

Ivo Babić

## Zapažanja o zvoniku splitske katedrale

### Some Observations on the Bell Tower of the Cathedral in Split

Ivo Babić  
HR, 21000 Split  
Arhitektonsko-građevinski fakultet u Splitu  
ibabic@gradst.hr

UDK: 726.6/497.5 Split  
Izvorni znanstveni članak  
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Zvonik splitske katedrale prije restauracije bio je pravi lapidarij, s velikim brojem antičkih i kasnoantičkih stupova, kapitela i natpisa te s jednim reljefom. Ugradnja spolija imala je i simboličkih razloga, kao dokaz starine i ugleda grada Splita koji se, posebno u crkvenom smislu, smatrao nasljednikom Salone.

*Ključne riječi: zvonik, katedrala, Split, spoliji, skulptura, kapiteli, stupovi*

Ivo Babić  
Croatia, 21000 Split  
Faculty of Architecture and Civil Engineering in Split  
ibabic@gradst.hr

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Prior to its restoration, the bell tower of the Cathedral in Split was a genuine showcase of stone monuments, with a large number of pillars, capitals and inscriptions, and one relief, from Classical and Late Antiquity. There were symbolic reasons for the installation of spolia, as evidence of the antiquity and renown of the City of Split which, particularly in the clerical sense, is deemed the successor to Salona.

*Key words: bell tower, cathedral, Split, spolia, sculpture, capitals, columns*



Zvonik splitske katedrale sa svojih je šest katova svakako jedno od najvećih graditeljskih postignuća u srednjovjekovnoj Dalmaciji. Dokumente o njegovoj gradnji sakupio je Luka Jelić, a o njegovoj skulpturi i restauraciji pisao je u nekoliko radova Duško Kečkemet.

Zvonici katedrala sastavni su, ako ne i glavni elementi vizualnog, ali i duhovnog identiteta srednjovjekovnih gradova. To je i razlog zbog kojeg su često prikazani i na gradskim grbovima, pa tako i na onom splitskom,<sup>1</sup> kao i na trogirskom.<sup>2</sup> Do vremena izgradnje novih višekatnica, u drugoj polovici XX. stoljeća, zvonik katedrale - *kampanil* - bio je najistaknutija splitska vertikala. Dominirao je slikom grada s morske, pročelne strane. Kako je međutim luka u kojoj se Split razvio smještena nisko u odnosu na cijeli Splitski poluotok, koji ima nekoliko uzvisina, zvonik s mnogih očista nije vidljiv, posebno sjeverno i istočno od grada. Nije vidljiv ni u samom gradu, s gustim srednjovjekovnim uličnim tkivom. Gledano sa zapadne strane srednjovjekovnoga komunalnog trga prema istoku, vidi se tek gornji dio zvonika, koji proviruje ponad krovova, no zato se zvonik nad uskim prostorom Peristila, katedralnog trga, doimlje još višim i monumentalnijim.

Splitski zvonik ima svoju ikonosferu; prikazan je na komunalnim grbovima, na minijaturama, na brojnim slikama, od kojih je osobito zanimljiva ona Giroloma de Santa Crocea iz godine 1549., koja prikazuje sv. Duju koji u ruci nosi Split.<sup>3</sup>

Obnova zvonika (1890.-1908.), obavljena je prema projektima bečkog arhitekta Aloisa Hausera, kojega je, nakon njegove smrti, naslijedio Emil Föster; radove je izvodio poduzetnik zidar Andrija Perišić.<sup>4</sup> O zvoniku prije obnove sačuvana je relativno skromna dokumentacija, nekoliko nacrti i mali broj fotografija. Njegov sumarni nacrt već godine 1751. donosi Daniele Farlati.<sup>5</sup>

Tijekom obnove manji dio kamenih ukrasa vraćen je na zvonik, no veći je dio raznesen na nekoliko strana. Don Frane Bulić je većinu ukrašenih ulomaka dao ugraditi u sklop zgrada takozvanog Tusculuma u Solinu; razmjestio ih je i po okolnom vrtu, a dio kapitela i stupova iskoristio je za odrinu - sjenicu; od spolija je sazdao i česmu. Neki ulomci sa zvonika pohranjeni su u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu, a dio ih je u Muzeju grada Splita. Poneki ulomci sa zvonika ugrađeni su u blizini ulaza u Arheološki muzej, na najistaknutijemu mjestu, na ogradnom zidu, u svojevrsnom pastišu, aranžmanu antičkih i srednjovjekovnih ulomaka. Dio ulomaka iz Arheološkoga muzeja prenesen je 2004. godine u dvorište Nadbiskupske palače. Lutanja ulomaka, dakle, nastavljaju se i dalje, pa tako konzervatori i muzealci unose zabune u njihovo proučavanje te time otvaraju teme za buduća traganja i za moguće pogrešne interpretacije.

The bell tower of the cathedral in Split, with its six floors, is one of the greatest architectural achievements of medieval Dalmatia. Documents testifying to its construction were collected by Luka Jelić, while Duško Kečkemet has written several works on its sculpture and restoration.

The bell towers or steeples of cathedrals were integral, if not the principle, elements of the visual and also spiritual identity of medieval cities. This is why they are often portrayed in a city's coat of arms, which is the case for Split,<sup>1</sup> as well as Trogir.<sup>2</sup> Until the construction of the new skyscrapers in the second half of the twentieth century, the bell tower of the cathedral - the *campanile* - was one of the most prominent vertical structures in Split. It dominated the city's skyline from the frontal, seaward side. However, since the harbour in which Split developed is at a low elevation relative to the entire Split Peninsula (which as several prominent elevated points), the tower is not visible from a number of positions, particularly to the north and east of the city. It is not even visible in the city itself, with its densely-laid medieval streets. Looking from the western side of the medieval communal square toward the east, only the upper portion of the tower is visible as it protrudes above the rooftops, but this is why it appears even higher and more monumental as it looms above the narrow confines of the cathedral's square - known as the Peristyle.

The bell tower in Split has its own, rich iconography: it is portrayed on local coats of arms, in miniatures, and in numerous paintings, among which an especially interesting example is one by Girolomo de Santa Croce from 1549, which depicts St. Domnio holding Split in his hands.<sup>3</sup>

The restoration of the tower (1890-1908) was performed according to the specifications of Viennese architect Alois Hauser, who, after his death, was succeeded by Emil Föster; works were carried out by the building contractor Andrija Perišić.<sup>4</sup> Relatively little documentation about the tower prior to restoration has been preserved: several sketches and a small number of photographs. A rough sketch was also provided in 1751 by Daniele Farlati.<sup>5</sup>

During restoration, a smaller portion of the stone ornaments were returned to the tower, but a larger portion was dispersed to several locations. Fr. Frane Bulić had most of the decorated fragments incorporated into the building of the so-called Tusculum in Solin; he distributed them among the surrounding gardens as well, and a part of the capitals and columns were used for a trellis; among the spolia even a fountain was retained. Some fragments of the tower are held in the Archaeological Museum in Split, and some in the Split City Museum. Some fragments from the tower were built in near the entrance to the Archaeological Museum at

1 Fisković 1936, str. 183-194.

2 Babić 1980, str. 267-274.

3 Kečkemet 1954; Marasović 1987, str. 187-194; Buljević 1982.

4 O obnovi zvonika v. Kečkemet 1957, str. 37-78; Piplović 2002, str. 35-45.

5 Farlati 1751, str. 391.

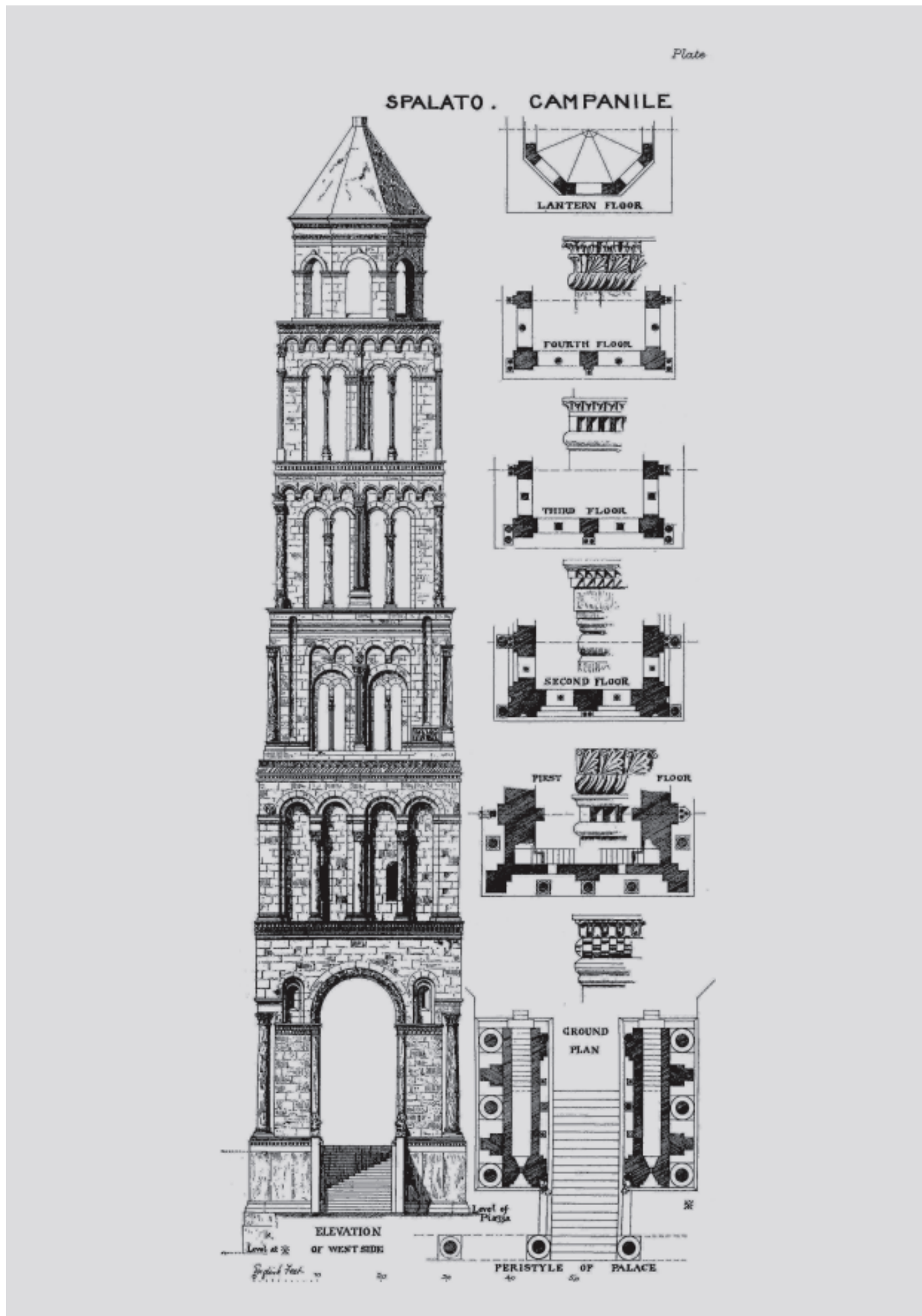
1 Fisković 1936, pp. 183-194.

2 Babić 1980, pp. 267-274.

3 Kečkemet 1954; Marasović 1987, pp. 187-194; Buljević 1982.

4 On the restoration of the bell tower, see Kečkemet 1957, pp. 37-78; Piplović 2002, pp. 35-45.

5 Farlati 1751, p. 391.



Slika 1.  
Zapadna strana zvonika katedrale prije restauracije (preuzeto iz T. G. Jackson, *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria*, Vol II, Oxford 1887.)

Figure 1.  
Western side of the bell tower prior to restoration (taken from T. G. Jackson, *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria*, Vol II, Oxford 1887.)

Zvonik je sagrađen nad pristupnim stubištem poligonalnoga hrama preinačenog u katedralu.<sup>6</sup> Nad tim pristupnim stubištem bili su podignuti stupovi trijema - prostaze, kroz koju se pristupalo hramu. Dakle, prvi kat zvonika podignut je uz stupove ponad stubišta tako da je rastvoren presvođenim prolazom. Kao analogija i mogući uzor prvom katu splitskog zvonika navodi se zvonik katedrale Svih Svetih u Traniju (Apulija), rastvoren prolazom u podnožju. Nadsvođeni prolaz nalazi se i u podnožju tornja uz pročelje crkve svetog Nikole u Bariju.<sup>7</sup> Međutim, arhitektonsko rješenje prvoga kata splitskog zvonika uvjetovala je ponajprije zatečena situacija, stubište koje je od Peristila vodilo do gornjeg dijela hrama ponad stilobata. Liniju nekadašnjeg stubišta uglavnom prate i postojeće stube pod zvonikom. Zvonik je dakle veoma smjelo postavljen nad stubištem unutar otvorenoga prvog kata, koji je ujedno i pristup u katedralu.

Za gradnju zvonika najvećim je djelom bila korištena kamena građa antičkog, odnosno kasnoantičkog porijekla, uključujući stupove, stupiće i kapitele. Prije obnove zvonik je imao veoma tamnu patinu, vjerojatno i zato što je za njegovu gradnju korišteno staro kamenje s antičkih zdanja.

Položaj na statički veoma osjetljivu mjestu, ponad stubišta, a potom i korištenje stare građe bili su uzrokom mnogih problema, ponajprije padanja pojedinih komada kamenja. Zvonik je stoga trebalo pojačavati pa se zbog učvršćivanja cjeline početkom XV. stoljeća, godine 1416., u doba nadbiskupa Dujma de Judicibus (1409.-1420.) i skrbnika Nikole Tvrdoga, uz zidove prvog kata dodaju snažni pilastri i lukovi. Nekoliko isprava svjedoči o popravcima zvonika.<sup>8</sup> Graditelji Nikola Firentinac i Andrija Aleši plaćeni su 30. studenog 1472. za radove na zamjeni nekih stupova na zvoniku.<sup>9</sup> Prema izvješću iz 1497. zvonik je u lošem stanju, a pojedine kapitule trebalo je izmijeniti.<sup>10</sup> Zvonik je nekoliko puta bio oštećen udarcima groma,<sup>11</sup> a stalno je nedostajalo sredstava za popravak dotrajalih dijelova. Tako i humanist Marko Marulić godine 1524. oporučno ostavlja sredstva za popravke splitskog zvonika,<sup>12</sup> a na jednom kapitelu istaknut je grb obitelji Marulić.<sup>13</sup> Krajem XVIII. stoljeća na obnovi gornjih katova radio je inženjer Nikola Vojnović-Nakić. Tijekom dvadesetih godina XIX. stoljeća obavljen je niz popravaka pod vodstvom arhitekta i konzervatora Vicka Andrića, koji je dao izraditi nacрте zvonika.<sup>14</sup>

its most prominent point, the boundary wall, in sort of a pastiche, or display, of fragments from Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Some of the fragments from the Archaeological Museum were taken to the courtyard of the Archbishop's Palace in 2004. The "wandering" of these pieces thus continues, causing confusion for conservation specialists and Museum staff in their research, thereby opening new topics for future searches and also leading to potentially erroneous interpretations.

The bell tower was constructed above the access stairway of the polygonal temple that was transformed into the cathedral.<sup>6</sup> The columns of the portico (prostasis) that led to the temple were raised above this stairway. Thus, the first floor of the bell tower was erected along the columns above the stairway by opening up a vaulted passage. Thus, an analogy and possible model for the tower in Split is the bell tower of the Cathedral of All Saints in Trani (Apuglia), opened by a passage at its foot. A vaulted passage also at the foot of the tower can be found at the frontal side of the Church of St. Nicholas in Bari.<sup>7</sup> However, an architectural solution to the first level of Split tower was limited by the existing situation, i.e. the stairway leading from the Peristyle to the upper section of the temple above the stylobate. The line of the former stairway generally followed the existing steps under the tower. The tower was thus very boldly placed above the stairway within the open first floor, which also serves as access to the cathedral.

Stone materials with origins in Antiquity, particularly Late Antiquity, including columns, small columns and capitals, were used to construct the tower. Prior to restoration, the tower had a very dark patina, probably because very old stone from buildings dating back to Antiquity were used for its construction.

The position above the statically very sensitive stairway, and use of old materials, caused many problems, the primary one being that individual pieces of stone would often fall. The tower thus had to be reinforced, so for the needs of reinforcement of the whole at the beginning of the fifteenth century, in 1416 (during the time of Archbishop Domnio de Judicibus (1409-1420) and caretaker Nikola Tvrdog), strong pilasters and arches were added along the walls of the first floor. Several documents testify to repairs made to the tower.<sup>8</sup> The builder Niccolo of Florence and Andreas Alexius were paid to replace some columns on the tower on 30 November 1472.<sup>9</sup> According to a report from 1497, the tower was in poor condition, and individual capitals had to be replaced.<sup>10</sup> The tower

6 Taj poligonalni hram najčešće se interpretira kao Dioklecijanov mauzolej ili pak kao hram posvećen Jupiteru, no mišljenja smo da je izvorno bio koncipiran kao *iseum*, kao hram posvećen božici Izidi - usp. Babić 2004, str. 727.

7 O zvoniku (nekadašnjim zvonovima) sv. Nikole kod Belli D'Elia 1987, str. 184-185, sl. 42.

8 Najiscrpnija studija o zvoniku s ispravama je rad Jelić 1896, str. 29; usporedi također Jelić 1894.

9 Eitelberger 1861, str. 266; Praga 1929-30, str. 16, doc. 27.

10 Jelić 1896, str. 38.

11 Jelić 1896, str. 45.

12 Margetić 2005, str. 32-33.

13 V. sl. 13 kod Kečkemet 1963.

14 Kečkemet 1993, str. 120-122.

6 This polygonal temple is most often interpreted as Diocletian's mausoleum, or a temple dedicated to Jupiter, but this author believes that it was originally conceived as an *iseum*, a temple dedicated to the goddess Isis - cf. Babić 2004, p. 727.

7 On the bell tower (formerly bell towers) of St. Nicholas at Belli D'Elia 1987, pp. 184-185, Fig. 42.

8 The most exhaustive study on the bell tower with corrections is the work by Jelić 1896, p. 29; cf. also Jelić 1894.

9 Eitelberger 1861, p. 266; Praga 1929-30, p. 16, doc. 27.

10 Jelić 1896, p. 38.

Zbog dotrajalosti kamene građe i pojedinih stupova te statičkih razloga prišlo se postupnom rušenju katova zvonika, a potom faksimilskoj obnovi. Već tokom obnove pojavile su se kritike vezane uz pitanje je li zvonik uopće trebalo radikalno obnavljati; ukazivalo se i na nemar prema starim komadima koji su bili dekorativno obrađeni; zamjerala se, s razlogom, i nedosljednost u ne odveć faksimilskoj izvedbi pojedinih elemenata, poput kapitela i skulptura. Na restauriranom zvoniku veliki dio skulptura i arhitektonskih česti, kapitela, konzola stupova i vijenaca su faksimili, i to često ne doslovno izvedeni; dio njih nije ni smješten na izvorna mjesta. Računa se da su zamijenjene tri četvrtine dekorativnih ulomaka.

### Vrijeme i sljedovi gradnje zvonika

O vremenu gradnje zvonika i njegovim fazama postoje različita mišljenja. Najčešće se ponavlja pretpostavka da je gradnja zvonika započela u XIII. stoljeću, u doba kralja Bele IV. i kraljice Marije. Gradnja se potom nastavila u etapama.

Na zvoniku se ne zamjećuje stilska razlika između pojedinih katova.<sup>15</sup> Na prva dva kata gotovo svi kapiteli su korintskoga i kompozitnog tipa. Na četvrtom i petom katu kapiteli su drugačijeg tipa, zadebljanih listova; u kapitelnim zonama pojavljuje se također motiv zadebljanih listova. U nadsvođenoj prostoriji i na drugom katu zvonika u kapitelnoj zoni ponad pilastara ukrasi su također oblika zadebljanih listova. Dva takva kapitela nalazila su se i na južnom zidu drugoga kata. Dakle, mjestimice se taj motiv pojavljuje i na donjim katovima pa stoga taj tip kapitela nije kriterij za vremenski redosljed. Takvih kapitela i ukrasa s motivom zadebljalog glatkog lišća ima primjerice na trogirskoj katedrali, koja je do krova sagrađena do sredine XIII. stoljeća, pa i na njezinom južnom portalu iz godine 1213., na apsidama; u njezinoj unutrašnjosti pak takve ukrase nalazimo na kapitelnim zonama na stupovima.<sup>16</sup>

Razlika u tipovima kapitela između gornjih i donjih katova splitskoga zvonika ne može, dakle, biti siguran kriterij za dataciju. Ne bi stoga bilo moguće tvrditi da su katovi iz različitih epoha i stilova, te da su donji katovi, s kapitelima korintskoga ili kompozitnog tipa, iz doba romanike, a oni pak gornji, s kapitelima sa zadebljanim lišćem (palminim granama), iz doba romanike ili čak gotike. Razlika između donjih i gornjih katova može biti eventualno indicija za faze, ali ne i za stilske razlike. Dakle, i gornje katove (s iznimkom zadnjeg, šestog kata, *loggie*), smatramo također romaničkima i datiramo ih u drugu polovinu XIII. stoljeća. Pojedini ornamenti na svim katovima, posebno vijenaca, s iznimkom završnoga šestog kata u obliku *loggie*, gotovo su istovjetni onima

was damaged by lightning strikes several times,<sup>11</sup> and there was a chronic shortage of funds to repair overly worn portions. So even humanist writer Marko Marulić left funds in his will for repairs to the tower in Split in 1524,<sup>12</sup> and the coat of arms of the Marulić family is prominently displayed on a column.<sup>13</sup> At the end of the eighteenth century, the engineer Nikola Vojnović-Nakić worked on restoration of the upper floors. During the 1820s, a series of repairs were made under the leadership of architect and conservation specialist Vicko Andrić, who commissioned the preparation of blueprints for the tower.<sup>14</sup>

Due to the excessive age of stone materials and individual columns, and also due to static reasons, the floors of the tower were gradually torn down, and then restored as facsimiles. Criticism already emerged during restoration works tied to the question of whether the tower even required such radical restoration; the negligence toward old decoratively rendered pieces was pointed out; well-grounded criticism of the inconsistency apparent in the not quite faithful rendering of individual elements was raised: this mostly pertained to the capitals and sculpture. On the restored tower, a large portion of the sculpture and architectural features, capitals, column consoles and cornices are facsimiles, and often not faithfully rendered; some of them were not even installed at their original locations. An estimated three fourths of the decorative pieces were replaced.

### Time and Sequences of the Tower's Construction

There are various opinions on the time of construction and phases of the bell tower. An oft-repeated hypothesis is that the tower's construction began in the thirteenth century, during the reign of King Bela IV and Queen Mary. Construction then continued in phases.

No stylistic differences can be discerned between individual floors.<sup>15</sup> On the first two floors, almost all capitals are either Corinthian or composite. On the fourth and fifth floors the capitals are different, with broad leaves; broad leaves also appear as a motif in the areas around the capitals. The broad leaf motif also appears in the vaulted space and on the tower's second floor in the capital zone above the pilasters. Two such capitals were also located on the southern wall of the second floor. Thus, at places this motif also appears on the lower floors, so this capital type cannot serve as a criterion to determine the chronological sequence. Such capitals and decorations with broad, smooth leaf motifs can also be found, for example, in the cathedral in Trogir, which was fully constructed

11 Jelić 1896, p. 45.

12 Margetić 2005, pp. 32-33.

13 See Fig. 13 in Kečkemet 1963.

14 Kečkemet 1993, pp. 120-122.

15 However, Jackson 1887, pp. 54-54, believed, in contrast to Eitelberger, that no essential differences between the upper and lower floor can be observed.

15 Jackson 1887, str. 54-54, smatra, za razliku od Eitelbergera, da se ne zamjećuju bitne razlike između gornjih i donjih katova.

16 Vidi crtež ukrasa u kapitelnoj zoni stubova trogirске katedrale, kod Jackson 1887, str. 123, sl. 48; na analogije s Trogirom upozorava Kečkemet 1963, str. 206.



Slika 2.  
Završni, šesti kat zvonika prije  
restauracije (detalj fotografije iz  
Muzeja grada Splita)

Figure 2.  
Final, sixth floor of the bell tower  
prior to restoration (detail of a  
photograph from the Split City  
Museum)

trogirske katedrale, iz XIII. stoljeća.<sup>17</sup> Smatramo stoga da je zvonik dosljedno građen u romaničkom stilu tijekom XIII. stoljeća; završni, šesti, oktogonalni kat, *loggia*, sagrađen je naknadno, vjerojatno tijekom prve polovice XVI. stoljeća.

### Završni kat zvonika

Završni poligonalni kat zvonika bitno je drugačiji. Naime, dok je zvonik u obliku prizme pravokutnog presjeka, zadnji kat, rastvoren poput *loggie*, poligonalnog je, osmerokutnog oblika u tlocrtu; nad njime se pak diže krov u obliku višestране piramide pod kojom je bila jajolika kupolna konstrukcija, paraboličnog oblika u presjeku. Taj završni kat, *loggia*, je tijekom obnove zvonika obnovljen u neoromaničkom stilu, što ne odgovara zatečenom, izvornom stanju. Naime, motiv takve restauracije bilo je stilsko ujedinjavanje cjeline. U literaturi se uglavnom navodi kako je taj završni kat, *loggia*, dovršen tek krajem XV., odnosno početkom XVI. stoljeća. Taj se kat dovodi u vezu s Nikolom Firentincem i Andrijom Alešijem, koji su zaista radili na zvoniku, no, prema poznatoj ispravi, tek na popravcima pojedinih dotrajalih dijelova.

Sasvim dovršeni zvonik sa zadnjim poligonalnim katom prikazan je na već spomenutoj slici Giroloma de Santa Crocea iz

up to the roof by the mid-thirteenth century, and on its southern portal from 1213, on the apse; in its interior, such decorations can be found on the capitals of its columns.<sup>16</sup>

The differences between capital types in the upper and lower floors of the Split bell tower cannot, therefore, serve as a certain basis for dating. It would therefore be impossible to assert that the floors date back to different eras and styles, and that the lower floors, with Corinthian and composite capitals, date back to the Romanesque period, while the upper floors, with capitals featuring broad leaves (palm branches) date back to the Romanesque or even Gothic periods. The difference between the lower and upper floors may possibly indicate phases rather than stylistic differences. Thus, the upper floors (with the exception of the top, sixth floor, the loggia) are also deemed Romanesque and they should be dated to the second half of the thirteenth century. Individual ornaments on all floors, particularly the cornices—with the exception of the sixth floor in the form of a loggia—are almost identical to those in the Trogir cathedral from the thirteenth century.<sup>17</sup> It is thus deemed that the bell tower was consistently constructed in the Romanesque style during the course of the thirteenth century; the final, sixth, octagonal floor, the loggia, was constructed subsequently, probably during the first half of the sixteenth century.

### Top floor of the tower

The top, polygonal floor of the tower is essentially different. While the tower has a prismatic cross-section at regular angles, the top floor, open like a loggia, is polygonal, or rather octagonal in its floor-plan; it is capped by a roof shaped like a multi-faceted pyramid that covered an oval dome construction with parabolic cross-section. This top floor, the loggia, was restored in the neo-Romanesque style during reconstruction works, which does not correspond to its original form. The motive underlying restoration was to stylistically align the entire structure. According to the literature, this final floor, the loggia, was only completed at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century. This floor is associated with Niccolo of Florence and Andreas Alexius, who did actually work on the tower, although, according to known documents, only to do repairs on individual worn sections.

The completely finished tower with its polygonal top floor is portrayed in the aforementioned painting by Girolomo de Santa Croce of 1549, so this date is cited as *post quem non*. However, the already completed tower, as noted, was depicted much earlier, in the coats of arms of Split from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A miniature in the Budapest Codex, which also

16 See the drawing of decorations in the capital zone of the columns of the Trogir cathedral, Jackson 1887, p. 123, Fig. 48; Kečkemet 1963, p. 206, points out the analogies with the Trogir cathedral.

17 Kečkemet 1963, p. 215; Piplović 1994., pp. 179-192.

17 Kečkemet 1963, str. 215; Piplović 1994., str. 179-192.

godine 1549. pa se taj datum navodi kao *post quem non*. Međutim, već dovršeni zvonik, kako je to zapaženo, prikazan je mnogo ranije, na splitskim grbovima iz XIV. i XV. stoljeća. Na minijaturi iz budimpeštanskoga kodeksa u kojem se nalazi i *Historia Salonitana* Tome Arhidakona, prikazan je grb grada Splita iz XIV. stoljeća sa zidinama nad kojima strše četiri kata dovršenog zvonika.<sup>18</sup> Dovršeni zvonik prikazan je i na dva splitska grba uklesana u kamenu, na jednom iz XIV. stoljeća i na drugom s početka XV. stoljeća.<sup>19</sup> Grad prikazan u minijaturama Hrvojeva misala s početka XV. stoljeća identificira se kao Split, s prepoznatljivim elementima Dioklecijanove palače.<sup>20</sup> Na jednoj minijaturi (f. 47.) iz *Hrvojeva misala*, sa scenom Krista i Samaritanke, ponad zidina vide se tri kata zvonika od kojih je onaj završni oblika poligonalne prizme iznad koje je piramidalni krov; na drugoj minijaturi, međutim, u istom kodeksu (f. 56.) s prizorom Kristova ulaska u Jeruzalem, ponad zidina strši tek zadnji poligonalni kat s piramidalnim krovom. Istina, u to doba takvi prikazi gradova, posebno pojedinih zagrada, sasvim su konceptualni ili pak veoma sumarni, no ipak je na svim navedenim prikazima zvonik predložen kao dovršen. Razlika u broju katova zvonika na pojedinim prikazima može biti rezultat konceptualnoga prikaza - naznake. Razlike u broju katova na dvije minijature iz *Hrvojeva misala* određene su kutom promatranja. Bilo bi neprilično da se na gradskom grbu prikaže krnji, nedovršeni zvonik. Stoga ipak ne bi bilo moguće na osnovi tih sumarnih, konceptualnih prikaza izvlačiti sigurnije zaključke o obliku zvonika i njegovim sljedovima.<sup>21</sup>

U romaničkoj arhitekturi tip zvonika prizmatičnog oblika i pravokutnog presjeka, na kojem završni kat ima oblik poligonalne prizme, nije nepoznat. Takav je primjerice romanički zvonik već spomenute katedrale Svih Svetih u Traniju. Vrh tog romaničkog zvonika, građenog u nekoliko etapa, dovršen je početkom XIV. stoljeća (1352.-1365.).<sup>22</sup> I zvonik romaničke katedrale svetog Geminiana u Modeni također završava katom u obliku poligonalne prizme.<sup>23</sup>

includes the *Historia Salonitna* by Archdeacon Thomas, contains a portrayal of the coat of arms of Split from the fourteenth century, on which four floors of the completed tower can be discerned.<sup>18</sup> The completed tower is also depicted in two Split coats of arms carved in stone: one from the fourteenth century and one from the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>19</sup> The city depicted in the miniatures contained in the Missal of Hrvoje from the beginning of the fifteenth century is identified as Split, with the recognizable elements of Diocletian's Palace.<sup>20</sup> In one miniature (f. 47) from Hrvoje's Missal showing the scene of Christ with the Samaritan, three floors of the tower can be above the ramparts, of which the top floor is shaped like a polygonal prism covered by a pyramidal roof. On the other miniature in the same codex (f. 56), showing the scene of Christ entering Jerusalem, only the polygonal top floor with the pyramidal roof just above the ramparts can be identified. To be sure, in that era such depictions of cities, especially individual buildings, are entirely conceptual or even very superficial, but they nonetheless show the tower as complete. The difference in the number of tower floors in individual depictions may be the result of conceptual portrayals/indications. The differences in the number of floors in the two miniatures from Hrvoje's Missal are determined by the angle of observation. It would have been inappropriate to depict the incomplete tower in the city's coat of arms. Thus it is impossible to derive a certain conclusion as to the form of the tower and its construction sequences on the basis of these summary, conceptual depictions.<sup>21</sup>

The prismatic bell tower with rectangular cross-section and a polygonal prism-shaped top floor is not unknown in Romanesque architecture. The Romanesque tower on the already mentioned All Saints Cathedral in Trani has, for instance, the same form. The top of this Romanesque tower, constructed in several stages, was completed at the beginning of the fourteenth century (1352-1365).<sup>22</sup> The bell tower of the Romanesque Cathedral of St. Geminianus in Modena also has a top floor shaped like a polygonal prism.<sup>23</sup>

18 Vidi sliku kod Kečkemet 1980, sl. 1, na str. 175.

19 Fisković 1936, str. 183-194.

20 Marasović 1987, str. 187-194, T. II. i III.

21 Iz činjenice da se već u XIV. stoljeću zvonik prikazuje kao dovršen, iznesena je pretpostavka da se zapravo radi tek o prikazu projekta koji je realiziran kasnije, početkom XVI. stoljeća; usp. Jelić 1895, str. 41. Iznosi se također i sljedeća pretpostavka: "Nameće se zaključak da je splitski zvonik već u 14. st. mogao biti dovršena građevina, koja je već tada imala gornji završni kat i krov, te da je naknadno krajem 15. st. (kad povijesni izvori spominju i angažiranje u radovima Nikole Firentinca), odnosno najkasnije početkom 16. stoljeća čitava građevina povišena za jedan kat" (Marasović 1987, str. 193).

22 Usp. Belli D'Elia 1987, str. 286; sl. na str. 292. I ovaj je zvonik pedesetih godina dvadesetog stoljeća restauriran nakon što je bio do temelja rastavljen. Autorica navodi kako je ta crkva imala kor oblikom sličan splitskoj katedrali.

23 V. sl. u knjizi Lanfranco e Wiligelmo, Il Duomo di Modena, 1985, str. 150,161.

18 See illustration in Kečkemet 1980, Fig. 1, on p. 175.

19 Fisković 1936, pp. 183-194.

20 Marasović 1987, pp. 187-194., P. II. and III.

21 The fact that the tower was depicted as complete already in the fourteenth century led to the hypothesis that these were actually portrayals of designs that were only finalized later, at the beginning of the sixteenth century; cf. Jelić 1895, p. 41. The following hypothesis also emerged: "An inescapable conclusion is that the tower in Split may have already been completed in the fourteenth century, with the complete top floor and roof, which was then subsequently, in the fifteenth century (when historical sources mention the engagement of Niccolo of Florence) or the beginning of the sixteenth century at the latest, raised by an entire floor" (Marasović 1987, p. 193).

22 Cf. P. Belli D'Elia Pouilles 1987, p. 286; Fig. on p. 292. This bell tower was also reconstructed in the 1950s after being deconstructed to its foundations. The author notes that the church's choir was similar to that of the Split cathedral.

23 See fig. in the book by Lanfranco e Wiligelmo, Il Duomo di Modena 1985, pp. 150,161.



Sudeći prema arhivskim fotografijama i nacrtima, ornamentalni motivi na vijencu zadnjeg kata, *loggia*, bili su zaista renesansni: konzolice, pojas jastučasto ispupčen, jonska kima. Svi ti motivi poznati su i na Dioklecijanovoj palači, primjerice kima s jajolikim ispupčenjima na istočnim i sjevernim vratima; jastučasto ispupčeni pojas i konzolice nalaze se na arhitravu Peristila, pa je graditelj zadnjeg kata zvonika mogao imati uzore u neposrednoj blizini. Valja napomenuti da se jastučasto ispupčeni pojas u dalmatinskom graditeljstvu ne javlja prije XVI. stoljeća. Stupovi koji nose lukove u kapitelnoj zoni imali su višestruko profilirane istake i ukrase u obliku zubaca, također renesansnih stilskih obilježja. Međutim, na arhivskim fotografijama i nacrtima izvornog stanja lukovi su bili blago prelomljenog oblika. Kako taj kat u tlocrtu ima oblik stiještenog osmerokuta, tako su lukovi otvora naizmjenice uži i širi. Na užim otvorima lukovi su izrazito šiljasti. Kako je to zapaženo, upravo zbog činjenice da je prizma zvonika pravokutnog, a ne kvadratnog oblika, *loggia* je dobila oblik stiještenog osmerokuta, pa su i otvori naizmjenice uži i širi. Zato se nad užim otvorima, zbog ujednačavanja visina, koristi šiljasti luk.<sup>24</sup>

### Stilska obilježja

Zvonik je u cjelini u duhu romaničkog stila, sve rastvoreniji prema vrhu. Na svim katovima, osim na onom završnom, na *loggi*, razabiru se obilježja romaničkog stila počevši od profila vijenaca i njihovih ukrasa, pa do uobičajenog motiva visećih, slijepih lukova.

Na prvom katu, ponad pilastara, naknadno sažidanih na bočnim stranama zbog ojačavanja zvonika, lukovi se međusobno sijeku tako da oblikuju šiljaste lukove gotičkih stilskih obilježja; kapiteli na tim pilastrima ukrašeni lišćem također su gotičkih stilskih obilježja.

Bez obzira na različite sljedove u gradnji, zvonik ipak djeluje stilski jedinstveno, s obilježjima kasne romanike. Prizma zvonika veoma je plastično artikulirana, sa snažnim profilacijama vijenaca koje zvonik katedrale razdvajaju na katove, stupnjevanjima ploha, igrom stupova i dvostrukih stupića, imposta ponad kapitela... Stupova i stupića bilo je na zvoniku stotinjak. Poneki stupići imali su tordirane žljebove. Bilo je oko dvjesto pedeset dekorativno tretiranih arhitektonskih česti. Plastičnost cjeline osobito pojačavaju stupovi na uglovima.<sup>25</sup>

Zbog svoje iznimne raščlanjenosti i plastičnosti zvonik se kao cjelina doimlje poput goleme skulpture. Gotički zvonici veoma su plastično artikulirani, no s kompliciranim i teško sagledivim

Judging by the archival photographs and designs, the ornamental motifs on the cornice of the top floor, the *loggia*, were truly Renaissance: small consoles, a swollen protruding belt, and Ionic cyma. All of these motifs can be found in Diocletian's Palace, such as cyma with oval protrusions on the eastern and northern gates; the swollen protruding belt and small consoles can be found in the architrave of the Peristyle, so that the builder of the top floor may have had models in the immediate vicinity. It is worthwhile noting that the swollen protruding belt does not appear in Dalmatian architecture prior to the sixteenth century. The columns bearing arches in capital zones with multiply moulded dentil accents and decorations are also Renaissance stylistic features. However, on archival photographs and original designs, the arches had a gently broken form. Since the layout of this floor is shaped like a compressed octagon, the arches to the opening are alternatively narrower and broader. On the narrower openings, the arches are quite tapered. As noted, precisely due to the fact that the prism of the tower is rectangular rather than quadratic, the *loggia* is shaped like a compressed octagon, so the openings are alternatively narrower and wider. This is why the tapered arch was used on the narrower openings, to balance the height.<sup>24</sup>

### Stylistic features

The tower in its entirety reflects the Romanesque style, opening increasingly toward the top. Romanesque features can be discerned on all floors, except on the top floor, the *loggia*, beginning with the cornice moulds and their decorations, up to the customary motif of hanging, blind arches.

On the first floor, above the pilasters subsequently built on the lateral sides to reinforce the tower, the arches intersect to form tapered arches with Gothic stylistic features. The capitals on these pilasters decorated with leaves also display Gothic features.

Regardless of differing construction sequences, the tower nonetheless appears stylistically uniform with late Romanesque features. The tower's prism is sculpturally articulated, with sharply moulded cornices that divide the tower into floors, and with surface grades, interplay between columns and small double columns, and imposts above the capitals... There were roughly one hundred columns and small columns. Some small columns had curved flutes. There were approximately two hundred and fifty decoratively treated architectural pieces. The figural character of the entire structure is particularly reinforced by columns at the corners.<sup>25</sup>

24 O tim lukovima Kečkemet 1957, str. 69, piše: "Šesti, završni kat starog zvonika gradjen je u XVI. stoljeću s malo graditeljskih ukrasa, a pokazuje u još vidljivim prelomljenim lukovima prozora ostatke minule gotike i u jednostavnoj, čistoj kompoziciji duh provincijske renesanse." Karaman 1959., str. 8, spominje te lukove kao reminiscencije još neprevladane gotike. Međutim Nikšić 1998., str. 214, tumači oblik lukova građevinsko-konstruktivnim razlozima te negira gotičke stilske komponente.

25 Usp. Kečkemet 1963.

24 On these arches, see Kečkemet 1957, pp. 69, who wrote: "The sixth, top floor of the old bell tower was built in the sixteenth century with few architectural decorations, while vestiges of the previous Gothic are still visible in the broken arches of the windows and the simple, pure composition reflects the spirit of the provincial Renaissance." Karaman 1959, p. 8, mentions these arches as reminiscences of the still unvanquished Gothic. However, Nikšić 1998, p. 214, interprets the form of the arches on architectural/construction grounds and denies the existence of Gothic stylistic components.

25 Cf. Kečkemet 1963, *passim*.



Slika 3.  
Kapitel sa zvonika, danas u vrtu  
takozvanog Tusculuma u Solinu,  
korišten kao stolica

Figure 3.  
Capital from the bell tower, today  
in the gardens of the so-called  
Tusculum in Solin, used as a chair



Slika 4.  
Kapitel sa zvonika s listovima  
naznačenim urezanim linijama;  
nalazi se na stupu u sjenici  
takozvanog Tusculuma u Solinu

Figure 4.  
Capital from the bell tower with  
leaves indicated by engraved  
lines; on a column in the trellis of  
the so-called Tusculum in Solin

mrežama vertikala i horizontala; na splitskom zvoniku, pak, sasvim je razgovijetna romanička podjela na katove, s jasnom razdiobom građevinskih česti. Splitskom zvoniku u Dalmaciji nema analogija po plastičnosti i bogatstvu ukrasa, u odnosu primjerice na onaj rustični crkve u Ninu ili u odnosu na onaj reprezentativni katedrale u Rabu, stariji i jednostavniji. Dakle, u cjelini zvonik je ipak kasnoromaničkih stilskih obilježja.<sup>26</sup>

Motiv stupova na uglovima svojstven je gotičkom stilu.<sup>27</sup> Čestu upotrebu stupova uz zidni plašt splitski zvonik možda duguje ugledanju na arhitektonske motive iz Dioklecijanove palače, primjerice na stupove na konzolama uz niše na sjevernim i južnim vratima.<sup>28</sup> Stupovi uz zidove postavljeni su i u poligonalnom hramu - katedrali. Motiv stupova na uglovima i uz zidove u prvom katu zvonika posljedica je oslanjanja na zatečenu situaciju, na stupove trijema ponad pristupnog stubišta poligonalnog hrama. Nakon restauracije stupovi na prvom katu zamijenjeni su polustupovima. Naime, prvi kat zvonika, koji se diže nad podnožjem, za restauracije je proširen, valjda zbog statičkih razloga.

The entire tower gives the impression of a gigantic sculpture due to its exceptional articulation and figural character. Gothic bell towers are very figurally articulated, but with complicated and scarcely perceptible vertical and horizontal networks; on the Split tower, however, the Romanesque division into floors is easily discernable, with a clear division into floors and arrangement of architectural units. There are no analogies to the Split tower in Dalmatia in terms of figural and rich decorative features. Thus, for example, the bell tower of the church in Nin is more rustic, while the characteristic tower of the cathedral in Rab is older and simpler. So the bell tower in its entirety bears late Romanesque stylistic features.<sup>26</sup>

The column motif on the corners is unique to the Gothic style.<sup>27</sup> The frequent use of columns along the external surface of the Split tower is perhaps due to the use of motifs from Diocletian's Palace as models, such as the columns on the consoles along the niches of the northern and southern gates.<sup>28</sup> The columns along the walls were also installed in the polygonal temple/cathedral. The column

26 Jackson 1887, str. 54, također smatra da je zvonik, s iznimkom oktogonalne loggie sagrađen u XIII. stoljeću i da je bitno romaničkih stilskih obilježja.

27 Motiv stupova na uglovima pojedinih katova kao gotičke prepoznaje Karaman 1936, str. 5.

28 Usp. Vasić 1922, str. 22.

26 Jackson 1887, p. 54, also believes that the tower, with the exception of the octagonal loggia, was constructed in the thirteenth century and that the Romanesque stylistic features are essential.

27 The column motif on the corners of individual floors was recognized by Karaman 1936, p. 5.

28 Cf. Vasić 1922, p. 22.



*Slika 5.  
Kapitel sa zvonika s jednim redom  
listova; nalazi se na stupu u sjenici  
takozvanog Tusculuma u Solinu*

*Figure 5.  
Capital from the bell tower with  
one row of leaves; on a column  
in the trellis of the so-called  
Tusculum in Solin*

Pojedine gotičke stilske oznake na pojedinim skulpturama i na arhitektonskim elementima tumačimo ne stilskim mijenama do kojih je došlo tijekom gradnje, već naknadnim intervencijama zbog popravaka i učvršćivanja zvonika.

### Skulpture na zvoniku

Zvonik splitske katedrale izniman je i po velikom broju skulptura i raznorodnih ornamenata. Kiparski tretiranih arhitektonskih česti ima tridesetak, uključujući punu plastiku i reljefe.<sup>29</sup> Gotovo svi kipovi i reljefi pokazuju kasnoromanička stilska obilježja. Poznato je ime jednog majstora. To je majstor Oto, koji je izradio reljefe sv. Dujma i sv. Staša te reljef apostola Petra, ugrađen u prvi kat zvonika pred ulazom u katedralu. Na prvom katu zvonika, u predvorju katedrale, uzidani su i romanički reljefi s prikazom Navještenja i Rođenja Kristova.<sup>30</sup> Prikaz lova na luku u nadsvođenom prolazu ponad stubišta, također ima izrazita romanička stilska obilježja. Na samom ulazu u zvonik

motif on the corners and along the walls in the first floor of the tower resulted from referral to the existing situation, on the portico columns above the stairway leading to the polygonal temple. After restoration, the columns on the first floor were replaced with semi-columns. This is because the tower's first floor, which rises above the base, was expanded during restoration, for reasons probably having to do with statics.

Individual Gothic stylistic features on individual sculptures and architectural elements are thus interpreted not as style-based changes that occurred during construction, but rather as subsequent interventions due to repairs and reinforcement of the tower.

### Sculpture on the tower

The bell tower of the cathedral in Split is also exceptional in terms of the large number of sculptures and various ornaments on it. There are about thirty sculpturally treated architectural pieces, including full sculptures and reliefs.<sup>29</sup> Almost all statues and reliefs exhibit late Romanesque stylistic features. The name of one of the masters, Oto, is known. He made the reliefs of St. Domnio and St. Anastasius and the relief of St. Peter, installed in the first floor of the tower in front of the entrance to the cathedral. Romanesque reliefs depicting the Annunciation and the Nativity were also installed on the tower's first floor, in the cathedral's vestibule.<sup>30</sup> The portrayal of a hunt in the arch of the vaulted passage above the stairs also shows Romanesque stylistic features. Lions and statues of column bearers at the very entrance to the tower were also carved in the thirteenth century. The sculpted architectural surfaces/consols on all floors of the tower, except the loggia, also bear Romanesque features.

On the first floor, on the tower's face, a figure depicting a nude woman and one showing a man seized by a demon have been recognized as the work of the Master Bonino from Milan (+ 1429).<sup>31</sup> Also from the beginning of the fifteenth century is a statue of an angel bearing the coat of arms of Archbishop Domnio de Judicibus, formerly installed on the southern side of the first floor.<sup>32</sup> Sculptures with Gothic stylistic forms and semi-capitals with wavy foliage were subsequently incorporated, during later works to repair and reinforce the base of the tower.

29 Kečkemet 1955, str. 92-135.

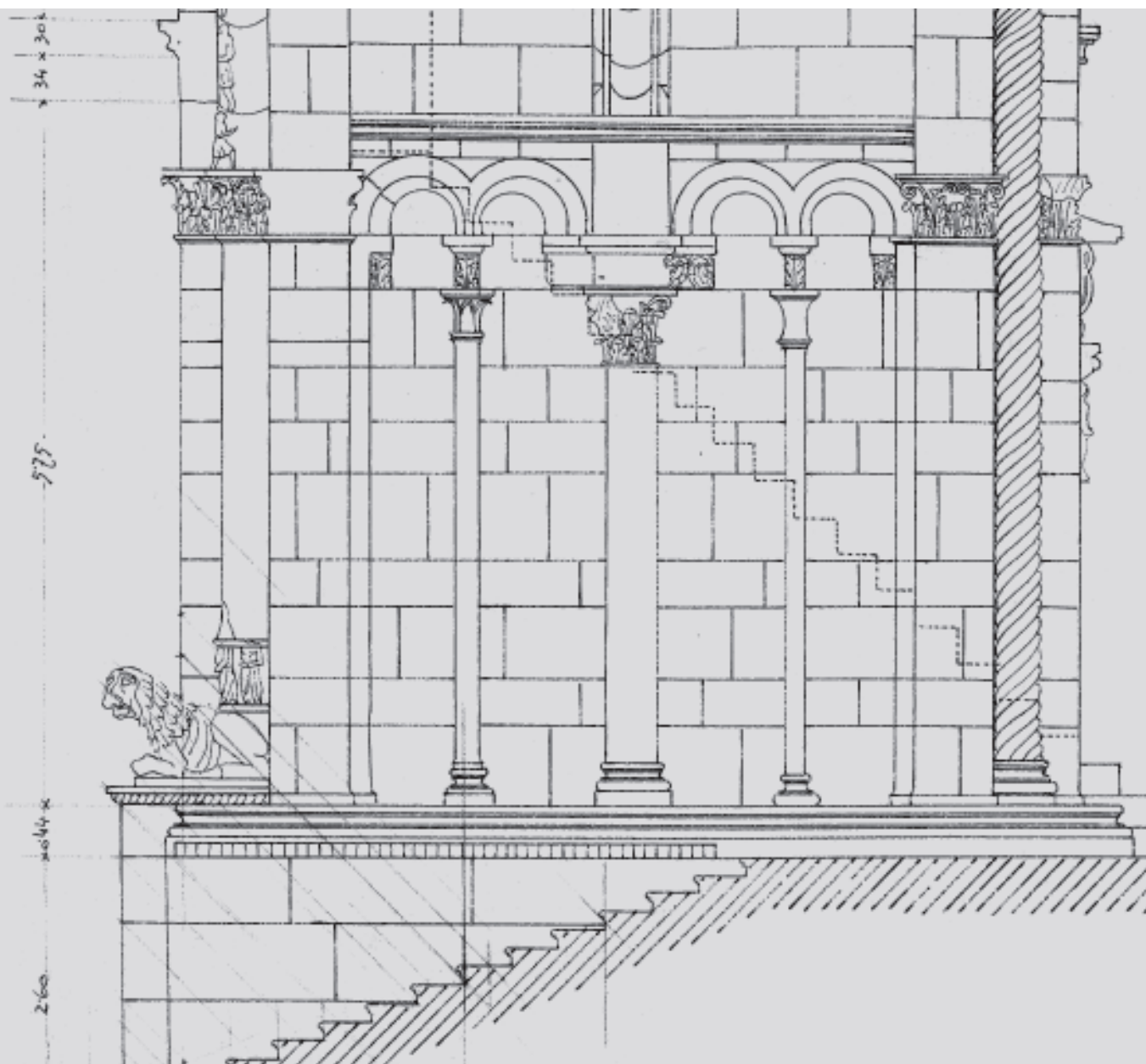
30 Karaman 1924, str. 465; Goss 2005, str. 251-254. Za reljefe s prikazom Rođenja i Navještenja v. Jackson 1887, str. 55, koji tvrdi da su različite starosti, te da su na zvonik ugrađeni, preneseni iz nekog drugog zdanja. Motiv isprepletnih učvorenih stupića na reljefu s prikazom Navještenja prisutan je i na jednom otvoru na zvoniku.

29 Kečkemet 1955, pp. 92-135.

30 Karaman 1924, p. 465; Goss 2005, pp. 251-254. For the reliefs of the Nativity and Annunciation, see Jackson 1887, p. 55, who argues that they are of differing ages and that they were installed in the bell tower after being brought from another building. The motif of intertwined knotted columns on the relief portraying the Annunciation is also present at another opening on the tower.

31 Babić 1992, pp. 267-292. After restoration copies were installed. The original statue depicting a man in the talons of a demon is held in the Split City Museum. The statue of the nude woman disappeared.

32 Instead of the original, after restoration a copy was installed. The original is kept in the Split City Museum. This angel, probably the work of Bonino of Milan, was also attributed to Juraj Dalmatinac.



Slika 6.

Dio nacrt presjeka zvonika s prikazom zida uz stubište s dva uska stupa s kapitelima; fotografija nacrt koji je izradio A. Hauser, a čuva se u Konzervatorskom zavodu u Splitu

Figure 6.

Part of a sketch of the cross-section of the bell tower showing the wall along the stairway with two narrow columns with capitals; photograph of sketch made by A. Hauser, held in the Conservation Department in Split

lavovi i kipovi nosači stupova isklesani su također u XIII. stoljeću. Romaničkih su obilježja i kiparski obrađene arhitektonske česti - konzole, i to na svim katovima zvonika s iznimkom *loggie*.

Na prvom katu, na pročelnoj strani zvonika, figura koja prikazuje nugu ženu i ona koja prikazuje muškarca što ga je zgrabio demon prepoznaju se kao djelo majstora Bonina iz Milana (+ 1429).<sup>31</sup> S početka XV. stoljeća je, među ostalim, i kip anđela s grbom nadbiskupa Dujma de Judicibus, nekoć ugrađen na južnoj strani

The engaged relationship with the heritage from Antiquity was reinforced by the medieval figure at the base of the column from the fourth floor (on the tower's front), which has been recognized as a sphinx.<sup>33</sup> There is a figure of a lion (griffin?) on the same floor, lying prone like the sphinx and sculpted in the same fashion.<sup>34</sup> The sphinx motif was not unknown in Romanesque art with, of course, the connotations of a fantastic creature that belongs to the sphere of sin. A sphinx, for example, watches over the top of

31 Babić 1992, str. 267-292. Nakon restauracije ugrađene su kopije. Originalni kip koji prikazuje muškarca u pandžama demona nalazi se u Muzeju grada Splita. Kip nage žene je nestao.

33 Jackson already pointed out that this was a medieval sphinx influenced by the Egyptian originals, Jackson 1887, p. 57; Kečkemet 1955, p. 134, Fig. 24.

34 Jackson 1887, p. 57.

prvog kata.<sup>32</sup> Skulpture gotičkih stilskih oblika i polukapiteli s valovitim lišćem po svojoj su prilici naknadno ugrađeni, za kasnijih radova na popravcima i utvrđivanjima podnožja zvonika.

Živi odnos prema zatečenoj antičkoj baštini potvrđuje srednjovjekovna figura u bazi stupa sa četvrtog kata (na pročelnoj strani zvonika), koja se prepoznaje kao sfinga.<sup>33</sup> U poleglom položaju poput sfinge, na istom katu, jednako oblikovana, nalazi se figura koja prikazuje lava (grifona?).<sup>34</sup> I romanička umjetnost poznaje motiv sfinge, naravno, s konotacijama svojstvenima klasi fantastičnih bića koja pripadaju sferi grešnog. Sfinga, primjerice, bdi je vrh portala crkve sv. Nikole u Bariju. Smatra se da je ta kamena sfinga imala uzore u grčkim keramičkim kipovima u funkciji akroterija.<sup>35</sup> Konzola s likom sfinge istaknuta je na pročelju gotičke crkve sv. Mihovila u Zadru.<sup>36</sup> Egipatske sfinge sačuvane u srednjovjekovnom Splitu<sup>37</sup> morale su biti poticajne u izboru ove teme. Uostalom, sfinga se nalazi pod samim zvonikom.<sup>38</sup>

### Bestijarij na zvoniku

Na jednoj konzoli prikazana je u reljefu ovnujska glava.<sup>39</sup> Motiv ovnujske glave poznat je inače i na jednoj kaseti s trijema poligonalnog hrama, a mogla bi biti u vezi s ikonografijom Jupitera Amona.<sup>40</sup> No motiv ovnujskih glava poznaje, naravno, i srednjovjekovna umjetnost.<sup>41</sup>

Na zvoniku se nalazila i konzola s glavom vola.<sup>42</sup> Za razliku od reljefne glave ovna, ona pak koja prikazuje vola izrađena je plastično.<sup>43</sup>

Čitav prednji dio volovskog tijela strši ponad sjevernog luka koji spaja zvonik s masom katedrale. Ta životinja, poznato je, ima povlašteno mjesto u srednjovjekovnoj imaginaciji.

the portal to the Church of St. Nicholas in Bari. It is believed that the stone sphinx was modelled after Greek ceramic statues that functioned as acroteria.<sup>35</sup> A console bearing the image of sphinx is distinguished on the façade of the Church of St. Michael in Zadar.<sup>36</sup> The Egyptian sphinx preserved in medieval Split<sup>37</sup> must have encouraged this selection of themes. The sphinx is, after all, located at the foot of the tower itself.<sup>38</sup>

### The tower's bestiary

A ram's head relief is portrayed on one console.<sup>39</sup> The ram's head motif was otherwise recognized on a coffer from the portico of the polygonal temple, and it may be associated with the iconography of Jupiter Amon.<sup>40</sup> Even so, the ram's head motif was not unknown in medieval art as well.<sup>41</sup>

The tower also had a console depicting the head of a steer.<sup>42</sup> As opposed to the ram's head relief, this console featured a fully sculpted steer.<sup>43</sup>

The entire front of the steer's body protrudes above the northern arch connecting the tower with the body of the cathedral. This animal, as is known, had a privileged position in the medieval imagination.

Steers modestly pulling a wagon are harmonious and loyal to one another; they foretell changes in the weather (... *ubi naturali sensu collegunt mutationem coeli*...); when the rain stops, they peer from the barn and want to go out. Since they are neutered, they behave differently than bulls, and they are often present in pagan religions. For example, there is the steer on the bell tower of the cathedral in Laon (12<sup>th</sup> cent.) shown also on the well-known drawing of Villard d'Honcourt.<sup>44</sup> In Zadar, on the facade to the

32 Umjesto originala nakon restauracije ugrađena je kopija. Original se čuva u Muzeju grada Splita. Taj se anđeo, vjerojatno djelo Bonina iz Milana, također pripisivao i Juraju Dalmatincu.

33 Na to da se radi o srednjovjekovnoj imitaciji sfinge pod utjecajima onih egipatskih, upozorava već Jackson 1887, str. 57; Kečkemet 1955, str. 134, sl. 24.

34 Jackson 1887, str. 57.

35 Belli D'Elia 1987, sl. 42.

36 Petricioli 1983, str. 128.

37 Selem 1970, str. 633-656.

38 Postojeća sfinga pred hramom (katedralom) oštećena je, navodno, prema predaji, padom jedne gromade sa zvonika. Usp. Bulić-Karaman 1927, str. 81.

39 Kečkemet 1955, str. 126-127. Konzola se izvorno nalazila na južnoj strani trećeg kata zvonika; danas u dvorištu biskupove palače.

40 Babić 2003, str. 722, 741.

41 Spominjemo na primjer ovnove na kapitelima u San Marcu u Veneciji; usp. Polacco, str. 40. Ovnovi su islesani i na jednom kapitelu u crkvi San Benedetto u Brindisiju; usp. Belli D'Elia 1987, sl. 22. U dalmatinskoj umjetnosti ovnovi su prikazani na kapitelima u klaustru franjevačkog samostana u Dubrovniku - v. Fisković 1955, sl. 74. Ovnovi su prikazani i na renesansnim polukapitelima u sjevernoj apsidi šibenske katedrale, usp. Zenić 2003, str. 145.

42 Kečkemet 1955, str. 127, sl. 19; danas se nalazi uzidana u zgradu Tusculuma u Solinu.

43 Ta je konzola danas ugrađena u pročelje zgrade Tusculuma u Solinu.

35 Belli D'Elia 1987, Fig. 42.

36 Petricioli 1983, p. 128.

37 Selem 1970, pp. 633-656.

38 According to legend, the existing sphinx in front of the temple (cathedral) was damaged when a piece of the tower fell on it. Cf. Bulić-Karaman 1927, p. 81.

39 Kečkemet 1955, pp. 126-127. The console was originally located on the southern side of the tower's third floor, today in the courtyard of the Bishop's Palace.

40 Babić 2003, pp. 722, 741.

41 For example, there are the rams on the capitals in San Marco in Venice; cf. Polacco, p. 40. Rams are carved into a capital in the Church of San Benedetto in Brindisi; cf. Belli D'Elia 1987, Fig. 22. In Dalmatian art, rams are portrayed on the capitals in the cloister of the Franciscan Monastery in Dubrovnik - see Fisković 1955, Fig. 74. Rams are also depicted in the Renaissance semi-capitals on the northern apse of the Šiebnik cathedral, cf. Zenić 2003, p. 145.

42 Kečkemet 1955, p. 127, Fig. 19; today built into the wall of the Tusculum in Solin.

43 This console is today built into the facade of the Tusculum building in Solin.

44 On this theme with citation of medieval sources Miquel 1991, p. 86; (Le) Muratova, Poirion (ed.) 1988, p. 86; Wolff-Quenot, *passim*. The winged steer is, of course, the symbol of St. Luke the Evangelist.

Volovi koji smjerno vuku kola veoma su složni i odani jedan drugom; oni predosjećaju meteorološke promjene (...*ubi naturali sensu collegunt mutationem coeli...*); kad prestane kiša, proviruju iz štale i žele van. Budući da su kastrirani, ponašaju se bitno drugačije od bikova, tako često prisutnih u poganskim religijama. Spominjemo na primjer vola na zvoniku katedrale u Laonu prikazanog i na poznatom crtežu Villarda d'Honcourta.<sup>44</sup> U Zadru na pročelju katedrale sv. Stošije bdiju dvije životinjske figure, na lijevoj strani lav, a na desnoj vol. I na pročelju samostanske crkve sv. Krševana u Zadru je kip koji prikazuje vola. Glave volova (bikova?) prikazane su i na jednom kapitelu u dvorištu franjevačkog samostana u Dubrovniku.<sup>45</sup>

Premda su prikazi volova česti u srednjovjekovnoj europskoj umjetnosti, ipak je ovaj motiv vjerojatno došao preko Apulije, odakle dopiru utjecaji u romaničkoj umjetnosti na istočnoj jadranskoj obali, u njezinom srednjem i južnom dijelu, te u njezinom zaleđu (Srbija). Spominjemo tako volove nosače stupova (stilofori) uz portal crkve sv. Nikole u Bariju.<sup>46</sup> Dva poklekla vola, gotovo čitava trupla, jednako oblikovana i u istim pozama kao i oni u Dalmaciji, bdiju uz prozor na apsidi katedrale u Traniju.<sup>47</sup>

Na pročelju crkvice na Sustipanu u Splitu ugrađena je naknadno skulptura velikih dimenzija, romaničkih stilskih obilježja, a prikazuje krilato čudovište slično lavu.<sup>48</sup>

U kontekstu dalmatinskog bestijarija valja spomenuti još barem željeznog pijetla koji je stajao nekoć vrh križa na zabatu istočne strane glavne lađe trogirske katedrale.<sup>49</sup> Simbolizam pijetla dovodi se u kontekst poznatih riječi iz Evanđelja (Marko 14,72), o Petru koji će zanijekati Krista prije nego što pijetao tri puta zakukuriče. Zato je pijetao, simbol bdjenja i savjesti, imao povlašteno mjesto u srednjovjekovnom imaginariju. On budi u mračna praskozorja prizivajući svjetlost, pozivajući na molitvu i na posao. Uspoređivahu ga i s prelatima; spominjao se i kao *doctor prudentissimus*. S tog se razloga figura pijetla postavlja vrh zvonika u funkciji vjetrulje. U tom kontekstu treba shvatiti i njegov prikaz na korskim klupama u splitskoj katedrali, u kojima se bdjelo i molilo, naravno, s mogućnošću da se utone u nepoželjni drijemež.<sup>50</sup>

Cathedral of St. Anastasia two animal figures stand guard: on the left a lion, and on the right a steer. The facade of the monastic Church of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar also bears a statue of a steer. The heads of steers (bulls?) are also depicted on a capital in the courtyard of the Franciscan Monastery in Dubrovnik.<sup>45</sup>

Although portrayals of steers are frequent in medieval European art, this motif probably came to Croatia via Apuglia, whence the influences of Romanesque art also came to the eastern Adriatic coast, in its central and southern parts, and in its hinterland (Serbia). Thus, one can cite the steers bearing columns (stylophores) on the portal to the Church of St. Nicholas in Bari.<sup>46</sup> Two kneeling steers, identically formed with their entire bodies in almost the same pose as those in Dalmatia, watch over the window on the apse of the cathedral in Trani.<sup>47</sup>

A sculpture of large dimensions with Romanesque stylistic features was subsequently installed on the façade to the church at Sustipan in Split, and it portrays a winged monster similar to a lion.<sup>48</sup>

In the context of the Dalmatian bestiary it is worthwhile also mentioning the iron rooster that once stood on top of the cross on the gable of the eastern face of the Trogir cathedral's main gable.<sup>49</sup> The symbolism of the rooster is associated with the well-known words from the Gospels (Mark 14:72) about Peter, who will deny Christ before the cock crows three times. This is why the rooster, as the symbol of the vigil and conscience, had a distinguished place in the medieval imagination. It crows in the darkness of the pre-dawn hours, calling to prayer and work. It has been compared to the prelates, and also mentioned as *doctor prudentissimus*. This is why the figure of the rooster was placed atop towers to function as a weather vane. It is in this context that its portrayal on the choir pews in the Split cathedral should be viewed, as this is where vigils are kept and prayers are said with, of course, the possibility of dozing off.<sup>50</sup>

### The tower and spolia

All of those who wrote about the bell tower also highlighted the spolia. D. Farlati also pointed out the materials from Antiquity in his description of the bell tower.<sup>51</sup> Thus, the travelogue by Spon-Wheler mentions the marble and stone spolia brought in from Salona: *On a aussi ajoûté au devant de la porte sur l'escalier un tres-beau Clocher,*

44 Za ovu temu s navođenjem srednjovjekovnih izvora Miquel 1991, str. 86; Muratova, Poirion (ed.) 1988, str. 86; Wolff-Quenot, *passim*. Dakako, krilati vol je simbol sv. Luke Evanđelista.

45 Fisković 1955, sl. 83.

46 Belli D'Elia 1987, str. 210- 232, sl. 42.

47 Belli D'Elia 1987, str. 292-311, sl. 113.

48 Marasović 1971, T. L, LIV.

49 Srušila ga je olujna bura na Tri kralja 1825, kako je to zabilježio Delalle 1936, str. 71.

50 Međutim, postoji tumačenje da je prikaz pijetla u svezi s poganskom tradicijom štovanja Eskulapa, u kojem je vol žrtvena životinja, što bi se onda nastavilo u kršćanskoj temi svetih vračeva, liječnika Kuzme i Damjana. Tako Fisković 1990, str. 69-94.

45 Fisković 1955, Fig. 83.

46 Belli D'Elia 1987, pp. 210- 232, Fig. 42.

47 Belli D'Elia 1987, pp. 292-311, Fig. 113.

48 Marasović 1971, P. L, LIV.

49 It was torn down by gale-force winds on the Feast of Three Kings in 1825, as recorded by Delalle 1936, p. 71.

50 However, according to some interpretations the portrayal of the rooster is tied to the pagan tradition of reverence for Aesculapus, in which the steer is a sacrificial animal, which was then continued in the Christian theme of sacred healers, the physicians Cosmas and Damian. Thus, see Fisković 1990, pp. 69-94.

51 Farlati 1751, p. 491.

## Zvonik i spoliji

Svi koji su pisali o zvoniku apostrofiraju i spolije. Na antičku građu upozorava i D. Farlati u svom opisu zvonika.<sup>51</sup> Tako se i u putopisu Spon-Whelera spominju spoliji, mramor i kamenje preneseni iz Salone: *On a aussi ajouté au devant de la porte sur l'escalier un tres-beau Clocher, percé de quantité de fenêtrages, dont les matériaux de marbre au de belle pierre ont été tirez des ruines de Salone, parmi lesquelles nous trouvâmes quelques Inscriptions qui parlent de cette Ville.*<sup>52</sup> Antičke spolije primijetio je i car i kralj Franjo I. kad je 1818. posjetio Split, pa u svom dnevniku bilježi kako su najljepši sastavni dijelovi ovog zvonika antička građa iz Salone.<sup>53</sup> Spolije na zvoniku spominju u svojim sintezama o dalmatinskoj umjetnosti R. Eitelberger<sup>54</sup> i T. G. Jackson.<sup>55</sup> Od ranosrednjovjekovnih zdanja u Dalmaciji splitskom je zvoniku po velikom broju spolija pandan ranosrednjovjekovna crkva sv. Donata u Zadru.<sup>56</sup> Veliki broj stupova i stupića na zvoniku bio je antičkog, odnosno kasnoantičkog porijekla, i to najvjerojatnije iz Salone, ali ponajprije iz Dioklecijanove palače. I kamena građa od koje je sagrađen zvonik po svojoj prilici odlomljena iz ruševina Dioklecijanove palače. Naime, u jugoistočnom dijelu palače, na dijelu carskih odaja, uz terme je otkrivena površina u kojoj su bili uklonjeni svi antički zidovi, pa se smatra da se ondje, iz svojevrstnog rova, odvaljivalo kamenje iz podrumskih prostorija. Ima indicija da se na tom mjestu odlomljeno kamenje i obrađivalo, i to upravo za gradnju zvonika katedrale.<sup>57</sup>

T. G. Jackson, opisujući zvonik prije obnove, spominje antičke stupove i kapitele, porfir i zeleni mramor (*verd' antico*).<sup>58</sup> Stupovi u podnožju zvonika koji su pripadali prostazi samog hrama isklesani su od crvenoga i sivog egipatskoga granita.<sup>59</sup> Stup na pročelnoj strani, u podnožju, na jugozapadnom uglu, isklesan je od *cippolina*.<sup>60</sup> Na istaknutome mjestu na trećem katu, na sjeverozapadnom uglu zvonika, ugrađena je mramorna baza stupa koja odskače zelenom bojom, veličinom, ali i neuobičajenim izduženim oblikom. Zelena baza stupa sa zvonika vjerojatno je bila dio raskošne opreme carskih odaja u Palači. Poznato je da su se u Dioklecijanovoj palači koristile oplata i ukrasi od dragocjenih materijala: porfira, oniksa, alabastra; različite vrste mramora: prokoneški, *pavonzetto*, *gialo antico*, *cippolino*, crveni afrički

*percé de quantité de fenêtrages, dont les matériaux de marbre au de belle pierre ont été tirez des ruines de Salone, parmi lesquelles nous trouvâmes quelques Inscriptions qui parlent de cette Ville.*<sup>52</sup> The spolia dating to Antiquity were also noticed by Emperor Francis I when he visited Split in 1818, observing in his diary that the loveliest parts of this tower are the Antique materials from Salona.<sup>53</sup> The spolia on the bell tower are mentioned in the syntheses of Dalmatian art by R. Eitelberger<sup>54</sup> and T. G. Jackson.<sup>55</sup> Among the early medieval buildings in Dalmatia, the bell tower in Split is the counterpart to the early medieval Church of St. Donatus in Zadar in terms of the large number of spolia.<sup>56</sup> The large number of columns and small columns on the tower had their origins in Classical and Late Antiquity, most likely from Salona, but primarily from Diocletian's Palace. Even the stone materials from which the tower was constructed were broken off from the ruins of Diocletian's Palace. A surface was discovered in the south-eastern part of the Palace, near the emperor's chambers next to the baths, where all of the walls from Antiquity were placed when removed, so it is believed that stone was drawn from the basement rooms from that place, from a sort of trench. There are indications that the fragmented stone was also worked there, precisely to construct the cathedral's bell tower.<sup>57</sup>

Describing the bell tower prior to restoration, T. G. Jackson mentioned the Antique columns and capitals, the porphyry and green marble (*verd' antico*).<sup>58</sup> The columns at the base of the tower that belonged to the prothesis of the temple itself were carved from red and grey Egyptian granite.<sup>59</sup> The column on the front, at the base on the southwest corner, was carved from *cippolino*.<sup>60</sup> At a prominent place on the third floor, on the north-western corner of the tower, a marble base column was built which stands out in terms of its green colour, size and also unusual, elongated form. The green base column on the tower was probably a component of the luxurious furnishings of the emperor's chambers in the Palace. It is generally known that precious materials were used in the formwork and decorations in Diocletian's Palace: porphyry, onyx, alabaster, various types of marble (Proconese, *pavonzetto*, *gialo antico*, *cippolino*, red African marble), and individual glass tiles in the mosaics were gilded.<sup>61</sup> Recently a colourful marble mensa was found that may have belonged in the emperor's dining room.

51 Farlati 1751, str. 491.

52 Spon, Wheler 1678, Tom I, str. 102.

53 Pederin 1985, str. 138.

54 Eitelberger 1861, str. 109-116.

55 Jackson 1887, str. 57.

56 Hauser, Bulić 1884; Vežić 2002; Babić 2006, p. 136.

57 Marasović, Marasović, McNally, Wilkes 1972, str. 28, 36; Marasović 1982, str. 94.

58 Jackson 1887, str. 56.

59 Koliko nam je poznato, nisu identificirane sve vrste mramora pojedinih stupova na zvoniku. Postoje tek studije o stupovima oko samog poligonalnog hrama - katedrale. Usp. Ward Perkins 1975, str. 38-50.

60 Bulić 1909, str. 92, spominje dva stupa od *cippolina*.

52 Spon-Wheler 1678, Vol. I, p. 102.

53 Pederin 1985, p. 138.

54 Eitelberger 1861, pp. 109-116.

55 Jackson 1887, p. 57.

56 Hauser-Bulić 1884; Vežić 2002; Babić 2006, p. 136.

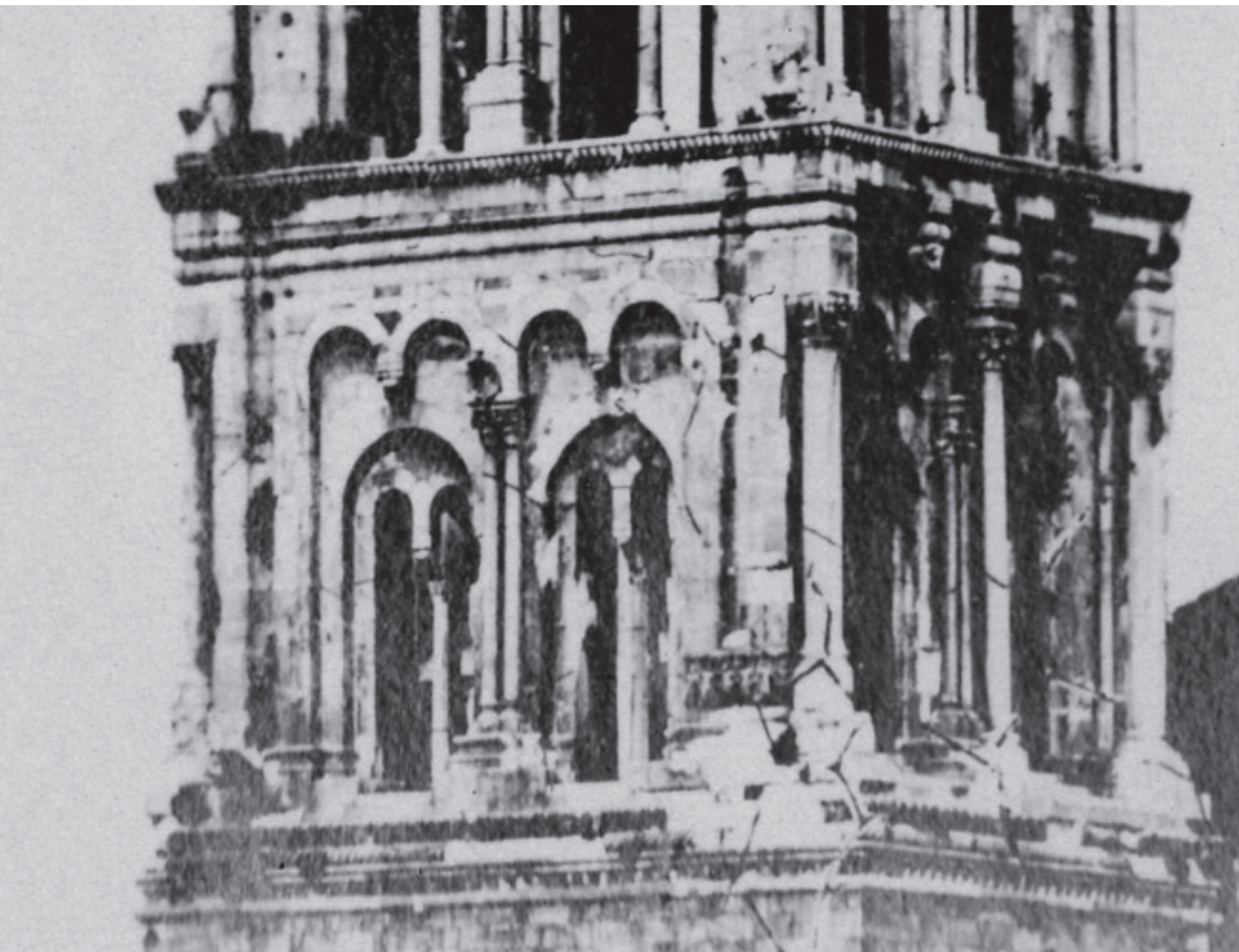
57 Marasović, Marasović, McNally, Wilkes 1972, pp. 28, 36; Marasović 1982, p. 94.

58 Jackson 1887, p. 56.

59 To the best of this author's knowledge, every type of marble in the tower's individual columns has not been identified. There are only studies of the columns around the polygonal temple/cathedral. Cf. Ward Perkins 1975, pp. 38-50.

60 Bulić 1909, p. 92, mentions two columns made of *cippolino*.

61 Mirnik 1981, pp. 18-13; Marasović, Marasović, McNally, Wilkes 1972, pp. 16, 26, 30; Rismundo 2005, pp. 151-158.



*Slika 7.*

*Treći kat zvonika prije restauracije; u donjem kutu vidi se antički reljef (fotografija iz Muzeja grada Splita)*

mramor...; pojedine staklene tesere mozaika imale su zlatni premaz.<sup>61</sup> Nedavno je pronađena i šarena mramorna menza koja je možda pripadala carskoj blagovaonici.

Mramor, dakako antičkog porijekla, mjestimice se koristio i u ornamentalne svrhe, pa tako i pod svodovima prvog kata, ponad stubišta. Komadići raznobojnog kamenja ugrađeni su pod lukovima drugog kata zvonika na njegovoj pročelnoj strani. Jedan stupić sa zvonika, sada u sklopu sjenice u Tusculumu, isklesan je od prokoneškog mramora. I u opremi katedrale koristio se mramor antičkog porijekla. Cijela propovjedaonica sagrađena je od antičkih spolija. Primjerice, polustupovi na ogradi propovjedaonice u katedrali su raznobojni, dapače, svaki element - kapiteli, baze i stupovi - drugačije je boje i od drugačije vrste mramora. Svakako, mramor je osim svojih kromatskih i materičkih,

*Figure 7.*

*Third floor of the bell tower prior to restoration; in the lower corner a relief from Antiquity can be seen (photograph from the Split City Museum)*

At places marble, of Antique origin to be sure, was also used for ornamental purposes, even under the vaults of the first floor above the stairs. Tiny pieces of differently coloured stone were installed under the arches of the tower's second floor on its front. One small column from the tower, now part of the trellis in the Tusculum, was carved from Proconese marble. Marble from Antiquity was also used to equip the cathedral. The entire pulpit was constructed using Antique spolia. For example, the semi-columns on the pulpit screen in the cathedral are all differently coloured; moreover, each element - capitals, bases and bodies - are differently coloured and made of different types of marble. To be sure, over and above its chromatic, material and aesthetically relevant properties, particularly its lustre, marble also has significance due its evocation of high value and ancient pedigree.<sup>62</sup>

61 Mirnik 1981, str. 18-13; Marasović, Marasović, McNally, Wilkes 1972, str. 16, 26, 30; Rismondo 2005, str. 151-158.

62 On this theme, cf. Peroni 1985, p. 277; Babić 2006, p. 139.



estetski relevantnih svojstava, posebno sjaja, imao također značenja s konotacijama vezanim uz dragocjenost i starinu.<sup>62</sup>

Na trećem katu zvonika bio je ugrađen i fragment monumentalnog reljefa koji se nakon obnove zvonika čuva u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu.<sup>63</sup> Sačuvani reljef tek je dio (trećina?) izgubljene cjeline. Prikazuje božicu s krunom gradskih zidina ili možda s modiusom na glavi; uz nju su različita božanstva (ili deificirane osobe?).<sup>64</sup> Ostavljamo otvorenim pitanja porijekla reljefa i njegovu dataciju, identifikaciju pojedinih figura, pogotovo božice s krunom gradskih zidina ili pak s modiusom na glavi (Tyche Salonitana, Kibela...). Je li izbor ovog reljefa bio ciljane naravi s obzirom na moguća tumačenja njegove ikonografije? Naime, mogao je biti ugrađen i neki drugi antički reljef. No, u svakom slučaju, antički je reljef bio brižno ukomponiran, ugrađen u srednjovjekovni zvonik. Dakle, nije bio zaklonjen, uzidan kao puki građevni materijal s figurama, licem prema zidnoj masi. Bio je postavljen tako da bi bio uočljiv s peristila Dioklecijanove palače - srednjovjekovnoga katedralnog trga. Ta zapadna strana zvonika ponad katedralnog trga pročelne je naravi; stoga su na njoj ugrađeni skupocjeni stupovi i komadi mramora unutar ornamentalnih cjelina, i to u nižim dijelovima, tako da ih se može sagledati. Na trećem katu, na kojem je bio ugrađen antički reljef, bilo je, čini se, najviše mramornih komada; na tom je katu spomenuta baza od zrnatog, zelenog mramora.<sup>65</sup> Na vijencu koji dijeli ovaj kat od onog ponad njega bilo je ugrađeno mnoštvo ulomaka antičkih natpisa.

U vijencu trećeg kata zvonika bilo je ugrađeno dvadeset devet ulomaka rimskih natpisa otkrivenih 1896. godine tijekom demontaže zvonika. Neki natpisi bili su uobičajenoga sepulkralnog karaktera, a na jednom je pak bila spomenuta carica Faustina.<sup>66</sup> Na četiri velike ploče nekoć ugrađene u zvonik nastavlja se krnji tekst koji evocira gradnju cesta u doba cara Tiberija i namjesnika P. Kornelija Dolabelle (CIL III, 3198a = 10156, a; CIL III, 3198, b = 10156, b; CIL III, 3200; CIL III, 3201 = 10159).<sup>67</sup> Na dvije od tih ploča, na njihovim kraćim stranama, karakteristični su motivi naizmjeničnih zubaca - pravokutnih trokuta, dijelovi romaničkog vijenca koji razdvaja treći od četvrtog kata. Dakle, bočne strane tih ploča s natpisima bile su priklesane u srednjem vijeku i iskorištene kao segmenti vijenca. Natpisi su bili velikim dijelom vidljivi i prije demontaže zvonika jer su poznati od XVII. st., od vremena I. Lucija,<sup>68</sup> J. Spona i G. Whelera,<sup>69</sup> pa do D. Farlatija u XVIII. stoljeću<sup>70</sup> i T. G.

A fragment of a monumental relief was also installed on the third floor of the tower; since restoration it has been held in the Archaeological Museum in Split.<sup>63</sup> The preserved relief was only a part (a third?) of the lost whole. It shows a goddess wearing a crown of the city ramparts or perhaps a modius; she is surrounded by various deities (or deified persons?).<sup>64</sup> However, for now the question of the origin of the relief and its dating, identification of individual figures, especially the goddess wearing a crown of the city ramparts or modius (Tyche Salonitana, Cybelle....) will be set aside. Was the selection of this relief intentional in nature, given the potential interpretation of its iconography? After all, some other relief from Antiquity could have just as well been installed. However, in any case, this relief was painstakingly incorporated and installed in the medieval bell tower. It was thus not obscured and walled in as simple construction material with the figures and face placed against the mass of the wall. It was installed to be visible from the Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace - the medieval cathedral square. This western side of the tower above the cathedral's square has the function of a façade; thus expensive columns and marble pieces within the decorative whole were built into it, particularly in its lower portions, so that they could be observed. The third floor, where the Antique relief was installed, appeared to have the most marble pieces; the aforementioned base made of grainy, green marble was on this floor.<sup>65</sup> Numerous fragments of Antique inscriptions were installed on the cornice that separated this floor from the one above.

Twenty-nine fragments of Roman inscriptions, uncovered during disassembly of the bell tower in 1896, were built into the cornice on the tower's third floor. Some inscriptions had a customary sepulchral character, while one even mentions the Empress Faustina.<sup>66</sup> A fragmented text that evokes the construction of a road during the reign of Emperor Tiberius and Consul P. Cornelius Dolabella (C.III.3198a = 10156, a; C.3198, b = 10156, b; C.III.3200; C.III.3201 = 10159) continues over four large slabs installed in the tower.<sup>67</sup> The characteristic motif on the shorter sides of two of these slabs is alternating dentils - right triangles, parts of the Romanesque cornice that separates the third and fourth floors. The lateral sides of these slabs were additionally carved in the Middle Ages and used as cornice segments. The inscriptions were largely visible even prior to dismantling of the tower, because they were known to exist since the seventeenth century, from the time of I. Lucić,<sup>68</sup> J. Spon and G. Wheler,<sup>69</sup> D. Farlati in the eighteenth

62 Za ovu temu usporedi Peroni 1985, str. 277; Babić 2006, str. 139.

63 To je već odavno zamijećeno u stručnoj literaturi; crtež reljefa donosi već Adam 1764, T. LIX.

64 Abramić 1949, str. 279-289, sl. 3 i 4; Cambi 1971, str. 55-71, s popisom starije literature.

65 Na tom je katu bilo mramornih stupića i obloga; Stratimirović 1888, str. 3.

66 Bulić 1987, str. 3, 4.

67 Usp. čitanje natpisa kod Abramić 1926, str. 139-155.

68 Lucius 1666, str. 34.

69 Spon-Wheler 1678, sv. III, str. 80.

70 Farlati 1751, str. 286.

63 This had already been noted long before in the scholarly literature; a sketch of the relief was already provided by Adam 1764, P. LIX.

64 Abramić 1949, pp. 279-289, Fig. 3 and 4; Cambi 1971, pp. 55-71, with list of older references.

65 There were small marble columns and lining on that floor. See Stratimirović 1888, p. 3.

66 Bulić 1987, pp. 3, 4.

67 Cf. reading of the inscription in Abramić 1926, p. 20 and *passim*.

68 Lucius 1666, p. 34.

69 Spon-Wheler, n. d., vol. III, p. 80.



Slika 8.  
Kamena ploča s natpisom na kojoj je spomenut namjesnik C. P. Dolabella: na bočnoj strani romanički ukrasi s vijenca koji je razdvajao treći kat od četvrtog kata (Arheološki muzej u Splitu)

Figure 8.  
Stone slab with inscription mentioning Consul C. P. Dolabella: Romanesque decorations on the lateral side with cornice that separated the third and fourth floors (Archaeological Museum in Split)

Jacksona u XIX. stoljeću.<sup>71</sup> Dakle, dio teksta nije bio sasvim izbrisan. Ipak, srednjovjekovni graditelji nisu iskazali (poseban) respekt prema tako važnom, višedijelnom natpisu na kojem se, među ostalim, spominje car (Tiberije), namjesnik P. Kornelije Dolabella, kolonija Salona i mreža cesta od kojih je jedna išla do granica Ilirika.

Na stražnjoj strani jedne konzole sa zvonika vide se ostaci otučenog natpisa na kojem se razabire dio riječi koji spominje Salonu: SALON(...).<sup>72</sup> Uništavanje natpisa svjedoči o posvemašnjem nepoštivanju antičkog spomenika, koji je iskorišten kao puka kamena građa.<sup>73</sup> S obzirom na dužinu konzole (oko 120 cm), radilo se o iznimno monumentalnom natpisu s nekog javnog spomenika; srednjovjekovna konzola je, naime, tek komad isklesan od većeg bloka.

century<sup>70</sup> and T. G. Jackson in the nineteenth century.<sup>71</sup> A part of the text was thus not entirely erased. Nonetheless, medieval builders did not display any (particular) respect for such an important inscription in several sections which, *inter alia*, mentions an emperor (Tiberius), the Consul Publius Cornelius Dolabella, the Salona colony and the network of roads, of which one, as it states, reached the borders of Illyricum.

On the back side of a console from the bell tower, the remains of a damaged inscription can be seen on which a part of the word mentioning Salona: SALON(...)<sup>72</sup> can be seen. Destruction of the inscription testifies to the outright disrespect for a monument of Antiquity, which was used as simple stone construction material.<sup>73</sup> Given the length of the console (approximately 120 cm), this was an exceptionally monumental inscription from a public monument; the medieval console is, in fact, simply a piece carved out of a much larger block.

To be sure, individual spolia, just as construction stone, were used for mere utilitarian reasons as construction materials. Some of the stone from the bell tower was sold after its restoration, and then once more used as construction material.<sup>74</sup> The ruins of Salona and Diocletian's Palace served as a large quarry for over a millennium, whence stone was taken to locations throughout Dalmatia, and even to Venice.<sup>75</sup> It has been noted that individual collapsed portions of Diocletian's Palace itself were used as stone materials. In the portico around the cathedral, Split's dignitaries, priors and archbishops were interred in modified ancient sarcophagi, but Francisca (+1429), the mother of Archbishop Domnio de Judicibus, who fled to Hungary before the Venetians, was interred in a sarcophagus that was carved out of a piece of the architrave.<sup>76</sup>

Some spolia on the tower underwent multiple use, particularly those parts made of marble. Marble, which was used in the Middle Ages and even later, particularly during the baroque, was generally obtained from ruins that dated to Antiquity. The tower thus contains an installed column covered with braid decorations - a component of the early medieval church screen; this piece of marble was thus used several times.<sup>77</sup> The bell tower thus not only contained spolia from Antiquity, but also medieval spolia. In this manner, a ciborium fragment carved from Proconese marble was thus also installed,<sup>78</sup> as were fragments of medieval ciboria carved in limestone.<sup>79</sup>

70 Farlati, n. d., p. 286.

71 Jackson 1887, p. 58.

72 The console is today exhibited in the garden of the Bishop's Palace.

73 Kečkemet 1955, p. 127, points out the remains of additionally carved inscriptions.

74 Stone from the bell tower was sold to the businessman Ivana Bettiza, see Kečkemet 1957, p. 75.

75 Jelić 1894; Karaman 1952; Fisković 1975, pp. 25-31.

76 Bulić-Karaman 1927, pp. 207-208.

77 Jelić 1895, p. 83; Fleeches Morgues 1993, Cat. II, 4, pp. 226-227.

78 The fragment is now in the Tusculum, built into the fountain. Jelić 1895, p. 83; Fleeches Morgues 1993, Cat. V, 12, pp. 253-254.

79 Jelić 1895, p. 82; Fleeches Morgues 1993, Cat. V, 9, pp. 251-252.

71 Jackson 1887, str. 58.

72 Konzola je danas izložena u vrtu Biskupove palače.

73 Na ostatke priklesanog natpisa upozorava Kečkemet 1955, str. 127.

Naravno, pojedini spoliji, kao i samo kamenje za gradnju korišteni su naprosto iz utilitarnih razloga, kao građevinski materijal. Samo kamenje iz zvonika je nakon njegove obnove bilo prodano, te je ponovno iskorišteno kao građevinski materijal.<sup>74</sup> Ruševine Salone i Dioklecijanove palače služile su više od tisućljeća kao veliki kamenolom iz kojeg se odvaljivalo kamenje, koje je potom raznošeno širom Dalmacije, pa i u Veneciju.<sup>75</sup> Spomenuli smo da su kao kamena građa služili i pojedini urušeni dijelovi same Dioklecijanove palače. U trijemu oko katedrale splitski dostojanstvenici, priori i nadbiskupi pokopani su unutar preinačenih antičkih sarkofaga, no Franciska (+1429.), majka nadbiskupa Dujma de Judicibus, koji je pred Mlečanima pobjegao u Ugarsku, pokopana je u sarkofagu koji je izdubljen u komadu arhitrava.<sup>76</sup>

Neki spoliji na zvoniku višestruko su korišteni, posebno oni izrađene u mramoru. Mramor, koji se koristio u srednjem vijeku pa i kasnije, osobito tijekom baroknog razdoblja, uglavnom je pribavljan iz antičkih ruševina. Tako je u zvonik bio ugrađen stupac prekriven pleternim ukrasima - dio mramorne ranosrednjovjekovne crkvene ograde; taj komad mramora bio je dakle korišten nekoliko puta.<sup>77</sup> U zvonik su dakle bili ugrađivani ne samo antički spoliji nego i oni ranosrednjovjekovni, pa je tako bio uzidan i ulomak ciborija isklesan u prokoneškom mramoru,<sup>78</sup> također su bili ugrađeni i ulomci ranosrednjovjekovnog ciborija isklesani u vapnencu.<sup>79</sup>

### Kapiteli i stupovi kao spoliji

Nema sumnje da je veliki broj kapitela, ali i stupova, posebno onih isklesanih od mramora i granita, antičkog porijekla. Na donjim katovima zvonika, posebno na pročelnoj strani, gotovo svi kapiteli su, kako je naglašeno, korintskog tipa, uključujući pojedine varijacije kompozitnog tipa. Dakako, prije restauracije oni su bili iz antičkog, odnosno kasnoantičkog doba. Nakon restauracije dio njih je zamijenjen kopijama.

U gornjim katovima postavljeni su kapiteli s motivom zadebljanog lišća ili, preciznije, oblika poput stiliziranih palminih grana. Na žalost, ti su kapiteli, kao i ostali ukrasi s istim motivom, zamijenjeni novima, dok su originali manjim dijelom sačuvani u Solinu, u Tusculumu. Iznimno je velika varijacija kapitela ovog tipa. Razlikuju se po obliku, po dimenzijama i ukrasima. Na ponekima je samo jedan red glatkih listova (grana), s time da broj listova varira. Na pojedinim kapitelima dva su reda listova (grana), na drugima pak tri reda. Na ponekima se u gornjem dijelu pojavljuje ispupčenje ili pak rozeta. Na najsloženijim kapitelima ovog tipa

### Capitals and columns as spolia

There can be no doubt of the Antique pedigree of a large number of capitals, and also columns (especially those carved from marble and granite). On the tower's lower floors, particularly on the front, almost all capitals are, as noted previously, Corinthian, including individual variations of composite type. To be sure, prior to restoration they dated back to Classical and Late Antiquity. After restoration, some of them were replaced with copies.

On the upper floors capitals with full leaves or, more precisely, stylized palm branches, were installed. Unfortunately, these capitals, like the rest of the decorations with the same motif, were replaced with new ones, while the originals were preserved, to a lesser degree, in the Tusculum in Solin. The variation among capitals of this type is exceptionally great. They differ in terms of form, dimensions and decoration. On some there is only a single row of smooth leaves (branches), although the number of leaves varies. On individual capitals, there are two rows of leaves (branches), while others have three. On some protrusions or even rosettes appear on the upper portions. Volutas also appear on the most complex capitals of this type.<sup>80</sup>

There is no doubt that most of these capitals are copies of those from Classical Antiquity. Namely, two capitals of this type have braid decorations carved into them.<sup>81</sup> A head with lead inserts in the eye sockets was carved onto one capital. The hexafoil on individual capitals also indicates that they were carved in the Middle Ages. Capitals with broadened smooth leaves (branches) were, nonetheless, also carved during the Middle Ages.<sup>82</sup>

Even so, one may assume that some capitals of this type date back to Antiquity and that they were built into the medieval tower as spolia. One of these capitals has a regular, classical form, exhibiting fine craftsmanship, so that it may be of Antique origin.<sup>83</sup> Capitals of this type can be found in the cemetery basilica in Manastirine in Solin,<sup>84</sup> and they were also used as spolia in the Early Christian Church of San Sebastian in Rome; they date to the second century AD.<sup>85</sup> Antique capitals with smooth, broadened

74 Kamenje sa zvonika prodano je poduzetniku Ivanu Bettizi, v. Kečkemet 1957, str. 75.

75 Jelić 1894; Karaman 1952; Fisković 1975, str. 25-31.

76 Bulić, Karaman 1927, str. 207-208.

77 Jelić 1895, str. 83; Flèches Morgues 1993, kat. II. 4, str. 226-227.

78 Ulomak je sada u Tusculumu, ugrađen u fontanu. Jelić 1895, str. 83; Flèches Morgues 1993, kat. V. 12, str. 253-254.

79 Jelić 1895, str. 82; Flèches Morgues 1993, kat. V. 9, str. 251-252.

80 Drawings of the capitals and columns based on sketches by A. Hauser and preserved photographs are provided in Kečkemet 1963, pp. 92-135. Unfortunately, the existing new capitals on the restored tower were made uniform, so neither the forms nor dimensions adhere to those originally found prior to restoration.

81 Flèches Morgues 1993, P. VI, Cat. III, 7. This capital is today on a column of the trellis in the Tusculum; one more capital with a braid decoration is built into the wall of a small hut on the eastern side of the Tusculum.

82 Babić 2004, p. 730. The mistaken assumption is made that the original capitals of this type from the tower were part of the furnishings of Diocletian's Palace. However, a vast majority of the capitals of this type were only medieval, often very poor imitations of their models from Antiquity.

83 In the Tusculum, used as a chair.

84 Duval-Marin-Metzger 2000, p. 344, do not exclude the possibility that some of the capitals from the Basilica may be from Diocletian's Palace.

85 Brandenburg 1996, p. 40, Fig. 1.

javlja se i volute.<sup>80</sup>

Nema sumnje da su većina tih kapitela kopije onih antičkih. Naime, na dva kapitela ovog tipa na jednoj su strani uklesani pleterni ukrasi.<sup>81</sup> Na jednom je pak kapitelu isklesana glava s olovnim umecima na mjestu očiju. Ukras u obliku šesterolista na pojedenim kapitelima također je indicija da su isklesani u srednjem vijeku. Kapiteli sa zadebljanim glatkim lišćem (granama) ipak su dakle, kao i većina ostalih, isklesani u srednjem vijeku.<sup>82</sup>

Za neke kapitule ovog tipa moglo bi se pretpostaviti da su ipak antički te da su kao spoliji bili ugrađeni u srednjovjekovni zvonik. Jedan od tih kapitela je pravilnih, klasičnih oblika, veoma kvalitetne izrade, pa bi mogao biti antičkog porijekla.<sup>83</sup> Kapituli ovog tipa nalaze se u grobišnoj bazilici u Manastirinama u Solinu,<sup>84</sup> a kao spoliji iskorišteni su i u ranokršćanskoj crkvi San Sebastiana u Rimu; datiraju se u II. st.<sup>85</sup> Antički kapituli s glatkim, zadebljanim lišćem iskorišteni su kao spoliji u crkvi sv. Martina (Barbare) u Trogiru,<sup>86</sup> a nalazimo ih i na apsidi romaničke katedrale u Pisi, među stupovima i spolijima različitih tipova.<sup>87</sup>

Na dva kapitela listovi su naznačeni tek užljebljenjima.<sup>88</sup> Urezivanje linija-obrisa listova (grana) svojstveno je inače kasnoantičkom razdoblju. No, tim kapitelima nismo našli analogija u kasnoantičkoj skulpturi Dalmacije.<sup>89</sup> Sačuvano je još nekoliko kapitela s tek po jednim redom plošnog, veoma oštro rezanog lišća (grana).<sup>90</sup> Ni za te kapitule nismo mogli naći analogije.

Uza zid nadsvođenog prolaza u podnožju zvonika ponad veoma vitkih i tankih stupova dva su kapitela bila bitno drugačija

leaves were used as spolia in the Church of St. Martin (Barbara) in Trogir,<sup>86</sup> and they can also be seen on the apse of the Romanesque cathedral in Pisa, among the columns and spolia of various types.<sup>87</sup>

Leaves are only indicated by ribbing on two capitals.<sup>88</sup>

Engraving the lines/contours of leaves (branches) is otherwise characteristic of Late Antiquity. However, no analogies to these capitals could be found in Late Antique sculpture in Dalmatia.<sup>89</sup> A few more capitals bearing only a single row of flat, very sharply carved leaves (branches) were also preserved.<sup>90</sup> No analogies to these capitals could be found either.

Two capitals along the wall of the vaulted passage at the foot of the bell tower, above the very slim and narrow columns, differ considerably from the rest, as seen in the sketch made by A. Hauser.<sup>91</sup> One of them was decorated with a row of smooth leaves, while another was shaped like a compressed volute. The remaining capitals of the first floor were Corinthian. Unfortunately, these two exceptionally shaped capitals were removed during restoration and replaced with new Corinthian capitals, perhaps for the sake of stylistic uniformity.<sup>92</sup> However, this entire series of capitals above the marble and granite columns on the first floor of the bell tower, both inside and out, in the passage above the stairway, should actually demonstrate wealth and diversity. The different types of capital on the entire bell tower, not just on the first floor, should be interpreted by the aesthetic ideal of diversity: *varietas*.<sup>93</sup> Unfortunately, during restoration this was neither comprehended nor observed.

80 Crteže kapitela i stupova prema nacrtima A. Hausera te fotografije sačuvanih donosi Kečkemet 1963, str. 92-135. Nažalost, postojeći novi kapiteli na restauriranom zvoniku su uniformirani te se ni oblicima ni dimenzijama ne drže onih izvornih, zatečenih prije restauracije.

81 Flèches Morgues 1993, T. VI, kat. III. 7. Taj je kapitel danas na jednom stupu sjenice u Tusculumu; spominjemo još jedan kapitel s pleternim ukrasom, ugrađen u zid kućice na istočnoj strani Tusculuma.

82 Babić 2004, str. 730. Iznosi se pogrešna pretpostavka da su originalni kapiteli ovog tipa sa zvonika pripadali opremi Dioklecijanove palače. Naime, goleme većina kapitela ovog tipa ipak su tek srednjovjekovne, često veoma slobodne imitacije antičkih uzora.

83 Nalazi se u Tusculumu i služi kao stolica.

84 Duval, Marin, Metzger 2000, str. 344, ne isključuju mogućnost da neki od kapitela iz bazilike ne potječu iz Dioklecijanove palače.

85 Brandenburg 1996, str. 40, sl. 1.

86 Kautzsch 1936, str. 23.

87 Peroni 1996, str. 210. Kapituli s glatkim zadebljanim lišćem nalaze se i na baldahinu ponad grobnice cara Fridrika II. u Palermu. Poeschke 1996, sl. 8. Dva slična kapitela otkopana su pod Komunalnom palačom u Trogiru (neobjavljeno).

88 Nalaze se u Tusculumu, na stupovima sjenice.

89 Možda su im analogija kapituli iz crkve sv. Marije u Vrsaru, koja se datira u VIII. stoljeće.

90 Nalaze se u Tusculumu, također na stupovima sjenice. Jedan takav kapitel je na terasi na južnoj strani zgrade Tusculuma. Ti kapituli podsjećaju na one na baldahinu ponad grobnice cara Henrika VI. u katedrali u Palermu, v. Poeschke 1996, sl. 9.

86 Kautzsch 1936, 23.

87 Peroni 1996, p. 210. Capitals with smooth broadened leaves can also be found on the canopy above the tomb of Emperor Frederick II in Palermo. Poeschke 1996, Fig. 8. Two similar capitals were excavated under the Commune Palace in Trogir (unpublished).

88 In the trellis columns of the Tusculum.

89 Perhaps they are analogous to the capitals in the Church of St. Mary in Vrsar, from the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

90 In the Tusculum, also in the trellis columns. One such capital is on the terrace of the southern side of the Tusculum building. These capitals recall those on the canopy above the tomb of Emperor Henry VI in the cathedral in Palermo, see Poeschke 1996, Fig. 9.

91 This is a cross-section of the bell tower; only one side is shown in the sketch; it probably appeared the same on the opposite side.

92 These capitals could not be found in the Tusculum. A drawing of a capital shaped like a compressed volute based on sketches by A. Hauser can be found in Kečkemet 1963, Fig. 2.

93 Brenk 1996, pp. 49-92.

od ostalih, kako se to vidi na nacrtu što ga je dao izraditi A. Hauser.<sup>91</sup> Jedan je bio ukrašen jednim redom glatkog lišća, drugi je pak bio u oblika stiještenog valjka. Ostali kapiteli prvog kata bili su korintskog tipa. Nažalost, ta su dva kapitela iznimnih oblika tijekom restauracije uklonjena i zamijenjena novim korintskim kapitelima, valjda zbog stilske dosljednosti.<sup>92</sup> No, cijeli je taj niz kapitela ponad stupova od mramora i granita na prvom katu zvonika, na vanjskoj strani, kao i s unutrašnje strane, u prolazu ponad stubišta, trebao upravo naznačiti bogatstvo i raznolikost. Naime, različite tipove kapitela na cijelom zvoniku, ne samo na prvom katu, treba tumačiti estetskim idealom raznolikosti - *varietas*.<sup>93</sup> Nažalost, prilikom restauracije to nije bilo shvaćeno ni poštivano.

### Ekskurs o izvornoj posveti poligonalnog hrama

Antičke kapitele koji se u literaturi navode kao *Corinthian capitals with full leaves, by plain leaves, corona of smooth leaves, Kapitelle mit vollen Blättern, chapiteau à feuilles lisse* prepoznajemo, međutim, kao derivate kasnoegipatskih kapitela u obliku palminih grana. Takvim listovima ukrašeni su polukapiteli na stubu na križanju uzdužne i poprečne ulice u Dioklecijanovoj palači.<sup>94</sup> Odakle na zvoniku takvo bogatstvo varijacija kapitela ovog tipa? Jesu li možda u srednjem vijeku bili vidljivi ostaci neke zgrade u Saloni ili, vjerojatnije, u samoj Palači na kojoj su se nalazili kapiteli i ukrasi u obliku glatkih listova (grana)? Dakle, jesu li srednjovjekovni kapiteli na zvoniku mogli imati uzore u Palači i u Solinu ili su oni pak opće mjesto romaničkog stila, kad se često slijede antički uzori?

Možda su kapiteli u obliku stiliziranih palminih grana bili vezani uz kult Izide, za koji u Dioklecijanovoj palači ima dovoljno naznaka: jedan reljef s prikazom Serapisa na kaseti s trijema poligonalnog hrama, nekoliko sfinga, granitni stupovi...<sup>95</sup> Na kult Izide i Ozirisa (Serapisa), u pravilu vezan uz vodu, upućuju i terme u neposrednoj blizini hramova, a u samom poligonalnom hramu, u kripti srednjovjekovne katedrale skuplja se voda u podnom udubljenju za koju se vjerovalo da je čudotvorna.<sup>96</sup> Kao analogiju spominjemo, primjerice, zvonik svetišta SS. Crocifisso u gradu Treia (*Trea*), u koji su bili uzidani ulomci što su pripadali različitim figurama egipatskog porijekla; to upućuje na postojanje kulturnog mjesta posvećenog egipatskim božanstvima, osobito Serapisu. U blizini tog svetišta nalaze se izvori vode koji su također indicija za

### A digression on the original dedication of the polygonal temple

Antique capitals cited in the literature as "Corinthian capitals with full leaves, by plain leaves, corona of smooth leaves, *Kapitelle mit vollen Blättern, chapiteau à feuilles lisse*", can, however, be recognized as derivatives of the late Egyptian capitals shaped like palm branches. These type of leaves decorate the semi-capitals on the post at the intersection of the lateral and perpendicular streets in Diocletian's Palace.<sup>94</sup> How is it that the tower has such a wealth of variation in capitals of this type? Was it the case that during the Middle Ages the remains of some building in Solin or, more likely, in the Palace itself which had smooth-leaf (branch) capitals and decorations were still visible? In other words, could the medieval capitals on the bell tower have had their exemplars in the Palace or Solin, or were they just a reflection of the general Romanesque trend, which often adhered to models from Antiquity?

Perhaps these capitals shaped like stylized palm branches were linked to the cult of Isis, of which there is sufficient indication in Diocletian's Palace: one relief depicting Serapis on the cassette from the portico of the polygonal temple, several sphinxes, granite columns...<sup>95</sup> The cult of Isis and Osiris (Serapis) - generally associated with water - is also indicated by the baths in the immediate vicinity of the temples, while in the polygonal temple itself, water (believed to be miraculous) gathers in crypt of the medieval cathedral in a trough on the floor.<sup>96</sup> An example of an analogy is the bell tower from the SS. Crocifisso shrine in the city of Treia, where fragments were built in that belonged to various figures of Egyptian origin; this indicates the existence of a cult site dedicated to Egyptian deities, particularly Serapis. There are sources of water near this shrine which also indicate the cult of Serapis (Osiris),<sup>97</sup> because water and crypts are customary in the shrines to this deity.<sup>98</sup>

.....

As opposed to the other Dalmatian cities, Split did not build its own cathedral, rather a modified pagan temple functions as the cathedral to this day. Thus, a representative bell tower had to be constructed - if for no other reason than to have a campanile - particularly to remain on par with rival Trogir in the immediate vicinity. Zadar constructed a cathedral at the site of the previous, Early Christian building, but only the base level of the bell tower was built, while the rest was only constructed in the nineteenth century. In Dalmatia, the most typical bell towers are those in

91 Radi se o presjeku zvonika; na nacrtu je prikazana tek jedna strana; valjda je istovjetna situacija bila i na suprotnoj strani.

92 Te kapitele nismo uspjeli naći u Tusculumu. Crtež jednog kapitela u obliku stiještenih valjaka prema nacrtima A. Hausera donosi Kečkemet 1963, sl. 2.

93 Brenk 1996, str. 49-92.

94 Babić 2004, str. 728.

95 Babić 2004, str. 726.

96 O vodi koja se skuplja u kripti i koju se smatralo čudotvornom v. Bulić, Karaman 1927, str. 207; usp. također Nikšić 1997, str. 43-44.

94 Babić 2004, p. 728.

95 Babić 2004, p. 726.

96 On the water that collects in the crypt which was considered miraculous, see Bulić-Karaman 1927, p. 207; cf. also Nikšić 1997, pp. 43-44.

97 Cf. Capriotti Vittozzi 1999, pp. 91-130; on cults associated with water, see pp. 108-113.

98 Wild 1981, p. 49 and *passim*; Wild 1984, pp. 1739-1851.

kult Serapisa (Oziris),<sup>97</sup> jer su, naime, voda i kripte uobičajene u svetištima ovog božanstva.<sup>98</sup>

.....

Za razliku od ostalih dalmatinskih gradova Split nije sagradio svoju katedralu, nego je do danas u funkciji katedrale ostao preinačeni poganski hram. Stoga je, barem iz kampanilističkih razloga, trebalo izgraditi reprezentativni zvonik, pogotovo da bi se pariralo rivalskome Trogiru u neposrednoj blizini. Zadar je izgradio novu katedralu na mjestu one starije, ranokršćanske, no u srednjem vijeku podignuto je samo podnožje zvonika, a sam zvonik je sagrađen tek u XIX. stoljeću. U Dalmaciji su svakako najreprezentativniji zvonici grada Raba. Split je, dakle, kao središte nadbiskupije, kad već nije izgradio novu katedralu, svoju društvenu energiju usmjerio prema gradnji velebnog zvonika.

Postavlja se pitanje o razlozima tako velikog broja antičkih spolija u srednjovjekovnom zvoniku splitske katedrale. Naravno, značajni su pritom svakako bili, kako smo već naglasili, i utilitarni razlozi: obilje već gotove kamene građe iz porušenih zdanja u Dioklecijanovoj palači i nedalekom Solinu. No, nesumnjivo je da veliki broj spolija ima simboličku vrijednost. Otučeni i priklesani rimski natpisi ukazuju na ravnodušnost prema antičkoj baštini, no u nekim slučajevima, kako smo već naznačili, očiti su elementi uvažavanja starina, osobito u slučaju ugradnje antičkog reljefa.

Split je gradio svoj mit o porijeklu nastavljajući se na antičku baštinu. Splićani su, tvrdilo se, potomci izbjeglica iz porušene Salone.<sup>99</sup> Splitska crkva pak stječe svoj status nadbiskupije prikazujući se izravnom nasljednicom one salonitanske. U splitskoj katedrali, nekadašnjem poligonalnom hramu, štiju se relikvije salonitanskih mučenika Dujma (*Domnius*) i Staša (*Anastisius*), premda se njihove moći čuvaju i u Rimu, u baptisteriju Lateranske bazilike. U predvorju katedrale u istočni je zid zvonika ugrađen reljef što ga je isklesao majstor Oto, upravo paradigmatičnog sadržaja: prikazuje salonitanske mučenike, biskupa sv. Dujma i sv. Staša, te apostola Petra. Na reljefu teče natpis koji počinje sljedećim riječima: + *Accipe primum Salon(a)e pontificatum Dalmatia(e)que regnum plebiq(ue) lucrar(e)*...<sup>100</sup> Naime, vjerovalo se da je biskup Dujam živio u vrijeme samog apostola Petra, što, dakako, ne odgovara istini; Dujam nije prvi biskup, a umoren je mnogo kasnije, u vrijeme cara Dioklecijana. Legenda o prvom biskupu iz doba apostola sv. Petra, sklopljena po uobičajenim

the town of Rab. Thus, Split, as the seat of the archdiocese, in lieu of building its own cathedral, dedicated its social energy to the construction of a grand bell tower.

The question arises as to the reasons for such a large number of spolia from Antiquity on the medieval bell tower of the Split cathedral. To be sure, as already noted, utilitarian reasons were also certainly significant: the abundance of already finished stone materials from the demolished buildings in Diocletian's Palace and in nearby Solin. However, there is no doubt that a large number of spolia had symbolic value. Broken and then re-affixed Roman inscriptions indicate a lack of concern for the Roman-era heritage, but in some cases, as already noted, there are obvious indications of appreciation of antiquities, particularly in the installation of reliefs from that era.

Split developed the myth of its origins by building on the heritage of Antiquity. Split's natives were, it was claimed, the descendents of refugees from the destroyed Salona.<sup>99</sup> The church in Split secured its status as an archdiocese by proclaiming itself the direct successor to the Salona archdiocese. In the Split cathedral, formerly a polygonal temple, the relics of the Salona martyrs Domnio (*Domnius*) and Anastasius are revered, even though their actual relics are preserved in Rome as well, in the baptistery of the Lateran Basilica. The eastern wall of the tower in the cathedral's vestibule features a relief carved by the Master Oto, with paradigmatic content: it depicts the Salona martyrs, the bishop St. Domnio, St. Anastasius, and the St. Peter the Apostle. An inscription runs on the relief which begins with three words: + *Accipe primum Salon(a)e pontificatum Dalmatia(e)que regnum plebiq(ue) lucrar(e)*...<sup>100</sup> For it was believed that Bishop Domnio lived during the time of St. Peter himself, which is naturally not true; Domnio was not the first bishop, and he was slain much later, during the reign of Emperor Diocletian. The legend of the first bishop from the time of St. Peter, patched together from the customary hagiographic formulas, was meant to reinforce the rights of the first Church in Split. The relationship between St. Peter and the first bishop, Domnio, recalls the legendary Donation of Constantine to the Church of Rome. The iconographic medieval relief in the Split tower recalls the Early Christian theme of *traditio legis*, wherein Christ is depicted between St. Peter and St. Paul. The cult of the two saints, Domnio and Anastasius, is analogous to the cults of Sts. Peter and Paul, which is considered something of a Christian interpretation of the pagan reverence for the Dioscuri twins, Castor and Pollux.

97 Usp. Capriotti Vittozzi 1999, str. 91-130; o kultovima vezanim uz vodu v. str. 108-113.

98 Wild 1981, str. 49 i d.; Wild 1984, str. 1739-1851.

99 Mit o Romanima koji su pobjegli pred Slavenima u preživjele dalmatinske gradove veoma je star kad ga već u X. st. parafrazira Konstantin Porfirogenet; on donosi i predaju o Salonitancima koji su se sklonili u Raguzij (Dubrovnik), pa čak navodi i njihova imena.

100 Jelić 1895, str. 72-75; Jelić 1895, str. 77, pretpostavlja da je reljef bio izvorno dio oltara u katedrali. Dakle, radilo bi se, ako je pretpostavka točna, o srednjovjekovnoj spoliji.

99 The myth of Romans who fled before the Slavs in the surviving Dalmatian cities is very old, since it was already paraphrased in the 10<sup>th</sup> cent. by Constantine Porphyrogenetus; he recounts the story of the Salona natives who sought refuge in Ragusa (Dubrovnik), even citing their names.

100 Jelić 1895, pp. 72-75; same author n. d., p. 77, assumed that the relief was originally part of the cathedral's altar. Thus, if this assumption were correct, it would be a medieval spolia.

hagiografskim šablonama, trebala je potkrijepiti prava splitske Crkve. Odnos apostola sv. Petra i prvog biskupa Dujma intencijom podsjeća na navodnu Konstantinovu darovnicu Rimskoj crkvi. Srednjovjekovni reljef sa splitskog zvonika podsjeća u ikonografskom smislu na ranokršćansku temu *traditio legis*, gdje se Krist prikazuje između sv. Petra i sv. Pavla. Kult dvaju svetaca, Dujma i Staša, analogan je kultu sv. Petra i sv. Pavla, što se smatra svojevrsnom kršćanskom interpretacijom poganskog štovanja blizanca Dioskura, Kastora i Poluksa.

Kako je to zamijećeno, spoliji su uglavnom ugrađeni u donjim katovima zvonika, i to na pročelnoj strani, ponajviše na trećem katu.<sup>101</sup> Doba početka gradnje zvonika, prva polovica XIII. stoljeća, vrijeme je kad Split sazrijeva u autonomnu komunu pod vlašću ugarsko-hrvatskih kraljeva. U to doba Toma Arhiđakon, ideolog komunalne autonomije, piše povijest salonitanskih i splitskih biskupa, u kojoj je zaokružio sliku o prošlosti svojega grada, povezujući ga sa Salonom i Dioklecijanovom palačom. Jedan mit je dakle već sasvim uobičen: nikad se nije zaboravilo ni na cara Dioklecijana ni na njegovu palaču. Uostalom, u Uvodu Statuta grada Splita iz 1312. spominju se Salona i palača: *Palatium letum, Spalatum Salone quietum*; taj je tekst bio upisan i u gradski pečatnjak. Dakle, Salona i Dioklecijanova palača upravo su osnovni elementi programa koji oblikuje identitet Splita. Jest da su taj mit i povijesna imaginacija sastavljeni od općih mjesta (bjegunci iz Salone, poput bjegunaca iz Troje), no povijest je snažno prisutna i inspirativna za domišljanja po svojim materijalnim ostacima, ruševinama Salone i preostacima Dioklecijanove palače.<sup>102</sup> Bilo je vjerojatno i ponekih elementa žive predaje, posebno one koju prenosi i modulira sama Crkva.<sup>103</sup> U tom kontekstu treba shvatiti i antičke spolije na zvoniku splitske katedrale. Zvonik se doimlje poput velikog lapidarija, vertikale koja ima pretenzija da naznači i vremensku dimenziju, s ishodištem u Saloni i Dioklecijanovoj palači. Baština i povijest bile su zalag za budućnost grada čija se crkva pokušava nametnuti na prostoru nekadašnje velike rimske provincije Dalmacije (Ilirka).

As noted, the spolia were generally built into the lower floors of the bell tower, on the frontal side, most on the third floor.<sup>101</sup> When construction of the tower commenced, in the first half of the thirteenth century, Split was maturing into an autonomous commune under the suzerainty of the Hungarian-Croatian kings. During that time, Archdeacon Thomas, the ideologue of communal autonomy, wrote his history of the Salona and Split bishops, in which he rounded off the history of his city by linking it to Salona and Diocletian's Palace. One myth was thus already completely formed: neither Emperor Diocletian nor his palace were ever forgotten. After all, the Introduction to the Statute of the City of Split of 1312 also mentions Salona and the Palace: *Palatium letum, Spalatum Salone quietum*; this text was also placed on the city's seal. Thus, Salona and Diocletian's Palace are actually the fundamental components employed to form Split's identity. It is true that this myth and the historical imagination were composed of generally used tropes (exiles from Salona, like the exiles from Troy), but the intense and inspiring presence of history fed this imagination by means of the physical evidence seen in the ruins of Salona and the remains of Diocletian's Palace.<sup>102</sup> Elements of a living oral tradition probably also existed, particularly those conveyed and modulated by the Church itself.<sup>103</sup> The spolia from Antiquity on the bell tower of Split's cathedral should also be viewed in this context. The tower gives the impression of an immense museum display case, a tower that has pretensions to a chronological dimension, springing forth from Salona and Diocletian's Palace. This heritage and history were the cornerstone of the future of the city whose church was attempting to impose its authority over the territory of the former great Roman province of Dalmatia (Illyricum).

101 Karaman 1959, str. 7.

102 Babić 1996, str. 241-256.

103 O stvaranju povijesnih "sjećanja" i tradicija usp. Babić 1992, str. 13-57.

101 Karaman 1959, p. 7.

102 Babić 1996, pp. 241-256.

103 On the creation of historical "memories" and tradition, cf. Babić 1992, pp. 13-57.

**Kratice / Abbreviations**

CIL - Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

PPUD - Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji

VAHD - Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku

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