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Stanje istraženosti sjeverne nekropole Salone

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Sažetak

U radu se donose rezultati istraživanja i studija o sjevernoj nekropoli Salone. Arheološka istraživanja posljednjih godina pokazala su da se ova nekropola prostirala na daleko većem prostoru nego što se to ranije mislilo. Na prostoru sjeverno od zapadnog poteza bedema ukopi su vršeni uz dvije ceste: jedna je paralelna s bedemima, od kojih je udaljena dvadesetak metara, a druga se pruža od Manastirina dalje prema zapadu. U radu se iznosi pretpostavka da se nekropola prostirala i sjeverno od istočnog trakta bedema.

Ključne riječi: Salone, sjeverna nekropola, cesta

Current state of research at Salona's northern necropolis

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Review article

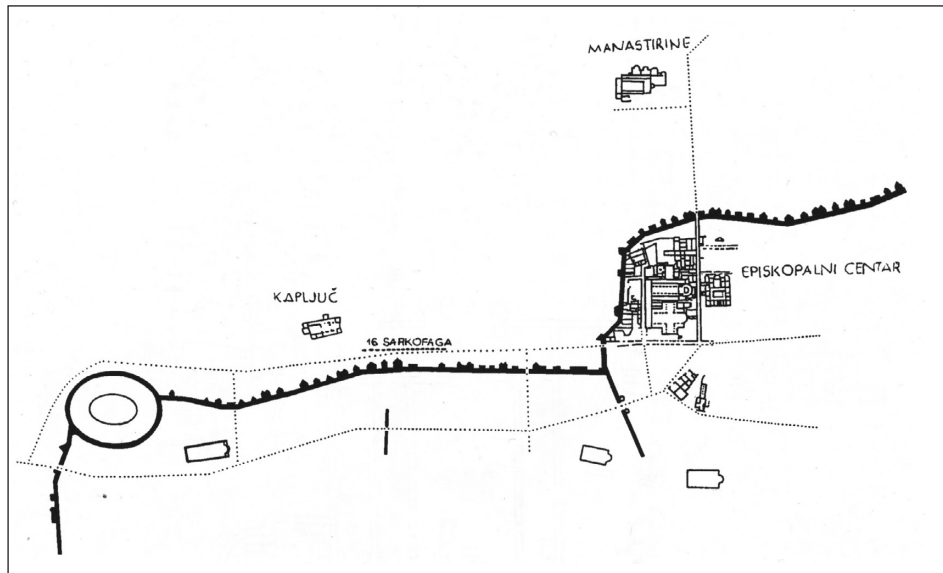
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Abstract

This paper contains the results of research and study into the northern necropolis of Salona. Archaeological excavations in recent years have shown that this necropolis extended over a far larger area than had previously been thought. In the section north of the western tract of the city's defensive wall, burials were done alongside two roads: one which ran parallel to the wall, approximately 20 meters away, and the other which extended westward from Manastirine. The hypothesis that the necropolis extended north and east of the city wall tract is put forth in this paper.

Key words: Salone, northern necropolis, road



Sl. 1. Sjeverna nekropola sa cestom paralelnom s bedemima i sjevernim dijelom karda (preuzeto iz: *Salona III Manastirine*)

Fig. 1. Northern necropolis with the Roman road parallel to the town walls and the northern part of the cardo (from: *Salona III Manastirine*)



Sl. 3. Episkopalni centar s tzv. Petrovom ulicom između bazilika i termi (foto: privatna zbirka Marka Matijevića)

Fig. 3. Episcopal centre with so-called Peter's street between the basilicas and thermae (photo: private collection of Marko Matijević)



Sl. 2. Na fotografiji je vidljiv položaj bedema s lokalitetima Kapljuč i "16 sarkofaga" na sjevernoj nekropoli (foto: privatna zbirka Marka Matijevića)

Fig. 2. Town walls with Kapljuč sites and "16 sarcophaguses" (photo: private collection of Marko Matijević)

Položaj nekropole

Od ceste prema Trogiru, uz koju se razvila zapadna nekropola, u blizini zapadnih gradskih vrata odvajala se antička cesta u pravcu sjevera (sl. 1 i 2). Ona je obilazila amfiteatar i pružala se u pravcu istoka paralelno sa sjevernim traktom gradskih zidina iz 2. stoljeća.¹ Istočni dio ove ceste je izgradnjom gradskih zidina 170. godine postao gradska komunikacija u istočnom proširenju grada. Radi se o sjeverozapadnom dijelu istočnog proširenja grada na kojemu od 4. stoljeća nastaje starokršćansko središte grada – Episkopalni centar. Na mjestu gdje se sijeku cesta i gradske zidine izgrađena su manja gradska vrata, tzv. *Porta suburbia II*. Smatra se da su se ukopi koji pripadaju ovoj nekropoli nalazili i uz tzv. Petrovu ulicu, položenu u pravcu sjever-jug.² Petrova ulica prolazi između bazilika sa zapadne i termi s istočne strane te izlazi na *Porta suburbia III* u sjevernom traktu bedema (sl. 3).

Nekropola se u stručnoj literaturi naziva sjevernom jer je u novije vrijeme prevladalo mišljenje da nekropole Salone treba nazivati prema njihovom položaju u odnosu na grad.

Istraživanja tijekom 19. stoljeća

Prva istraživanja bila su ona Carla Lanze, koji je bio prvi i počasni ravnatelj Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu i iskopavanja u Solinu od 1820. do 1828. godine. Poduzeta su 1823. godine, neposredno nakon osnivanja Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu i odvijala su se u nekoliko kampanja do 1825. godine.³ C. Lanza je radio na prostoru oko tzv. kiklopskog zida ili, kako se oba zida kasnije nazivaju, *murazza*. U izvještaju s istraživanja što ga je 1849. godine objavio njegov sin Francesco Lanza nema spomena ni o kakvoj cesti niti o zidovima koji se odvajaju od ceste za Trogir u pravcu sjevera, a nisu označeni ni na topografskoj karti objavljenoj u sklopu izvještaja.

Njih na topografskoj karti donosi F. Carrara, koji označava kiklopski zid i zidove koji se od njega odvajaju u pravcu sjevera.⁴

Tijekom ljeta 1871. godine na kat. čest. 3967/2 i 3968 sjeverno od gradskih zidina jedan solinski težak je radeći na zemlji pronašao 16 sarkofaga. Položeni su u pravcu istok-zapad, prateći tako pravac gradskih zidina. Nakon otkrića prvih sarkofaga vlasnici zemlje

Position of the necropolis

Near the western city gate, a Roman-era road proceeded off the road leading to Trogir, alongside which the western necropolis grew (Figs. 1 and 2). It passed by the amphitheatre and extended eastward parallel to the northern tract of the 2nd-century city walls.¹ After construction of the city walls in 170 AD, the eastern section of this road became an urban communication route in the city's eastern extension. This is the north-western section of the city's eastern expansion, where the city's Early Christian hub, the Episcopal Centre, emerged in the 4th century. A small city gate, the so-called *Porta suburbia II*, was built at the point where the road and the city wall intersect. It is believed that the interment spots in this necropolis were also situated along so-called Petrova street, oriented in a north-south direction.² Petrova street passed between the basilica to its west and the baths to its east, and terminated at the *Porta suburbia III* in the northern tract of the walls (Fig. 3).

In the scholarly literature, the necropolis is referred to as 'northern', because more recently the prevailing opinion has been that the Salona necropolises should be referred to by their position in relation to the city.

Research during the 19th century

The first research was that conducted by Carlo Lanza, who was also the first and honorary director of the Archaeological Museum in Split from 1820 to 1828, and also the leader of excavations in Solin. They were undertaken in 1823 immediately after the establishment of the Archaeological Museum in Split and they proceeded in several campaigns until 1825.³ Lanza worked in the area of the so-called Cyclopean wall or, as both walls were later called, the *murazza*. In a research report that was published in 1849 by his son Francesco Lanza, there is no mention of any road nor walls that branch off from the Trogir road in a northerly direction, nor are they marked on the topographic map appended to the report.

They were indicated on a topographic map by F. Carrara, who marked the Cyclopean wall and the walls that branch off from it northward.⁴

While working the land in the summer of 1871, a farm labourer from Solin found 16 sarcophaguses on cadastral plots 3967/2 and 3968 north of the city

1 Rendić-Miočević 1988, str. 327-328.

2 Miletić 1990, str. 182-183.

3 Lanza 1849, str. 120-122, Tav. K.

4 Carrara 1850, Mappa topografica di Salona secondo le scoperte del dr. Carrara.

1 Rendić-Miočević 1988, pp. 327-328.

2 Miletić 1990, pp. 182-183.

3 Lanza 1849, pp. 120-122, Tav. K.

4 Carrara 1850, Mappa topografica di Salona secondo le scoperte del dr. Carrara.



Sl. 4. "16 sarkofaga" (foto: privatna zbirka Marka Matijevića)

Fig. 4. "16 sarcophaguses" (photo: private collection of Marko Matijević)

poduzeli su iskopavanja 1873. godine i otkrili svih 16 sarkofaga.⁵

Sarkofazi su od bedema udaljeni 13 metara i postavljeni su u nizu, pa Bulić iz njihova položaja izvlači zaključak da se na tom prostoru nalazila cesta koja je izlazila na *Porta suburbia II* u južnom dijelu Episkopalnog centra. U članku Bulić objavljuje sarkofage od kojih su neki bili upotrijebljeni za starokršćanske ukope.⁶

Oko 150 metara sjeverno od bedema Salone na prirodnoj terasi izvan gradskih zidina nastao je najpoznatiji i najbolje istražen i cimiterijalni kompleks Salone – Manastirine. Granicu terase na južnoj strani predstavlja greben vapnenca koji se pruža u pravcu istok-zapad. Na njemu je izgrađena zgrada Tusculuma (sl. 6).

S iskopavanjima je započeo C. Lanza, koji je istraživao od 1825. do 1827. godine.⁷ Lokalitet je zainteresirao i Carraru, koji je prilikom istraživanja 1848. godine među ostalim nalazima pronašao i 8 urni.⁸ M. Glavinić je u više navrata sondirao od 1873. do 1882. godine i pronašao sarkofage Dobrog pastira te Hipolita i Fedre.⁹ Nakon toga istraživanja na Manastirinama

walls. They were had an east-west orientation, thus adhering to the direction of the city walls. After the discovery of the first sarcophaguses, the land's owners conducted excavations in 1873 and discovered all 16 sarcophaguses.⁵

The sarcophaguses are 13 meters far from the wall and set in a row, so based on their position Bulić concluded that there was a road in this area that ran to the *Porta suburbia II* in the southern section of the Episcopal Centre. In an article, Bulić published sarcophaguses of which some were used for Early Christian burials.⁶

The best known and most thoroughly examined cemeterial complex of Salona, Manastirine, emerged approximately 150 meters north of the walls of Salona, on a natural terrace outside of the city walls. The boundary of the terrace on the southern side is a limestone ridge that extends from east to west. The Tusculum building was constructed on it (Fig. 6).

Excavations were initiated by Lanza, who conducted research from 1825 to 1827.⁷ The site also caught the interest of Carrara, who found, among other things, eight urns during excavations in 1848.⁸ M. Glavinić conducted several test digs from 1873 to 1882 and found the sarcophaguses of the Good Shepherd and Hippolytus and Phaedra.⁹ Thereafter excavations at Manastirine were assumed by Bulić, who dealt with this site until the end of his career in the Archaeological Museum in Split.¹⁰

Research during the 20th century

"16 sarcophaguses" (Fig. 4)

In the brief report on excavations in 1904, Bulić wrote about the works conducted north of the city walls near the basilica at Kapljuč. The site called "16 sarcophaguses" was discovered, as already noted, in 1871 during agricultural activities, and in February 1903 the dig was expanded 7 meters westward. There were no finds.¹¹

5 De Rossi 1880, str. 67; Bulić 1914a, str. 3, bilj. 1.

6 Bulić 1899b, str. 133-137.

7 Lanza 1849, str. 127-128.

8 Carrara 1850, str. 9-10.

9 Egger 1926, str. 6.

5 De Rossi 1880, p. 67; Bulić 1914a, p. 3, note 1.

6 Bulić 1899b, pp. 133-137.

7 Lanza 1849, pp. 127-128.

8 Carrara 1850, pp. 9-10.

9 Egger 1926, p. 6.

10 Here I shall not provide a research history because a very detailed overview of the excavations was published by N. Duval in 2000. His publication also contained documentation of earlier excavations.

11 Bulić 1904; Bulić 1911, p. 4.



Sl. 5. Lokalitet Kapljuč. Antička cesta se vjerojatno nalazi između bazilike i bedema (foto: privatna zbirka Marka Matijevića)

Fig. 5. Kapljuč site. The Roman road is probably situated between the church and town walls (photo: private collection of Marko Matijević)

preuzima Bulić, koji se ovim lokalitetom bavi do kraja svog rada u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu.¹⁰

Istraživanja tijekom 20. stoljeća

“16 sarkofaga” (sl. 4)

U kratkom izvještaju o istraživanjima tijekom 1904. godine Bulić piše o radovima sjeverno od gradskih zidina u blizini bazilike na Kapljuču. Lokalitet nazvan “16 sarkofaga” otkriven je, kako je već spomenuto, 1871. godine prilikom poljodjelskih radova, a u veljači 1903. godine iskop je proširen za 7 metara u pravcu zapada. Nije bilo nalaza.¹¹

Kapljuč (sl. 5)

Godine 1908., prilikom čišćenja gomila na kat. čest. 3969 i 3924 koje se nalaze uz sjeverne gradske zidine, pronađeni su brojni nadgrobni spomenici. Radilo se mahom o stelama.¹²

Bulić je intervenirao i očito proveo manja istraživanja te pronašao apsidu crkve. Na tome mjestu istraživanja su nastavljena 1913. godine, ali su ubrzo prekinuta zbog izbijanja Prvoga svjetskog rata.¹³

Kapljuč (Fig. 5)

In 1908, during the clearing of a mound on cadastral plots 3969 and 3924 which is situated along the northern side of the city walls, numerous gravestones were found. There were mostly stelae.¹²

Bulić intervened and apparently conducted limited excavations and found a church apse. Excavations continued at this site in 1913, but were quickly suspended due to the outbreak of the First World War.¹³

When interpreting the finds from these excavations, Bulić did not explain the stela finds (although he published them), but he classified the cemetery as Early Christian and dated it to the 6th century.¹⁴

The Danish Rask-Ørsted Association continued the excavations at the site where Bulić had found a church. The excavations lasted from 1922 to 1924, and the results were published in 1928 in the first volume of *Recherches à Salone*.¹⁵ The research results were thoroughly analysed, including not only architecture, sculpture and inscriptions, but also types of graves – a total of 10 types.¹⁶ Incineration graves were not found, although many pre-Christian gravestones were found that date to the mid-1st century.¹⁷ An Early Christian basilica and cemetery were built atop the necropolis in the 5th century. Bulić's dating of this site was corrected, as Brønsted dated it from the 1st to 6th centuries, noting that besides dating of the necropolis, nothing else may be concluded about the appearance of the site prior to the 4th century.¹⁸

Amphitheatre (Fig. 2)

Excavations were initiated by Carrara, who opened test trenches in 1846 and 1850.¹⁹ Thereafter until 1909 there were no excavations at the amphitheatre. They were continued by Bulić, who conducted works in 1909-1912, 1913-1914 and 1915-1916. During Bulić's excavations numerous pieces of gravestones were found.²⁰

Besides these finds, it is noteworthy that during archaeological rescue excavations at a sewer main section in 2007, no traces of a necropolis or road were found on this plot 5 to 6 meters west of the edge of

10 Na ovome mjestu ne donosim povijest istraživanja jer je vrlo detaljan pregled istraživanja objavio N. Duval 2000, str. 1-85. U publikaciji je donesena i dokumentacija s ranijih istraživanja.

11 Bulić 1904; Bulić 1911, str. 4.

12 Bulić 1911, str. 4-11.

13 Bulić 1925a, str. 99.

12 Bulić 1911, pp. 4-11.

13 Bulić 1925a, p. 99.

14 Bulić 1911, p. 27.

15 Brønsted 1928.

16 Brønsted 1928, pp. 133-153, Pl. VIII.

17 Brønsted 1928, pp. 157-169.

18 Brønsted 1928, p. 179.

19 Carrara 1850, pp. 91-93.

20 Bulić 1914b; Bulić 1919.

Interpretirajući nalaze s istraživanja, Bulić ne objašnjava nalaze stela (premda ih objavljuje), a groblje određuje kao starokršćansko te ga datira u 6. stoljeće.¹⁴

Dansko društvo *Rask-Ørsted* nastavilo je s istraživanjima na mjestu gdje je Bulić pronašao crkvu. Istraživanja su trajala od 1922. do 1924. godine, a rezultati su objavljeni 1928. godine u prvom svesku *Recherches à Salone*.¹⁵ Rezultati istraživanja detaljno su obrađeni, uključujući ne samo arhitekturu, skulpturu i natpise nego i tipove grobova – ukupno 10 tipova.¹⁶ Paljevinski grobovi nisu pronađeni premda su pronađeni brojni pretkršćanski nadgrobni spomenici koji datiraju od sredine 1. st.¹⁷ Nad nekropolom su u 5. stoljeću podignuti starokršćanska bazilika i groblje. Korigirana je Bulićeva datacija ovog lokaliteta, koji Brønsted datira od 1. do 6. stoljeća, napominjući da osim datacije nekropole ne može ništa više zaključiti o izgledu lokaliteta prije 4. stoljeća.¹⁸

Amfiteatar (sl. 2)

S istraživanjima je započeo Carrara, sondiranjem 1846. i 1850. godine.¹⁹ Nakon toga sve do 1909. godine nije bilo istraživanja amfiteatra. Nastavio ih je Bulić, koji je istraživao 1909. - 1912., 1913. - 1914. i 1915. - 1916. godine. Prilikom Bulićevih istraživanja pronađeni su brojni ulomci nadgrobni natpisa.²⁰

Uz ove nalaze treba napomenuti da, prilikom zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja na trasi kanalizacije 2007. godine na ovoj parceli na udaljenosti od 5 do 6 metara zapadno od ruba amfiteatra nisu pronađeni tragovi nekropole ni ceste. Cesta i nekropola nisu pronađene ni na prostoru sjeverno od amfiteatra (na udaljenosti od 2 do 8 metara od amfiteatra).²¹ Očito je da se cesta i nekropola nalaze nešto zapadnije, odnosno sjevernije od mjesta istraživanja. Vjerojatno je većina nadgrobni natpisa koje je pronašao Bulić pripadala zapadnoj nekropoli, koja se razvila uz cestu u pravcu Trogira koja prolazi južno od amfiteatra.

Ipak, smatra se da su tri urne gladijatora koje su bile pronađene u blizini amfiteatra pripadale sjevernoj nekropoli. Na Kapljuču je pronađena još jedna

the amphitheatre. The road and necropolis were not even found in the area north of the amphitheatre (2 to 8 meters from the amphitheatre).²¹ It is apparent that the road and necropolis are situated somewhat farther westward and northward than the excavation site. It is likely that most of the gravestone inscriptions found by Bulić were from the western necropolis, which grew along the road leading to Trogir that passed south of the amphitheatre.

Nonetheless, it is believed that the three gladiatorial urns found near the amphitheatre belonged to the northern necropolis. One more gladiatorial urn was found at Kapljuč. It appears that this was an occupational cemetery.²²

North-western tract of the city walls (Fig. 2)

The chance find of a piece of the stele of Gaius Utius from the latter half of the 1st century BC (inv. no. A 5193) in 1925 prompted excavations at a part of the northern wall and two towers. These are towers no. 9 and 10 in the section between the amphitheatre and Kapljuč. An urn and a considerable quantity of ceramics and pieces of gravestone inscriptions were found in the prism of one of the towers that Bulić had explored on this occasion.²³ The stele of Gaius Utius was found built into the city wall as the lintel of a city gate (*Porta suburbia I*).²⁴ Abramić, who wrote about the finds of gravestones built into the city walls, did not set a precise time for when the stele was built into the wall. He simply noted that it had to have been done after 200 AD.²⁵

A cippus was found in the materials into which the aforementioned gate was subsequently built. On it, a winged Eros is depicted on one side, while the other side features a Genius holding a grain stalk in one hand and a sickle in the other (the personification of summer). On the other side there is a relief image of Mercury that Abramić has interpreted as a relief of Hermes Psychopompos. Based on the grooves on the cippus, Abramić claims that the cippus originally served as a pylon for the fence on a grave plot and linked it to the sarcophagus bearing scenes of the four seasons.²⁶

14 Bulić 1911, str. 27.

15 Brønsted 1928.

16 Brønsted 1928, str. 133-153, T. VIII.

17 Brønsted 1928, str. 157-169.

18 Brønsted 1928, str. 179.

19 Carrara 1850, str. 91-93.

20 Bulić 1914b; Bulić 1919.

21 Istraživanja su (s prekidima) trajala od ožujka do rujna 2007. godine, a vodila ih je autorica ovog teksta. Rezultati nisu objavljeni.

21 Excavations (with interruptions) lasted from March through September 2007, led by this author. The results have not been published.

22 Miletić 1990, pp. 178-179.

23 Bulić 1925b.

24 Abramić 1929, p. 56. On the stele which is one of the oldest found in Salone's necropolises: Cambi 2005, p. 13, Fig. 7.

25 Abramić 1929, p. 57.

26 Abramić 1929, p. 62.

gladijatorska urna. Čini se da se radi o strukovnom groblju.²²

Sjeverozapadni potez gradskih zidina (sl. 2)

Slučajan nalaz ulomka stele Gaja Utija iz druge polovice 1. st. pr. Kr. (Inv. br. A 5193) godine 1925. potaknuo je istraživanja dijela sjevernih zidina i dviju kula. Radi se o kulama br. 9 i 10 na potezu između amfiteatra i Kapljuča. U prizmi jedne od kula koje je Bulić ovom prilikom istražio, nađena je urna i dosta keramike te ulomci nadgrobnih natpisa.²³ Stela Gaja Utija nađena je uzidana u gradske zidine kao nadvratnik gradskih vrata (*Porta suburbia I*).²⁴ Abramić, koji je pisao o nalazima nadgrobnih spomenika uzidanih u zidine, ne datira točno vrijeme kada je stela ugrađena u zidine. Napominje samo da je to moralo biti nakon godine 200.²⁵

U materijalu kojim su gore spomenuta vrata bila naknadno zazidana pronađen je cipus. Na njemu je s jedne strane prikazan krilati erot ili genij s klasom u jednoj i srpom u drugoj ruci (personifikacija ljeta). Na drugoj strani je reljef Merkura koji Abramić interpretira kao reljef Hermesa Psihopompa. Zbog žljebova na cipusu Abramić tvrdi da je cipus izvorno služio kao pylon ograde grobne parcele i dovodi ga u vezu sa sarkofagom s prikazom četiri godišnja doba.²⁶

Na potezu južno od *Porta suburbia I*, unutar zapadnog proširenja grada, dakle duž komunikacije koja se odvajala od *Via principalis* prema sjeveru i *Porta suburbia I*, nađen je velik broj nadgrobnih natpisa, urni i ulomaka sarkofaga. Kod spoja s *Via principalis*, na kat. čest. 4058, pronađen je 1826. - 1827. godine mauzolej obitelji Lolija (*Lollia*). Ž. Miletić navodi da je mauzolej na spoju sjeverne i zapadne nekropole.²⁷ Prema mojem mišljenju radi se o mauzoleju koji se nalazio uz *Via principalis* te pripada zapadnoj nekropoli. Činjenica je da je na više mjesta u Saloni i u njezinoj neposrednoj okolini gotovo nemoguće točno odrediti koji nadgrobní spomenik pripada kojoj nekropoli. To se posebno odnosi na raskrižja. Čini mi se da se natpisi koji su pronađeni uz ulicu koja vodi do *Porta suburbia I*, a sjeverno od spoja s *Via principalis*, mogu pripisati sjevernoj nekropoli.²⁸

A high number of gravestone inscriptions, urns and sarcophagus fragments were found along the swath south of the *Porta suburbia I*, inside the city's western extension, thus along the communication route that proceeded from the *Via principalis* northward and the *Porta suburbia I*. At the intersection with the *Via principalis*, on cadastral plot 4058, the mausoleum of the Lollia family was found in 1826-1827. Ž. Miletić alleged that the mausoleum was at the point where the northern and western necropolises met.²⁷ In my opinion, this was a mausoleum next to the *Via principalis* and it belonged to the western necropolis. The fact is that there are several sites in Salona and its immediate vicinity where it is impossible to precisely determine which gravestone belongs to which necropolis. This pertains in particular to intersections. It would appear to me that the inscriptions found next to the street that leads to the *Porta suburbia I*, and north of the intersection with the *Via principalis*, may be ascribed to the northern necropolis.²⁸

Episcopal Centre (Fig. 3)

At the mid-19th century (1847 and 1848), Carrara had already commenced excavations at the area of the Episcopal Centre, but major excavations were only initiated by Bulić in 1901.²⁹ Excavations continued with some interruptions until 1909, and it continued in the area south of the basilica in 1925.³⁰ A high number of gravestones were found scattered over the entire surface of this complex.³¹ Bulić stressed that these gravestones could not be linked to the architecture of the Episcopal Centre and that they belonged to either earlier buildings and made their way there with the materials that cover this part of the city.³² E. Dyggve conducted research here in 1949 and 1950.³³ The results of these works were partly published by T. Marasović in 1998.³⁴ He accepted N. Cambi's opinion according to which the oldest finds from the Episcopal Centre belong to the eastern necropolis.³⁵ Ž. Miletić did not agree with this theory, believing that it is difficult to ascertain the necropolis from which these numerous gravestones came. He stressed the importance and age of Petrova street in the eastern section of the

22 Miletić 1990, str. 178-179.

23 Bulić 1925b.

24 Abramić 1929, str. 56. O steli koja je jedna od najstarijih pronađenih na nekropolama Salone: Cambi 2005, str. 13, sl. 7.

25 Abramić 1929, str. 57.

26 Abramić 1929, str. 62.

27 Miletić 1990, str. 167.

28 Miletić 1990, str. 168-170, sl. 2.

27 Miletić 1990, p. 167.

28 Miletić 1990, pp. 168-170, Fig. 2.

29 Carrara 1850, pp. 61-63, 119; Bulić 1902.

30 Bulić 1906; Bulić 1912; Bulić 1925c.

31 Bulić 1906, pp. 120-133; Bulić 1912, pp. 4-15, 22.

32 Bulić 1912, pp. 4-5.

33 Dyggve 1951, pp. 21-47.

34 Marasović 1998.

35 Marasović 1998, p. 1003, note 4.

Episkopalni centar (sl. 3)

Još je Carrara polovinom 19. stoljeća (1847. i 1848. godine) bio započeo s istraživanjima na prostoru Episkopalnog centra, ali velika istraživanja inicira Bulić 1901. godine.²⁹ Istraživanja su s prekidima trajala do 1909. godine, a nastavljena su na prostoru južno od bazilika godine 1925.³⁰ Pronađen je velik broj nadgrobnih spomenika rasut po cijeloj površini ovog kompleksa.³¹ Bulić naglašava da se pronađeni nadgrobnici ne mogu dovesti u vezu s arhitekturom Episkopalnoga centra i da pripadaju ili ranijim građevinama ili su onamo dospjeli s materijalom kojim je zatrpavan ovaj dio grada.³² Tijekom 1949. i 1950. godine ovdje istražuje E. Dyggve.³³ Rezultate tih radova djelomično je objavio i T. Marasović 1998. godine.³⁴ On prihvaća mišljenje N. Cambija prema kojemu najstariji nalazi s Episkopalnoga centra pripadaju istočnoj nekropoli.³⁵ S tom tezom se ne slaže Ž. Miletić, koji smatra da je teško odrediti kojoj nekropoli pripadaju ovdje pronađeni brojni nadgrobnici. On naglašava važnost i starost Petrove ulice na istočnom dijelu Episkopalnoga centra, ali ističe da su zbog velike graditeljske aktivnosti uništeni tragovi nekropole uz ovu ulicu.³⁶ Posljednja, revizijska istraživanja u Oratoriju A (2001. - 2007. g.) nisu potvrdila postojanje nekropole na zapadnom dijelu Episkopalnoga centra. U sondama unutar središnje prostorije Oratorija A te u zapadnom dvorištu nisu nađeni tragovi ukopa. Pronađen je samo ulomak stele ugrađen u sjeverni zid Oratorija A.³⁷ Istraživanja su vođena u suradnji s francuskim kolegama, a rezultati su objavljeni.³⁸

Manastirine (sl. 6)

Istraživanja na Manastrinama započeta u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća nastavljena su i početkom 20. stoljeća. O dugoj povijesti istraživanja ovog lokaliteta objavljen je godine 2000. vrlo detaljan pregled te ga ovdje nema razloga ponavljati.³⁹ Na ovome mjestu treba spomenuti drugi svezak publikacije *Forchungen*

Episcopal Centre, but stressed that traces of the necropolis adjacent to this street were destroyed by major construction works.³⁶ The final, revisionary excavations conducted in Oratorium A (2001-2007) did not confirm the existence of a necropolis in the western section of the Episcopal Centre. No traces of burials were found in the test trenches inside the central room of Oratorium A and in the western courtyard. Only a stele fragment built into the northern wall of Oratorium A was found.³⁷ Excavations were conducted in cooperation with French colleagues, and the results have been published.³⁸

Manastirine (Fig. 6)

The excavations at Manastirine initiated in the latter half of the 19th century continued into the early 20th century. A very detailed overview of the long history of research at this site was published in 2000, so there is no need to repeat it herein.³⁹ Noteworthy here is the second volume of the publication *Forchungen in Salona* published in Vienna in 1926, which synthesized all preceding research and knowledge on the site. Also gathered therein were the pre-Christian gravestone inscriptions found during the many years of excavations.⁴⁰

The many gravestone inscriptions which dated from the 1st to the end of the 3rd century did not, however, persuade researchers that the Early Christian cemetery was preceded by a pagan one. Opinions on pre-Christian layers at the site that also included graves differed considerably.⁴¹ L. Jelić dedicated considerable effort to proving that there was a private estate at Manastirine at which members of respected Salonitan families were buried (L. Ulpius and his wife Domitia). Based on the fact that their remains were not cremated, but rather buried, Jelić came to the conclusion that they were Christians.⁴²

The finds that chronologically preceded the Early Christian layer were interpreted as being from a private estate outside of the city in which Bishop Domnio was secretly buried in 304 AD. An Early Christian cemetery grew around the martyr's grave, and in the 5th century a cemeterial basilica was erected.⁴³ The

29 Carrara 1850, str. 61-63, 119; Bulić 1902.

30 Bulić 1906; Bulić 1912; Bulić 1925c.

31 Bulić 1906, str. 120-133; Bulić 1912, str. 4-15, 22.

32 Bulić 1912, str. 4-5.

33 Dyggve 1951, str. 21-47.

34 Marasović 1998.

35 Marasović 1998, str. 1003, bilj. 4.

36 Miletić 1990, str. 182-183.

37 Mardešić, Chevalier 2003, str. 383.

38 Chevalier, Mardešić 2006; Mardešić 2008, str. 320-322.

39 Duval 2000, str. 50-85.

36 Miletić 1990, pp. 182-183.

37 Mardešić, Chevalier 2003, p. 383.

38 Chevalier, Mardešić 2006; Mardešić 2008, pp. 320-322.

39 Duval 2000, pp. 50-85.

40 Egger 1926, pp. 67-73, nos. 1-72.

41 Bulić 1986, p. 134, note 7.

42 Jelić 1892, pp. 163-164.

43 Egger 1926, p. 15.

in *Salona* objavljen 1926. godine u Beču, u kojem su sintetizirani svi dotadašnji rezultati istraživanja i saznanja o lokalitetu. Ovdje su prikupljeni i pretrkršćanski nadgrobni natpisi koji su pronađeni tijekom višegodišnjih istraživanja.⁴⁰

Brojni nadgrobni natpisi koji datiraju od 1. do kraja 3. stoljeća ipak nisu uvjerili istraživače da je starokršćanskom groblju prethodila poganska nekropola. Mišljenja o pretrkršćanskim slojevima lokaliteta koji su uključivali i grobove poprilično su se razlikovala.⁴¹ L. Jelić je dosta prostora posvetio dokazivanju da je na Manastirinama bio privatni posjed na kojemu su ukopani pripadnici ugledne salonitanske obitelji (L. Ulpije i supruga mu Domicija). Na temelju činjenice da njihovi ostaci nisu bili spaljeni, nego pokopani, L. Jelić je izvukao zaključak da se radilo o kršćanima.⁴²

Nalazi koji su kronološki prethodili starokršćanskom sloju, interpretirani su kao nalazi s privatnog posjeda izvan grada na kojemu je 304. godine potajno pokopan biskup Domnio. Oko groba mučenika razvilo se starokršćansko groblje, a u 5. stoljeću podignuta je grobišna bazilika.⁴³ Kao dokaz o postojanju vile koja je prethodila starokršćanskom ceterijalnom kompleksu, navode se ostaci tijeska za masline.⁴⁴

Manja zaštitna istraživanja poduzeta prilikom gradnje vodovoda južno od bazilike, na prostoru između Manastirina i gradskih zidina 1949. godine, dala su nalaz četiri urne.⁴⁵ Radove je vodio D. Rendić-Miočević. U blizini, također za vrijeme gradnje vodovoda, pronađeni su nadgrobni natpisi i poklopac urne.⁴⁶

Revizijska istraživanja hrvatsko-francuskog istraživačkog tima na Manastirinama koja su s prekidima trajala od 1983. do 1997. godine pokazala su da su od nekropole (osim ranije pronađenih i objavljenih natpisa i urni) preostali skromni ostaci zidova, vjerojatno privatnih grobnih parcela.⁴⁷ Radove su vodili N. Duval i E. Marin.

Kao jedina preostala grobna parcela na lokalitetu interpretira se ograđeni prostor istočno od apside bazilike (*area*).⁴⁸ Za ostatke manje građevine s apsidom okrenutom prema sjeveru iznesena je pretpostavka da se radi o mauzoleju⁴⁹ (sl. 7).

remains of an olive press were cited as evidence of the existence of a villa that preceded the Early Christian cemeterial complex.⁴⁴

Minor rescue excavations undertaken during the construction of a water supply line south of the basilica, in the area between Manastirine and the city walls in 1949, yielded the discovery of four urns.⁴⁵ Works were led by D. Rendić-Miočević. Gravestone inscriptions and an urn lid were found nearby, also at the time when water line was being constructed.⁴⁶

Revisionary excavations at Manastirine conducted by a Croatian-French team from 1983 through 1997 with some interruptions, showed that only the modest remains of walls, probably belonging to private burial plots, were all that was left of the necropolis (except for the inscriptions and urns discovered and published earlier).⁴⁷ The works were led by N. Duval and E. Marin.

The fenced-in area east of the basilica apse (*area*) is the sole remaining part of the site that is interpreted as a grave plot there.⁴⁸ As to the remains of a small structure with an apse facing northward, it has been hypothesized that this was a mausoleum⁴⁹ (Fig. 7).

One of the most important results of the revisionary excavations was the conclusion that the Early Christian phase of the site was preceded by a necropolis, rather than a private estate with a villa and olive press. Based on the fact that a part of the olive press was placed above the remains of the apse of "chapel VII," it was concluded that the press dated to Late Antiquity and that it could not have preceded the Early Christian period.⁵⁰ Research has shown that vaulted stone-built tombs appeared in Salona earlier than initially thought, already in the latter half of the 3rd century.⁵¹

N. Cambi backed the view that pagans and Christians were buried at this site at the same time, citing as supporting evidence the examples of the Good Shepherd sarcophagus, whose owner had to have been a Christian, and the sarcophagus featuring Hippolytus and Phaedra (a pagan burial).⁵² The sarcophaguses were found together in the corridor of the basilica. Z. Buljević advocated a contrary hypothesis. Focusing on the image of the myth of Hippolytus and Phaedra, and the fact that both sarcophaguses had been moved

40 Egger 1926, str. 67-73, br. 1-72.

41 Bulić 1986, str. 134, bilj. 7.

42 Jelić 1892, str. 163-164.

43 Egger 1926, str. 15.

44 Bulić 1986, str. 134.

45 Rendić-Miočević 1954.

46 Cambi 1986, str. 95.

47 Mardešić 2000.

48 Marin, Mardešić 2000, str. 127, sl. 242.

49 Jelić 1892, str. 160; Mardešić 2000, str. 210, sl. 9.

44 Bulić 1986, p. 134.

45 Rendić-Miočević 1954.

46 Cambi 1986, p. 95.

47 Mardešić 2000.

48 Marin, Mardešić 2000, p. 127, Fig. 242.

49 Jelić 1892, p. 160; Mardešić 2000, p. 210, Fig. 9.

50 Duval, Marin 2000, p. 653, Fig. 656.

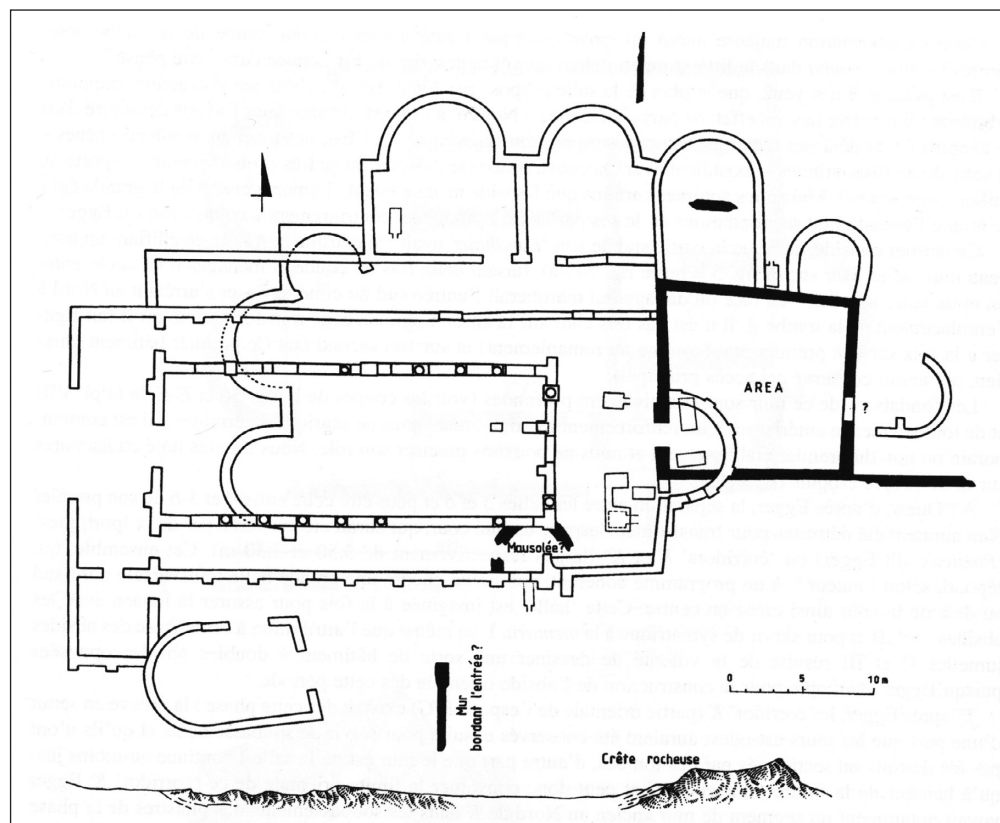
51 Mardešić 2000, p. 217, Fig. 49.

52 Cambi 1994, p. 75.



Sl. 6. Manastirine - antička komunikacija u pravcu zapada nalazi se ili ispod današnjeg puta ili nešto južnije (foto: privatna zbirka Marka Matijevića)

Fig. 6. Manastirine – the Roman road is situated either below the contemporary road or farther to the south (photo: private collection of Marko Matijević)



Sl. 7. Ostaci nekropole na Manastirinama (prema Duval, Marin, Mardešić 2000)

Fig. 7. Remains of the necropolis below the church at Manastirine (Duval, Marin, Mardešić 2000)

Jedan od najvažnijih rezultata revizijskih istraživanja jest zaključak da je starokršćanskoj fazi lokaliteta prethodila nekropola, a ne privatno imanje s vilom i tjeskom. Na temelju činjenice da je jedan dio tjeska za masline postavljen iznad ostataka apside "kapele VII" zaključeno je da tjesak pripada vremenu kasne antike te da nije mogao prethoditi starokršćanskom razdoblju.⁵⁰ Istraživanja su pokazala da se nadsvođene zidane grobnice u Saloni pojavljuju ranije nego što se to mislilo, već u drugoj polovini 3. stoljeća.⁵¹

N. Cambi se priklanja mišljenju da su se na ovom lokalitetu istovremeno pokapali pogani i kršćani, dokazujući to i na primjeru sarkofaga Dobroga pastira, čiji je vlasnik morao biti kršćanin, te Hipolita i Fedre (poganski ukop).⁵² Sarkofazi su nađeni zajedno u hodniku bazilike. Suprotnu tezu zastupa Z. Buljević. Baveći se prikazom mita o Hipolitu i Fedri na ovom sarkofagu, kao i na temelju činjenice da su oba sarkofaga u antici bila premješšana, Z. Buljević smatra da se sarkofag Hipolita i Fedre ne može držati apsolutno poganskim i iznosi tezu da je ovaj sarkofag jednako toliko kršćanski koliko je kršćanski i onaj Dobroga pastira.⁵³

Starokršćanski grobišni kompleks na Manastirinama nastao je u blizini raskrižja dvaju putova uz koje su bile nekropole (ili nekropola), onoga koji od *Porta suburbia III* u sjevernom potezu bedema Salone ide ka sjeveru (Klisu) i puta koji se od njega odvaja u pravcu zapada, a položen je na već spomenuti greben vapnenca južno od bazilike.⁵⁴ Čini se da se ovaj vapnenački greben pružao sve do položaja Donje Bencenuše (oko 260 metara zapadno od Manastirina).⁵⁵ I. Šuta je, pišući o istraživanjima na Brižinama u Kaštel Sućurcu, locirao ovu cestu i dalje u pravcu zapada do položaja Trstenik, oko 4 kilometra dalje od Manastirina.⁵⁶ Bazilika na Manastirinama udaljena je od križišta cesta od 15 do 20 metara, a raspored grobova jasno ukazuje na to da blizina ulice nije više imala nikakvu važnost. Jasna je koncentracija ukopa oko groba mučenika, što se osobito dobro vidi u rasporedu sarkofaga na prostoru istočno od apside bazilike.

Teško je povjerovati da cemeterijalni sklopovi na Manastirinama i Marusincu nisu bili povezani cestom. Moguće je da se od ceste koja ide južno od bazilike

in Antiquity, Buljević believed that the sarcophagus of Hippolytus and Phaedra cannot be considered absolutely pagan and put forth the hypothesis that this sarcophagus was just as Christian as the sarcophagus of the Good Shepherd.⁵³

The Early Christian cemeterial complex at Manastirine emerged in the vicinity of the intersection of two roads next to which there were necropolises (or a single necropolis): the road that ran from the *Porta suburbia III* in the northern swath of Salona's walls in a northerly direction (toward Klis) and the road that branched off from it in a westerly direction, and ran along the above-mentioned limestone ridge south of the basilica.⁵⁴ It would appear that this limestone ridge had extended all the way to the Donje Bencenuše position (approximately 260 meters west of Manastirine).⁵⁵ I. Šuta, writing about the excavations at Brižine in Kaštel Sućurac, located this road as continuing in a westerly direction to the Trstenik site, approximately 4 kilometres from Manastirine.⁵⁶ The basilica at Manastirine is 15 to 20 metres from the intersection of the roads, and the arrangement of the graves clearly indicates that proximity to the street no longer had any importance. There was a clear concentration of burials around the martyr's grave, which is particularly apparent in the arrangement of the sarcophaguses in the area east of the basilica apse.

It is difficult to believe that the cemeterial complexes at Manastirine and Marusinac were not linked by road. It is possible that a northward road that led to Marusinac branched off from the road that ran south from the basilica at Manastirine in westerly direction and onward to Trstenik.

In recent years, several archaeological rescue excavations were conducted in the area north and east of Manastirine, and their finds may be associated with the site. During 2008, 2011 and 2012, the employees of the company Kaukal d. o. o. conducted rescue works at two places in the northern necropolis. The Donje Bencenuše site (Gašpini jug 3 structure) is approximately 260 meters west of Manastirine and approximately 350 meters north of the Early Christian complex at Kapljuč south of Frane Bulića street. Here several partially destroyed Late Antique graves without goods were found.⁵⁷ The other location (Bencenuše, Sveti Dujam structures) is situated north

50 Duval, Marin 2000, str. 653, sl. 656.

51 Mardešić 2000, str. 217, sl. 49.

52 Cambi 1994, str. 75.

53 Buljević 1997, str. 119, 124, 126.

54 Mardešić 2000, str. 206, sl. 87.

55 Katavić, Jerončić 2014, str. 96-97. Autori pretpostavljaju da se antička komunikacija nalazila južno od vapnenačkoga grebena.

56 Šuta 2011, str. 117, 122, sl. 3-4.

53 Buljević 1997, pp. 119, 124, 126.

54 Mardešić 2000, p. 206, Fig. 87.

55 Katavić, Jerončić 2014, pp. 96-97. The authors assumed that the Roman-era communication route was south of the limestone ridge.

56 Šuta 2011, pp. 117, 122, Figs. 3-4.

57 My thanks to Vedran Katavić for the information.

na Manastirinama u pravcu zapada i dalje do položaja Trstenik odvajala cesta u pravcu sjevera koja je vodila do Marusinca.

Posljednjih godina provedeno je nekoliko zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja na prostoru sjeverno i istočno od Manastirina, čiji se nalazi mogu dovesti u vezu s lokalitetom. Tijekom 2008., 2011. i 2012. godine djelatnici tvrtke *Kaukal* d. o. o. na dva su mjesta proveli zaštitne radove na sjevernoj nekropoli. Položaj Donjih Bencenuša (objekt Gašpini jug 3) nalazi se oko 260 metara zapadno od Manastirina te oko 350 metara sjeverno od starokršćanskog sklopa na Kapljuču s južne strane Ulice don Frane Bulića. Ovdje je pronađeno nekoliko djelomično uništenih kasnoantičkih grobova bez priloga.⁵⁷ Druga lokacija (Bencenuše, objekti Sv. Dujam) smještena je sjeverno od navedene ulice, oko 200 metara sjeverozapadno od Manastirina.⁵⁸ Radove je vodio Vedran Katavić. Na položaju Bencenuše istraženo je 78 grobnih cjelina, i to u amfori, pod tegulama, u zemljanim rakama, u drvenim sanducima i zidane grobnice.⁵⁹ Istraživači su uočili i naknadne ukope u starijim grobovima te dislociranje kostiju pokojnika iz ranijih ukopa.⁶⁰ Na temelju grobnih nalaza V. Katavić i T. Jerončić ovaj dio nekropole datiraju od kraja 4. i početka 5. stoljeća do kraja 6. stoljeća.⁶¹ Među grobnim priložima ističu se tri primjerka zlatnog novca iz 6. stoljeća te tri amfore kao grobni priloz (grob 8).⁶² Nalaz amfora kao grobnih priloga iznimno je rijedak u Saloni. Slično kao i na samim Manastirinama i ovaj dio nekropole nastao je na ostacima iz kasnorepublikanskog razdoblja.⁶³ Autori smatraju da se radi o dijelu nekropole koji se počeo formirati u kasnoantičkom razdoblju, a treba ga vezati uz cemetrijalni kompleks na Manastirinama.⁶⁴ Sloj nekropole i nalazi iz ranijeg razdoblja ne mogu se dovesti u vezu ni na Manastirinama ni na položaju Bencenuše.

Od kraja 2015. do srpnja 2018. godine provedena su, s prekidima, zaštitna istraživanja koja je vodila

of these streets, approximately 200 meters northwest of Manastirine.⁵⁸ The works were led by Vedran Katavić. At the Bencenuše site, a total of 78 grave units were examined; they included amphora burials, those under tegulae, in earthen pits, in wooden coffins and in walled tombs.⁵⁹ Researchers also observed subsequent burials in older graves and dislocated bones of deceased bodies from earlier burials.⁶⁰ Based on the grave finds, Katavić and T. Jerončić dated this part of the necropolis from the end of the 4th/early 5th century to the 6th century.⁶¹ Among the grave goods, three examples of gold coins from the 6th century and three amphorae as grave goods (grave 8) stand out.⁶² The find of an amphora as a grave good was exceptionally rare in Salona. In a manner similar to Manastirine itself, this part of the necropolis also emerged on remains from the Late Republican era.⁶³ The authors believed that this was part of a necropolis that began to form in Late Antiquity, and it should be linked to the cemeterial complex at Manastirine.⁶⁴ The necropolis layer and the finds from the earlier period cannot be linked to either Manastirine or Bencenuše.

From the end of 2015 to July 2018, rescue excavations led by E. Višić-Ljubić were conducted with some interruptions.⁶⁵ Excavations proceeded over an area 40 to 80 meters west of the fence around Manastirine, i.e., in the eastern section of a parking lot and on the elevated section of the terrain between the parking lot to the south and Don Frane Bulića street on the northern side. With the exception of a few notifications in the press and the mandatory report from the AMS posted on the web-pages of the Museum Documentation Centre, as well as summaries of the report delivered at the scholarly symposium on "The Vicinity of Kaštela Bay in the Past" (Kaštel Lukšić,

57 Zahvaljujem Vedranu Kataviću na informaciji.

58 Katavić, Jerončić 2014. Autori u tekstu navode i brojeve katastarskih čestica na kojima su istraživali.

59 Katavić, Jerončić 2014, str. 81.

60 Katavić, Jerončić 2014, str. 82.

61 Katavić, Jerončić 2014, str. 97.

62 Katavić, Jerončić 2014, str. 93-95, sl. 6, crtež 11.

63 Marin, Mardešić 2000, str. 105-116; Katavić, Jerončić 2014, str. 97; Šuta 2012, str. 12-13. Doduše, na lokalitetu Benconuše nisu pronađeni ostaci arhitekture, ali s obzirom na blizinu Manastirina kasnorepublikanske nalaze na ove dvije lokacije u svakom slučaju treba povezati.

64 Katavić, Jerončić 2014, str. 97.

58 Katavić, Jerončić 2014. In the text, the authors also cite the number of the cadastral plots on which they conducted research.

59 Katavić, Jerončić 2014, p. 81.

60 Katavić, Jerončić 2014, p. 82.

61 Katavić, Jerončić 2014, p. 97.

62 Katavić, Jerončić 2014, pp. 93-95, Fig. 6, sketch 11.

63 Marin, Mardešić 2000, pp. 105-116; Katavić, Jerončić 2014, p. 97; Šuta 2012, pp. 12-13. To be sure, architectural remains were not found at the Benconuše site, but given the proximity to Manastirine, the Late Republican finds at these two locations should in any case be linked.

64 Katavić, Jerončić 2014, p. 97.

65 E. Višić-Ljubić also led the excavations at the actual Manastirine site twice, in 2013 and 2015. Twelve graves from Late Antiquity were found.

E. Višić-Ljubić.⁶⁵ Istraživanja su se odvijala na prostoru 40 do 80 metara zapadno od ograde oko Manastirina, odnosno na istočnom dijelu parkirališta te na uzvišenom dijelu terena između parkirališta na jugu i Ulice don Frane Bulića na sjevernoj strani. U vrijeme predaje ovog rada istraživanja nisu objavljena, osim nekoliko obavijesti u tisku i obveznog izvješća AMS-a koje je objavljeno na stranicama Muzejskog dokumentacijskog centra te sažetka priopćenja održanog na znanstvenom skupu *Okolica kaštelanskog zaljeva u prošlosti* (Kaštel Lukšić, od 2. do 6. listopada 2017.).⁶⁶ Osim jednoga paljevinskog groba koji se datira u 2. polovicu 2. st., radi se o kasnoantičkom dijelu sjeverne nekropole. Pronađeni su grobovi u amforama, pod tegulama, u zemljanoj raci, drvenom sanduku te zidane grobnice (prema objavljenom već citiranom izvješću 2016. godine pronađeno je 75 grobnih cjelina).⁶⁷

Prostor između parkirališta i manjeg parka sa zapadne strane Manastirina i položaja Donje Bencenuše dalje prema zapadu danas je udolina kojom prolazi potok i na čijoj je sjevernoj strani nedavno izgrađen hotel *Salona Palace*. U razdoblju između dva svjetska rata ovdje je bio tupinolom koji je u Solinu nazivan Čabina kava.⁶⁸ Danas široka udolina nekoć je bila uža i njezinim južnim dijelom vjerojatno je prolazila rimska cesta koja je išla od Manastirina na istoku do Trstenika na zapadu. Njezini su ostaci uništeni prilikom vađenja tupine, a isto vrijedi i za eventualne grobove uz nju. Da ih je bilo, pokazuju nalazi nekoliko napola uništenih grobova koji su bili pronađeni prilikom gradnje hotela. Nalazili su se na sjevernom rubu iskopa.

Prostor sjeverno od amfiteatra

Pišući o istraživanjima na prostoru na kojemu se prostirala sjeverna nekropola, treba u svakom slučaju spomenuti starokršćansko groblje na Marusincu i nalaze na prostoru između Marusinca i amfiteatra. Kako je već bilo spomenuto, na Marusincu su bili

2-6 October 2017),⁶⁶ none of the results had yet been published when this paper was submitted. Except for an incineration grave which has been dated to the latter half of the 2nd century, this is the section of the northern necropolis that dates to Late Antiquity. Burials in amphorae, beneath tegulae, in earthen pits, in wooden coffins and in walled tombs were found (according to the already cited report from 2016, 76 grave units were found).⁶⁷

The area between the parking lot and the small park west of Manastirine and the Donje Bencenuše site and farther west is today a depression in which a stream flows and where the Salona Palace Hotel was built on the northern side. During the period between the two World Wars, there was a marlstone quarry here that was called Čabina kava in Solin.⁶⁸ Today's broad depression was formerly narrower, and the Roman road that ran from Manastirine in the east to Trstenik in the west probably passed through its southern section. Its remains were destroyed during the extraction of marlstone, and the same applies to any possible graves therein. That they did exist here was demonstrated by several half-destroyed graves that were found during construction of the hotel. They were in the northern edge of the excavation.

Area north of the amphitheatre

When writing about excavations in the area over which the northern necropolis extended, the Early Christian cemetery at Marusinac and the finds in the area between Marusinac and the amphitheatre must be mentioned in any case. As noted above, incineration graves and pagan gravestone inscriptions were found at Marusinac that date from the 1st to 3rd centuries.⁶⁹ One of them was used as a vertical closing slab on an *a pozzetto* type tomb.⁷⁰

During the already mentioned archaeological rescue excavations (conducted from the end of 2015 to 2018) in the area west of Manastirine (in the present-day parking lot) no remains were found of the road

65 E. Višić-Ljubić vodila je i istraživanja na samom lokalitetu Manastirine, i to u dva navrata, 2013. i 2015. godine. Pronađeno je 12 kasnoantičkih grobova.

66 Izvješće 2016., str. 1. Izvješće za 2018. godinu još nije objavljeno na stranicama MDC-a; Višić-Ljubić 2017, str. 14. Autorica vrlo sumarno navodi da je pronađen velik broj grobova raznih tipova, u kojima je pokopano oko 150 osoba.

67 Batarelo Jelavić 2016, *Solinska kronika* br. 258, str. 18; br. 263, str. 20; br. 267, str. 18; Batarelo Jelavić 2018, *Solinska kronika* br. 287, str. 18.

68 Zahvaljujem Marku Matijeвиću na podacima o tupinolomu.

66 *Izvješće* 2016, p. 1. The report for 2018 has not yet been posted on the MDC's site; Višić-Ljubić 2017, p. 14. The author rather cursorily stated that a high number of graves of various types were found, in which approximately 150 persons were interred.

67 Batarelo Jelavić 2016, *Solinska kronika* no. 258, p. 18; no. 263, p. 20; no. 267, p. 18; Batarelo Jelavić 2018, *Solinska kronika* no. 287, p. 18.

68 I would like to thank Marko Matijeвиć for the data on the marlstone quarry.

69 Bulić 1890a, pp. 33, 36; Dyggve, Egger 1939, pp. 150-151, no. 1-13.

70 Bulić 1898, p. 37.

pronađeni paljevinski grobovi i poganski nadgrobni natpisi koji se datiraju od 1. do 3. stoljeća.⁶⁹ Jedan od njih je poslužio kao okomita ploča za zatvaranje na grobnici tipa *a pozzetto*.⁷⁰

Prilikom već spomenutih zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja (provedenih od kraja 2015. do 2018. godine) na prostoru zapadno od Manastirina (na današnjem parkiralištu) nisu pronađeni ostaci ceste koja je prolazila južno od bazilike u pravcu zapada i od koje se vjerojatno odvajala cesta u pravcu Marusinca. Možda se radi o putu koji se od današnje Ulice solinske mladeži kod zgrade Hrvatske pošte odvaja u pravcu sjevera i ide na istočni dio starokršćanskoga kompleksa ili o nešto zapadnijem pravcu u blizini igrališta istočno od crkve sv. Anastazija. Ovaj drugi pravac može se donekle nazreti u granicama katastarskih čestica i vodio bi do portika pred južnom bazilikom.

Sasvim je sigurno da je okolica Salone bila premežena mnoštvom putova koji su vodili bilo do javnih objekata bilo do privatnih imanja i građevina. Svi oni nisu bili popločani niti uređeni na način na koji su to bile velike i važne rimske ceste. Ipak, u ovom trenutku naše poznavanje prostora sjeverno od Salone ne dopušta zaključak da su ova dva lokaliteta bila povezana putem uz koji su se obavljali ukopi, tako da nije moguće sa sigurnošću tvrditi da je starokršćanski Marusinac nastao na sjevernoj nekropoli. Ne treba zaboraviti tezu da su ovdje pronađeni nadgrobni natpisi pripadali nekom manjem groblju vezanom uz vilu koja je možda prethodila starokršćanskom kompleksu.⁷¹

Oko 200 metara sjeverno od amfiteatra, otprilike na pola puta između amfiteatra i Marusinca, na kamenitoj uzvisini, nalazi se crkva sv. Nikole. U radu o zaštitnim istraživanjima koja je ondje vodio 1954. godine, don Lovre Katić navodi kako je groblje uništeno godine 1911., prilikom vađenja lapora za potrebe tvornice cementa u Solinu.⁷² Katić je pronašao ostatke poganske nekropole, jednobrodnu starokršćansku crkvu istočno od uzvisine i srednjovjekovno groblje. Od nekropole su preostali samo ulomci nadgrobni natpisa iz 3. stoljeća.⁷³ Za groblje smatra da ima dug kontinuitet, od 3. do 17. stoljeća.⁷⁴

Katić nije bio primijetio da je 1890. godine objavljen ulomak nadgrobni natpisa Lucija Valerija

that passed south of the basilica in a westerly direction, from which the road leading toward Marusinac branched off. Perhaps this was the road that branched off northward from today's Solinske mladeži street at the Croatian post office building and ran to the eastern part of the Early Christian complex or a somewhat more westerly direction in the vicinity of the playground east of the Church of St. Anastasius. This other direction may be discerned to some degree in the boundaries of cadastral units, and it would have led to the portico in front of the southern basilica.

It is entirely certain that the surroundings of Salona were interlaced with many paths that led to either public structures or private estates and buildings. Not all of them were paved nor maintained in the same manner as the large and major Roman roads. Nonetheless, at this moment our knowledge of the area north of Salona does not allow for the conclusion that these two locations were linked by a path next to which burials were conducted, so it is impossible to state with certainty that Early Christian Marusinac emerged in the northern necropolis. The hypothesis that the gravestone inscriptions found here belonged to a small cemetery next to a villa which may have preceded the Early Christian complex should not be overlooked.⁷¹

The small Church of St. Nicholas is situated on a stone elevation approximately 200 meters north of the amphitheatre, roughly half way between it and Marusinac. In a paper on the rescue excavations that he led there in 1954, Fr. Lovre Katić stated that the cemetery had been destroyed in 1911 during extraction of marl for the needs of the cement factory in Solin.⁷² Katić found the remains of a pagan necropolis, a single-nave church east of the elevation and a medieval cemetery. Fragments of 3rd-century gravestone inscriptions were all that remained of the necropolis.⁷³ It is believed that the cemetery was continually used over the long period from the 3rd to 17th centuries.⁷⁴

Katić did not notice that a fragment of a gravestone inscription of Lucius Valerius (*procurator Augusti*), found in the small Church of St. Nicholas, had been published in 1890. In his publication, Bulić did not specify the circumstances of the find, rather he only mentioned that the inscription had always been at this location and he dated it to the 1st century.⁷⁵ This

69 Bulić 1890a, str. 33, 36; Dyggve, Egger 1939, str. 150-151, br. 1-13.

70 Bulić 1898, str. 37.

71 Ovom se mišljenju priklanja Ž. Miletić: Miletić 1990, str. 192.

72 Katić 1959, str. 134.

73 Rendić-Miočević 1958-1959, str. 156; Gabričević 1960.

74 Katić 1959, str. 136.

71 This view is shared by Ž. Miletić: Miletić 1990, p. 192.

72 Katić 1959, p. 134.

73 D. Rendić-Miočević 1957, p. 156; Gabričević 1960.

74 Katić 1959, p. 136.

75 "Venne trovata presso la chiesetta di S. Nicolò in Strana di Salona, li giacente da tempo immemorabile." Bulić

(*procurator Augusti*), nađen kod crkvice sv. Nikole. U objavi Bulić ne navodi pobliže okolnosti nalaza, nego samo spominje da se natpis nalazi oduvijek na tome mjestu i datira ga u 1. stoljeće.⁷⁵ Ovaj nalaz otvara mogućnost da je nekropola starija od 3. stoljeća. O crkvi sv. Nikole i spomenicima pronađenima oko nje u posljednje vrijeme pisao je i M. Ivanišević.⁷⁶ Pišući o komunikaciji koja je od Manastirina vodila prema zapadu i današnjem Kaštel Štafiliću, I. Šuta spominje "manju rimskodobnu nekropolu" koja se nalazila uokolo crkvice sv. Nikole. Za rimsku cestu smatra da je prolazila sjeverno od crkve.⁷⁷

Nekadašnja rimska cesta se, po svemu sudeći, nalazila na mjestu današnjih solinskih ulica: Jajići i Ulice solinske mladeži. V. Katavić i T. Jerončić, iako to izrijekom ne navode, smatraju da je nekropola kod crkvice sv. Nikole dio sjeverne nekropole.⁷⁸ Mislim da su u pravu i da je ova nekropola dio veće sjeverne nekropole. U tom bi slučaju danas nestala jednobrodna starokršćanska crkva koju je bio pronašao Katić, bila treći starokršćanski objekt izvan bedema koji je izgrađen na sjevernoj nekropoli.

Što se tiče prostora sjeverno od crkvice sv. Nikole u pravcu Marusinca, nemamo podataka o eventualnim nalazima grobova.

Važniji slučajni nalazi (19. i 20. stoljeće)

Sjeverno od lokaliteta "16 sarkofaga" na kat. čest. 3967/1 težaci su 1880. godine radeći u polju našli još dva sarkofaga, ali i grobove; po svemu sudeći, radi se o grobovima u amfori.⁷⁹

U blizini amfiteatra, s njegove sjeverne strane (kat. čest. 3947/2), godine 1890. pronađene su tri urne u kojima su bili sahranjeni gladijatori.⁸⁰ U blizini su pronađene još dvije gladijatorske urne.⁸¹ Prema mišljenju svih stručnjaka koji su se bavili nekropolama Salone, radi se o primjeru strukovnoga groblja.⁸²

find opens the possibility that the necropolis predated the 3rd century. M. Ivanišević recently wrote about the Church of St. Nicholas and the artefacts found around it.⁷⁶ Writing about the communication route that led west from Manastirine in the direction of today's Kaštel Štafilić, I. Šuta noted "the small Roman-era necropolis" that was situated around the small Church of St. Nicholas. He believed that the Roman road passed farther north from the church.⁷⁷

The former Roman road was, by all indications, located at the site of present-day streets: Jajići and Solinske mladeži. V. Katavić and T. Jerončić, although they never explicitly stated so, believe that the necropolis at the small Church of St. Nicholas was part of the northern necropolis.⁷⁸ I believe that they are correct and that this necropolis is part of the larger northern necropolis. In this case, the today absent Early Christian church that Katić had found would have been the third Early Christian structure built outside of the city walls in the northern necropolis.

As to the area north of the small Church of St. Nicholas in the direction of Marusinac, there are no data on possible finds of graves.

More important chance finds (19th and 20th centuries)

North of the "16 sarcophaguses" site on cadastral plot 3967/1, while working a field in 1880, farm labourers found two more sarcophaguses as well as graves; by all indications, these were amphora burials.⁷⁹

Three urns in which gladiators were interred were found near the amphitheatre, on its northern side (cadastral plot 3947/2), in 1890.⁸⁰ Two more gladiatorial urns were found nearby.⁸¹ According to all experts who have studied the necropolises of Salona, this was an occupational cemetery.⁸²

At the beginning of 1897 and during 1898, ten urns (inv. no. V 70-79) were found on cadastral plot 2891 north-east of Salona.⁸³

75 "Venne trovata presso la chiesetta di S. Nicolò in Strana di Salona, li giacente da tempo immemorabile." Bulić 1890b, str. 8, br. 10.

76 Ivanišević 2003, str. 39-49.

77 Šuta 2011, str. 117.

78 Katavić, Jerončić 2014, str. 97.

79 Alačević 1880, str. 72. Iz vrlo kratkog opisa teško je odrediti tip grobova: "...furono scoperti poi molti orci di terra cotta con ossa di cadaveri ivi rinchiusi." Bulić 1911, str. 4.

80 Bulić 1890a, str. 97, 163-164; Bulić 1891; Dyggve 1933, str. 85-88.

81 Dyggve 1933, str. 85, br. 22, 23.

82 Cambi 1986, str. 74; Miletić 1990, str. 165, 178-179.

1890b, p. 8, no. 10.

76 Ivanišević 2003, pp. 39-49.

77 Šuta 2011, p. 117.

78 Katavić, Jerončić 2014, p. 97.

79 Alačević 1880, p. 72. It is difficult to ascertain the type of grave from the rather terse description: "...furono scoperti poi molti orci di terra cotta con ossa di cadaveri ivi rinchiusi." Bulić 1911, p. 4.

80 Bulić 1890a, pp. 97, 163-164; Bulić 1891; Dyggve 1933, pp. 85-88.

81 Dyggve 1933, pp. 85, no. 22, 23.

82 Cambi 1986, p. 74; Miletić 1990, pp. 165, 178-179.

83 Bulić 1899a.

Početak 1897. i tijekom 1898. godine na kat. čest. 2891 sjeveroistočno od Salone pronađeno je 10 urni (inv. br. V 70-79).⁸³

Krajem 1899. godine na parceli br. 3963 nedaleko od "16 sarkofaga" pronađeni su prilikom poljskih radova ulomci sarkofaga, ulomci kamenih i keramičkih urni, kao i jedan veliki anepigrafski sarkofag.⁸⁴

Nadgrobnni spomenici pronađeni su 1889. i 1895. godine odmah do zapadne strane amfiteatra (kat. čest. 4108).⁸⁵

Uzdruž ceste koja sjeverno od Manastirina skreće u pravcu sjeveroistoka prema Klisu, pronađen je godine 1903., prilikom poljodjelskih radova, velik broj poganskih grobnih nalaza. Posebno treba spomenuti nalaz 16 urni (inv. br. AV 107-122), na lokaciji oko 260 metara sjeveroistočno od Manastirina (kuće Bubić - Topo). Povezavši ovaj nalaz s ranijim otkrićem urni (1897. i 1898. godine), na istome mjestu Bulić je ovdje pretpostavio postojanje *ustrinuma*.⁸⁶

Godine 1909. na kat. čest. 3926 pronađeni su nadgrobnni spomenici; osim stela pronađeni su i ulomci sarkofaga.⁸⁷ Položaj se nalazi u blizini bazilike na Kapljuču.

Radovi o sjevernoj nekropoli

Tijekom velikih zaštitnih istraživanja na zapadnoj nekropoli (tzv. obilaznica 1986./87. godine) objavljen je rad N. Cambija "Salona i njene nekropole".⁸⁸ Prema autorovu mišljenju najvažnije gradske nekropole nalazile su se uz cestu koja je sa zapada prolazila kroz grad i istočno od *Porta Caesarea* račvala se u dva pravca, uz koje su obavljana ukapanja. Radi se, dakle, o zapadnoj, jugoistočnoj i sjeveroistočnoj nekropoli. Cambi smatra da su nastale u rano carsko doba.⁸⁹ Shodno tome, sjevernoj nekropoli, odnosno ukopima na sjevernoj strani grada autor je u radu posvetio malo prostora.

Pišući o ukapanjima na sjevernoj strani grada, navodi kako nema sumnje da se na tom prostoru već u 1. stoljeću, a od tada i sve više, pojavljuju grobovi, o čemu svjedoče nalazi nadgrobnih natpisa pronađenih prilikom istraživanja na starokršćanskim nekropolama na Kapljuču i Manastirinama.⁹⁰ Ipak smatra da su

In late 1899, pieces of a sarcophagus, shards of stone and ceramic urns, and a large anepigraphic sarcophagus were found during field works on plot no. 3963 not far from "16 sarcophaguses."⁸⁴

Gravestones were found in 1889 and 1895 immediately adjacent to the western side of the amphitheatre (cadastral plot 4108).⁸⁵

Along the road that turns from Manastirine in a north-easterly direction toward Klis, a high number of pagan grave finds were discovered during field works in 1903. Particularly noteworthy is the discovery of 16 urns (inv. no. AV 107-122), at a location approximately 260 meters north-east of Manastirine (Bubić-Topo house). Linking this find to the earlier discoveries of urns (1897 and 1898) at the same place, Bulić speculated on the existence of an *ustrinum* here.⁸⁶

In 1909, gravestones were found on cadastral plot 3926; besides stela, sarcophagus fragments were also found.⁸⁷ The site is near the basilica at Kapljuč.

Works on the northern necropolis

During the extensive rescue excavations at the western necropolis (the so-called beltway in 1986/87), N. Cambi published a paper on "Salona and its necropolises."⁸⁸ In his opinion, the most important city necropolises were along the road which passed through the city from the west and branched in two directions east of the *Porta Caesarea*, next to which burials were conducted. These were, therefore, the western, south-eastern and north-eastern necropolises. Cambi believed that they appeared in the early imperial era.⁸⁹ Consequently, he dedicated little consideration to the northern necropolis and burials in the northern side of the city.

Writing about the burials in the northern side of the city, he stated that there can be no doubt that graves appeared in this area already in the 1st century, and increasingly thereafter, to which the finds of gravestone inscriptions found during excavations in the Early Christian necropolises at Manastirine and Kapljuč testify.⁹⁰ He nonetheless believed that the burials on the northern side were neither orderly nor systematic; thus, this was not an organized necropolis like the three aforementioned most important necropolises (western,

83 Bulić 1899a.

84 Bulić 1900.

85 Bulić 1889, str. 129, br. 104 inv. br. A 1531); Bulić 1895, str. 145, br. 145 (inv. br. A 2066 i A 2067).

86 Bulić 1905, str. 7, bilj. 1.

87 Bulić 1911, str. 11-25.

88 Cambi 1986.

89 Cambi 1986, str. 64-65, 90.

90 Cambi 1986, str. 95.

84 Bulić 1900.

85 Bulić 1889, p. 129, no. 104 and inv. no. A 1531); Bulić 1895, p. 145, no. 145 (inv. no. A 2066 and A 2067).

86 Bulić 1905, p. 7, note 1.

87 Bulić 1911, pp. 11-25.

88 Cambi 1986.

89 Cambi 1986, pp. 64-65, 90.

90 Cambi 1986, p. 95.

ukapanja na sjevernoj strani neuredna i nesustavna; dakle, da nije riječ o organiziranim nekropolama kakve su tri navedene najvažnije nekropole (zapadna, sjeveroistočna i jugoistočna). Prema njegovu mišljenju nekropole se na sjevernoj strani Salone snažnije šire tek u 2. stoljeću.⁹¹ Za najvažnije starokršćanske cemeterijalne komplekse navodi da su nastali izvan glavnih nekropola, ali ipak na poganskim grobljima.⁹² Od pojedinačnih grobova s ove nekropole veću pozornost posvetio je mauzoleju s nadgrobni mozaiikom dječaka Tita Aurelija Aurelijana, za koji navodi da se nalazio nešto istočnije od Manastirina.⁹³

Nedavno je A. Duplančić na temelju podataka iz dnevnika don Frane Bulića, zračnih snimaka Solina te fotografija iz Dyggveova arhiva locirao ovaj mauzolej oko 270 metara jugoistočno od Manastirina i oko stotinjak metara sjeverno od gradskih zidina.⁹⁴ Osim mauzoleja na ovom položaju (Klanac) istraženi su i grobovi pod tegulama i amforama. Osim tri fotografije koje donosi Duplančić ništa više nije poznato o ovim grobovima pa ni podatak koliko ih je ukupno bilo.⁹⁵

Položaj tupinoloma Klanac nalazi se južno od ostalih nalaza sa sjeverne nekropole (nalaza uz antičku cestu u pravcu Klisa), o čemu je iscrpno pisao Ž. Miletić. Mislim da i sa sjeverne strane istočnog dijela grada treba pretpostaviti cestu koja je paralelna s bedemima, kao što je to slučaj sa zapadnom stranom. Položaj spomenutog mauzoleja Tita Aurelija Aurelijana te nalazi grobova pod tegulama i u amforama ukazuju na to da su i uz ovu cestu najvjerojatnije obavljani ukopi.

Ž. Miletić je prvi koji je ovoj nekropoli, odnosno njezinoj topografiji posvetio zaseban rad.⁹⁶ Kao glavnu cestu uz koju se razvila ova nekropola Miletić označava onu koja se 20 metara zapadno od gradskih vrata odvaja od ceste za Trogir. Cesta zaobilazi amfiteatar sa zapadne i sjeverne strane te dalje prati liniju sjevernog trakta gradskih zidina.

Prateći zapadni dio ceste i nekropole (dio kod amfiteatra i Kapljuča), Miletić ne dovodi u vezu Katićeve nalaze kod crkvice sv. Nikole sa sjevernom nekropolom niti ih povezuje s poganskim nadgrobni natpisima na Marusincu, koji se nalazi sjeverno od amfiteatra. On poganske nadgrobne spomenike na Marusincu pripisuje manjem groblju u okviru nekog posjeda.⁹⁷

north-eastern and south-eastern). In his view, the necropolises on the northern side of Salona only began to expand more intensively in the 2nd century.⁹¹ For the most important Early Christian cemeterial complexes, he stated that they had emerged outside of the main necropolises, but nonetheless in pagan necropolises.⁹² Among the individual graves in this necropolis, he dedicated greater attention to the mausoleum with a grave mosaic of the boy Titus Aurelius Aurelianus, which he stated had been located somewhat east of Manastirine.⁹³

Recently A. Duplančić, using data from Bulić's journals, aerial photographs of Solin and photographs from Dyggve's archives, located this mausoleum approximately 270 meters south-east of Manastirine and roughly one hundred meters north of the city walls.⁹⁴ Besides the mausoleum, graves under tegulae and amphorae burials were also examined at this location (Klanac). Besides the photographs published by Duplančić, nothing more is known about these graves, not even how many there were in all.⁹⁵

The position of the marlstone quarry at Klanac is south of the remaining finds from the northern necropolis (finds along the Roman-era road leading to Klis), about which Ž. Miletić wrote exhaustively. I believe that the existence of a road that ran parallel to the wall on the northern side of the city's eastern section, as on the western side, should also be assumed. The location of the aforementioned mausoleum of Titus Aurelius Aurelianus and the finds of tegulae covered graves and amphora burials indicate that burials were probably conducted adjacent to this road.

Ž. Miletić was the first to dedicated a separate study to this necropolis, specifically to its topography.⁹⁶ Miletić indicated the road that branched off of the road to Trogir 20 meters west of the city gate as the main road next to which this necropolis developed. The road bypassed the amphitheatre on its western and northern side and continued along the line of the northern tract of the city walls.

Following the western section of the road and necropolis (the part at the amphitheatre and Kapljuč), Miletić did not link Katić's finds at the Church of St. Nicholas with the northern necropolis, nor did he link them to the pagan gravestone inscriptions at Marusincac, which is north of the amphitheatre. He attributed

91 Cambi 1986, str. 97.

92 Cambi 1986, str. 98.

93 Cambi 1986, str. 97-98.

94 Duplančić 2017, str. 71-77.

95 Duplančić 2017, str. 78, sl. 6-8.

96 Miletić 1990.

97 Miletić 1990, str. 192.

91 Cambi 1986, p. 97.

92 Cambi 1986, p. 98.

93 Cambi 1986, pp. 97-98.

94 Duplančić 2017, pp. 71-77.

95 Duplančić 2017, p. 78, Figs. 6-8.

96 Miletić 1990.

Začuđuje, međutim, kako Ž. Miletić ne dovodi sjevernu nekropolu u vezu s vratima u sjevernim zidinama najstarijega dijela grada (*Urbs vetus*) prema na planu sjeverne nekropole donosi ondje pronađene natpise.⁹⁸

Istočni dio sjevernog poteza bedema najstarijega dijela grada istraživao je D. Rendić-Miočević od 1969. do 1972. godine.⁹⁹ Donoseći planove starog dijela grada, D. Rendić-Miočević označava *cardo* koji se od zapadne strane foruma pruža prema sjevernom potezu gradskih zidina.¹⁰⁰ Logično je očekivati gradska vrata na mjestu spoja karda i zidina.

Izrazita koncentracija nadgrobnih natpisa uz sjeverni dio zidina otprilike na mjestu gdje *cardo* izlazi na zidine, upućuje i na postojanje komunikacije u pravcu sjevera na prostoru izvan gradskih zidina. Ova cesta se morala spajati s cestom koja je pratila gradske zidine i od koje je vjerojatno i starija. Za sada nije moguće utvrditi je li *cardo*, odnosno njegov produžetak u prostoru izvan bedema išao dalje od ovog spoja u pravcu sjevera i je li se možda spajao sa "sjevernom" cestom koja se od Manastirina pružala u pravcu zapada.

Istočni dio ceste koja prati bedeme je, nakon podizanja zidina godine 170., postao gradska komunikacija.¹⁰¹ Kao gradska ulica prolazi južnim dijelom Episkopalnog centra. Kartirajući nadgrobnice natpise pronađene u Episkopalnom centru, Miletić smatra da je cesta (a i nekropola uz nju) naglo zaokretala prema sjeveru (tzv. Petrova ulica istočno od gradskih bazilika). Dalje, izvan grada, cesta je sjeverno od Manastirina skretala prema sjeveroistoku, odnosno prema Klisu. Nalaze s nekropole prati do oko 1,5 km udaljenosti od sjeveroistočnih vrata Salone (tzv. *Porta Andetria*).¹⁰²

Ž. Miletić dvije izrazite aglomeracije poganskih nadgrobnih natpisa i urna uzduž ove komunikacije vezuje uz tzv. Ilirsku Salonu koja se nalazi oko 1,5 km sjeveroistočno od Salone, na području Donje Rupotine i uz gradinu na Žižinoj glavici (oko kilometar sjeverozapadno od tzv. Ilirske Salone).¹⁰³

L. Jelić je 1892. godine uočio vezu između ukopa na Manastirinama i ukopa na lokalitetu "Uvoduša" gdje su nađeni nadgrobnici natpisi koje Miletić dovodi u vezu s cestom prema Klisu i grobnim arealom

the pagan gravestones at Marusinac to some small cemetery that was part of an estate.⁹⁷

It is puzzling, however, that Ž. Miletić did not link the northern necropolis with the gate on the northern wall of the city's oldest section (*Urbs vetus*) although he included the inscriptions found there in the map of the northern necropolis.⁹⁸

The eastern section of the northern tract of the walls in the city's oldest section was studied by D. Rendić-Miočević from 1969 to 1972.⁹⁹ Providing maps of the old section of the city, Rendić-Miočević designated the *cardo* that extended from the western side of the forum toward the northern tract of the city walls.¹⁰⁰ It would be logical to expect a city gate at the point where the *cardo* and the wall meet.

The notable concentration of gravestone inscriptions along the northern part of the walls at roughly the place where the *cardo* meets them also indicates the existence of a communication route in the northerly direction outside of the city walls. This road had to have connected to the road that ran parallel to the city walls and which it predated. Thus far it is impossible to ascertain whether the *cardo*, i.e., its extension in the area outside of the walls, went beyond this intersection in a northerly direction and whether it perhaps connected to the "northern" road which extended westward from Manastirine.

After the erection of the walls in 170 AD, the eastern part of the road that followed the line of the walls became a city thoroughfare.¹⁰¹ As a city street, it passed along the southern section of the Episcopal Centre. Mapping the gravestone inscriptions found in the Episcopal Centre, Miletić believed that the road (and the necropolis beside it) made a sharp northward turn (so-called Petrova street east of the civic basilica). Further, outside of the city and north of Manastirine, the road turned toward the north-east, toward Klis. The finds from the necropolis follow it up to approximately 1.5 km from the north-east gate of Salone (the so-called *Porta Andetria*).¹⁰²

Ž. Miletić linked the two striking agglomerations of pagan gravestone inscriptions and urns along these communication routes with so-called Illyrian Salone, which is approximately 1.5 km north-east of Salone, in the area of Donja Rupotina and next to the hillfort

98 Miletić 1990, str. 172, sl. 4.

99 Rendić-Miočević 198.

100 Rendić-Miočević 1985, str. 534, sl. 4.

101 Miletić 1990, str. 179-182.

102 Miletić 1990, str. 182-191.

103 Cambi 1998, str. 37; Miletić 1990, str. 186-187, sl. 6, bilj. 124-126.

97 Miletić 1990, p. 192.

98 Miletić 1990, p. 172, Fig. 4.

99 Rendić-Miočević 1985.

100 Rendić-Miočević 1985, p. 534, Fig. 4.

101 Miletić 1990, pp. 179-182.

102 Miletić 1990, pp. 182-191.

obitelji *Bebilia*.¹⁰⁴ Nastojeći dokazati isključivo kršćanski karakter sklopa na Manastirinama, Jelić ovaj lokalitet preko više natpisa na kojima se spominje gentilicij *Ulpus* (CIL III 9424, 9426 i 9428) povezuje s jednim natpisom (CIL III 9525) i grobnicom na Manastirinama, tumačeći kako se radi o pripadnicima iste obitelji koji su prešli na kršćanstvo i bili ukopani na mjestu rezerviranom za pripadnike nove religije.¹⁰⁵

Očito je da su na Uvoduši bili ukopani pripadnici najmanje dviju obitelji.

Zaključna razmatranja

Posljednji arheološki nalazi i članci koji se izravno ili neizravno dotiču prostora sjeverno od Salone (njezinog zapadnog dijela), upućuju na to da se nekropola prostirala i uz "sjevernu" cestu, a ne samo uz cestu koja ide od amfiteatra paralelno s bedemima te da je bila znatno veća nego što se to prije pretpostavljalo. Osim pronalaska ostataka jedne grobne parcele na Manastirinama nemamo novijih saznanja o organizaciji nekropole.¹⁰⁶

Novija zaštitna arheološka istraživanja na prostoru zapadno od Manastirina, a posebno ona na Bencenušama, pokazala su da su se grobovi prostirali i dalje na zapad i sjever od Manastirina. I. Šuta je upozorio na postojanje sjeverne komunikacije koja je vodila od Manastirina u pravcu današnjih Kaštela.¹⁰⁷ Nalazi ostataka grobova koji su bili dokumentirani prilikom gradnje hotela na sjevernom dijelu nekadašnje Čabine kave, ukazuju na kontinuitet ukapanja duž sjeverne ceste. Ovoj su nekropoli pripadali i grobovi pronađeni sjeverno od crkvice sv. Nikole. Ostaje pitanje datacije nekropole, odnosno početka ukopavanja na ovom prostoru. Osim jednog paljevinskog ukopa koji je bio pronađen 2018. godine i koji se datira u drugu polovinu 2. stoljeća, svi su ostali grobovi kasnoantički.¹⁰⁸ Međutim, nalazi nadgrobničkih natpisa na Manastirinama i nešto zapadnije, kod crkvice sv. Nikole, ukazuju na to da prvi ukopi duž ove komunikacije potječu iz 1. stoljeća.¹⁰⁹ Ukopi na ovom dijelu sjeverne nekropole nastavljaju se do početka 7. stoljeća.

Što se tiče poteza sjevernih bedema istočno od Manastirina, vjerojatno je i na ovom prostoru

at Žižina glavica (approximately a kilometre northwest of so-called Illyrian Salona).¹⁰³

In 1892, L. Jelić noticed the link between burials at Manastirine and burials at the 'Uvoduša' site, where gravestone inscriptions were found that Miletić associated with the road toward Klis and the grave complex of the *Bebilia* family.¹⁰⁴ In attempting to prove the exclusively Christian character of the complex at Manastirine, Jelić linked this locale, using several inscriptions on which the gentilicium *Ulpus* is mentioned (CIL III 9424, 9426 and 9428) with an inscription (CIL III 9525) and tomb at Manastirine, interpreting them as members of the same family who converted to Christianity and who were buried at a place reserved for adherents of the new religion.¹⁰⁵

It is apparent that a minimum of two families were interred at Uvoduša.

Concluding considerations

The most recent archaeological finds and articles which directly or indirectly deal with the area north of Salona (its western section) indicate that a necropolis also stretched along the "northern" road, and not only adjacent to the road that runs from the amphitheatre parallel to the walls and that it was considerably larger than previously assumed. Besides the discovery of a grave plot at Manastirine, there are no findings on the organization of the necropolis.¹⁰⁶

More recent archaeological rescue excavations in the area west of Manastirine, and particularly those at Bencenuše, have shown that the graves extended even farther west and north of Manastirine. I. Šuta pointed out the existence of a northern communication route which ran from Manastirine in the direction of today's Kaštela.¹⁰⁷ The finds of the remains of graves that were documented during the construction of a hotel on the northern section of the former Čabina kava site indicate the continuity of burials along the northern road. This necropolis also encompassed the graves found north of the small Church of St. Nicholas. The remaining question concerns the dating of the necropolis, i.e., the beginning of interments in this area. Besides a single incineration burial that was found in 2018 and dated to the latter half of the 2nd century,

104 Jelić 1892, str. 163; Miletić 1990, str. 188.

105 Jelić 1892, str. 160-164.

106 Sačuvane podatke o veličinama grobnih parcela donio je Miletić: Miletić 1990, str. 176-177.

107 Šuta 2011, str. 122; Katavić, Jerončić 2014, str. 81-112.

108 Katavić, Jerončić 2014, str. 97; Batarello-Jelavić 2018, Solinska kronika br. 287, str. 18.

109 Egger 1926, str. 67-73, br. 1-72; Bulić 1890b, str. 8, br. 10; Katavić, Jerončić 2014, str. 97.

103 Cambi 1998, p. 37; Miletić 1990, pp. 186-187, Fig. 6, note 124-126.

104 Jelić 1892, p. 163; Miletić 1990, p. 188.

105 Jelić 1892, pp. 160-164.

106 The preserved data on the sizes of grave plots were provided by Miletić: Miletić 1990, pp. 176-177.

107 Šuta 2011, p. 122; Katavić, Jerončić 2014, pp. 81-112.

postojala cesta koja je pratila bedeme sa sjeverne strane. Može se pretpostaviti da su i uz nju obavljani ukopi. Za razliku od prostora sjeverno od zapadnog dijela Salone, gdje nema novije izgradnje, ovdje je ilegalna izgrađenost velika i, osim mauzoleja dječaka Tita Aurelija Aurelijana, nema podataka o nalazima grobova premda ih je vjerojatno i ovdje bilo.

Ž. Miletić je uočio da su dimenzije grobnih parcela na sjevernoj nekropoli manje od onih na zapadnoj i smatra kako su ujednačene veličine parcela na ovoj nekropoli znak da je sjeverna nekropola (dio uz južnu komunikaciju) bila planski organizirana.¹¹⁰

Kako ni na jednom dijelu sjeverne nekropole nije bilo istraživanja koja bi se koncentrirala na prostor uz antičke komunikacije i ukope uz njih, ipak do daljnjega ostaje otvoreno pitanje točnijeg poznavanja organizacije ove nekropole. Već spominjana zaštitna istraživanja sjeverno i istočno od Manastirina zahvatila su kasnoantičke dijelove nekropole, a to je vrijeme kada se gubi organizacija nekropole. To su najbolje pokazala zaštitna istraživanja na zapadnoj nekropoli.¹¹¹

Svi nalazi, posebno nalazi nadgrobnih natpisa, pokazuju da raspon ukopa na sjevernoj nekropoli pokriva vrijeme od 1. st. do početka 7. stoljeća. O eventualnim ranijim ukopima za sada nema dokaza. U početak 1. st. datiraju se natpisi sjeverno od bedema, sa zapadne strane spoja bedema *Urbs vetus*, na mjestu gdje sjeverni nastavak karda pronađenog kod teatra i foruma dolazi do sjeverne linije bedema najstarijega dijela grada. Kao što je već u tekstu bilo spomenuto, ovdje treba očekivati gradska vrata i cestu koja kao produžetak karda vodi izvan grada, prema sjeveru. Ova su vrata mogla kasnije biti zazidana, kao što je to bio slučaj s *Porta suburbia III*. U svakom slučaju, indikativna je koncentracija nadgrobnih nalaza na ovome mjestu kao i njihova datacija u početak 1. stoljeća.¹¹² Datacija natpisa pronađenih duž sjeverne ceste koja je vodila od Manastirina prema zapadu, ukazuje na to da su pokapanja uz ovu komunikaciju započela već u 1. stoljeću, dakle gotovo u isto vrijeme kada i pokapanja uz južnu cestu. Odlučujuću ulogu prilikom odabira mjesta za ukop nije imala blizina grada, nego blizina ceste. To su vrlo jasno pokazala istraživanja na zapadnoj nekropoli, gdje su najraniji paljevinski ukopi bili raspoređeni uzduž *murazza*, a ne u blizini gradskih zidina. Kasniji grobovi nalaze se na prostoru izvan parcela, kao i nad zidovima nekadašnjih parcela, i očito je da se na zapadnoj nekropoli izgubio svaki trag organizacije nekropole.¹¹³

all of the remaining graves date to Late Antiquity.¹⁰⁸ However, the finds of gravestone inscriptions at Manastirine and somewhat farther west, at the Church of St. Nicholas, indicate that the first burials beside this communication route date to the 1st century.¹⁰⁹ Burials in this part of the northern necropolis continued until the beginning of the 7th century.

As to the tract of the northern walls east of Manastirine, there was probably also a road in this area which adhered to the walls on the northern side. It may be assumed that burials were also conducted adjacent to it as well. As opposed to the area north of the western section of Salona, where there was no newer construction, unlawful development was great here and, besides the mausoleum of the boy Titus Aurelius Aurelianus, there are no data on finds of graves, even though they probably did exist here.

Ž. Miletić observed that the dimensions of grave plots in the northern necropolis were smaller than those in the western necropolis, and he believed that the uniform sizes of the plots in this necropolis were a sign that the northern necropolis (the part adjacent to the southern communication route) had been organized in a planned fashion.¹¹⁰

Since there has not been any excavations in a single part of the northern necropolis that would have concentrated on the area along the Roman-era communication routes and the burials next to them, the question of precise insight into the organization of this necropolis remains open. The already mentioned rescue excavations north and east of Manastirine encompassed the parts of the necropolis dating to Late Antiquity, and that was the period in which the necropolis began to lose its organizational scheme. This was best shown by the rescue excavations in the western necropolis.¹¹¹

All finds, particularly finds of gravestone inscriptions, show that the range of burials in the northern necropolis covers the period from the 1st to the early 7th century. Thus far there is no evidence of possible earlier burials. The inscriptions north of the walls, on the western side of the point where the walls met the *Urbs vetus*, at the site where the northern continuation of the *cardo* found at the theatre and forum came to the northern line of the walls of the city's oldest section, date to the 1st century. As already noted in the text, here one should expect a city gate and a road that, as the extension of the *cardo*, leads northward outside of

110 Miletić 1990, str. 177.

111 Kirigin *et al.* 1987, str. 40-43.

112 Miletić 1990, str. 172, 176, sl. 4.

113 Kirigin *et al.* 1987, str. 52.

108 Katavić, Jerončić 2014, p. 97; Batarelo-Jelavić 2018, *Solinska kronika* no. 287, p. 18.

109 Egger 1926, pp. 67-73, no. 1-72; Bulić 1890b, p. 8, no. 10; Katavić, Jerončić 2014, p. 97.

110 Miletić 1990, p. 177.

111 Kirigin *et al.* 1987, pp. 40-43.

Prilikom usporedbe zapadne nekropole, za sada najbolje poznate, sa sjevernom, treba biti oprezan, osobito u kasnijim fazama ukopa, jer ih u kasnoantičkom vremenu razlikuju grobne bazilike. Na zapadnoj nekropoli osim sporadičnih kršćanskih ukopa (mislim na one koji su sa sigurnošću dokazani, a ne na sve kasnoantičke) nije pronađena ni jedna starokršćanska crkva.

Na sjevernoj nekropoli izgrađene su tri: Kapljuč, Manastirine te starokršćanska crkva u blizini kasnije crkvice sv. Nikole. Kapljuč je najbliži Saloni i nalazi se uz zapadni dio ceste koja zaobilazi sjeverni trakt bedema, dok je bazilika na Manastirinama podignuta u blizini križišta dviju antičkih cesta. Obje bazilike podignute su iznad grobova mučenika i oko njih su se razvila kršćanska groblja. Blizina ceste više nije bila važna, nego blizina grobova martira i bazilika nad njima. Bazilike postaju središta nekropola, odnosno cemeteterija koji se dalje šire u okolnom prostoru. Prilikom revizijskih istraživanja na Manastirinama uočeno je nekoliko mogućih staza kroz cemeteterij, odnosno pristupa grobovima koji su morali postojati.¹¹⁴ Najmanja grobišna crkva nalazila se uz cestu koja je od Manastirina vodila u pravcu današnjih Kaštela u blizini današnje crkvice sv. Nikole. Kako je ovdje vađen lapor, groblje je uništeno te o njemu nemamo jasnijih saznanja.

the city. This gate would later be walled over, as was the case with the *Porta suburbia III*. In any case, the concentration of grave marker finds in this area and their dating to the 1st century are indicative.¹¹² Dating of inscriptions found along the northern road that led westward from Manastirine indicate that burials next to this communication route had already begun in the 1st century, thus at virtually the same time as burials adjacent to the southern road. The decisive role when selecting a burial site was not proximity to the city, but rather proximity to a road. This was very clearly shown by excavations in the western necropolis, where the earliest incineration burials were arranged along the *murazzo*, and not near the city walls. Later graves were located in the area outside of plots, as well as the walls of former plots, and it is obvious that any trace of organization disappeared in the western necropolis.¹¹³

In the course of comparison of the western necropolis, for now better known, and the northern necropolis, caution must be exercised, particularly in the later burial phases, because in Late Antiquity the grave basilicas differed. In the western necropolis, besides sporadic Christian burials (I am referring to those which have without a doubt been proven to be so, and not Late Antique), not a single Early Christian church was found.

There are three in the northern necropolis: Kapljuč, Manastirine and the Early Christian church near the later small Church of St. Nicholas. Kapljuč was closest to Salona and is situated in the western part of the road which bypasses the northern tract of the walls, while the basilica at Manastirine was erected in the vicinity of the intersection of two Roman-era roads. Both basilicas were erected above the graves of martyrs and then Christian cemeteries grew around them. The proximity of the road was no longer vital, rather the nearness of the graves to the martyrs and the basilicas above them was now important. Basilicas became the centres of necropolises, i.e. cemeteries, which continued to expand into the surrounding space. During revisionary excavations at Manastirine, several potential paths through the cemetery, access ways to graves that had to exist, were observed.¹¹⁴ The smallest cemeterial church was next to the road which ran from Manastirine toward today's Kaštela in the vicinity of the small Church of St. Nicholas. Since marl was extracted here, the cemetery was destroyed and we have no clearer knowledge about it.

114 Duval, Marin 2000, str. 620-621, sl. 238.

112 Miletić 1990, pp. 172, 176, Fig. 4.

113 Kirigin *et al.* 1987, p. 52.

114 Duval, Marin 2000, pp. 620-621, Fig. 238.

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