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Sveti Donino i splitski arhidakon Toma

St. Donnino and Archdeacon Thomas of Split

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Proučavanje na temelju djela splitskoga arhidakona Tome *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum* (III, 3), usmjereno je na prepoznavanje Tominih izvora. U raspravi o najstarijem rukopisu (KAS, 623) autor ne prihvaća zaključke S. Gunjače o nemogućnosti Tomina autografa, a prihvaća analizu O. Perić o autentičnosti autorove ruke u rukopisu i zaključak V. Brown o mogućnosti da Toma piše dvama pismima, pa tvrdi da je rukopis autograf. Ispravlja bilješke u ruskom (Moskva, 1997.) i hrvatskom prijevodu (Split, 2003.). Navodi dosadašnja proučavanja odnosa *Života (Passio)* svetoga Dujma i svetoga Donina (Farlati, Saxer, Babić) i upozorava na netočnosti (Saxer). Navodi *Život (Passio)* i himne svetoga Donina u izdanju bolandista, jer je stare rukopise tih djela Toma mogao imati kao izvor svoga pisanja o svecu. Uspoređuje Tomin tekst i tekst u *Acta Sanctorum*. Opisuje štovanje svetoga Donina u Fidenzi (Borgo San Donnino) i raspored, ikonografski sadržaj i natpise reljefa na svečevoj crkvi, jer je Toma njih mogao vidjeti kad je boravio u Italiji. Kratko tumači svoje prosudbe o Tominu postupku kojim su nastala dva sveta Dujma u Saloni.

Ključne riječi: Toma (splitski arhidakon), Dujam (sveti), Donino (sveti), Fidenza (prije Borgo San Donnino), rano kršćanstvo, hagiografija

This study based on the work by Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum* (III, 3) is dedicated to finding his sources. In the discussion on the oldest manuscript (KAS, 623), S. Gunjača's conclusion on the impossibility of Thomas writing the text himself is not accepted, while O. Perić's analysis of the authenticity of the author's handwriting in the manuscript is, as is V. Brown's conclusion on the possibility that Thomas wrote in two hands, thus claiming that the manuscript contains the author's own handwriting. The notes to the Russian (Moscow, 1997) and Croatian translations (Split, 2003) are corrected. Previous study of the relationship between the *Life (Passio)* of St. Donnio and St. Donnino (Farlati, Saxer, Babić) is cited, and certain inaccuracies (Saxer) are pointed out. Also cited is the *Life (Passio)* and hymns of St. Donnino published by the Bollandists, because the old manuscripts of these works may have been used by Thomas as sources for his writing on the saint. Thomas's text is compared to the text of the *Acta Sanctorum*. The reverence of St. Donnino in Fidenza (Borgo San Donnino) is described, as is the arrangement, iconographic content and inscriptions in this saint's church, because Thomas could have seen them during his stay in Italy. There is also a brief interpretation of the author's assessment of Thomas's actions that led to the emergence of two saints named Domnius in Salona.

Key words: Thomas (archdeacon of Split), Donnio (saint), Donnino (saint), Fidenza (previously Borgo San Donnino), Early Christianity, hagiography

Temelj ovoga proučavanja je nekoliko rečenica što ih je u svojoj *Povijesti* napisao splitski arhiđakon Toma. To je treći dio njegova trećega naslova, *De sancto Domnio et sancto Domnionis*. Navodim Tomine riječi prema čitanju Olge Perić:¹

“Postmodum uero tempore Diocletiane et Maximiane persecutionis alter simili nomine martir fuit, qui Domnionis uocabulo a nomine pontificis Domnii modicum differt. Sed hic fuit unus ex cubiculariis Maximiani² tyranni. Cum ergo iste Domnio maioris dilectionis aput imperatorem prerogatiua gauderet, ipse coronam imperii conseruabat et ipsam tempore debito super imperatoris uerticem imponebat, erat autem occulte christianus. Et cum uideret Maximianum adeo crudeliter in christianos deseuire, ut multos a sancto proposito deterreret, ipse utpote christianissimus et deuotus exortabatur martires in sancto proposito finaliter perdurare. Tunc fecit oportunitatem eis effugiendi tyranni rabiem et ad Romanam urbem diuertendi. Quod cum ad Maximiani deuenisset notitiam, acrius in eum persecutionis deseuit insania ita, ut ad primam confessionem christiani nominis, expoliatus regio habitu, nisi ydolis immolaret, illico susciperet sententiam capitalem. Sed beatus Domnio, tyranni declinans seuitiam, Romam fugiens properabat. Et dum iret uia Claudia prope ciuitatem quandam, que Iulia Crisopolis appellatur, satellites imperatoris post ipsum currentes inuaserunt eum et strictis mucronibus circumdantes amputauerunt caput eius. Ipse uero martir uirtute diuina propriis manibus caput suum de terra dicitur eleuasse et ibidem quendam fluuium, qui Sytirion nominatur, firmis gressibus transuadasse ibique sepultus aliquo tempore requieuit. Cum autem dominus multa per eum miracula operaretur, ex multis prouintiis pro sanitate adipiscenda ad locum ipsum confluebant. Tunc Salonitani ciues, quia equinomius erat beato Domnio pontifici, abeuntes rapuerunt corpus beati Domnionis, et cum magna reuerentia locauerunt Salone. Qua de re, propter nominis consonantiam, multotiens uocabulum Domnionis pro nomine Domnii et e conuerso confuse describitur.”

U hrvatskom prijevodu Olge Perić taj tekst glasi:³

“O svetome Dujmu i svetome Domnionu. (...) U doba Dioklecijanovih i Maksimijanovih progona živio je drugi mučenik slična imena, čije se ime Domnion neznatno razlikuje od imena nadbiskupa Dujma. On je bio jedan od komornika tiranina Maksimijana. Budući da je Domnion uživao veliku naklonost cara, čuvao je carsku krunu i stavljao ju je na carevu glavu kada je to bilo potrebno. Potajno je pak bio kršćanin.

Several sentences written by Archdeacon Thomas of Split in his *History* are the basis of this study. This is the third part of his third title, *De sancto Domnio et sancto Domnionis*. I here cite his words in their reading by Olga Perić:¹

“Postmodum uero tempore Diocletiane et Maximiane persecutionis alter simili nomine martir fuit, qui Domnionis uocabulo a nomine pontificis Domnii modicum differt. Sed hic fuit unus ex cubiculariis Maximiani² tyranni. Cum ergo iste Domnio maioris dilectionis aput imperatorem prerogatiua gauderet, ipse coronam imperii conseruabat et ipsam tempore debito super imperatoris uerticem imponebat, erat autem occulte christianus. Et cum uideret Maximianum adeo crudeliter in christianos deseuire, ut multos a sancto proposito deterreret, ipse utpote christianissimus et deuotus exortabatur martires in sancto proposito finaliter perdurare. Tunc fecit oportunitatem eis effugiendi tyranni rabiem et ad Romanam urbem diuertendi. Quod cum ad Maximiani deuenisset notitiam, acrius in eum persecutionis deseuit insania ita, ut ad primam confessionem christiani nominis, expoliatus regio habitu, nisi ydolis immolaret, illico susciperet sententiam capitalem. Sed beatus Domnio, tyranni declinans seuitiam, Romam fugiens properabat. Et dum iret uia Claudia prope ciuitatem quandam, que Iulia Crisopolis appellatur, satellites imperatoris post ipsum currentes inuaserunt eum et strictis mucronibus circumdantes amputauerunt caput eius. Ipse uero martir uirtute diuina propriis manibus caput suum de terra dicitur eleuasse et ibidem quendam fluuium, qui Sytirion nominatur, firmis gressibus transuadasse ibique sepultus aliquo tempore requieuit. Cum autem dominus multa per eum miracula operaretur, ex multis prouintiis pro sanitate adipiscenda ad locum ipsum confluebant. Tunc Salonitani ciues, quia equinomius erat beato Domnio pontifici, abeuntes rapuerunt corpus beati Domnionis, et cum magna reuerentia locauerunt Salone. Qua de re, propter nominis consonantiam, multotiens uocabulum Domnionis pro nomine Domnii et e conuerso confuse describitur.”

English translation based on Olga Perić's Croatian translation:³

“On Saint Domnio and Saint Domninus. (...) In the era of persecutions by Diocletian and Maximian, another martyr lived with a similar name, whose name Domninus differed insignificantly from the name of Archbishop Domnio. He was one of the chamberlains of the tyrant Maximian. Since Domninus enjoyed great favour with the emperor, he safeguarded the imperial crown and placed it on the emperor's head when necessary. He was nonetheless a Christian in secret.

1 Toma (priredila Perić) 2003, str. 14, redak 7-33. Toma (priredila Perić) 2006, str. 14 i 16.

2 Riječ je u oba izdanja tiskana: Maximiniani. To je vjerojatno ostala neispravljena pogreška u pisanju, jer je u Tominu rukopisu, list 4v, redak 13, napisana riječ Maximiani.

3 Toma (prevela Perić) 2003, str. 15, redak 8-31.

1 Toma (prepared by Perić) 2003, p. 14, lines 7-33. Toma (prepared by Perić) 2006, pp. 14 and 16.

2 This word is printed in both editions: *Maximiniani*. This is probably an error in writing that remained uncorrected, for in Thomas's manuscript, page 4v, line 13, the word *Maximiani* is written.

3 Toma (transl. Perić) 2003, p. 15, lines 8-31.

Videći da je Maksimijan tako bjesomučno okrutan prema kršćanima, da je mnoge odvratio od svete namjere, a jer je sam bio odan i velik kršćanin, stao je hrabriti mučenike da do kraja istraju u svetoj vjeri. Dao im je tada priliku da izbjegnu tiraninov bijes i da krenu u Rim. Kad je to Maksimijan doznao, okrenuo se divlje i još bjesomučnije protiv njega: trebao je biti na licu mjesta kažnjen smrću, osim ako se ne bi, lišen svih kraljevskih oznaka, kod prvog priznanja da je kršćanin, poklonio poganskim idolima uz prinošenje žrtve. Ali blaženi Domnion pobjegne od tiraninova bijesa i pohita u Rim. Dok je išao Klaudijevom cestom, blizu nekoga grada koji se zvao Iulia Chrysopolis, napali su ga carevi ljudi, koji su ga u trku slijedili. Opolikli su ga, trgli bodeže i odsjekli mu glavu. Priča se da je sam mučenik božanskom sposobnošću vlastitim rukama digao sa zemlje svoju glavu i čvrstim koracima pregazio neku tamošnju rijeku po imenu Satirion.⁴ Ondje je neko vrijeme počivao u grobu. Budući da je Gospodin preko njega učinio mnoga čuda, iz mnogih su se provincija slijevali da bi našli ozdravljenje. Tada su salonitanski građani, jer je bio imenjak nadbiskupu blaženom Dujmu, otišli i oteli tijelo blaženoga Domniona i uz veliko štovanje smjestili ga u Salonu. Stoga se zbog sličnosti imena veoma često pogrešno piše riječ Domnion umjesto imena Dujma i obrnuto.”

U ovom je izdanju čitanje latinskoga izvornika obavljeno po rukopisu sačuvanom u Prvostolnom kaptolu,⁵ ustanovi koju je Toma vodio od godine 1230. do svoje smrti, 8. svibnja 1268. Olga Perić je učinila ono što je nedostajalo svim dosadašnjim izdanjima: navela je razlike u osam od četrnaest sada dostupnih rukopisa, a jednom, nekadašnjem splitskom, sada nije poznat vlasnik. Za potpuno razumijevanje važnosti Tomina djela, najprije valja raspraviti vezu između pisca i te rukopisne knjige. Ona je nesumnjivo najstarija od svih koje su sadašnjoj znanosti poznate. Nekoliko je puta proglašena Tominim vlastoručnim rukopisom, a to je nekoliko puta bilo opovrgnuto. Jedina je Olga Perić u potpunosti proučila taj rukopis, od slova do slova, pa je zapazila oko stotinu i dvadeset ispravaka. To su “brojni zahvati u srž jezičnoga iskaza i ne mogu biti djelo običnoga pisara ili prepisivača, to je, filološki gledano, originalan autorski čin.”⁶ Iako je ona prva donijela takav zaključak, ipak ga nije pretvorila u potvrdu Tomina vlastitoga rukopisa. Pokolebao ju je zaključak Stjepana Gunjače, tiskan godine 1973., pa je samo naglasila ono što je o

Seeing that Maximian was so brutally cruel to the Christians that he turned many away from the faith, and since he was a great and faithful Christian himself, he encouraged martyrs to persevere in their faith to the end. At the time, he gave them the opportunity to avoid the tyrant’s wrath and to make their way to Rome. When Maximian learned of this, he turned against him with even greater savagery and brutality: he was to be put to death on the spot, unless, stripped of all royal insignia, he paid feasant to pagan idols and offered sacrifices to them after first confessing that he is a Christian. But the Blessed Dominus escaped the tyrant’s wrath and hurried to Rome. While journeying on the Claudian Way, near a city called Iulia Chrysopolis, he was attacked by the emperor’s men, who had pursued him in flight. They surrounded him, stabbed him with daggers and beheaded him. It has been told that the martyr himself, with divine ability, lifted his head from the ground and resolutely made his way to a local river called the Satirion.⁴ There he rested for some time in a grave. Since the Lord performed many miracles through him, the multitudes flooded in from the provinces to be healed. At that time the citizens of Salona, as he shared the name of their blessed Archbishop Domnio, came and seized the body of the Blessed Dominus and with great reverence accommodated him in Salona. Therefore, due to the similarity of their names, very often the name Dominus is written instead of the name Domnio and the opposite.”

This edition contains the reading of the Latin original based on the manuscript preserved in the Cathedral Chapter,⁵ an institution that Thomas led from 1230 until his death on 8 May 1268. Olga Perić published what was missing in all previous editions: she specified the differences in eight of the fourteen currently available manuscripts; one, formerly in Split, is now with an unidentified owner. To fully understand the importance of the work of Thomas, the connection between the writer and this handwritten book must be discussed. It is undoubtedly the oldest of all of those known by contemporary scholarship. On several occasions it has been proclaimed the manuscript of Thomas written in his own hand, although this was also refuted several times. Only Olga Perić thoroughly examined this manuscript, letter by letter, so she observed approximately one hundred and twenty corrections. These encompass “numerous interventions into the essence of linguistic expression, so they cannot be the work of an ordinary scribe or clerk;

4 Prevoditeljica nije protumačila zašto je ovako prevela latinsko ime Sytirion, koje je samo u dva vatikanska rukopisa (broj 7019, nastao po splitskom rukopisu, i broj 910, nastao po broju 7019) napisano: Siturion, pa ostaje i ovdje mogućnost postojanja neispravljene pogreške u pisanju riječi Sitirion. U engleskom je prijevodu točno naznačeno: Sytirion.

5 Split, Kaptolski arhiv, 623. Navedeni je dio na listovima 4v, redak 9-23, i 5r, redak 1-21. Na početku je ovoga dijela na lijevom rubu zapis rukopisom iz sedamnaestoga stoljeća: De Santo Domnion martire. Fotografije restauriranoga rukopisa tiskane su godine 2004.: Toma 2003.

6 Perić 2003, str. XVIII.

4 The translator did not explain why she thusly translated the Latin name Sytirion, which was in only two Vatican manuscripts (no. 7019, based on the Split manuscript, and no. 910, based on no. 7019) written as: Siturion, so here the possibility remains that an error in writing the name Sytirion was not corrected. In the English translation (Sweeney 2006) it is accurately specified as: Sytirion.

5 Split, Chapter archives, 623. The cited portion is on sheets 4v, lines 9-23, and 5r, line 1-21. The beginning of this work contains handwriting on the upper left-hand side from the seventeenth century: De Santo Domnion martire. Photographs of the restored manuscript printed in 2004: Toma 2003.

tom zaključku napisala Virginia Brown, godine 2001., a svoj je Predgovor završila samo pitanjima: "Zašto odbaciti pretpostavku da je pred nama Tomin autograf ako je prema paleografskoj analizi i materijalnim karakteristikama kodeksa mogao nastati za Tomina života. (...) Zašto ne priznati starom kodeksu njegovu istinsku vrijednost i autentičnost autorove ruke, koja je poznavala i beneventanu i goticu."⁷ Upravo je Olga Perić morala biti odlučna, a očekivanje koje je ona iskazala riječima: "Možda će ovo izdanje pomoći u rješavanju Tomine tajne", nastojim ostvariti svojom tvrdnjom o nastanku splitskoga rukopisa za Tomina života, uz dvije mogućnosti pisanja: ili je pisao pisar u Tominoj službi ili je pisao sam Toma.

Stjepan Gunjača je dva puta pisao o Tominu rukopisu. Najprije mu je godine 1966. tiskan ovaj zaključak: "Međutim ova izlaganja i tvrdnje o Tominu autografu ne mogu dulje ostati niti kao pretpostavke, jer nema nikakva indicija na osnovu kojeg bi se moglo povezati splitski rukopis s Tominim autografom. Naprotiv, o tomu ne može biti ni govora, jer Toma doista nije pisao beneventanom kojom je rukopis pisan budući da je ona u XIII. stoljeću već izišla iz dnevne upotrebe. Pojava beneventane u ovom rukopisu zaista je kasna, a to se ne može protumačiti ničim drugo nego, da se ona kasno zadržala u tradiciji jednog skriptorija koji i grafija odaje. Taj skriptorij bio je očevito splitski. Prema tomu rukopis splitskog primjerka pripada skriptoriju, a ne autoru, što ne isključuje mogućnost, da je načinjen još za autorova života. Dakle splitski primjerak nije autograf, nego prijepis, najstariji među sačuvanima."⁸ Kad je godine 1973. tiskao svoju prvu knjigu ispravaka i dopuna starijoj hrvatskoj povijesnoj znanosti, na početku je knjige bila rasprava o ovom Tominu rukopisu. U njoj je pokazao primjer Tomina rukopisa koji je nedostajao zaključku iz godine 1966. Novi je zaključak bio širi: "Imajući sada na umu da je Toma pisao pravni akt godine 1231. karolinom goticom, a da je historijski spis pisao više od trideset godina poslije, to se ne može pretpostaviti da je u ranijem vremenu pisao suvremenim pismom, a da se kasnije dao na pisanje onim pismenima koja su bila davno izišla iz dnevne prakse. Ako je od pisanog akta do pisanog sastavka u Tome bilo promjena u grafiji, onda bi one morale pokazati jači utjecaj gotice, koja je tada upravo nadirala, a nikako beneventane, koja je bila još samo stvar skriptorija. (...) Sada smo načistu s time da originalan primjerak Tomina djela ne postoji budući da je taj primjerak nesumnjivo morao biti pisan istim pismenima kao i ovaj notarski akt, tj. karolinom goticom, a osim ovog akta od Tome nemamo ništa drugo (...)"⁹

Iako to nije doslovno naznačio u ovim zaključcima, Gunjača je u svakom svojem promišljanju o Tomi imao uvijek zamisao o postojanju njegova Koncepta, koji nije sačuvan u izvornom rukopisu, nego samo u prijepisima. Vrijednost toga Koncepta povećala bi svaka promjena u dotadašnjim promišljanjima

this is, viewed from the standpoint of philology, an author's original work"⁶ Even though she was the first to indicate this conclusion, she nevertheless did not extend this conclusion to a confirmation that the handwriting was in fact that of Thomas himself. She wavered due to Stjepan Gunjača's conclusion, published in 1973, so she only emphasized what Virginia Brown had written about this conclusion in 2001, and she simply closed her foreword with questions: "Why reject the assumption that we are looking at Thomas's own handwriting, if palaeographic analysis and the physical characteristics of the codex indicate that it could have emerged during his lifetime? (...) Why not acknowledge the authentic value and authenticity of the author's hand in this old codex, a hand that knew both Beneventan and Gothic?"⁷ It was precisely Olga Perić who had to be decisive, and I am attempting to fulfil the expectations she fostered by saying: "Perhaps this edition will help to solve the secrets of Thomas", with my own assertion on the emergence of the Split manuscript during the lifetime of Thomas, with two possibilities pertaining to the actual writing: either a scribe in Thomas's service did the writing, or Thomas wrote it himself.

Stjepan Gunjača wrote about Thomas's manuscript twice. He first drew this conclusion in 1966: "However, these expositions and assertions on Thomas's handwriting cannot be maintained even as assumptions, because there are no indications that would constitute a basis to connect the Split manuscript with Thomas's own hand. On the contrary, there can be no such considerations, for Thomas truly did not write using the Beneventan script used in the manuscript, since by the thirteenth century it had already fallen out of daily use. The appearance of Beneventan in this manuscript is truly late, and this cannot be interpreted as anything other than a late retention of this tradition in a given scriptorium, which is disclosed by the writing. This scriptorium was obviously in Split. Thus, this manuscript can be attributed to the scriptorium and not the author, which does not exclude the possibility that it was made during the author's lifetime. Thus, the Split copy is not an original script but rather a transcript, the oldest among those preserved."⁸ When he published his first book of corrections and supplements to older Croatian historical scholarship in 1973, it featured a discussion of Thomas's manuscript at the beginning. In it he showed an example of Thomas's manuscript that was missing from the conclusion in 1966. The new conclusion was broader: "Now keeping in mind that Thomas wrote a legal instrument in 1231 using Carolingian Gothic, and that the historical text was written over thirty years afterward, one cannot assume that in the earlier period he wrote using a contemporary script, while later he resorted to writing in a script that had gone out of daily use long before. If, from the written instrument to the written composition, a change were to occur in Thomas's writing, then it would have had to reflect a stronger influence of the Gothic, which was becoming

7 Perić 2003, str. XXI.

8 Gunjača 1966, str. 165.

9 Gunjača 1973, str. 18 i 20.

6 Perić 2003, p. XVIII.

7 Perić 2003, p. XXI.

8 Gunjača 1966, p. 165.

o Tominim rukopisima, pa tako i ona o vlastitom rukopisu u splitskom primjerku, koji mu je vremenski najbliži. Kada taj najstariji splitski rukopis postane samo prijepis, tada se njegova izvorna vrijednost dovodi na razinu svih prijepisa, pa tako i prijepisa Koncepta. Nisam pristaša Gunjačine tvrdnje o postojanju Koncepta, pa ne prihvaćam ni njegovo obrazlaganje kako Toma nije mogao pisati beneventanom trideset godina poslije pisanja goticom. Gunjača nije dobro promotrio notarsku ispravu od 15. listopada 1231., čak ako je i gledao izvornik, jer nije vidio točno napisanu godinu, nego je o njoj raspravljao na temelju onoga što mu je pisao Ante Usmiani. Nije točno prepoznao monogram, nije vidio crtež takvoga monograma na Tominoj ispravi od 14. travnja 1227., koja je u izvorniku bila u posjedu splitske obitelji Cindro, a poslije je izgubljena i sačuvana samo u prijepisu Ivana Lučića.

Prema Gunjačinoj pretpostavci Toma ili netko drugi sličnoga znanja, radeći izvan pisarske radionice, ne može u tijeku tridesetak godina jednako uspješno pisati i starim i novim pismom. Tu pretpostavku nije ničim dokazao, pa ni primjerom iz nekoga drugog prostora. Pretpostavio je kako je Toma pisao samo goticom (karolinom goticom), a nije pisao beneventanom, a istodobno je pisarska radionica pisala beneventanom. Kad se njegov zaključak tako ogoli, postaje razvidno koliko je nevjerojatan.¹⁰ Kad je Virginia Brown proučila neke rukopise u Splitu i u Trogiru, napisala je o ovom Gunjačinu zaključku: "Gunjača's argument, for all its merit, is not conclusive since nothing would have prevented Thomas from knowing and writing Beneventan as well."¹¹ Iako je iz trinaestoga stoljeća ostalo malo izvora, moguće je pokazati koliko je Toma bio bogat. To sam opširno opisao u jednom poglavlju svojih proučavanja tiskanih godine 2001., pa iz njega sažeto nabrajam. Toma je stanovao u vlastitoj kući, kupio je zemlju u Splitu (1265.), a imao je i zemlju u Žrnovnici; imao je vlastitoga svećenika Blaža, koji je s njim bio u Trogiru (1266.); nadbiskupu Rogeriju dva puta posuđuje novac (prvi put 1256., zajedno s dominikancem Jesom, 30 libara i pet i pol solida velikih mletačkih denara, i drugi put, vjerojatno u toj istoj godini, potvrđuje primitak dviju srebrnih posuda kao zalag za posuđenih 60 libara); on upravlja kaptolskim imanjem (1257., 1258. i 1267.).¹² Možemo zamisliti arhiđakona koji je školovan za pisanje u novom pismu i piše samo tim pismom. Tada on radi onako kako je tvrdio Stjepan Gunjača. Možemo zamisliti arhiđakona školovana za pisanje starim i novim pismom. Tada on radi onako kako je tvrdila Virginia Brown. Moja je dopuna njezina zaključka sadržana u tumačenju da ispravu piše novim, a knjigu starim pismom. Nije pretjerano zamisliti arhiđakona koji u svom domu ima i pisara koji mu piše njegovu *Povijest*, a Toma je sam ispravljao i dopunjava ono što želi imati zabilježeno u knjizi koja

prominent at precisely that time, and not Beneventan, which was still only a characteristic of scriptoria. (...) We can now be absolutely certain that the original copy of Thomas's work is not extant, since that copy would undoubtedly have to be written in the same script as this notary instrument, i.e. the Carolingian Gothic, for besides this instrument we have nothing else from Thomas (...)."⁹

Although he did not literally declare this in these conclusions, in all of his considerations of Thomas, Gunjača always maintained the idea of the existence of Thomas's Draft, which was not preserved in the original manuscript and only remains in transcriptions. The value of this Draft would increase with each change in previous considerations of Thomas's manuscripts, even those about his own manuscript in the Split copy, which was chronologically closest to him. When this oldest Split manuscript becomes a mere transcription, then its original value is reduced to the level of all transcriptions, including the transcription of the Draft. I am not an adherent of Gunjača's claim of the existence of the Draft, so I also do not accept his explanation that Thomas could not have written in Beneventan thirty years after using Gothic. Gunjača did not examine the notary document dated 15 October 1231 very well, even if he see the original, because he did not see the precise year written, rather he wrote about it on the basis of what Ante Usmiani wrote for him. He did not accurately recognize the monogram, he did not see the drawing of this monogram on Thomas's document dated 14 April 1227, which was held by the Cindro family of Split in its original, but was later lost and only preserved in a transcription by Ivan Lučić.

According to Gunjača's assumption, Thomas or someone with similar knowledge, working outside of a scriptorium, could not adeptly write in old and new scripts over a period of roughly thirty years. He provided no evidence to back this assertion, not even an example from some other place. He assumed that Thomas only wrote in the Gothic script (Carolingian Gothic), and not in Beneventan, while a scriptorium of the same time wrote in Beneventan. When his conclusion is stripped down in this fashion, the extent to which it is untenable becomes apparent.¹⁰ When Virginia Brown studied certain manuscripts in Split and Trogir, she wrote the following about Gunjača's conclusion: "Gunjača's argument, for all its merit, is not conclusive since nothing would have prevented Thomas from knowing and writing Beneventan as well."¹¹ Even though few sources remain from the thirteenth century, it is possible to demonstrate how wealthy Thomas was. I wrote about this at length in a chapter of my own study, published in 2001, so here I shall only provide a brief summary. Thomas lived in his own house, he purchased land in Split (1265), and he owned land in Žrnovnica, he had his own priest, Blaž, who was with him in Trogir

10 O tom sam govorio na Međunarodnom znanstvenom skupu *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo doba*, u Splitu, 25. rujna 2000. (Ivanišević 2004, str. 73-74) i pisao godine 2001. (Ivanišević 2001, str. 621-622).

11 Brown 2001, str. 167, br. 67.

12 Ivanišević 2001, str. 617-628.

9 Gunjača 1973, pp. 18 and 20.

10 I spoke about this at the International Seminar on "Archdeacon Thomas and His Times", Split, 25 September 2000 (Ivanišević 2004, pp. 73-74) and wrote about it in 2001 (Ivanišević 2001, pp. 621-622).

11 Brown 2001, p. 167, no. 67.

je očito zamišljena i ostvarena kao cjelina, a do našega je doba doprla bez početka i nekoliko listova u sredini. Moje udubljivanje u Tomin život i djelo uvjerava me u opravdanost takvoga zaključka o nastanku splitskoga rukopisa.

Osim izdanja i prijevoda iz godine 2003., postoje potpuna izdanja latinskoga izvornika: Ivan Lučić (1666., 313-314), Johann Georg Schwandtner (1748., 536-537), Franjo Rački (1894., 9) i potpuni prijevodi izvornika: Pierina Fontana (talijanski, 1939., 184 [4]), Vladimir Rismondo (hrvatski, 1960., 14), Olga A. Akimova (ruski, 1997., 28-29), James Ross Sweeney (engleski, 2006., 15 i 17).¹³ Daniele Farlati nije tiskao potpuno izdanje Tomina djela, nego je navodio skoro sve njegove dijelove, pa je tako naveo i ovaj dio (1751., 430). Važnije od latinskoga izdanja i od prijevoda bile su bilješke priređivača i prevoditelja. Lučić i Schwandtner nisu napisali bilješke. Farlati je napisao dvije stranice rasprave o svetom Doninu. Lothar von Heinemann, u svom izdanju odabranih dijelova Tomina djela - među kojima nije i ovaj - kad u uvodu nabroja izvore koje je Toma poznao, spominje da je čitao *Život svetoga Donina mučenika* u Borgo San Donnino i upućuje na izdanje u *Acta Sanctorum*, te dodaje da je Toma pobrkao toga sveca sa svetim Dujmom.¹⁴ Rački o ovom odlomku trećega poglavlja nije napisao bilješku. Fontana u svoj prijevod nije uvrstila bilješke, a Rismondo uglavnom ponavlja bilješke Račkoga, pa ni on u ovom odlomku nema bilješku. Akimova ima tri bilješke. Uz imena Dioklecijana i Maksimijana tumači njihov vladalački odnos i doba progona kršćana. Uz ime Klaudijeve ceste tumači da je to cesta koju je godine 312. sagradio Apije Kludije Slijepi. Uz ime Lulia Chrysopolis tumači da je to sadašnji Borgo San Donnino u sjevernoj Italiji, trideset i tri kilometra jugoistočno od Piacenze.¹⁵ U izdanju Olge Perić bilješke je napisala Mirjana Matijević-Sokol. Prepričala je bilješke Akimove i dodala jednu svoju o Domnionu.¹⁶

Pregledao sam nekoliko djela o Tominu životu i njegovoj *Povijesti*, pa sam našao samo dva spomena razmatranoga odlomka. Kerubin Šegvić, godine 1927., ovako zaključuje: "A ona priča o sv. Domninu, sobaru cara Dioklecijana, čuvaru carske krune, koji u svečanim prigodama postavlja caru krunu na glavu, koji bi mučen od toga istoga cara, a Solinjani mu noću ukradoše tijelo i prenesoše u Solin, posve je manjkava, kao svaka priča. Što bi kasnije s tim svetim tijelom? Kamo je dospjelo? O tome nema ni

(1266), he loaned money to Archbishop Rogerius twice (the first time in 1256, together with the Dominican Jessa, 30 libra and five and a half soldi of great Venetian denari, and the second time, probably in the same year, he confirmed receiving two silver vessels as collateral for a loan of 60 libra), and he managed the Cathedral Chapter's estates (1257, 1258 and 1267).¹² We can imagine an archdeacon who was schooled to write in the new script and who wrote only in this script. Then he would work as Stjepan Gunjača claimed. We can imagine an archdeacon schooled to write in both the old and new scripts. Then he would work as Virginia Brown asserted. I would add to her conclusion the interpretation that he wrote the document in the new script, and the book in the old script. It is not excessive to imagine an archdeacon who had a scribe in his home who wrote his History, while Thomas himself made corrections and supplemented everything he wanted recorded in the book, which was obviously conceived and produced as a whole, surviving to our time without its beginning and several pages in the middle. My in-depth study of Thomas's life and work convinces me of the justification for such a conclusion on the origin of the Split manuscript.

Besides the edition and translation of 2003, there is a complete edition of the Latin original: Ivan Lučić (1666, 313-314), Johann Georg Schwandtner (1748, 536-537), Franjo Rački (1894, 9) and complete translations of the original: Pierina Fontana (Italian, 1939, 184 [4]), Vladimir Rismondo (Croatian, 1960, 14), Olga A. Akimova (Russian, 1997, 28-29), James Ross Sweeney (English, 2006, 15 and 17).¹³ Daniele Farlati did not print a complete edition of Thomas's works, rather he cited almost all of his works, so he also cited this excerpt (1751, 430). The annotations by the editors and translators were even more important than the Latin edition. Lučić and Schwandtner did not write annotations. Farlati wrote a two-page discussion about St. Donnino. Lothar von Heinemann, in the introduction to his edition of Thomas's selected works, including this one, cites the sources Thomas was aware of, and mentions that he had read the *Life* of St. Donnino the Martyr in Borgo San Donnino and indicated an edition in the *Acta Sanctorum*, adding that Thomas confused this saint with St. Domnio.¹⁴ Rački wrote no annotations on this fragment of the third chapter. Fontana did not include annotations in her translation, while Rismondo generally repeats Rački's annotations, so he has no comments on this fragment either. Akimova has three annotations. The names Diocletian and Maximian are accompanied by interpretations of their governing relations and the era of persecution of Christians. She interprets the Claudian Way as a road that was constructed in 312 by Appius Claudius Caecus. She interprets the name Lulia Chrysopolis as present-day Borgo San Donnino in northern Italy,

13 U zagradama je godina tiskanja i stranice na kojima je proučavani dio. Ne navodim ponovljena izdanja Lučića, Schwandtnera, Račkoga i Rismonda.

14 Heinemann 1892, str. 569, bilj. 3: "Domnini mart. Burgi S. Domnini (Acta SS. Oct. IV, p. 991 - 993) legit et martyrem Spalatensem cum hoc confudit."

15 Акимова 1997, str. 28 - 29. Bilj. 37: "Диоклетиан - римский император (284-305). Максимиан - его соправитель в 286-305 гг. Гонения против христиан были предприняты в 303-304 гг.". Bilj. 38: "Аппиева дорога, проложенная в 312 г. до н. э. по инициативе Аппия Клавдия Слепого.". Bilj. 39: "Julia Chrysopolis - совр. Борго-Сан-Донино в Северной Италии, в 33 км к юго-востоку от Пьяченцы."

16 Toma (bilješke Matijević-Sokol) 2003, str. 15; bilj. 9, 11 i 12 su prepričane, bilj. 10 je vlastita.

12 Ivanišević 2001, pp. 617-628.

13 The year of publication and pages on which the portion being examined are specified in the parentheses. I do not cite the renewed editions of Lučić, Schwandtner, Rački and Rismondo.

14 Heinemann 1892, p. 569, note 3: "Domnini mart. Burgi S. Domnini (Acta SS. Oct. IV, p. 991 - 993) legit et martyrem Spalatensem cum hoc confudit".

riječi.¹⁷ Radoslav Katičić, godine 2003., ovako zaključuje: "Legenda o mučeniku Domnionu, tek što ne imenjaku svetoga Dujma, koji je doista pretrpio mučeništvo za Dioklecijanovih progona, a zbog njihove čudotvornosti i sličnosti imena Salonitanci su ugrabili njegove moći i prenijeli ih u svoju crkvu, očito je pokušaj da se uspomena na povijesnu istinu uskladi s legendom o tome da je prvi biskup salonitanske crkve pripadao krugu oko apostola. Toma tu vjerojatno slijedi neku splitsku tradiciju. I njega je uznemirivalo to proturječje."¹⁸

Prema mojim proučavanjima, o vezi među svecima Dujmom i Doninom, koju Toma opisuje, pisano je tri puta. Daniele Farlati, godine 1751., opširno raspravlja o ovom odlomku Tomina trećega poglavlja.¹⁹ Uz navod Tomina djela, on navodi dio iz *Života svetoga Donina*, prema izdanju što ga je počeo priređivati Laurentius Sur.²⁰ Odlomci koje Farlati navodi nisu doslovno prepisani po nekom rukopisu, nego su prepričani, onako kako je to Sur primijenio u svom izdanju života svetaca. Farlati potom navodi *Martyrologium Romanum* na dan 9. listopada: "Apud Juliam in territorio Parmensi via Claudia, S. Domnini martyris sub Maximiano Imperatore; qui cum vellet persecutionis rabiem declinare, a persequentibus gladio transverberatus, gloriose occubuit." Farlati tumači latinsko ime mjesta Julia Chrysopolis kao drugo ime za Parmu.²¹ Poznato mu je mjesto Borgo San Donnino. Spominje imena toga mjesta u

thirty-three kilometres south-east of Piacenza.¹⁵ The annotations in the edition by Olga Perić were written by Mirjana Matijević-Sokol. She rewrote Akimova's annotations and added one of her own on Dominus.¹⁶

I reviewed several works on Thomas and his History, and the portion under consideration was only mentioned twice. Kerubin Šegvić, writing in 1927, thus concluded: "And that story about St. Dominus, Diocletian's chamberlain, the guardian of the imperial crown, which was placed on the emperor's head on formal occasions, who was tortured by this same emperor, and whose relics were stolen and taken to Solin by the citizens of Solin, is entirely wanting, like any story. What happened to this sacred body later? Where did it end up? Not a word on this."¹⁷ Radoslav Katičić, writing in 2003, concluded thusly: "The legend of the martyr Dominus, who almost shares a name with St. Domnio, who truly endured martyrdom during Diocletian's persecutions, and whose miraculous nature and similarity of name prompted the citizens of Salona to seize his relics and take them to their own church, is obviously an attempt to bring references to historical truth in line with the legend of the first bishop of the Salona church belonging to the circle around the apostles. Thomas was here probably adhering to some Split tradition. And he was disturbed by this contradiction."¹⁸

According to my research, the connection between Sts. Domnio and Donnino that Thomas describes was written about three times. In 1751, Daniele Farlati discussed this section of Thomas's third chapter at length.¹⁹ He accompanied the citation from Thomas's work with a citation from the *Life* of St. Donnino, in the edition that Laurentius Surius began to prepare.²⁰ The portions that Farlati cites are not literally transcribed from a manuscript, rather they are retold in the manner employed by Surius in his edition on the lives of the saints. Farlati then cites the *Martyrologium Romanum* on 9 October: "Apud Juliam in territorio Parmensi via Claudia, S. Domnini

17 Šegvić 1927, str. 137.

18 Katičić 2003, str. 400.

19 Farlati 1751, str. 429 - 430. Ovaj je dio u poglavlju: S. Domnius primus Salonitanus episcopus; u osmoj glavi: Animadversiones Onomasticae in Acta Sancti Domnii; u četvrtom članku: De aliquibus SS. Viris B. Domnii cognominibus, ac paesertim de B. Domnino Juliacensi, a quo noster diligenter distinguendus.

20 Kartuzijanac, latinskim imenom Laurentius Surius (Lübeck, oko 1523. - Köln, 23. svibnja 1578.). Njegovo je djelo *De probatis sanctorum Vitis* tiskano u Kölnu prvi put od 1570. do 1575. u šest svezaka. U to izdanje nije bio ubrojen sveti Donino. U drugom izdanju, tiskanom od 1575. do 1581. u sedam svezaka, u sedmom svesku (1581.), što ga je priredio Jacobus Mosandrus, na dan 9. listopada ubrojen je *Život svetoga Donina* (str. 777 - 778).

21 To potvrđuje nekoliko srednjovjekovnih izvora. Ravenjanin, koji nije ostavio zabilježeno ime, u početku je osmoga stoljeća sastavio popis mjesta, pa je u njemu zabilježio: "Iulia Chrisopolis quae dicitur Parma" (IV, 33; Ravennatus 1860, str. 272, redak 2). Guido iz Pise (ili Ravenne), umro 9. srpnja 1169., u svom je popisu mjesta slično zabilježio: "Iulia Chrisopolis quae et Parma seu vexillum dicitur" (isto izdanje, str. 477, redak 11). Sikard (Sicardus Cremonensis; Cremona, oko 1150. - Cremona, 8. lipnja 1215., biskup od 1185.) u svom djelu *Cronica* piše o utemeljenu mnogih gradova, a među njima je Adria, Piacenza, Parma, Fregona, Mantova: "Socii quoque Enee de Troia exeuntes in Italiam venientes edificaverunt Adres civitatem, a qua dicitur sinus Adriaticus, et (...) Placentiam, Crisopoli, Freynam, Mantuam (...) et municipia multa, quorum cives ab Enea dicti sunt Enetici" (Sicardus 1903, str. 79). *Chronicon Venetum quod vulgo dicitur Altinate*, nastao od različitih dijelova, neki su iz devetoga ili desetoga stoljeća, piše o istom događaju, a nabrojani Crisopoli ovako opisuje: "Crisopula, que Parma appellata est" (Chronicon 1883, str. 33).

15 Акимова 1997, pp. 28-29. Note 37: "Диоклетиан - римский император (284-305). Максимиан - его соправитель в 286-305 гг. Гонения против христиан были предприняты в 303-304 гг.". Note 38: "Аппиева дорога, проложенная в 312 г. до н. э. по инициативе Аппия Клавдия Слепого". Note 39: "Julia Chrysopolis - совр. Борго-Сан-Донино в Северной Италии, в 33 км к юго-востоку от Пьяченцы".

16 Toma (annotations by Matijević-Sokol) 2003, p. 15; note 9, 11 and 12 are rewritten, note 10 is her own.

17 Šegvić 1927, p. 137.

18 Katičić 2003, p. 400.

19 Farlati 1751, pp. 429-430. This is the section the chapter: "S. Domnii primus Salonitanus episcopus; in the eight heading: Animadversiones Onomasticae in Acta Sancti Domnii"; in the fourth article: "De aliquibus SS. Viris B. Domnii cognominibus, ac paesertim de B. Domnino Juliacensi, a quo noster diligenter distinguendus."

20 A Carthusian, Latin name Laurentius Surius (Lübeck, ca 1523 - Cologne, 23 May 1578). His work is *De probatis sanctorum Vitis*, printed in Cologne for the first time from 1570 to 1575 in six volumes. St. Donnino was not encompassed in this edition. In the second edition, printed from 1575 to 1581 in seven volumes, the seventh volume (1581), prepared by Jacobus Mosandrus, included the *Life* of St. Donnino for 9 October (pp. 777-778).

Plinija (Fidentia)²² i Ptolemeja (Fidentiosa).²³ Naglašava štovanje svetoga Donina, najprije na mjestu nalaza njegova tijela u kriпти stolne crkve, a potom u toj kriпти, na oltaru, u sarkofagu s natpisom: *Hic jacet, & requiescit corpus S. Domnini martyris*.

Dugo nakon tiskanja Farlatijeva djela nije bilo usporednoga proučavanja svetih Dujma i Donina, sve do godine 1987., iako su u splitskom Arheološkom muzeju bila poznata djela s novim podacima o svetom Doninu. U tom su dugom razdoblju nastala sva proučavanja bolandista o svetom Doninu, a ta je dostignuća Francesco Lanzoni, godine 1927., primijenio na povijest mjesne crkve u svečevu Borgu.²⁴ Frane Bulić ih nije uvrstio u neku svoju raspravu,²⁵ a tek godine 1987. to je učinio Victor Saxer.²⁶ On uz navod Tomina odlomka o Doninu i Dujmu prenosi sažete Lanzonijeve podatke, a ne dodaje nešto svoga. Ivo Babić, godine 1992. (sudjelovanje na znanstvenom skupu; tiskano 1994.), o dvama svecima opširno raspravlja u jednom svom poglavlju (*Legenda o svetom Domnionu*).²⁷ Izdvajam samo nekoliko rečenica: "Pišući o ovom drugom, posuđenom svetom Dujmu, Domnionu, što se u Splitu slavi 11. travnja, Toma Arhiđakon u stvari u skraćenom obliku prepričava veoma stari život sv. Donina (Passio s. Domnini - BHL 2264 - 2267) koji se slavi u gradiću Borgo San Donnino u blizini Parme u Emiliji (AA SS 5. nov. III) [bilješka 116: V. Saxer, *Les saints de Salone*, p. 311 objašnjava mehanizme preuzimanja tuđe legende.]. Nije li možda Toma Arhiđakon čuo za ovu legendu, inače veoma poznatu, upravo u Emiliji za svog boravka u Bologni. U Borgo San Donnino i danas se štiju relikvije sv. Donina [bilješka 117: F. Lanzoni, *Le diocesi*, II, p. 803 - 805. I kod ovog sveca došlo je također do pomaka datuma]." U ovom je Babićevu prenošenju Saxerovih podataka, a po njemu onih Lanzonijevih, važno usmjerenje na Tomin život u Bologni, jer je to najsigurnija odgonetka Tomina poznavanja *Života svetoga Donina*. Svoje riječi: "legendu, inače veoma poznatu", Babić ne dopunjava podacima o Životu koje su sakupili bolandisti (pogrešno je njegovo navođenje *Acta Sanctorum*), a ne navodi ni poblize podatke o Tomi u Bologni. Pisao sam o tom razdoblju Tomina života, nešto kraće o potresu, a nešto opširnije o propovijedi

martyris sub Maximiano Imperatore; qui cum vellet persecutionis rabiem declinare, a persequentibus gladio transverberatus, gloriose occubit". Farlati interpreted the Latin place name Julia Chrysopolis as another name for Parma.²¹ He was familiar with Borgo San Donnino. He mentions the name of this settlement in Pliny (Fidentia)²² and Ptolemy (Fidentiosa).²³ He stresses the reverence for St. Donnino, primarily at the discovery site of his body in the crypt of the cathedral, on the altar, in the sarcophagus with the inscription: *Hic jacet, & requiescit corpus S. Domnini martyris*.

Long after Farlati's work was published there was no comparative examination of Sts. Domnio and Donnino, until 1987, even though works with data on St. Donnino were known to exist in the Archaeological Museum in Split. All of the research on St. Donnino conducted by the Bollandists emerged in this long period, and this achievement was applied by Francesco Lanzoni in 1927 to the history of the saint's Borgo.²⁴ Frane Bulić did not include them in any of his discussions,²⁵ and Victor Saxer only did so in 1987.²⁶ Besides citing Thomas's section on Donnino and Domnio, he provided a summary of Lanzoni's information, and added some of his own. Ivo Babić discussed the two saints extensively in one of his sections (*The Legend of St. Donnino*) in 1992 (participation in a seminar; printed in 1994).²⁷ I cite only a few sentences here:

22 Plinius 1906, str. 279 (knjiga III, br. 15 (116): Fidentini. Već opisani Ravenjanin zabilježio je ime Fidentia (isto izdanje, str. 272, redak 1), a Guido je zabilježio ime Fidena (isto izdanje, str. 477, redak 10).
23 Ptolemaeus 1883, str. 345 (knjiga III, poglavlje 1): Φιδεντίαν λα΄ γο΄ μγ΄ L΄ (Fidentiam 31° 40' 43" 30').
24 Lanzoni 1927, str. 804 - 805.
25 Bulić je 11. prosinca 1929. dobio iz Vatikanske knjižnice na dar Lanzonijevu knjigu, pa je u njoj bilježio mjesta spomena pojedinih svetaca. Stoga sam pregledao ona njegova djela koja bi po naslovu mogla sadržavati podatke o svetom Doninu, ali ih nisam našao. Njegova bibliografija još nije sastavljena, pa je sustavno pregledavanje veoma otežano.
26 Saxer 1987, str. 306-308. Netočno tumači slavljenje dvaju svetaca u Splitu, u trinaestom stoljeću, a to potvrđuje časoslovom iz godine 1291. Kalendar tog časoslova, o kojem sam pisao godine 2004., to ne potvrđuje.
27 Babić 1992, str. 38 - 39. Prenosi Saxerovo netočno tumačenje slavljenja dvaju svetaca u trinaestom stoljeću, ali sada o tom ne raspravljam.

21 This is confirmed by several medieval sources. Ravennatus, who left no recorded name, compiled a list of place-names at the beginning of the eighth century, and noted therein: "Iulia Chrisopolis quae dicitur Parma" (IV, 33; Ravennatus 1860, p. 272, line 2). Guido of Pisa (or Ravenna), who died on 9 July 1169, noted in his list of place-names: "Iulia Chrisopolis quae et Parma seu vexillum dicitur" (same edition, p. 477, line 11). Sicardus (Sicardus Cremonensis; Cremona, ca 1150 - Cremona, 8 June 1215, bishop since 1185) in his *Chronica* wrote about the establishment of many cities, among them Adria, Piacenza, Parma, Fregona, Mantova: "Socii quoque Enee de Troia exeuntes in Italiam venientes edificaverunt Adres civitatem, a qua dicitur sinus Adriaticus, et (...) Placentiam, Crisopoli, Freynam, Mantuam (...) et municipia multa, quorum cives ab Enea dicti sunt Enetici" (Sicardus 1903, p. 79). *Chronicon Venetum quod vulgo dicunt Altinate*, which is composed of various parts, some from the ninth or tenth centuries, speak of the same event, and the cited Crisopoli is described thus: "Crisopula, que Parma appellata est" (Chronicon 1883, p. 33).
22 Plinius 1906, p. 279 (book III, no. 15 (116): Fidentini. The already mentioned Ravennatus recorded the name Fidentia (same edition, p. 272, line 1), while Guido recorded the name Fidena (same edition, p. 477, line 10).
23 Ptolemaeus 1883, p. 345 (book III, chapter 1): Φιδεντίαν λα΄ γο΄ μγ΄ L΄ (Fidentiam 31° 40' 43" 30').
24 Lanzoni 1927, pp. 804-805.
25 Bulić received Lanzoni's book as a gift from the Vatican Library on 11 December 1929, so he marked the places where individual saints are mentioned. Therefore I examined his works which by their titles could contain data on St. Donnino, but I could not find any. His bibliography has still not been compiled, so systematic research is rendered quite difficult.
26 Saxer 1987, pp. 306-308. He incorrectly interprets the celebration for the two saints in Split in the thirteenth century, and this is confirmed by the chronicle from 1291. The calendar of this chronicle, about which I wrote in 2004, does not confirm this.
27 Babić 1992, pp. 38-39. He cites Saxer's inaccurate interpretation of the celebration of the two saints in the thirteenth century, but this is not the subject of discussion here.

svetoga Franje Asiškoga, pa sam sada nastavio prikupljati podatke o potresu, hotеći ih uvrstiti u ovo proučavanje o Doninu. Brojnost me je potvrda potresa odvrtila od toga i usmjerila na pisanje o jednoj posebnosti koju je Toma u svom opisu naglasio, a sadržaj je bogoslovni, pa ću mu naći prikladnijega nakladnika. Stoga se ovdje zadržavam samo na podacima o svetom Doninu.

Želim produbiti raspravu o Tominu poznavanju štovanja svetoga Donina, jer je Babić ostao samo na općenitom usmjerenju, a uz to je riječima "Nije li možda" naglasio i neku nedoumicu. Ponajprije valja opširno ispraviti dvije pogreške u bilješkama Olge Akimove. Klaudivijeva cesta nije ona koju je godine 312. sagradio Apije Klaudivije Slijepi. To je srednjovjekovno ime dijela Emilijanske ceste (*via Aemilia*) od Piacenze do Bolonjskoga polja, odnosno do rijeke Samoggia. Spomenuta je, primjerice, godine 1098., kada modenski biskup Benedikt daje opatiji svetoga Silvestra u Nonantoli zemlju na južnoj strani ceste ("a Meridie strata Claudia"), a 8. svibnja 1112. kneginja Matilda od Canosse (Modena, 1046. - Bondanazzo di Reggiolo, 24. srpnja 1115.), izuzetna žena u tom nemirnom času života Crkve, daje crkvi svetoga Cezarija, koja je pripadala samostanu svetoga Benedikta u Mantovi, selo koje graniči s tom cestom ("a Septemtrionem via Claudia"). Na te su podatke upozorili bolandisti, godine 1780., po djelu *Dissertatione de Tabula Chorographica Italiae medii aevi*, koje je sastavio benediktinac Iohannes Gasparus Berrettus. Iulia Chrysopolis nije sadašnji Borgo San Donnino, ne samo stoga što nekadašnji Borgo San Donnino, po kraljevskom ukazu od 9. lipnja 1927., nosi antičko ime Fidenza, nego stoga što je Iulia Chrysopolis drugo antičko ime sadašnje Parme, kako je obrazložio Farlati.²⁸ Obje su pogreške kratko ispravljene u izdanju iz godine 2006., u bilješkama uz engleski prijevod.²⁹ Možda je točan zaključak iz bilješke Mirjane Matijević-Sokol:³⁰ "Toma je podatke o njemu pronašao u Rimskom martirologiju", jer Toma svoj izvor ne spominje, pa ima svatko pravo spomenuti i Rimski martirologij. Proučavanje pojedinosti ipak pokazuje i neke druge izvore. Usporedba s Rimskim martirologijem, kako ga navodi Farlati, potvrđuje mnogo više Tominih podataka o svetom Doninu. Usporedba s onim što piše u Rabanovu martirologiju ("Eadem die natale est Domnini martyr, qui sub Maximiano imperatore propter fidem Christi decollatus est ipsius imperatoris. Hic post martyrium suum multa miracula fecit

"In writing about this other, borrowed St. Domnio, Dominus, celebrated in Split on 11 April, Archdeacon Thomas actually summarily retells the very old life of St. Donnino (Passio s. Domnini - BHL 2264 - 2267) who is celebrated in the town of Borgo San Donnino near Parma in Aemilia (AA SS 5. nov. III) [note 116: V. Saxer, *Les saints de Salone*, p. 311, explains the mechanisms whereby the legend of others was assumed]. Was it not possible that Archdeacon Thomas heard this legend, otherwise quite well known, precisely in Aemilia during his visit to Bologna? In Borgo San Donnino the relics of St. Donnino are revered to this day [note 117: F. Lanzoni, *Le diocesi*, II, p. 803-805. A change in dates occurred with this saint as well.]" The focus on Thomas's life in Bologna in Babić's citation of Saxer's data and thereby Lanzoni's as well, is important, because this is the most certain solution to Thomas's knowledge of the Life of St. Donnino. His words: "a legend, otherwise very well known", were not supplemented by Babić with information from the *Life* collected by the Bollandists (his citation of the *Acta Sanctorum* is incorrect), and he also does not cite any detailed data on Thomas in Bologna. I have written about this period in Thomas's life - briefly about the earthquake, and somewhat more extensively about the sermons of St. Francis of Assisi, so I continued to gather data on the earthquake with the intention of including it in this study of Donnino. However, the sheer volume of confirmations of the earthquake turned me away from this task, and I have focussed on writing about one detail that Thomas emphasized in his description, and since the content is theological, I intend to find a more suitable publisher. This is why I shall restrict myself to information on St. Donnino at this point.

I wish to deepen the discussion of Thomas's knowledge of reverence for St. Donnino, because Babić restricted himself to a general orientation, and additionally, by saying "Was it not possible", he emphasized some uncertainty. The errors in the annotations by Olga Akimova must first be extensively corrected. The Claudian Way was not the one built in 312 at the behest of Appius Claudius Caecus. This is the medieval name for a part of the Aemilian Way (*via Aemilia*) from Piacenza to the Bologna field and the Samoggio River. The year 1098 was mentioned, for example, when the Modena Bishop Benedict bequeathed land on the southern side of the road to the Abbey of St. Sylvester in Nonantola ("a Meridie strata Claudia"), while on 8 May 1112, Princess Mathilda of Canossa (Modena, 1046 - Bondanazzo di Reggiolo, 24 July 1115), an exceptional woman at that turbulent time in Church history, gave the Church of St. Caesarius, which belonged to the Monastery of St. Benedict in Mantua, a village that bordered the road ("a Septemtrionem via Claudia"). The Bollandists pointed this out in 1780, based on the work *Dissertatione de Tabula Chorographica Italiae medii aevi*, which was compiled by the Benedictine Iohannes Gasparus Berrettus. Iulia Chrysopolis is not today's Borgo San Donnino, not just because the former Borgo San Donnino, by royal decree of 9 June 1927, bears the Roman-era name Fidenza, but rather because Iulia Chrysopolis is another

28 Nisam provjeravao u Farlatija, pa sam i ja pogrešno napisao: "antički grad Iulia Chrysopolis je današnji biskupski grad Fidenza" (Ivanišević 2004a, str. 15).

29 Archdeacon Thomas 2006, str. 16. Bilj. 1: "*Via Claudia* is the medieval name for the *Via Aemilia*." Bilj. 2: "*Iulia Chrysopolis* is Parma; the River Sytirion is a marshy area around the creek Stirone." Hvala uredništvu ovoga časopisa jer me je u recenziji upozorilo na postojanje toga izdanja, bez kojega bi moje proučavanje bilo nepotpuno. Po knjižarskim podacima izdanje je poznato od rujna 2006., a nisam ga našao u dvama splitskim arheološkim muzejima, pa mi je Damir Karbić 13. travnja 2007. poslao stranice 12-23 i protumačio da su bilješke zajedničko djelo priređivača. Stoga i njemu hvala.

30 Toma (bilješke Matijević-Sokol) 2003, str. 15, bilj. 10.

in sanitare infirmorum et debilium.”) i Usuardovu martirologiju (“Apud Juliam, via Claudia, S. Domnini martyris sub Maximiano, qui, cum vellet persecutionis rabiem declinare, protinus insecutus, et nihilominus gladio verberatus, gloriose occubuit.”), također potvrđuje mnogo više Tominih podataka o svetom Doninu. To upućuje i na druge Tomine izvore.

Vjerojatno su dvije vrste izvora Tomi mogle biti lako dostupne za njegova boravka u Italiji. Prva su *Životi* svetoga Donina i himne u svečevu čast. Bolandisti su proučili četiri *Života*.³¹

Prvi *Život* (broj 2264) počinje riječima: “Tempore Maximiani imperatoris facta est super christianorum gentem persecutio magna.” Sačuvan je u dvanaest rukopisa, a od njih je devet nastalo do Tomina doba. Dva su najstarija, iz jedanaestoga stoljeća, u Milanu (Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B.055 Inf, list 173r - 174v) i Parizu (Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15436, list 29r - 29v). Laurentius Sur je prema tom djelu sastavio svoju preradbu. Bolandisti su uvrstili ovaj *Život* u četvrti svezak za mjesec listopad, na dan 9. listopada. Prvo je izdanje, iz godine 1780., uredio Jacques de Bue (1728. - 1808.), a drugo je izdanje uredio Jean-Baptiste Carnandet (1820. - 1880.).³² Ovaj je *Život* sadržajno blizak opisima mučeništva drugih Maksimijanovih vojnika, pa je njegov nastanak opravdano pretpostaviti u doba poslije *Života svetoga Mauricija*, što ga je oko godine 440. napisao lionski biskup Euhherije.³³ Drugi *Život* (broj 2265) počinje riječima: “Tempore Maximiani imperatoris facta est persecutio magna super christianorum genus.” Sačuvan je u dvadeset i pet rukopisa, a od njih je osamnaest nastalo do Tomina doba. Tri su najstarija, iz druge polovine osmoga do polovine devetoga stoljeća, u Vatikanu (Vat. lat. 05771, list 124r - 125v), Bruxellesu (Museum Bollandianum, 14, list 45r - 46r) i Rimu (Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Manoscritti Farfense, codex 29 (alias 341), list 267v - 269v). Treći *Život* sadrži i našašće i prijenos svečeva tijela (broj 2266) te počinje riječima: “Tempore quo Diocletianus, sumpto imperio.” Sačuvan je samo jedan rukopis iz šesnaestoga stoljeća, u Rimu (Biblioteca Vallicellana, codex H. 07, stranice 85 - 94). Bonino Mombrizio (ili Montebreto; Milano, 1424. - između 1482. i 1502.) uvrstio je ovaj *Život* u svoje djelo *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*.³⁴ Četvrti *Život* također sadrži i našašće i prijenos svečeva tijela (broj 2267) te počinje riječima: “Gloriosus miles et martyr Christi Domninus natione Romanus.” O njemu bolandisti nemaju drugih podataka.

Roman-era name for the current Parma, as Farlati explained.²⁸ Both errors are briefly corrected in the 2006 edition, in the annotations to the English translation.²⁹ Perhaps the conclusion from the note by Mirjana Matijević-Sokol is correct:³⁰ “Thomas found data on him in the Roman Martyrology”, because Thomas does not mention his source, so anyone is entitled to mention the *Roman Martyrology* as well. Examination of the details nevertheless indicates some other sources. The comparison with the *Roman Martyrology*, as Farlati cites it, confirms many more of Thomas’s facts about St. Donnino. A comparison with what is written in *Rabanus’s Martyrology* (“Eadem die natale est Domnini martyris, qui sub Maximiano imperatore propter fidem Christi decollatus est ipsius imperatoris. Hic post martyrium suum multa miracula fecit in sanitare infirmorum et debilium”) and *Usuardus’s Martyrology* (“Apud Juliam, via Claudia, S. Domnini martyris sub Maximiano, qui, cum vellet persecutionis rabiem declinare, protinus insecutus, et nihilominus gladio verberatus, gloriose occubuit”), also confirms many more of Thomas’s facts about St. Donnino. This also indicates some of Thomas’s other sources.

There were probably two types of sources that may have been available to Thomas when he was in Italy. The first was the *Lives* of St. Donnino and hymns in the saint’s honour. The Bollandists studied four *Lives*.³¹ The first *Life* (no. 2264) begins: “Tempore Maximiani imperatoris facta est super christianorum gentem persecutio magna”. It is preserved in twelve manuscripts, and of them ten appeared in Thomas’s time. The two oldest, from the eleventh century, are in Milan (Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B.055 Inf, sheet 173r-174v) and Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15436, sheet 29r-29v). Laurentius Surius compiled his adaptation using this work. The Bollandists placed this *Life* in the fourth volume for the month of October, on 9 October. The first edition, from 1780, was edited by Jacques de Bue (1728-1808), while the second edition was edited by Jean-Baptiste Carnandet (1820-1880.).³² This *Life* is substantially close to the descriptions of the martyrdom of Maximian’s other soldiers, so it can be rightfully assumed to have appeared in the time after the

28 I did not verify in Farlati, so I incorrectly wrote: “the Roman-era city Lulia Chrysopolis is today’s diocesan city Fidenza” (Ivanišević 2004a, p. 15).

29 Archdeacon Thomas 2006, p. 16. Note 1: “Via Claudia is the medieval name for the Via Aemilia”. Note 2: “Lulia Chrysopolis is Parma; the River Sytirion is a marshy area around the creek Stirone.” I would like to thank the editorial board of this journal, which pointed out the existence of this work - without which my study would be incomplete - during the review process. According to bibliographical data, this edition has been known since September 2006, although I was unable to find it in Split’s two archaeological museums, so Damir Karbić sent pp. 12-13 to me on 13 April 2007, and explained that the notes are the joint work of the editors. I would also like to thank him.

30 Toma (note by Matijević-Sokol) 2003, p. 15, note 10.

31 Bibliotheca 1899, pp. 341-341, no. 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267.

32 Acta 1866, pp. 987-993. Introduction on pp. 987-991, and pp. 991-992 contain Passio S. Domnini Auctore anonymo. Ex codice Fuldensi, notato Qms. 6, collato cum Trevirensi S. Maximini notato Qms. 7; notes are on pp. 992-993.

31 Bibliotheca 1899, str. 341-341, br. 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267.

32 Acta 1866, str. 987-993. Uvod je na str. 987-991, a na str. 991-992 je Passio S. Domnini Auctore anonymo. Ex codice Fuldensi, notato Qms. 6, collato cum Trevirensi S. Maximini notato Qms. 7; bilj. su na str. 992-993.

33 Acta 1867, str. 342-343, dan 22. rujna.

34 Prvo je izdanje inkunabula, tiskano u Milanu oko godine 1479. (prvi svezak, list 235v-238v). Drugo je izdanje tiskano u Parizu godine 1910, str. 419-424.

Bolandisti su u svom časopisu *Analecta Bollandiana* tiskali popis naslova pjesama u čast svetaca, što ga je sastavio ugledni proučavatelj crkvene povijesti Ulysse Chevalier (Rambouillet, 24. veljače 1841. - Lyon, 27. listopada 1923.).³⁵ On je u svoje opsežno djelo uvrstio ove himne u čast svetoga Donina: "Athleta regnantis Dei, jam fas triumphos ingredi" (svezak I, stranica 84, broj 1403), "Quam splendidus terris dies, quo clara post poenas" (svezak II, stranica 392, broj 16150),³⁶ "Dominus, miles strenuus, decapitatur hodie" (svezak III, stranica 174, broj 25685), "Novos hymnos nunc succinant sacerdotes mirabiles" (svezak III, stranica 396, broj 30048), "Pangat chorus in hac die novum genum" (svezak III, stranica 467, broj 31427),³⁷ "Plebs Burgi, sancti militis Donini clari flaminis" (svezak III, stranica 481, broj 31705).³⁸ Popis ne otkriva vrijeme nastanka himne, pa nije moguće znati je li Toma koju od njih mogao čuti, ali njegovo svjedočenje o splitskim himnama potvrđuje zanimanje za taj svečani oblik štovanja svetaca.

Potvrda štovanja svetoga Donina u njegovoj crkvi u Borgo druga je vrsta izvora koju je Toma mogao upoznati. U doba Tomina možebitnoga pohoda toj crkvi, ona nije bila stolna. Biskupija je imala dug put nastajanja, a na tom putu svetac nije imao onoliko važan utjecaj kao Dujam u Splitskoj (nad)biskupiji. Papa je Hadrijan Drugi (14. prosinca 867. - 14. prosinca 872.) dao natpopu pravo na mitru i štap, papa Aleksandar Drugi (1. listopada 1061. - 21. travnja 1073.) pravo na krstionicu, a papa Celestin Treći, godine 1196., pravo na izbor natpopa neovisno o biskupu u Parmi. Od godine 1466. do 1473. ustanova kojom je upravljao natpop službeno nije pripadala niti jednoj biskupiji, a godine 1548. car Karlo Peti odvojio je Borgo od Parme, pa je papa Julije Treći 1553. priznao natpopu neovisnost o biskupu u Parmi; godine 1584. prepošt i apostolski protonotar Carlo Sozzi (Succio) sazvaio je biskupijski sabor, iako prostor kojim je upravljao još nije bio biskupija. Pregovore o utemeljenju biskupije vodio je u Rimu poslanik kneževa Farnese od godine 1591., pa je konačno papa Klement Osmi, 12. veljače 1601., utemeljio biskupiju od dijelova biskupija u Cremoni, Piacenzi i Parmi. Postojanje Borga kao grada i stolne crkve u njemu pogodovalo je kneževima Farnese, gospodarima u Parmi i Piacenzi.³⁹

Life of St. Maurice, written by the Lyon Bishop Euherius at around the year 440.³³ The second *Life* (no. 2265) begins: "Tempore Maximiani imperatoris facta est persecutio magna super christianorum genus". It is preserved in twenty-five manuscripts, and of them eighteen appeared in Thomas's time. The three oldest, from the second half of the eighth to the mid-ninth centuries, are in the Vatican (Vat. lat. 05771, sheet 124r-125v), Brussels (Museum Bollandianum, 14, sheet 45r-46r) and Rome (Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Manoscritti Farfense, codex 29 (alias 341), sheet 267v.-269v). The third *Life* also contains the discovery and transfer of the saint's body (no. 2266) and begins: "Tempore quo Diocletianus, sumpto imperio". Only one manuscript from the sixteenth century has been preserved, in Rome (Biblioteca Vallicellana, codex H. 07, pp. 85-94). Bonino Mombrizio (or Montebreto; Milano, 1424 - between 1482 and 1502) included this *Life* in his work *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*.³⁴ The fourth *Life* also contains the discovery and transfer of the saint's body (no. 2267) and begins: "Gloriosus miles et martyr Christi Dominus natione Romanus". The Bollandists have no other data on it.

In their journal *Analecta Bollandiana*, the Bollandists printed a list of titles of songs honouring the saint compiled by the respected church history researcher Ulysse Chevalier (Rambouillet, 24 February 1841 - Lyon, 27 October 1923).³⁵ In his exhaustive work, he included these hymns to St. Donnino: "Athleta regnantis Dei, jam fas triumphos ingredi" (vol. I, p. 84, no. 1403), "Quam splendidus terris dies, quo clara post poenas" (vol. II, p. 392, no. 16150),³⁶ "Dominus, miles strenuus, decapitatur hodie" (vol. III, p. 174, no. 25685), "Novos hymnos nunc succinant sacerdotes mirabiles" (vol. III, p. 396, no. 30048), "Pangat chorus in hac die novum genum" (vol. III, p. 467, no. 31427),³⁷ "Plebs Burgi, sancti militis Donini clari flaminis" (vol. III, p. 481, no. 31705).³⁸ This list does not indicate the date on which an individual hymn was written, so there is no way of telling whether Thomas could have heard them, but his testimony on the Split hymns confirms an interest in this celebratory form of revering the saint.

Confirmation of reverence for St. Donnino in his church in Borgo is a type of source with which Thomas could have become familiar. At the time of Thomas's possible pilgrimage to that church, it was not a cathedral. The diocese took a long time to emerge, and on this way the saint did not exert the influence that Donnio did in the Split (arch)diocese. Pope Hadrian II (14 December 867 - 14 December 872) granted the archpriest the right to a mitre and staff, Pope Alexander II (1 October 1061 - 21 April 1073) granted the right

35 Chevalier 1892 - 1904.

36 Obje himne: Simon Gourdan (1646.-1729.) u rukopisu (Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 14840, list 800 i 799).

37 Sve tri himne: Ordo sancti Domnini. Milano, 1504. Angelo Pezzana (1772.-1862.) je ponovno tiskao (Pezzana 1859, str. 539).

38 Luigi Barbieri (1827.-1899.) tiskao je ovu himnu (Barbieri 1858, str. 540).

39 U skladu s renesansnim načinom upravljanja Crkvom, prvi je biskup bio Papirio Piccedo (Arcola di Lunigiana, 1528. - Parma, 4. ožujka 1614.), onaj koji je 1591. u Rimu počeo pregovarati kao svjetovnjak, a kad je obudovio, primio je crkvene redove i 1596. biskupski red te poslije smrti Carla Sozzija, 1598., bio njegov nasljednik i od 8. siječnja 1603. prvi biskup (do 1606., kad je premješten u Parmu). Njegov nasljednik (od 4. prosinca 1606.) Giovanni Linati, bio je najprije gradonačelnik u Borgo.

33 Acta 1867, pp. 342-343, 22 September.

34 The first edition of the incunabulum, printed in Milan around the year 1479 (first volume, sheet 235v-238v). The second edition was printed in Paris in 1910, pp. 419-424.

35 Chevalier 1892 - 1904.

36 Both hymns: Simon Gourdan (1646-1729) in manuscript (Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 14840, sheet 800 and 799).

37 All three hymns: Ordo sancti Domnini. Milan, 1504. Angelo Pezzana (1772.-1862.) had them reprinted (Pezzana 1859, p. 539).

38 Luigi Barbieri (1827-1899) printed this hymn (Barbieri 1858, p. 540).

Antička Fidentia vjerojatno je prefektura od druge polovine drugoga stoljeća prije Krista, a municipij je od prvoga stoljeća prije Krista. U tom je prostoru Sulin vojskovođa Marko Emilije Lukul, godine 82. prije Krista, pobijedio konzula Gneja Papirija Karbona. Godine 41. prije Krista, za rata između Marka Antonija i Oktavijana, grad je srušen, a kad ga je Oktavijan obnovio, dao mu je ime Fidentia Julia, u čast Cezarovu. Natpis Virija Valensa, iz godine 206., nađen na njegovu imanju u Campore di Salsomaggiore, potvrđuje ime grada Flavia Fidentia. Antička cesta prelazila je rječicu Stirone po kamenom mostu od kojeg je ostao jedan luk (otkriven 1874. i 1976. ispod kule Visconti kod Vrata svetoga Donina, nasuprot stolnoj crkvi) i jedan nosač ispod trga Grandi (zbirka u kući Cremonini, otvorena 2004.). Mučeništvo je svetoga Donina odredilo budućnost antičkoga grada. On je u trećem stoljeću već počeo propadati, pa ga *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* naziva "vicus", a *Itinerarium Burdigalense (Hierosolymitanum)*, koji opisuje putovanje u godinama 333. - 334., naziva ga "mansio fidentiae". Opis svečeva mučeništva potvrđuje mjesto njegove smrti blizu rječice Stirone, prije nego je iz Milana došao u Parmu, kamo je bježao. To je mjesto Fidenza i u njegovu je groblju bio pokopan. Prema svečevu *Životu*, koji sadrži i opis našašća njegova groba, najstariju crkvu na mjestu groba, po odredbi cara Konstantina, gradi parmski biskup, jer on, po viđenju, otkriva na obali rječice kamenu grobu s kosturom koji u rukama drži glavu ("lapidum mausoleum continentem martirem gloriosum cum caput abscissum et inter ulnas eiusdem martiris positum"), a uz tijelo je nađen natpis na cigli.⁴⁰

Opis svečeva štovanja prati događaj gradnje veće crkve. Stara je crkva napuštena i nije bila sačuvana uspomena na mjesto svečeva groba, a vjernici su željeli novu crkvu. Svećenik je u viđenju vidio grob u sredini stare crkve, pa je od parmskoga biskupa zamolio dopuštenje kopanja, a našao je sarkofag s natpisom "in hac hiacet corpus Beatissimi Domnini Martyris". Tada su vjernici u ophodu pošli od obližnje crkve svetoga Dalmacija do crkve svetoga Donina. Kad su došli na drveni most preko Stirone, most se pod teretom srušio. Po svečevu su zagovoru svi bili neozlijeđeni, čak i žena u poodmakloj trudnoći, iako je pala među prvima, pa su mnogi drugi pali na nju. Treća je gradnja bila u doba cara Karla Velikoga, dakle poslije godine 774. U svečevu je *Životu* i opis toga događaja. Car je, putujući u Rim na krunjenje, prolazio kroz Borgo, a crkva je bila posve razrušena ("Borgo ubi ecclesia in honore eiusdem Sancti haedificata fuerat, sed per tyrannos et inimicos sanctae ecclesiae totaliter erat dextructa"). Carev se konj čudesno zaustavio i nije mogao dalje, a caru je u viđenju anđeo pokazao škrinju s blagom pod zemljom. Kad su počeli kopati, našli su svečevo tijelo. Tada je car odredio gradnju velike crkve

to a baptistery, while Pope Celestin III, in 1196, granted the right to election of the archpriest independently of the bishop in Parma. From 1466 to 1473, the institution managed by the archpriest did not formally belong to any diocese, while in 1548, Emperor Charles V separated Borgo from Parma, while in 1584, Provost and Apostolical Protonotary Carlo Sozzi (Succio) convened a diocesan synod, even though the territory he administered was still not a diocese. Negotiations on the establishment of a diocese were led in Rome by an envoy of the Farnese princes since 1591, so finally Pope Clement VIII, on 12 February 1601 established a diocese from parts of the diocese in Cremona, Piacenza and Parma. The existence of Borgo as a city and the cathedral therein suited the Farnese princes, the lords of Parma and Piacenza.³⁹

Roman-era Fidentia was probably a prefecture since the second half of the second century BC, and a municipium since the first century BC. In this area, Sulla's military leader Marcus Aemilius Lucullus defeated Consul Gnaeus Papirius Carbo in 82 BC. In 41 BC, during the war between Mark Antony and Octavian, the city was demolished, and when Octavian rebuilt it, he called it Fidentia Iulia, in honour of Caesar. The inscription by Virius Valens from 206, found on his estate in Campore di Salsomaggiore, confirms the name of the city Flavia Fidentia. The Roman-era road passed over the creek Stirone on a stone bridge, of which one arch remains (discovered in 1874 and 1976 under the Visconti Tower at the St. Donnino Gate, just opposite to the cathedral), as well as a girder under Grandi Square (collection in the Cremonini house, opened in 2004). The martyrdom of St. Donnino determined the future of the Roman-era city. In the third century it already began to fall into decay, so that the *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* refers to it as a vicus, while the *Itinerarium Burdigalense (Hierosolymitanum)*, which describes journeys in 333-334, refers to it as "mansio fidentiae". The description of the saint's martyrdom is confirmed by the location of his death near the Stirone creek, before he came to Parma from Milan, whence he was fleeing. This site was Fidenza, and he was buried in its cemetery. According to the saint's *Life*, which also contains a description of the discovery of his tomb, construction of the oldest church at the tomb site was commissioned by the Parma bishop at the behest of Emperor Constantine, because the bishop, by a vision, discovered a stone grave on the banks of the creek containing a skeleton holding a skull in its hands ("lapidum mausoleum continentem martirem gloriosum cum caput abscissum et inter ulnas eiusdem martiris positum"), while

40 Museo del Duomo di Fidenza čuva komad cigle (duljina 40 cm, visina 17,5 cm, širina 5,5 cm; broj R1, stari broj SBAS 00211245) s natpisom u dva reda: IBI CONDITVS E(ST) COR[PVS] | S(AN)C(T)I DOMNINI MARTIR(IS) | CHR(IST)I. Najvjerojatnije je to natpis stavljen blizu svečevih moći kada su one bile ponovno nađene, godine 1207. Poslije je ta cigla bila štovana kao moći i bila je u osamnaestom stoljeću stavljena u srebrni pozlaćeni moćnik (u tom muzeju, broj O28, stari broj SBAS PR 00211208).

39 In line with the Renaissance method of Church administration, the first bishop was Papirio Piccolo (Arcola di Lunigiana, 1528 - Parma, 4 March 1614), the same one who commenced negotiations in Rome in 1591 as a layman. When he became a widower, he received holy orders and in 1596 he was promoted to bishop; after the death of Carlo Sozzi in 1598, he succeeded the latter and as of 8 January 1603 he became the first bishop (until 1606 when he was transferred to Parma). His successor (as of 4 December 1606) Giovanni Linati was first the mayor of Borgo.

("magnam ecclesiam iussit fabricari"). To našašće najvjerojatnije svjedoči sarkofag u obliku sanduka s reljefima erota na bočnim stranama, koji su otučeni kao i natpis na pročelju. Sarkofag je klesan od prokoneškog mramora, vjerojatno u prvoj polovini drugoga stoljeća, a pokriven je kamenom druge vrste s uklesanim križem oblikovanim na način osmoga ili devetoga stoljeća. Nađen je 19. srpnja 1853. ispod oltara svetoga Donina u kripti stolne crkve, a u njoj je i sada. Godina je 1101. vrijeme pretpostavljenoga, iako ne i dokazanoga, početka gradnje nove crkve; nju je godine 1106. posvetio papa Paskal Drugi, ali su radovi nastavljeni sve do godine 1135. Godine 1178. prvi je put otvoren svečev sarkofag, onaj koji je poslije ukopan ispod oltara. Kad je godine 1207. uređivana kriptu, svečeve su moći prenesene u crkvu svetoga Petra, ispod oltara. Za njih je izrađena kamena škrinja od koje je sačuvan poklopac s natpisom MCCVII | REPOSITUM.⁴¹ Po završetku radova, ona je 4. travnja 1207. postavljena uz oltar u kripti. Godine 1488. škrinja je otvorena, pa su u njoj, umjesto očekivanoga čitavog tijela, nađeni samo manji dijelovi. U svečanostima završetka obnove svodova, 7. veljače 1488., smještena je u novi oltar u kripti. Godine 1838. je otvorena, pa su tada moći stavljene u limenu kutiju.⁴²

Nema podatka o graditelju i kiparu stolne crkve ni o vremenu kad su nastala kiparska djela na zapadnom pročelju. Proučavatelji su oblikovali tri pretpostavke. Po jednoj je graditelj i kipar Benedetto Antelami, uz različite vremenske i radne odrednice, od vođenja gradnje u Borgu, u razdoblju od 1184. do 1196. neprekidno, ili u dijelovima od 1180. do 1190., kada izrađuje zamisli, i od 1210. do 1216., kada zida i kleše, pa do vođenja radova u Borgu i Parmi istodobno, do 1210. Suprotna je pretpostavka o majstoru ili majstorima koji su po likovnom oblikovanju bliski Antelamiju, ali prenose i druge uzore. Jedna pretpostavka ne ističe Antelamija, nego pretpostavljenoga naručitelja. Godine 1202. dolazi iz Parme u Borgo novi prepošt Ugo da Sesto (Ugone da Sessa), a poslije, kao biskup, odlazi u Vercelli i ondje, godine 1219., od temelja gradi samostansku crkvu svetoga Andrije. On je svojim narudžbama u istoj radionici mogao ostvariti slična likovna oblikovanja u tim gradovima. Antelami je zajamčen samo na dvama natpisima. O završetku svoga rada, u veljači godine 1178., uklesao je natpis na reljefu Raspeća (godine 1565. preostao od ograde propovjedaonice, dugačak 2,30 metara, visok 1,20 metara, sada na zapadnom zidu južnoga transepta): ANNO MILLENO CENTENO SEPTUAGENO OCTAVO SCULTOR PATRAVIT MENSE SECUNDO ANTELAMI DICTUS SCULTOR FUIT HIC BENEDICTUS. O početku svojega rada, godine 1196., uklesao je natpis na južnim vratima Krstionice u Parmi: BIS BINIS DEMPITIS ANNIS DE MILLE DUCENTIS INCEPIT DICTUS OPUS HOC SCULTOR BENEDICTUS.

an inscription on brick was found next to the body.⁴⁰

The description of reverence for the saint also describes an event in the construction of a larger church. The old church was abandoned and no memory of the site of the saint's tomb was preserved, so the congregation wanted a new church. The priest had a vision of the tomb in the middle of the old church, so he asked the Parma bishop for permission to dig, and a coffin was found bearing the inscription "in hac hiacet corpus Beatissimi Domnini Martyris". At that time, the faithful made pilgrimages from the nearby Church of St. Dalmatius to the Church of St. Donnino. When they came to the wooden bridge over the Stirone, the bridge collapsed under their weight. None were injured due to the intercession of the saint, not even a woman in an advanced state of pregnancy, although she was among the first to fall with others falling on top of her. The third construction took place during the era of Charlemagne, i.e. after 774. There is a description of this even in the saint's *Life*. The emperor, travelling to Rome for his coronation, passed through Borgo, and the church was in absolute ruins ("Borgo ubi ecclesia in honore eiusdem Sancti haedificata fuerat, sed per tyrannos et inimicos sanctae ecclesiae totaliter erat destructa"). The emperor's horse miraculously halted and could not move further, while the emperor had a vision of an angel who showed him a chest with treasure buried under the church. When they began to dig, they found the saint's body. The emperor then ordered the construction of a large church ("magnam ecclesiam iussit fabricari"). The chest-shaped coffin with reliefs of Eros on the sides (damaged like the inscription on its front) most likely testify to this discovery. The coffin was made of Proconese marble, probably in the first half of the second century, and covered with stone of another type with an engraved cross in the form characteristic of the eight or ninth century. It was found on 19 July 1853 under the altar of St. Donnino in the crypt of the cathedral, and it remains there to this day. The year 1101 is the time of the assumed, if not proven, commencement of construction of the new church, and it was dedicated in 1106 by Pope Paschal II, but works continued until 1135. In 1178 the saint's coffin, the one later buried beneath the altar, was opened for the first time. When the crypt was renovated in 1207, the saint's relics were taken to the Church of St. Peter, under the altar. A stone box was made for them, of which the lid was preserved, bearing the inscription MCCVII | REPOSITUM.⁴¹ After the completion of works, it was placed next to the altar in the crypt on 4 April 1207. In 1488 it was opened, and despite expectations of finding the entire body,

40 The Museo del Duomo di Fidenza has a piece of brick (length 40 cm, height 17.5 cm, width 5.5 cm; no. R1, old no. SBAS 00211245) with a two-line inscription: IBI CONDITVS E(ST) COR[PVS] | S(AN)C(T)I DOMNINI MARTIR[IS] | CHR[IST]I. This is most likely the inscription placed near the saint's relics when they were rediscovered in 1207. Later this brick was revered as a relic and it was placed in a silver gilded reliquary in the eighteenth century (in that museum, no. O28, old no. SBAS PR 00211208).

41 Museo del Duomo di Fidenza, length 73 cm, height 38 cm, width ca 5 cm; no. M1. There are four indentations in the stone made of forged clasps used to hold the chest closed.

41 Museo del Duomo di Fidenza, duljina 73 cm, visina 38 cm, širina oko 5 cm; broj M1. Na kamenu su četiri udubine od kovinskih spona kojima je škrinja bila zatvorena.

42 Museo del Duomo di Fidenza, duljina 27 cm, visina 19,8 cm, širina 20,2 cm; broj R286.

Zapadno pročelje sadašnje stolne crkve u Borgu nije nikada u potpunosti dovršeno. Na tom je pročelju u kamenom reljefu oblikovana priča o životu, mučeništvu i čudima svetoga Donina. On je u prostoru iznad središnjih vrata, od sjevernoga do južnoga polustupa, koji su na zidu uz vrata. Reljef počinje i završava na zidu, a tu je drugi (odozdo) dio vijenca, nastavlja se u istoj visini kao jedini vijenac iznad unutarnje strane niza polustupova uz sjeverni i južni dovratnik, a jedini je vijenac iznad nadvratnika. Početak je svečeva života na sjevernoj strani, a na južnoj završava čudom na mostu. Reljef je izrađen u nizu, osim na vanjskim stranama polustupova uz sjeverni i južni dovratnik. Iznad svakoga je dijela glavni natpis, a sporedni su na mjestima koja tumače.

Na sjevernom su zidu prikazana dva događaja (stavljam redne brojeve od 1. do 12., najprije opisujem ikonografski sadržaj, a zatim prepisujem natpis):

1. Donino na carskom dvoru (kao čuvar carske krune, stavlja krunu na glavu caru Maksimijanu). Natpis: početak natpisa oštećen, vjerojatna je riječ imperator, jer je sačuvano zadnje slovo R, · A BEATO · DOMNINO · CORONATUR.
2. Maksimijan provjerava koji je njegov vojnik kršćanin (prvi do cara pokazuje ruke sklopljene na molitvu, Donino, drugi u redu vojnika, a u sredini između trojice, i vojnik iza njega pokazuju svoje kršćanstvo desnicom uzdignutom k nebu). Natpis: LICENCIA · ACEPTA · DEO · SERVIRE DECRE(UIT).
Na vijencu iznad niza polustupova uz sjeverni dovratnik prikazana su dva događaja:
3. Maksimijan zapovijeda progon kršćana. Natpis: MAXIMIAN I(M)P(E)R(ATOR).
4. Bijeg kršćana iz carskoga dvora u Milanu (Donino je zadnji u redu, ali je prikazan kao najbliži dvoru u kojem je car zapovjedio progon; prikazano je još šest likova, a treći od Donina, ukupno četvrti, počinje hodati kroz brdoviti prostor na kojem raste cvijeće). Natpis: prvi dio natpisa ima slova SDOM, klesana uz lijevi rub reljefa odozdo prema vrhu, uz rub aureole, a drugi dio ima slova NINUS, klesana uz gornji rub reljefa, slijeva nadesno, desno od aureole; čitav natpis S(ANCTUS) DOMNINUS.

Na vijencu nadvratnika četiri događaja:

5. Donino pred progoniteljima bježi do Piacenze (dva konjanika s uzdignutim mačevima izlaze iz grada; kroz prozore kuća i s krovova gledaju ih građani, a kućna vrata drže zatvorena; pred konjanicima je svetac na konju koji prolazi kroz gradska vrata drugoga grada, a svetac u lijevoj ruci drži uzdignuti križ; kroz prozore kuća i s krovova i u tom gradu gledaju građani, a kućna vrata drže zatvorena). Natpisi: a) iznad dvaju konjanika MISSI · MAXI · MIA · NI · I(M)P(ER)A · TORIS; čitav natpis MISSI MAXIMIANI I(M)P(ER)ATORIS. b) na luku gradskih vrata, lijevo od aureole S · DOM, na luku gradskih vrata, desno od aureole NI · NUS; čitav natpis S(ANCTUS) DOMNINUS.
6. Progonitelji izlaze iz Piacenze u polje (dva konjanika prolaze ispod triju lukova gradskoga zida). Natpis: u prostoru između lukova CI · UI · TAS · PLA · CEN · CI · A; čitav natpis CIUITAS PLACENCIA.

only a few small parts were found. During the ceremonies held after completion of reconstruction of the vaults, on 7 February 1488, it was placed in the new altar in the crypt. In 1838 it was opened, and the relics were placed in a metal box at that time.⁴²

There are similarly no data on the builder and sculptor of the cathedral when the sculptures on the western facade were made. Researchers have formed three hypotheses. According to one, the builder and sculptor was Benedetto Antelami, with various chronological and labour determinants, from management of construction in Borgo from 1184 to 1196 without interruption, or at intervals from 1180 to 1190, when he developed the concept, and from 1210 to 1216, when the masonry and sculpting were done, and management of works in Borgo and Parma simultaneously, to 1210. This is contradicted by a hypothesis on a master or masters whose work was similar to Antelami's, but who were also influenced by other examples. One hypothesis does not concern Antelami, rather the assumed client. In 1202, a new provost came from Parma to Borgo, Ugo da Sesto (Ugone da Sessa), and later, as bishop, he departed for Vercelli and there, in 1219, he commissioned the construction of the monastic Church of St. Andrew. With his commissions in the same workshop, he could have created similar artistic formations in these cities. Antelami is only confirmed in two inscriptions. On the completion of his work, in February 1178, he inscribed the inscription on a relief of the Crucifix (in 1565 it remained from the pulpit screen, 2.3 meters long, 1.2 meters high, now on the western wall of the southern transept): ANNO MILLENO CENTENO SEPTUAGENO OCTAVO SCULTOR PATRAVIT MENSE SECUNDO ANTELAMI DICTUS SCULTOR FUIT HIC BENEDICTUS. On the commencement of his work in 1196, he inscribed the inscription on the southern door to the Baptistery in Parma: BIS BINIS DEMPTIS ANNIS DE MILLE DUCENTIS INCEPIT DICTUS OPUS HOC SCULTOR BENEDICTUS.

The western facade of the current cathedral in Borgo was never entirely completed. The story of the life, martyrdom and miracles of St. Donnino are carved in relief on this facade. It is above the central door, from the northern to southern semi-columns, which are on the wall next to the door. The relief begins and ends on the wall, and the other (from the bottom) part of a garland is here, and it continues at the same height as the only garland above the inside of a series of semi-columns next to the northern and southern door lentil, and the only garland above the lentil. The beginning of the saint's life is on the northern side, ending with the miracle at the bridge on the southern side. The relief is a series, except on the external sides of the semi-columns along the northern and southern lentil. The central inscription is above each part, while secondary inscriptions are at descriptive places.

Two events on the northern wall (I am using numbers 1 through 12, first describing iconographic content, and then transcribing the inscription):

42 Museo del Duomo di Fidenza, length 27 cm, height 19.8 cm, width 20.2 cm; no. R286.

7. Progonitelj siječe Doninu glavu i anđeli je nose na nebo (progonitelj zamahuje mačem, svetac stoji bez glave, prekrivenih ruku o pojasu, a bradata je glava s aureolom pala na ukrašeni kamen lijevo od sveca; na zemlji je, između progonitelja i sveca, pladanj, vjerojatno skupljene svečeve krvi, iz kojega je niklo cvijeće; na nebu, iznad sveca u ovom događaju i sveca u događaju poslije ovoga, dva anđela, po jedan iznad svakoga sveca, drže svečevu obrijanu glavu s aureolom). Natpisi: a) A · NI · MA MAR · TI · RIS DEFER · T · INC; čitav natpis ANIMA MARTIRIS DEFERT(UR) IN C(ELUM). b) na gornjem dijelu kamena sa svečevom glavom · S · DOM · NI · NUS; čitav natpis S(ANCTUS) DOMNINUS.
8. Sveti Donino prelazi Stirone. Natpis: iznad valova rijeke SISTER | ION(IS).
Na vijencu iznad niza polustupova uz južni dovratnik prikazana su tri događaja:
9. Tijelo svetoga Donina leži u grobu (svetac bez glave, a bradatu glavu s aureolom drži obgrljenu na prsima, leži između dva stabla, a treće je otraga, glavom usmjeren prema crkvi). Natpis: HIC IACET · CORPUS · MARTYRIS.
10. Sveti Donino ozdravlja bolesnika (bolesnik klečeći moli u crkvi, a iza njega je stablo s ostatkom uzda kojima je bio vezan njegov konj, ukraden dok je bolesnik molio). Natpis: počinje iza crkve, iznad stabla uz svečevu glavu, u nastavku natpisa uz prijašnji događaj HIC · SANATUR · EGROTUS.
11. Sveti Donino ozdravljenom vraća ukradenoga konja. Natpis: počinje iznad stabla uz koje je bio vezan konj, u nastavku natpisa uz prijašnji događaj HIC RESTITUITUR · EQUUS · .
Na južnom zidu prikazan je događaj:
12. Sveti Donino spašava vjernike koji su pali s mosta (iz crkve svetoga Dalmacija, na lijevom rubu, polazi zadnji od četrnaest vjernika u ophodu prema gradskim vratima, na desnom rubu, a pred ta vrata dolazi prvi koji nosi ophodni križ; na sredini četiri vjernika padaju u vodu, zajedno s ruševinama drvenoga mosta, samo trudna žena ostaje uspravna). Natpis: ✕ SIC · SANCTIS · EXEQUIIS · CELEBRATIS · MULIER GRAUIDA · A RUINA · PONTIS · LIBERATUR · .⁴³

Toma je očito poznao i *Život svetoga Donina* i crkvu u Borgu, a ondje su bili upravo dovršeni opisani reljefi i drugi, koje ovdje nisam ubrojio. Jedan od dokaza Tomina znanja o Doninu je i usporedba dijelova Tomina opisa s opisom u *Životu*.⁴⁴

1. Donnino at the imperial court (as protector of the imperial crown, he placed the crown on Emperor Maximian's head). Inscription: beginning damaged, probably the word imperator, for only the letter R is preserved: R, · A BEATO · DOMNINO · CORONATUR.
2. Maximian verifies which of his soldiers are Christians (the first shows the emperor his hands clasped in prayer, Donnino, the second in line, in the middle of the three, and the third soldier demonstrates his Christianity by raising his right hand to heaven). Inscription: LICENCIA · ACCEPTA · DEO · SERVIRE DECRE(UIT).
Two events on the cornice above the row of semi-columns next to the northern lentil:
3. Maximian commanding the persecution of Christians. Inscription: MAXIMIAN I(M)P(E)R(ATOR).
4. Flight of Christians from the imperial court in Milan (Donnino is the last in line, but shown as closest to the court in which the emperor commands the persecution; shown with six other figures, while the third from Donnino, the fourth in total, begins walking through a hilly place where flowers grow). Inscription: first part of the inscription contains the letters SDOM, carved along the left edge of the relief from bottom to top, along the edge of the halo, while the second part contains the letters NINUS carved on the upper edge of the relief, from left to right, to the right of the halo; the entire inscription: S(ANCTUS) DOMNINUS. On the lentil's cornice, four events:
5. Donnino flees to Piacenza before his persecutors (two cavalymen with raised swords departing from the city; citizens watch them through windows and from roof-tops, while the doors to houses are closed; the saint is on a horse ahead of the cavalymen, passing through the gate of another city, and the saint holds a cross in his raised left hand; citizens watch through windows and from roof-tops, the doors to their houses are closed). Inscriptions: a) above the two cavalymen MISSI · MAXI · MIA · NI · I(M)P(ER)A · TORIS; entire inscription: MISSI MAXIMIANI I(M)P(ER)ATORIS. b) at arch of city gates, left of halo S · DOM, on arch to city gates, right of halo NI · NUS; entire inscription S(ANCTUS) DOMNINUS.
6. The persecutors depart from Piacenza to the field (two cavalymen pass through three arches of the city walls). Inscription: in the space between the arches CI · UI · TAS · PLA · CEN · CI · A; entire inscription CIUITAS PLACENCIA.
7. A persecutor severs Donnino's head and the angels carry it to heaven (persecutor swings his sword, the saint stands headless, hands crossed around belt, bearded head with halo falls on decorated stone to the saint's left; there is a platter on the ground between the persecutor and the saint, probably to collect the saint's blood, from which flowers grow; in heaven, above the saint in this event and the next, two angels, one above each saint, holding the saint's shaven head with halo). Inscriptions: a) A · NI · MA MAR · TI · RIS DEFER · T · INC; entire inscription ANIMA MARTIRIS DEFERT(UR) IN C(ELUM). b) on upper part of stone with saint's head · S · DOM · NI · NUS; entire inscription S(ANCTUS) DOMNINUS.
8. Saint Donnino crossing the Stirone. Inscription: above the waves of the river SISTER | ION(IS).

43 Podatci o povijesti mjesta i svečeva štovanja u Borgu temelje se na djelu: Catarsi 2006, str. 12 - 115. Podatci o Antelamiju su leksikografski, a natpise na reljefima pročitao sam na fotografijama po kojima sam sastavio ikonografski sadržaj. Zaiskano dopuštenje tiskanja tih fotografija nisam dobio.

44 Izdanje u Acta Sanctorum. Prvi odlomak ima u tom izdanju br. 1, na str. 991. Drugi i treći odlomak imaju br. 3, na str. 992. Četvrti odlomak ima br. 4 i 5, na str. 992.

Toma

Postmodum uero tempore Diocletiane et Maximiane
persecutionis

Cum ergo iste Domnio maioris dilectionis aput imperatorem
prerogatiua gauderet, ipse coronam imperii conseruabat et
ipsam tempore debito super imperatoris uerticem imponebat

Tunc fecit oportunitatem eis effugiendi tyranni rabiem et ad
Romanam urbem diuertendi.

Sed beatus Domnio, tyranni declinans seuitiam, Romam
fugiens properabat. Et dum iret uia Claudia prope ciuitatem
quandam, que Iulia Crisopolis appellatur, satellites imperatoris
post ipsum currentes inuaserunt eum et strictis mucronibus
circumdantes amputauerunt caput eius. Ipse uero martir
uirtute diuina propriis manibus caput suum de terra dicitur
eleuasse et ibidem quendam fluuium, qui Sytirion nominatur,
firmis gressibus transuadasse ibique sepultus aliquo tempore
requieuit. Cum autem dominus multa per eum miracula
operaretur, ex multis prouintiis pro sanitate adipiscenda ad
locum ipsum confluebant.

Život svetoga Donina

Tempore Maximiani imperatoris facta est persecutio magna.

Domninus cubicularius primus, a quo cotidie imperator
coronabatur, qui imperatoris coronam ipse conservabat

ut ad civitatem Romanam confugium fecerint

(4) Sanctus uero Domninus cum aliqua multitudine
promouens se, ut ad Romanam civitatem festinavit, qui
promoventes alii per uiam Flaviniam, alii per Aureliam, alii
per Claudiam fugiebant a conspectu furoris pessimi principis.
Beatissimus uero Domninus perrexit uiam Claudiam: qui dum
uenisset XII [rukopis Trevirensi S. Maximini: sexto] miliario
a Julia Crisopoli civitate, missi impii Maximiani imperatoris
eum conjunxerunt circa fluum, qui uocatur Sisterionis, in
media publica, quae Claudia uocatur, uia. Ibi missi crudelissimi
imperatoris gladio amputauerunt caput eius: Sanctus uero
Domninus manibus suis adprehendens caput suum de terra,
et transiuit fluum Sisterionem, et quantum ad iactum lapidis
transtulit caput suum, ibique eum pausavit, ubi nunc corpus
ejus integrum permanet inuolatum, ubi multi aegri de diversis
locis, Domino cooperante, ab eo curam sanitatis perceperunt;
ibique florent operationes ejus usque ad hodiernum diem.

(5) Post haec autem dum multi aegri de diversis provinciis
audientes ejus miracula, quae faciebat, currentes ad ejus
ueniebat oraculum, qui saluabantur omnes.

Three events on the cornice above the series of semi-columns
next to the southern lentil:

9. The body of St. Donnino lying in the tomb (headless saint,
bearded head with halo held at his breast, lying between two
trees, with a third behind, head pointed toward the church).
Inscription: HIC IACET · CORPUS · MARTYRIS.
10. St. Donnino healing a sick man (the sick man kneeling in prayer
in church, behind him is a tree with the remainder of the
reigns used to tie his horse, stolen while the sick man prayed).
Inscription: begins behind the church, above the tree with the
saint's head, continuation of inscription from previous event
HIC · SANATUR · EGROTUS.
11. St. Donnino returns the horse to the healed man. Inscription:
begins above the tree to which the horse was tied, continuation
of inscription from previous scene HIC RESTITUITUR · EQUUS.
One scene on the southern wall:
12. St. Donnino saving the faithful who fell from the bridge (from the
Church of St. Dalmatius, on left edge, last of fourteen believers
passes in pilgrimage toward the city gates, on the right edge,
and the first one carrying the cross passes before this gate; in
the middle four of the faithful fall in the water, together with the
ruins of the wooden bridge, only the pregnant woman remains
upright). Inscription: ✠ SIC · SANCTIS · EXEQUIIS · CELEBRATIS ·
MULIER GRAUIDA · A RUINA · PONTIS · LIBERATUR.⁴³

Thomas was obviously familiar with the *Life* of St. Donnino
and the church in Borgo, and it was there that these reliefs and
others recounted here were located. One of the proofs of Thomas's
knowledge of Donnino lies in the comparison between Thomas's
description and the description in the *Life*.⁴⁴

Thomas:

Postmodum uero tempore Diocletiane et Maximiane
persecutionis

Cum ergo iste Domnio maioris dilectionis aput imperatorem
prerogatiua gauderet, ipse coronam imperii conseruabat et
ipsam tempore debito super imperatoris uerticem imponebat

Tunc fecit oportunitatem eis effugiendi tyranni rabiem et ad
Romanam urbem diuertendi.

43 Data on the history of this place and reverence for the saint in Borgo
are based on the work: Catarsi 2006, pp. 12-115. Data on Antelami are
lexicographic, while I read the inscriptions on the photographs from
which I compiled the iconography. Although requested, I was not given
permission to print these photographs.

44 Edition in *Acta Sanctorum*. First section in this edition, no. 1, on p. 991.
Second and third section are in no. 3, on p. 992. Fourth section in no. 4
and 5, on p. 992.

Prosudbe o Tominu postupku sa *Životom svetoga Dujma* i *Životom svetoga Donina*. Prva: poznaje *Život svetoga Dujma*, mučenika u Dioklecijanovu progonu. Druga: početak Splitske nadbiskupije želi smjestiti u apostolsko doba, jer tako ona ima veća prava. Treća: izmišlja *Život svetoga Dujma*, apostolskoga učenika koji utemeljuje biskupiju, a potom bude mučen. Svoj uzor otkriva u *Životu svetoga Apolinara* i *Životu svetoga Marka*. Četvrta: svetoga Dujma, mučenika u Dioklecijanovu progonu, želi obezvrijediti, iako to izričito ne naglašava. To može postići samo kad pokaže da Dujam, mučenik u Dioklecijanovu progonu, nije mučen u Saloni, nego je njegovo štovanje u tom gradu nastalo krađom moći drugoga sveca u mjestu njegova mučeništva i štovanja. Peta: izmišlja krađu moći svetoga Donina i njihov smještaj u Saloni, a kradljivce pravda samo sličnošću imena Dujma i Donina. Šesta: naglašava sličnost imena Dujma i Donina kao činjenicu koju osuđuje, ali mu je ona dobro poslužila u pronalaženju sveca koji će posvjedočiti da je u progonima iz Dioklecijanova doba bio samo svetac Donino. O njemu je znao sve što mu je poslužilo za pisanje vlastite inačice njegova *Života*, pa nije morao prilagoditi život nekoga drugoga sveca istoga imena.⁴⁵

Sed beatus Domnio, tiranni declinans seuitiam, Romam fugiens properabat. Et dum iret uia Claudia prope ciuitatem quandam, que Iulia Crisopolis appellatur, satellites imperatoris post ipsum currentes inuaserunt eum et strictis mucronibus circumdantes amputauerunt caput eius. Ipse uero martir uirtute diuina propriis manibus caput suum de terra dicitur eleuasse et ibidem quendam fluuium, qui Sytirion nominatur, firmis gressibus transuadasse ibique sepultus aliquo tempore requieuit. Cum autem dominus multa per eum miracula operaretur, ex multis prouintis pro sanitate adipiscenda ad locum ipsum confluebant.

Life of St. Donnino:

Tempore Maximiani imperatoris facta est persecusio magna.

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(4) Sanctus vero Domninus cum aliqua multitudine promovens se, ut ad Romanam civitatem festinavit, qui promoventes alii per viam Flaviniam, alii per Aureliam, alii per Claudiam fugiebant a conspectu furoris pessimi principis. Beatissimus vero Domninus perrexit viam Claudiam: qui dum venisset XII [rukopis Trevirensi S. Maximini: sexto] miliario a Julia Crisopoli civitate, missi impii Maximiani imperatoris eum conjunxerunt circa fluvium, qui vocatur Sisterionis, in media publica, quae Claudia vocatur, via. Ibi missi crudelissimi imperatoris gladio amputaverunt caput eius: Sanctus vero Domninus manibus suis adprehendens caput suum de terra, et transivit fluvium Sisterionem, et quantum ad jactum lapidis transtulit caput suum, ibique eum pausavit, ubi nunc corpus ejus integrum permanet inviolatum, ubi multi aegri de diversis locis, Domino cooperante, ab eo curam sanitatis perceperunt; ibique florent operationes ejus usque ad hodiernum diem. (5) Post haec autem dum multi aegri de diversis provinciis audientes ejus miracula, quae faciebat, currentes ad ejus veniebat oraculum, qui salvabantur omnes.

Assessment of Thomas's treatment with the *Life of St. Domnio* and the *Life of St. Donnino*: First: he was aware of the *Life of St. Domnio*, a martyr in Diocletian's persecutions. Second: he wished to stress the beginning of the Split archdiocese in the apostolic period, because then it has greater rights. Third: he invents the *Life of St. Domnio*, an apostolic disciple who founded the diocese and was then tortured. He reveals his source in the *Life of St. Apolinarius* and the *Life of St. Mark*. Fourth: he attempts to devalue St. Domnio, a martyr in Diocletian's persecutions, although he does not explicitly stress this. This can only be achieved by showing that Domnio, a martyr in Diocletian's persecutions, was not tortured in Salona, rather that his reverence in this city began with the theft of the relics of another saint at the place of his martyrdom and

45 Nije moguće dokučiti što je Toma znao o tim drugim svecima. U enciklopediji Bibliotheca Sanctorum jedanaest svetaca ima natuknice (IV, 1964., stup. 808-815; VII, 1966., stup. 1234; VIII, 1967., stup. 659-660).

reverence. Fifth: he invents the theft of the relics of St. Donnino and their accommodation in Salona, and justifies the thieves only by the similarity of the names Domnio and Donnino. Sixth: he stresses the similarity between the names Domnio and Donnino as a fact that he condemns, but it served him well in finding a saint that would testify that there was only a St. Donnino at the time of Diocletian's persecutions. He knew everything about this saint that served in writing his variant of the *Life*, so he did not have to adapt the *Life* of some other saint with the same name.⁴⁵

45 It is impossible to discover what Thomas knew of these other saints. In the *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* eleven saints have entries (IV, 1964, col. 808-815; VII, 1966, col. 1234; VIII, 1967, col. 659-660).

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