vrlo je vjerojatno da su bili ne samo tehnički već i funkcionalno povezani, jer se pred samim ulazom u crkvu nalaze jedna vrata, a druga se otvaraju u njegovu stubištu.⁷⁷ Vrata pred ulazom direktan su prolaz prema donjoj centralnoj jezgri, dok su vrata na razini međukata u stubištu, na razini drugoga kata palače. To su dvije direktne i usmjerene poveznice između crkve i palače, čime se dodatno naglašava karakter biskupove crkve koju je građevina morala imati.⁷⁸ Osim toga, Leporini na jednom tlocrtu bilježi vrata na južnoj prigradnji koji je probijen gotovo točno nasuprot vratima biskupske palače.⁷⁹ Jesu li vrata iz vremena podizanja prigradnje ili su nastala recen- tno, naravno, nije moguće ustanoviti. No isto bi tako bilo vrlo neobično da se u donju etažu prigradnje moglo ući samo iz ophoda donjeg kongregacijskog prostora rotunde te su još neka vrata na perimetralnim zidovima prigradnje lako mogla biti izgrađena već u doba realizacije projekta.⁸⁰

general did not need the sacristy (now that the former one was gone), building a direct passage was not necessary because the church and cathedral had already been connected. It is therefore possible that the sacristy had been on both stories of the annex: On the lower story it could have been used as a large congregation room and on the upper story as an oratory.

The annex's upper story is very spacious. Researchers have never documented any partition wall in its interior. Although it is to be expected that such a large space could have – or even should have – been partitioned, there is still no evidence that it was really so. P. Vežić made a useful suggestion that it is very likely that the westernmost part of the upper floor of the southern annex had been a single space with passages leading to the matroneum and that the eastern side with a door near the shrine could have been a separate space – perhaps even intended to be used as a *sekretion*.⁷⁶

During the construction, the complex rotunda was physically connected with the new wing of Bishop's Palace. Actually, they were built at the same time. It is very likely that they were also connected in terms of functions because there is one door right in front of the church entrance and a second door leads directly to the entrance staircase.⁷⁷ The door in front of the entrance is a direct passage to the lower central core, while the door on the staircase landing is on the level of the palace's second floor. These are two direct connections between the church and palace that additionally emphasize the nature of a Bishop's church that the structure must have had.⁷⁸ Also, Leporini designated a door on his ground plan of the southern annex; the door is almost directly opposite the door of the Bishop's Palace.⁷⁹ Of course, it is impossible to establish whether the door was made when the annex was built or recently.

However, as it would also be very unusual that the only access to the lower story was from the ambulatory of the rotunda's lower congregation room, another door must have been made on the annex's perimeter walls during the construction.⁸⁰

By all the above mentioned crucial elements, St. Donatus' Church does resemble St. Sophia's Church and the latter one was indeed connected with the Patriarchate, or Archbishop's Palace, which stood directly opposite the ramp on the southwestern corner. As mentioned above, a

75 P. Vežić, 2002, 132-133; 1985, 46, crteži 13 i 14.

76 Od srca zahvaljujem profesoru Pavuši Vežić na sugestiji.

77 P. Vežić, 2002, 62.

78 P. Vežić, 2002, 101.

79 I. Petricioli, 1985, T. 8. (*Prvotni projekt arh. Leporinija za uređenje okoliša crkve sv. Donata*). Zahvaljujem kolegici Antoniji Mlikoti na ustupljenoj dokumentaciji, fotografijama originalnih nacrtarhitekta Leporinija na kojima se jasno vide vrata na zapadnoj strani izvornog gabarita južne prigradnje.

80 I na ovom mjestu izražavam zahvalnost prof. Vežiću na sugestiji.

76 I am truly grateful to Professor Pavuša Vežić on his suggestion.

77 P. Vežić, 2002, 62.

78 P. Vežić, 2002, 101.

79 I. Petricioli, 1985, Pl. 8. (*Prvotni projekt arh. Leporinija za uređenje okoliša crkve sv. Donata*). I am particularly indebted to my colleague Antonija Mlikota for allowing me to use the documents and photographs of architect Leporini's original ground plans drawings that include a clearly visible door on the western side of the original southern annex.

80 Once again I am expressing my gratitude to Professor Vežić on his suggestion.

U svim gore navedenim ključnim elementima crkva sv. Donata doista nalikuje na crkvu sv. Sofije koja je, dakle, bila povezana s patrijarhatom, odnosno nadbiskupskom palačom, a ona se nalazila točno nasuprot rampi na jugozapadnom uglu. Kako je već prethodno istaknuto u radu, nadbiskupska palača u Konstantinopolu bila je povezana jednim vratima s galerijom crkve odakle je imala direktan pristup u *sekreta*. U donju etažu silazilo se spiralnim stubištem odnosno *Κοχλίον*-om ili *cochleom*. Sve su to činjenice koje su u više točaka vrlo slične zadarскоj situaciji. Elementi bizantske arhitekture prepoznati su i ranije u okviru crkve sv. Donata,⁸¹ a u ovom slučaju (kao i sa skrivenom prostorijom povrh polukalote sjeverne apside koja nas približava ravenskom podneblju te ranobizantskim elementima) oni su dodatno potvrđeni. Razlozi njihove pojavnosti u zadarскоj sredini ne trebaju nas previše iznenaditi: to je vrijeme kada Bizant u Zadru jača svoju poziciju na istočnoj obali Jadrana, koristeći se pritom, između ostalog, i vizualnim stilskim crticama na ambijentima proizišlima iz funkcija vlastitog bizantskog obreda.

Ono što bi moglo ići u prilog hipotezi o *sekretu*/*sekreta* na katu južne prigradnje je jedan citat iz Petriciolijeva članka u kojem se obrađuje purifikacija same crkve: „U nekoliko spisa koji se bave izoliranjem crkve sv. Donata ističe se dio kuće Marcetić koji se naslanja na crkvu sv. Donata. Njega se ‘zbog povijesne i umjetničke vrijednosti ne smije porušiti’ (bilj. 9). U jednom se čak kaže da je bio ‘convento’ crkve sv. Donata.”⁸² Sam Petricioli nije ulazio u tumačenje tog izraza te ga stavlja u navodne znakove. U izvorniku, koji citira u bilješci, stoji: „... prevede la parziale demolizione della casa Marcetic ... fino a dove raggiunge il più antico edificio addossato al Tempio di cui era il convento.” Prije svega, treba imati na umu da se radi o zapisu koji je gotovo stopedeset godina mlađi od vremena nestanka izvornog izgleda prigradnje (odnosno, od koje su i dalje prisutni jedino gabariti iz 9. st.) te da su se u međuvremenu mogle izroditi razne teorije o funkciji nečeg čega više nema. Ali ako se zadubimo u izvorno značenje termina *convento*, mogli bismo se približiti pretpostavci koja se iznosi u raspravi. Dakle, *convento* je inače termin koji se u hrvatskom jeziku prevodi *samostanom*, što u slučaju crkve sv. Donata apsolutno nema veze. Ona sigurno nije bila crkva vezana uz samostanski sklop. Međutim, u rječniku talijanskog jezika za termin *convento* uz značenje samostana ili zajednice redovnika stoji i objašnjenje koje proizlazi iz latinskog crkvenog jezika: *riunione* (skup); *seguito* (pratnja, niz, pristalice) i *schiera* (skup), odnosno od latinskog crkvenog značenja (lat. eccl.) *conventus -us: riunione di fratelli*.⁸³ U latinskom rječniku za *conventum, i*, stoji dogovor, ugovor, odnosno

single door connected the Archbishop's Palace in Constantinople with the church gallery which had direct access to the *sekreta*. The spiral staircase (*Κοχλίον* or *cochlea*) led to the lower story. All this resembles the Zadar situation a lot in a number of aspects. It is already known that St. Donatus' Church contains elements of Byzantine architecture.⁸¹ In this case (like in the case of the hidden chamber above the semi-calotte of the northern apse that resembles the Ravenna architecture and early Byzantine elements), they have been additionally confirmed. The reasons for their presence in Zadar should not come as a surprise: It was the time when Byzantium was strengthening its positions in Zadar and Eastern Adriatic, using also its visual elements on the premises reflecting the Byzantine liturgy.

The following quote from Petricioli's article on the purification of the church could be seen as support to the hypothesis about a *sekretu*/*sekreta* on the upper floor of the southern annex: “Several documents on the isolation of St. Donatus' Church underline the part of the Marcetić house leaning on St. Donatus' Church. ‘Due to its historical and artistic value, it must not be torn down’ (Note 9). One document even mentions that it was a ‘convent’ of St. Donatus' Church.”⁸² Petricioli himself did not try to interpret this expression – he merely put it under quotation marks. The original text quoted in his note reads: “...prevede la parziale demolizione della casa Marcetic... fino a dove raggiunge il più antico edificio addossato al Tempio di cui era il convento.” First of all, one should keep in mind that the text was made almost one hundred fifty years after the annex had lost its original appearance (of which only the dimensions from the 9th century had been preserved) and that, in the meantime, numerous theories have been made about something that is no more. But if we think about the original meaning of the word *convento*, we might come closer to the hypothesis made in the discussion. *Convento* is a word that translates as “monastery” – which has absolutely nothing to do with St. Donatus. This church was certainly not connected with any monastic complex. However, in addition to monastery or a community of monks, Italian dictionaries contain additional meanings of this word, derived from Latin church language: *riunione* (a gathering), *seguito* (entourage, sequence, followers) and *schiera* (a gathering), as well as from Latin church terminology (Lat. eccl.): *conventus -us: riunione di fratelli*.⁸³ In a Latin dictionary, the word *conventum, i*, is explained as agreement, contract; the explanation for *conventus, us* is meeting, assembly, rally.⁸⁴ So can this word, *convento / riunione* be connected

81 P. Vežić, 1998, 55-70.

82 I. Petricioli, 1985, 497.

83 G. Devoto – C. Oli, 2002, 515.

81 P. Vežić, 1998, 55-70.

82 I. Petricioli, 1985, 497.

83 G. Devoto – C. Oli, 2002, 515.

84 M. Žepić, 2000, 66.

za *conventus*, us objašnjenje je sastanak, skupština, zbor.⁸⁴ Može li se, dakle, u tom izrazu *convento / riunione* pronaći veza sa značenjem koje u sebi sadrži i izraz *sekreton*, odnosno veza s njegovom funkcijom kao ambijentom u kojem se sastajala i sakupljala crkvena hijerarhija?

U svakom slučaju, i ako izraz *convento* ni u kojem slučaju nije ispravan u historiografiji zadarske rotunde niti ima ikakve veze s izvornom funkcijom jugozapadne prigradnje, najuvjerljivija i sasvim realna činjenica nastala je u vrijeme baroknih intervencija zadarskog nadbiskupa Zmajevića. Sama devastacija, odnosno ono što slijedi nakon nje, a to je direktna poveznica između sakristije katedrale i rotunde, uvjerljivo govori u prilog pretpostavci o nekim sakristijskim funkcijama koje su se, između ostalog, mogle nalaziti u sklopu nestalog aneksa. Direktna poveznica između dviju građevina proizišla je očito iz specifične potrebe koja ne bi iskrsnula da je funkcija sakristije (neophodna liturgiji sakrarija) i dalje bila prisutna u samoj rotondi.

„K tome jedna vrata povezuju predvorje matroneja također s južnom prigradnjom. Sav taj raspored zacijelo nije nastao nekim improviziranjem u prostoru već posve sigurno promišljenim građenjem po odgovarajućem projektu, dakle, s konceptom o izgradnji rotunde s galerijom, one koju smo naslijedili s njezinim prigradnjama.”⁸⁵

ZAKLJUČAK

Obradujući rotundu Sv. Trojstva, odnosno crkvu sv. Donata u Zadru, mnogi su je autori dovodili u paralelu s kasnoantičkim i ranosrednjovjekovnim građevinama na području Italije i Bizanta, među njima i s crkvom San Vitale u Raveni te crkvom sv. Sofije u Konstantinopolu. Zanimljivo je da se u priloženoj raspravi upravo po analogijama s tim dvjema crkvama uviđaju zanimljive sličnosti u pogledu nekih pomoćnih ambijenata kao što je skrivena prostorija u blizini sakrarija crkve ili sakristija u smislu dvorane za vijećanje i sastanke. Skrivena prostorija u ravenskim je primjerima bio ambijent koji se nije isticao u interijeru ili eksterijeru građevine, ambijent neposredno uz svetište crkve, bez danjeg svjetla, s prilazom u razini galerije ili iz bočnih prostorija tik do glavne apside. Njima se u literaturi pretpostavlja funkcija spremišta (depozitorij za crkvene dragocjenosti – riznica) iako nema pisanih izvora koji to podupiru. Često su te prostorije bile opremljene i policama (možda za prihvatanje crkvene opreme). Skrivena prostorija u podu sjeverne apside na razini matroneja crkve sv. Donata po tim komponentama uvelike nalikuje kasnoantičkim ravenskim primjerima. Ona je, dakle, oku skrivena, nije istaknuta u interijeru ili eksterijeru građevine, bez danjeg je svjetla te je bila opremljena policom poduprtom konzolama. Njezina funkcija je također isključivo pretpostavka, s obzirom na nedostatak

with the meaning that the word *sekreton* also contains – with its function as a room in which church hierarchy met and convened?

In any case, even if the word *convento* is by no means applicable to the historiography of the Zadar rotunda and if it has nothing to do with the original function of the southern annex, the most convincing and realistic fact dates back to Baroque, to the period of alterations carried out by Zadar Archbishop Zmajević. That devastation and the ensuing construction of a direct connection between the cathedral's sacristy and rotunda convincingly support the hypothesis that the former annex must have had some sacristy functions, among other things. Clearly, the direct connection between the two structures was made due to specific needs that would not arise if the sacristy function (necessary for the *sacrarium* liturgy) were still performed in the rotunda itself.

“Also, a door connects the matroneum antechamber with the southern annex. This pattern was certainly not a result of any improvisation, but rather of carefully-planned construction – in other words, having in mind a conception of building a rotunda with a gallery, the one we have inherited together with its annexes.”⁸⁵

CONCLUSIONS

When analyzing the rotunda of Holy Trinity (St. Donatus' Church) in Zadar, many authors made parallels with Late Antiquity and Early Medieval structures in Italy and Byzantium, including San Vitale Church in Ravenna and St. Sophia's Church in Constantinople. Interestingly, it is the analogies with these two churches that have helped this paper recognize interesting similarities between some auxiliary premises such as the hidden chamber in the church's *sacrarium* or the sacristy being used as a conference and council hall. In Ravenna churches, the hidden chamber was a room not visible from inside or outside the building. It was a room immediately next to the church's sanctuary, not lit by daylight and with access from the gallery level or from the lateral rooms right next to the main apse. In literature, they are believed to have been used as depositories for valuables (treasuries), although there are no written sources that would support it. These rooms often have shelves (perhaps for church equipment). In view of these components, the chamber hidden in the floor of the northern apse on the level of the matroneum of St. Donatus' Church resembles the Late Antiquity examples from Ravenna a lot. The chamber is hidden, not visible from inside or outside the church, it has no daylight and it once had a shelf supported by cantilevers. As there is no written evidence, its function can

84 M. Žepić, 2000, 66.

85 P. Vežić, 2002, 98.

85 P. Vežić, 2002, 98.

pisane riječi, međutim, nije isključeno da je mogla služiti određenom depozitoriju.

Jugozapadna prigradnja Sv. Donata, odnosno barem neki njezini sastavni dijelovi, temeljem analogije s prostorijama na katu jugozapadne prigradnje povrh ulaznog prilaza u crkvu sv. Sofije u Konstantinopolu nastoje se protumačiti sakristijskim prostorima, iako ni u tom pogledu ne postoje pisani dokazi. Ambijenti u funkciji sakristije mogli su se nalaziti u samom prizemlju, ali i na njezinu katu. Činjenice koje bi mogle govoriti tome u prilog jesu barokna poveznica rotunde sa sakristijom katedrale – nekadašnjom kapitularnom dvoranom ili crkvom sv. Barbare koja se uspostavila upravo u razdoblju nakon devastacije jugozapadne prigradnje. Direktna poveznica između dviju građevina očito proizlazi iz sasvim specifične potrebe koja ne bi iskrsnula da je funkcija sakristije (neminovna u blizini svetišta) i dalje bila prisutna u samoj rotondi.

Po tome bi se crkva sv. Donata u svom drugom projektu kao kompleksna rotunda mogla dovesti u vezu s određenim komponentama koje proizlaze iz bizantskog ishodišta.

only be supposed; however, it is possible that it served as a depository of a sort.

Based on analogies with the rooms on the upper floor of the southwestern annex above the entrance to St. Sophia's Church in Constantinople, hypotheses have been made that the southwestern annex of St. Donatus, or at least some of its parts, could have been used as a sacristy. However, there is no written evidence that would support this either. The spaces serving as a sacristy could have been located in the annex's ground floor and on the upper floor. This could be supported by the fact that a Baroque connection was built between the rotunda and cathedral's sacristy – the former chapter house or St. Barbara's Church. The connection was established in the period that followed after the destruction of the southwestern annex. Clearly, the direct connection between the two structures was made due to a very specific need that would not arise if the sacristy function (inevitable in the vicinity of the shrine) were still performed in the rotunda itself.

Based on the above, St. Donatus' Church in its second phase – as a complex rotunda – could be associated with certain components of Byzantine origin.

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