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DOMIŠLJANJE KONTINUITETA. PROBLEM NAJSTARIJEGA TROGIRSKOG MEMORIJALNOG TEKSTA



DEVISING CONTINUITY. THE PROBLEM OF THE OLDEST MEMORIAL TEXT OF TROGIR

Najstarija povijest šesterolisne rotonde Sv. Marije *de Platea* u Trogiru vezuje se za memorijalni tekst sačuvan u dvije verzije (Daniele Farlati, Petar Lučić). Zapis donosi podatke o graditelju (obnovitelju) crkve početkom 8. st., srodniku Velikoga Severa, predvodnika građana Salone naseljenih u Splitu u 7. stoljeću. Autor ocjenjuje vrijednost toga zapisa: raspravlja o pravcima istraživanja, transmisiji teksta, historiografskim interpretacijama, arheološkom, tipološkom i stilskom kontekstu crkve. Analizom zaključuje da memorijalni tekst nije ranosrednjovjekovne provenijencije te daje nov prijedlog njegova podrijetla: pripada artifičijelnoj tradiciji oblikovanoj pomoću starijih povijesnih narativa unutar trogirске komunalne elite u 15. st., a pretočenoj u pisani tekst u 16. stoljeću. Rotundu Sv. Marije definira kao ranosrednjovjekovnu građevinu s početka 9. st. (bez starijih faza) koja je u zreloj srednjem vijeku preinačena u trogirsku komunalnu crkvu (*ecclesia communis*). Tekstu pripisuje funkciju stvaranja iluzije o komunalnome patronatu nad crkvom u kontinuitetu od ranoga srednjovjekovlja.

Ključne riječi: Trogir; rani srednji vijek; šesterolisne crkve; Sv. Marija *de Platea*; kontinuitet

The oldest recorded history of the hexaconch rotunda of St. Mary *de Platea* in Trogir is associated with the memorial text preserved in two versions (Daniele Farlati, Petar Lučić). The written note provides information on the builder (restorer) of the church at the beginning of the 8th century, a relative of Severus the Great – the leader of the citizens of Salona who settled in Split in the 7th century. The author evaluates the validity of this note: he discusses the directions of previous research, transmission of the text, historiographical interpretations, and the archaeological, typological and stylistic context of the church. Through analysis he concludes that the memorial text is not of early medieval provenance; instead he gives a new proposal for its origin: it belongs to the artificial tradition shaped by the older historical narratives within the communal elite of Trogir in the 15th century, which was turned into a written text in the 16th century. He also defines the rotunda of St. Mary as an early medieval building from the beginning of the 9th century (without older phases) which was transformed into a communal church (*ecclesia communis*) of Trogir in the high Middle Ages. The author attributes to the text the function of creating the illusion of communal patronage of the church in continuity since the early Middle Ages.

Keywords: Trogir; early Middle Ages; hexaconch churches; St. Mary *de Platea*; continuity

I. UVOD

Na jugoistočnome uglu glavnoga trga grada Trogira nalaze se konzervirani ostatci šesterolisne crkve Sv. Marije *de Platea* (od Trga, od Plokate, od Poljane, *S. Maria de plathea, B. M. Virginis de plathea, de platea Traguri, Madonna della Piazza*). Građevina pripada skupini od desetak zdanja istovjetna, specifična tlocrta, rasprostrtih od Kašića kraj Zadra do Brnaza kraj Sinja, nazvanih polikonhalnim rotondama. U neposrednoj blizini trogirske šesterolisne rotonde smještene su crkve sv. Barbare (sv. Martina), sv. Sebastijana i sv. Ivana Krstitelja te trogirska gradska loža, dok je trg s druge strane omeđen masom katedrale sv. Lovre (bl. Ivana Trogirskoga). Šesterolisna crkva srušena je zbog trošnosti sredinom 19. stoljeća. O Sv. Mariji se očuvalo relativno malo povijesnih svjedočanstava, i to iz kasnoga vremena.¹ Posvjedočena je u svakome slučaju svijest o velikoj starini toga objekta, prisutna barem od baroknoga doba (P. Andreis), a iz 1757. godine potječe jedinstven crtež vanjštine crkve, iz pera klasicističkoga crtača u službi Roberta Adama, Charlesa-Louisa Clérisseaua, pronađen u Petrogradu (Sl. 1). Crtež precizno svjedoči o tadašnjemu stanju građevine (još sredinom 18. stoljeća vrlo dobro sačuvane), ukazujući i na moguće romaničke preinake eksterijera. No, među narativnim vrelima o toj crkvi, posebno se ističe jedna bilješka koja potječe iz ostavštine “oca hrvatske historiografije”, trogirskoga povjesničara Ivana Lučića – Luciusa (1604. – 1679.). Bilješka postoji u dvije verzije: jednu je objavio D. Farlati u četvrtome svesku *Illyricum sacrum* (naziva ju “cedulja”, *scheda* ili *notatio*), dok se druga čuva u rukopisu u Znanstvenoj knjižnici u Zadru (*Codex Lucianus*) (Sl. 2–3). Taj kratki memorijalni zapis do Luciusa je došao u pisanoj zaostavštini njegova istoimenog pretka (o čemu više u nastavku). U zapisu sadržani podatci bili su podlogom za njihovo povezivanje sa spomenutom šesterolisnom crkvom i njezinim različitim datiranjem. U nekim se značajnim pojedinostima zapisi međusobno razlikuju (razlike su označene podebljanim slovima):

¹ Za puni historijat v. I. Babić 2016: 425–430.

I. INTRODUCTION

The preserved remains of the hexaconch church of St. Mary *de Platea* (of Square, of Plokata, of Poljana, *S. Maria de plathea, B. M. Virginis de plathea, de platea Traguri, Madonna della Piazza*) are found on the southeast corner of the main square of Trogir. The building belongs to a group of a dozen edifices dubbed rotunda-type polyconch churches with an identical, specific ground plan, extending from Kašić near Zadar, to Brnaze near Sinj. In the immediate vicinity of the hexaconch rotunda of Trogir are the churches of St. Barbara (St. Martin), St. Sebastian and St. John the Baptist and the Town Loggia of Trogir, while the other side of the square is bordered by the mass of the Cathedral of St. Lawrence (The Blessed John of Trogir). The hexaconch church was demolished in the mid-19th century due to its run-down state. Relatively few historical records have been preserved about St. Mary, most of them dating from the late period.¹ In any case, the awareness of the great antiquity of this edifice is attested at least since the Baroque period (P. Andreis), and a unique drawing of the church exterior dating from 1757, drawn by the classicist draughtsman Charles-Louis Clérisseau who was in the service of Robert Adam, was found in St. Petersburg (Fig. 1). The drawing accurately renders the condition of the edifice at the time (which was still very well preserved in the middle of the 18th century), pointing to possible Romanesque alterations to the exterior. However, one particular note stands out among the narrative sources about this church and it comes from the written estate of “the father of Croatian historiography”, the Trogir historian Ivan Lučić – Lucius (1604 – 1679). The note is extant in two versions: one was published by D. Farlati in the fourth volume of *Illyricum sacrum* (he calls it an “annotation”, *scheda* or *notatio*), while the other is kept in the form of a manuscript in the Research Library of Zadar (*Codex Lucianus*) (Figs. 2–3). This short memorial note came to Lucius as the written estate of his ancestor of the same name (more on this below). The data found in the note were the basis for their connection with the aforementioned hexaconch church and its different dating. The notes differ from each other in certain significant details (the differences are indicated in bold):

¹ For detailed description see I. Babić 2016: 425–430.

<p><i>Illyricum sacrum</i>: Nota quod tempore d(omini) Theodosii imperatoris et semper augusti et d(omini) Petri episcopi Traguriensis ... comes, Constantii filius et Magni Severi nepos reparavit a fundamento ecclesiam s(anctae) Mariae de Platea, quae a suis praedecessoribus constructa corruerat usque ad solum; et fuerunt muratori de salina Isidorus, Demetrius, Melota et Theodorus etc. Et hoc fuit inventum Spaleti in quadam chronica scriptum; et ego, Ioannes Lucius, primicerius et canonicus Traguriensis, manu propria registravi ad futuram rei memoriam. Huius ecclesiae in praesentiarum est rector d(ominus) Ioannes Caelius, canonicus Patavinus ac protonotarius, an(no) MDXI.</p>	<p>„Znaj da je u vrijeme gospodina Teodozija, cara i uvijek augusta, i gospodina Petra biskupa trogirskoga ... komes, sin Konstancijev i unuk Velikoga Severa, popravio iz temelja crkvu svete Marije na Poljani, koju su sagradili njegovi prethodnici, a bila se srušila sve do zemlje; i zidari su bili iz solane: Izidor, Demetrije, Melota i Teodor itd. I to je bilo nađeno u Splitu zapisano u nekoj kronici; a ja Ivan Lucius, pramancir i kanonik trogirski, vlastitom sam to rukom zabilježio da bi se u budućnosti pamtilo. Rektor te crkve je u sadašnje vrijeme gospodin Ivan Celius, kanonik padovanski i protonotar, godine 1511.” (prev. R. Katičić).</p>	<p>“Know that in the time of lord Theodosius, Emperor and ever Augustus, and lord Peter, Bishop of Trogir ... <i>comes</i>, son of Constantius and grandson of Severus the Great, had repaired from the foundations the church of St. Mary <i>de Platea</i>, built by his predecessors, which had collapsed to the ground; and the masons were from the salt pans: Isidorus, Demetrius, Melota, and Theodorus, etc. And this was found in Split and recorded in some chronicle; and I, Ivan Lucius, primicerius and canon of Trogir, have recorded this with my own hand so that it would be remembered in the future. The rector of that church at the present time is lord Ivan Celius, canon of Padua and protonotary, in the year 1511” (from the Croatian translation by R. Katičić).</p>
<p><i>Codex Lucianus</i>: De s(anc)ta M(ari) a de Platea. Nota quod tempore D(omi)ni Theodosij imperatoris et semper aug(usti) et d(omi)ni Petri ep(iscop)i Trag(uriensis) comes Constantij filius, et Magni Severi nepos reparavit a fundam(en)to eccl(es)iam s(an)ctae Mariae de Platea, quae a suis predecessoribus constructa corruerat usque ad solum, et fuerunt muratores de Salona Isidorus, Demetrius, Melota, et Theodorus, et hoc fuit inventum Spaleti in quadam cronica scriptum. et registratum manu propria r(everen)di d(omini) Ioannis Lucij primicerij et canonici Trag(uriensis) rectoris dictae eccl(es)iae M.D.XI.</p>	<p>„O svetoj Mariji od Poljane. Znaj da je u vrijeme gospodina Teodozija cara i uvijek augusta i gospodina Petra biskupa trogirskoga komes, sin Konstancija i unuk Velikoga Severa, iz temelja popravio crkvu Svete Marije od Poljane koja se, sagrađena od njegovih predaka, srušila do zemlje, a bili su zidari iz Salone Izidor, Demetrije, Melota i Teodor. A nađeno je ovo u Splitu zapisano u nekoj kronici i zabilježeno rukom časnoga gospodina Ivana Lucija, primicerija i kanonika trogirskoga, upravitelja te crkve 1511. godine” (prev. Ž. Rapanić).</p>	<p>“On St. Mary de Platea. Know that in the time of lord Theodosius, Emperor and ever Augustus, and lord Peter, Bishop of Trogir, <i>comes</i>, son of Constantius and grandson of Severus the Great, had repaired from the foundations the church of St. Mary <i>de Platea</i>, built by his predecessors, which had collapsed to the ground; and the masons were from Salona Isidorus, Demetrius, Melota, and Theodorus. And this was found in Split, written in some chronicle and recorded by the hand of the honorable lord Ivan Lucius, primicerius and canon of Trogir, administrator of that church in 1511” (from the Croatian translation by Ž. Rapanić).</p>
<p>Izvori: Farlati 1769: 306–307; Ivanišević 1980: 968–969, br. 8; Rapanić 1998: 49–50, Katičić 1998: 259–260. / Sources: Farlati 1769: 306–307; Ivanišević 1980: 968–969, no. 8; Rapanić 1998: 49–50, Katičić 1998: 259–260.</p>		

Kronološke odrednice sadržane u tekstu jasne su i jednoznačne; međusobno se potkrepljuju: spomen cara Teodozija te nekoga, poimence nepoznatoga, komesa, unuka Velikoga Severa, fiksira događaj o kojemu je riječ čvrsto na početak 8. stoljeća, između svibnja 715. i ožujka 717., za kratke i beznačajne vladavine bizantskoga cara Teodozija III., posljednjega istočnorimskog vladara toga imena, k tome jedinoga kojega je moguće smjestiti generaciju-dvije nakon Severova vijeka. Potonji je pak glasoviti salonitanski patricij – poznat iz kronike *Historia Salonitana* splitskoga arhidakona Tome iz sredine 13. stoljeća – koji je, prema tome istom djelu, predvodio doseljenje Salonitanaca u Dioklecijanovu palaču sredinom 7. stoljeća te bio suvremenik prvoga splitskog nadbiskupa, Ivana Ravenjanina. O

The chronological determinants contained in the text are clear and unambiguous; they support each other: the mention of Emperor Theodosius and a certain unnamed *comes*, grandson of Severus the Great, fixes the event in question firmly at the beginning of the 8th century, between May 715 and March 717, during the short and insignificant reign of the Byzantine Emperor Theodosius III, the last Eastern Roman ruler of that name, and moreover, the only one who can be placed a generation or two after Severus’ period. The latter, on the other hand, is the famous patrician from Salona – known from the chronicle *Historia Salonitana* by Thomas the Archdeacon of Split from the middle of the 13th century – who, according to the same work, led the Salonitans’ migration into Diocletian’s Palace in the



Slika 1. Charles-Louis Clérisseau, Južna strana trogirskoga trga s crkvom Sv. Marije, akvarel, Ermitaž, Sankt-Peterburg (I. Babić 2016: 425).

Figure 1. Charles-Louis Clérisseau, The south side of the Trogir square with the church of St. Mary, watercolor, Hermitage, St. Petersburg (I. Babić 2016: 425).

vjerodostojnosti toga zapisa iz Lucijeve ostavštine mnogo se raspravljalo, ali bez velika uspjeha.² Terminologija, prozopografija (imena zidara analizirao je R. Katičić) i opći izričaj govorili bi, uz kronologiju, u prilog autentičnosti zapisa. Time bi se on otkrio kao važan povijesni izvor, osvjetljavajući – čak vrlo reljefno – inače slabo dokumentirano razdoblje „mračnih stoljeća” u ovim krajevima. Predstavljao bi, štoviše, najstariji sačuvani memorijalni tekst srednjovjekovnoga Trogira. S druge strane, izrazito kasna rukopisna predaja i pojedini sumnjivi unutarnji elementi („neka” kronika u kojoj je, navodno, nađen) opravdano – kako ističe Ž. Rapanić – dovode u pitanje njegovu iskoristivost.³ Posebno se zazornim čini spomen, u jednoj inačici teksta,

middle of the 7th century and was a contemporary of the first Archbishop of Split, John of Ravenna. The authenticity of this record from Lucius’ estate has been debated, but without much success.² The terminology, prosopography (the names of the masons were analysed by R. Katičić) and general expression in addition to chronology, would speak in favour of the authenticity of the record. This would reveal it as an important historical source, illuminating – rather vividly – the otherwise poorly documented period of the “dark centuries” in these parts. Moreover, it would represent the oldest preserved memorial text of medieval Trogir. On the other hand, the extremely late manuscript tradition and certain suspicious internal elements (“some”

² Tako npr. I. Babić 1985: 40 dokument naziva “prijepornim i zbunjujućim”. Ivić 2004: 137 bilješku smatra problematičnom i tekst drži zaključkom sastavljača, a ne doslovnim ispisom. Ovo opovrgava Katičić 2003: 408, bilj. 167. Po I. Babić 2012: 299 to je humanistički pokušaj povijesne (re)konstrukcije.

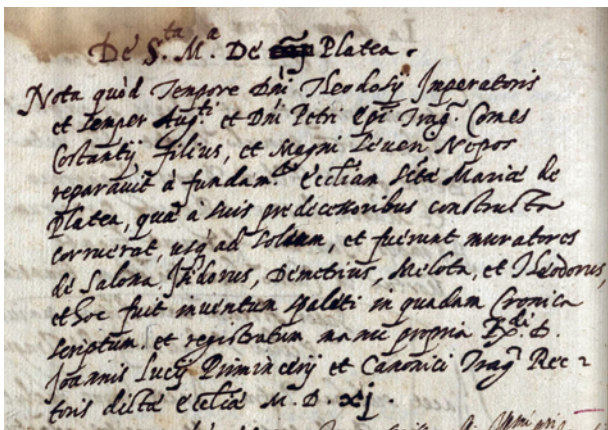
³ Rapanić 1998: 51.

² Thus, for example, I. Babić 1985: 40 calls the document “controversial and confusing”. Ivić 2004: 137 considers the note problematic and considers the text to be the author’s conclusion, and not a literal transcription. This is refuted by Katičić 2003: 408, note 167. According to I. Babić 2012: 299 this is a humanistic attempt at historical (re)construction.

Nota quod tempore D. Theodosii Imperatoris, & semper Augusti, & D. Petri Episcopi Traguriensis, . . . Comes Constantii filius, & magni Severi nepos reparavit a fundamento ecclesiam S. Mariae de Platea, quae a suis praedecessoribus constructa corruebat usque ad solum; & fuerunt muratorii de Salina Isidorus, Demetrius, Melota, & Theodorus &c. Et hoc fuit inventum Spaleti in quadam chronica scriptum; & ego Joannes Lucius Primicerius & Canonicus Traguriensis, manu propria registravi ad futuram rei memoriam. Hujus ecclesiae in praesentiarum est rector D. Joannes Calius Canonicus Patavinus, ac protonotarius, an. MDXI.

Slika 2. Verzija memorijsnog zapisa o Sv. Mariji de Platea iz *Illyricum sacrum* (Farlati 1769: 306–307).

Figure 2. Version of the memorial note about St. Mary de Platea from *Illyricum sacrum* (Farlati 1769: 306–307).



Slika 3. Verzija memorijsnog zapisa o Sv. Mariji de Platea iz *Codex Lucianus* [Varia Dalmatica] (Znanstvena knjižnica Zadar, Zbirka rukopisa, Ms. 617, fol. 122v; reproducirano s dopuštenjem Znanstvene knjižnice Zadar).

Figure 3. Version of the memorial note about St. Mary de Platea from *Codex Lucianus* [Varia Dalmatica] (Research Library of Zadar, Manuscript Collection, Ms. 617, folio 122v; reproduced with the permission of the Research Library of Zadar).

grada Salone kao mjesta otkuda su pristigli graditelji crkve, dok u drugoj verziji umjesto Salone stoji *salina* – ‘solana’! Vjerojatno je riječ o novovjekovnoj mistifikaciji, „korekciji” prvotnoga spomena solane u ime antičkoga velegrada, koje na prvi pogled doista i djeluje logičnije. Ipak, Ž. Rapanić s pravom postavlja pitanje smijemo li tu pretpostavku uvažiti bez valjana razloga; a ako i smijemo, tko bi bili ti

chronicle in which it was allegedly found) – as Ž. Rapanić emphasizes – question its usefulness with good reason.³ Particularly daunting, in one version of the text, is the mention of the town of Salone as the place from where the church builders came, while the other version, instead of Salone, mentions *salina* – the salt pans! It is probably a modern mystification, a “correction” of the original mention of the salt pans into the name of the ancient metropolis, which at first glance really seems more logical. However, Ž. Rapanić rightly raises the question of whether we should accept this assumption without a valid reason; and even if we did, who would be those master masons that, in the 8th century, came from a city abandoned a long time ago?⁴

II. STATE OF RESEARCH

Before noticing the importance of Lucius’ note, St. Mary de Platea in Trogir was dated by established methods.⁵ The first archaeological excavations of the rotunda were conducted by T. Marasović in 1957–1959, proposing in the 1960s a broad, but common at the time, dating of the church to the period from 8th to 11th century. The turn was marked by the discovery of Clérisseau’s drawing, which prompted T. Marasović to – guided by the distinctly Romanesque appearance of the building on a newly discovered graphic source – correct the dating in favor of later times, bringing the church closer to the early Romanesque period so much that it was once considered to be the **latest** example of a hexaconch form in the church architecture of the region. Although Marasović had already pointed out Lucius’ note, he assumed that it referred to a previous church – of an unknown shape – which was replaced by a “pre-Carolingian hexaconch” at the beginning of the 8th century. Finally, in 1989 Marasović decided to date the hexaconch church according to the time of the presumed creation of the memorial note, i.e. around 715 – 717. Thus, this edifice became the **earliest** example of a hexaconch form.

³ Rapanić 1998: 51.

⁴ Rapanić 1998: 49, 52.

⁵ See a comprehensive review of older literature: Rapanić 1998: 44–48. Marasović 2011: 128–135 recently summarizes the literature.

majstori zidari koji bi početkom 8. stoljeća dolazili iz odavno napuštena grada?⁴

II. PRAVCI ISTRAŽIVANJA

Prije uočavanja važnosti Lucijeve bilješke, trogir-ska Sv. Marija *de Platea* datirala se ustaljenim meto-dama.⁵ Prva arheološka istraživanja rotonde proveo je T. Marasović 1957. – 1959. godine, predloživši 1960-ih široku, tada uobičajenu, dataciju crkve u razdoblje 8. – 11. stoljeća. Zaokret je označen pro-nalaskom Clérisseauova crteža, što je potaknulo T. Marasovića da – vodeći se izrazito romaničkim izgledom zdanja na novopronađenome grafičkom izvoru – korigira dataciju u prilog kasnijemu vre-menu, približivši crkvu ranoj romanici toliko da je svojedobno držana **najkasnijim** primjerom šesterolisne forme u crkvenome graditeljstvu regije. Iako je već Marasović isticao Lucijev zapis, pretpostav-ljao je da je u njemu riječ o nekoj – oblikom nepo-znatoj – prethodnoj crkvi, koju je početkom 8. sto-ljeća zamijenio „pretkarolinški šesterolist”. Konač-no se 1989. godine Marasović odlučio za dataciju šesterolisne crkve prema vremenu pretpostavljeno-ga nastanka memorijalnoga zapisa, oko 715.-717. godine. Tako je ova građevina postala **najranijim** primjerom šesterolisne forme.

Međutim, nova istraživanja V. Kovačić 1987. – 1989. godine pokazala su da objekt leži direktno na helenističkim ostacima i da nema tragova ranije crkve. Time kao da se krug zatvorio: sve hipoteze o ranijoj crkvi, vremenu njezina nastan-ka i arhitektonskoj formi poništene su arheolo-gijom. S druge strane, Ž. Rapanić dopušta mo-gućnost da je crkva popravljana 715.-717. godi-ne bila ranokršćanska, ali ju radije vidi negdje u blizini postojećega šesterolista. On podsjeća na nalaze V. Kovačić rimskih, ranokršćanskih i rano-srednjovjekovnih sarkofaga oko postojeće crkve, uočavajući njihovu povezanost sa sarkofagom ukopanim ispod pločnika u geometrijskome sre-dištu šesterolista (što ga je otkrio T. Marasović), pa pretpostavlja da je riječ o privilegiranim uko-pima uz grob u središtu Marijine crkve, odnosno

However, new research by V. Kovačić in 1987 – 1989 has shown that the edifice lies directly on the Hellenistic remains and that there are no traces of an earlier church. This had seemingly closed the circle: all hypotheses about an earlier church, the time of its creation and its architec-tural form were annulled by archeology. On the other hand, Ž. Rapanić allows the possibility that the church repaired around 715 – 717 was in-deed early Christian, but he rather sees it some-where in the vicinity of the existing hexaconch. He recalls V. Kovačić’s findings of Roman, early Christian and early medieval sarcophagi around the existing church, noting their connection with the sarcophagus buried under the paved floor in the geometric centre of the hexaconch (discovered by T. Marasović), so he assumes that these were privileged burials surrounding the tomb in the centre of St. Mary’s church, i.e., the possibly older *memoria* that was located there.⁶ This could have been the *memoria* of some lo-cal secular or ecclesiastical dignitary, around whose grave privileged burials had developed. If the church on the Square was not already an *ecclesia privata*, it certainly became one when it was repaired at the beginning of the 8th century by a member of Severus’ family. The repaired church persisted for some time – in a form still unknown to us – and was later (perhaps in the same place?) replaced by a hexaconch, the kind that was reconstructed by T. Marasović in his re-search, and whose approximate external appear-ance was recorded by Ch. L. Clérisseau.

The whole set of problems is summarized in the researchers’ attitude towards the memori-al note, which varied from *a priori* rejection to uncritical acceptance, and almost all of the re-searchers – both when they rejected it and when they agreed with it – paid attention to the note in-versely proportional to the limited information it offered. It was only Ž. Rapanić who had showed that the data extracted from the note were as fol-lows: there was a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Square in Trogir which was built at an unknown time by the ancestors of

⁴ Rapanić 1998: 49, 52.

⁵ Vidjeti iscrpan pregled starije literature: Rapanić 1998: 44–48. Marasović 2011: 128–135 recentno sumira literaturu.

⁶ First pointed out by Fisković already in 1984: 45, followed by almost all the authors who wrote about the problem.

moguće starije memorije koja se tu nalazila.⁶ To je mogla biti memorija nekoga mjesnog svjetovnog ili crkvenog prvaka, oko čijega se groba onda razvio privilegirani ukop. Ako crkva na Poljani nije već otprije bila *ecclesia privata*, to je svakako postala kad ju je početkom 8. stoljeća popravio član Severove obitelji. Tako popravljena neko je vrijeme – i dalje u nama nepoznatu obliku – trajala, a kasnije je (na istome mjestu?) zamijenjena šesterolistom, onakvim kakva je svojim istraživačima rekonstruirao T. Marasović, i čiji je približan vanjski izgled zabilježio Ch. L. Clérisseau.

Sav kompleks problema sažet je u odnosu istraživača prema memorijalnom zapisu, koji je kod pojedinih varirao od apriornoga odbacivanja do nekritičkoga prihvaćanja, a gotovo svi su mu – i kad su ga odbijali i kad su se s njime usklađivali – poklanjali pažnju obrnuto proporcionalnu ipak ograničenim informacijama koje je nosio. Tek je Ž. Rapanić pokazao da se podatci koji se iz zapisa mogu iscrpsti svode na sljedeće: na Poljani u Trogiru nalazila se crkva posvećena Bogorodici, koju su u nepoznato vrijeme sagradili predci bezimenoga komesa (*a suis praedecessoribus*); ona se u kasnije, isto tako u nepoznato vrijeme, srušila do temelja, pa je između 715. i 717. godine taj bezimena komes građevinu iz temelja popravio. Ključ čitanja pritom je sintagma **popravio od temelja** (*reparavit a fundamento*),⁷ koju su raniji autori listom interpretirali kao **ponovno sagradio** (*sic!*), ne mogavši se oduprijeti uvjerenju da je crkva koju Lucijeva bilješka opisuje upravo šesterolisna Sv. Marija od Poljane. Nije, dakle, riječ o novogradnji, nego o obnovi starijega građevnog sklopa – *renovatio* u punom smislu riječi. *Ipsa facto*, vodeći se tekstom kakav je pred nama, crkva nije mogla biti sagrađena u ranome 8. stoljeću jer je tada bila obnovljena ili popravljena.

Impliciranjem da se Lučićeva bilješka odnosi upravo na šesterolisnu rotundu, bile su sustavno zanemarivane spoznaje o razvitku ranosrednjovjekovnoga graditeljstva u ovim krajevima, s obzirom na to da je jedan ne posve vjerodostojan zapis bio dovoljan da se crkva, s jedne strane, datira izrazito

an unnamed *comes* (*a suis praedecessoribus*); the church had later collapsed to the ground, also at an unknown time, so the unnamed *comes* repaired the building between 715 and 717. The key to reading the text is the expression **repaired** (*reparavit a fundamento*),⁷ which was interpreted by the earlier authors as **re-built** (*sic*), who were unable to resist the belief that Lucius' note in fact describes the only church they knew as St. Mary of the Square – namely the hexaconch. Therefore, the text does not refer to a new building, but to a renovation of an older complex – that is, *renovatio* in the full sense of the word. *Ipsa facto*, guided by the text before us, the church could not have been built in the early 8th century because it was either renovated or repaired at that time.

By implying that Lučić's note refers specifically to the hexaconch rotunda, the scholarly insights about the development of early medieval architecture in this area were systematically ignored, since a single, not entirely credible, written note was enough for the church to be dated extremely early, and a drawing depicting the exterior wall of the church from the 18th century (which, after all, may be the result of a Romanesque adaptation of an older edifice) caused it to be dated to a late period closer to Romanesque period. More importantly, these attempts had caused the monument to be ripped out of context of similar churches, within a well-known and coherent group of hexaconchs and pushed into the blank period of the early 8th century, in which the stylistic features characteristic of the said group are entirely absent.⁸

How then, in the light of everything that has been presented up to this point, should this oldest medieval memorial text of Trogir be treated?

⁷ If the church had been newly built, the expression *a fundamento* would not have made sense. Cfr. Rapanić 1998: 55.

⁸ Rapanić 1998: 52–53: “The Trogir church of St. Mary cannot be separated in any context from other hexaconchs (pentaconchs) with which it forms a clear typological, therefore formal and, of course, more importantly, a logical whole, which is definitely also determined liturgically”.

⁶ Tako već Fisković 1984: 45, a za njim gotovo svi autori koji su pisali o problemu.

⁷ Da je crkva bila novogradnja, termin *a fundamento* ne bi imao smisla. Usp. Rapanić 1998: 55.

rano, a jedan crtež zidnoga plašta crkve u 18. stoljeću (što, na kraju krajeva, može biti rezultat romaničke adaptacije starijega zdanja) da ju se datira u kasno doba, blisko romanici. Još značajnije, spomenik je tim pokušajima istrgnut iz konteksta sličnih crkava, unutar dobro poznate i koherentne skupine šesterolistâ, i gurnut u “zrakoprazno” razdoblje početka 8. stoljeća, u kojem se stvarno ni iz jedne perspektive ne vide stilska obilježja karakteristična za spomenutu skupinu.⁸

Kako se, dakle, u svjetlu svega što je do ove točke izloženo, odnositi prema tom najstarijem trogirskom srednjovjekovnom memorijalnom tekstu?

III. PODRIJETLO LUČIĆEVE BILJEŠKE

III.1. Transmisija teksta

U materijalnome smislu, ni jedna ni druga verzija memorijalnoga zapisa o Sv. Mariji *de Platea* ne potječu iz 1511. godine. Prvi je tekst tiskom objavljen u *Illyricum sacrum* 1769. godine te je poznat jedino u tom mediju; drugi je sačuvan u rukopisu Petra Lučića nastalu krajem 16. ili početkom 17. stoljeća. Oba su teksta s te točke gledišta vremenski znatno udaljena od događaja koje opisuju – pronalaska podataka o crkvi Sv. Marije *de Platea* 1511. godine.

O podrijetlu Farlatijeve verzije poznato je tek to da je njemu bilo dojavljeno da cedulja potječe od povjesničara Ivana Luciusa, tj. da ju je ovaj prepisao iz drevnoga misala kojim se služio njegov istoimeni prastric.⁹ Iz sâmoga se pak teksta vidi da je taj imao drukčiji predajni tijek od onoga zabilježenoga u *codex Lucianus*, odnosno da nije pripadao pisanoj građi kojom se služio trogirski rod Lucius. Zasiurno je potjecao iz pisane tradicije neke druge trogirske plemenite obitelji (Celio?), koju je poznavao i kojom se služio Ivan Lučić – Lucius, ali to je sve što se zasad može reći o njemu. Već i ta okolnost upućuje

⁸ Rapanić 1998: 52–53: “Trogirsku crkvu Sv. Marije ni u kakvu kontekstu ne možemo odvojiti od ostalih šesterolista (peterolista) s kojima tvori jasnu tipološku, dakle formalnu i, naravno, što je još i važnije, logičku cjelinu, sasvim sigurno i u liturgijskom pogledu vrlo određenu”.

⁹ Farlati 1769: 306: *Ceterum tribus fere saeculis antiquiorem nobis exhibent episcopum Tragurii, nomine Petrum, schedae Mss. Joannis Lucii, qui ex vetusto missali, quo utebatur ejus propatruus Joannes Lucius primicerius et canonicus Traguriensis, hanc notationem desumpsit.* = Farlati 2010: 61.

III. THE ORIGIN OF LUČIĆ’S NOTE

III.1. Textual transmission

In the material sense, neither version of the memorial note about St. Mary *de Platea* originates from 1511. The first text was printed in the *Illyricum sacrum* in 1769 and is known only in that medium; the second is preserved in the manuscript of Petar Lučić, created at the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century. From that point of view, both texts are significantly temporally distant from the events they describe – the discovery of information about the church of St. Mary *de Platea* in 1511.

All that is known about the origin of Farlati’s version is that he was informed that the note had originated from the historian Ivan Lucius, i.e. that he had copied it from an ancient missal used by his great-uncle of the same name.⁹ It can be seen from the text itself that it had a different history than the one recorded in the *Codex Lucianus*, i.e. it did not belong to the written material used by the family Lucius of Trogir. It had certainly come from the written tradition of another noble family from Trogir (Celio?), which was known to and used by Ivan Lučić – Lucius, but that is all that can be said about the text so far. Even this circumstance indicates that multiple versions of this written piece had circulated among the Trogir patricians, as well as that their content may have been conflicting.¹⁰ (The historian Lucius himself, as it will be seen, had critically opted for a version that **was not** part of his own family heritage.)

⁹ Farlati 1769: 306: *Ceterum tribus fere saeculis antiquiorem nobis exhibent episcopum Tragurii, nomine Petrum, schedae Mss. Joannis Lucii, qui ex vetusto missali, quo utebatur ejus propatruus Joannes Lucius primicerius et canonicus Traguriensis, hanc notationem desumpsit.* = Farlati 2010: 61.

¹⁰ Evidence to this is the anonymous description of the Trogir area from around 1591, as it contains identical information about St. Mary *de Platea* (see below): the founder is the *comes* son of Constantius, grandson of Severus the Great (there is no mention of the Byzantine emperor Theodosius). On the other hand, this description confuses Severus the Great with the Roman emperor (Septimius Severus?), which is a clear indication that the author, from the Kažotić family (*Casotti*) did not have nearly as precise data as the author of the note from 1511. The legend about the church, established by the “discovery” of archpresbyter Lucius had apparently continued to circulate among the Trogir patricians in the years to come, and long enough to experience alterations and distortions, and finally in its distorted state, it had entered the descriptive text about Trogir from 1591.

na to da je među trogirskim patricijatom cirkuliralo više verzija toga sastavka, kao i na to da im je sadržaj mogao biti u koliziji.¹⁰ (Povjesničar Lucius se, kako će se vidjeti, i sâm kritički opredijelio za verziju koja **nije** bila dijelom njegove vlastite obiteljske baštine.)

Nešto se više može reći o provenijenciji zapisa iz *codex Lucianus*. Poznat i kao *Varia Dalmatica*, taj kolektanej na latinskome i talijanskome jeziku plod je sakupljačkoga i antikvarnoga truda trogirskoga patricija Petra Lučića (oko 1550. – 1614.), koji je sastavio glavninu zbornika. Uz neka razilaženja, N. Kolumbić i N. Jovanović uvjerljivo obrazlažu da za nas relevantan dio korpusa pripada ruci Petrova tada vrlo mladoga sina, Ivana Lučića – Luciusa (rođen 1604.), što znači da svi ti tekstovi datiraju poslije siječnja 1614. godine, kada je Petar Lučić umro.¹¹ Ivan je nadopunjavao očeve antikvarne tekstove. Sâm folij sa zabilješkom o Sv. Mariji *de Platea* pripada, čini se, segmentu u kojemu iznova počinje stari rukopis (Petra Lučića),

¹⁰ Svjedočanstvo toga jest anonimni opis trogirskoga područja iz oko 1591. s obzirom na to da sadrži istovrsne podatke o Sv. Mariji *de Platea* (v. dolje): kao utemeljitelji navode se *conte* sin Konstancija, unuk Velikoga Severa (ne spominje se bizantski car Teodozije). S druge strane, taj opis miješa Velikoga Severa s rimskim carem (Septimijem Severom?), što je jasna naznaka da autor, iz roda Kažotića (*Casotti*), nije raspolagao ni približno preciznim podacima kao autor bilješke iz 1511. godine. Predaja o crkvi kakva je uspostavljena “otkrićem” arhiprezbitera Luciusa očito je nastavila kolati među trogirskim patricijatom u narednim godinama, i to dovoljno dugo da doživi preinake i iskrivljenja te da takva, izobličena, uđe u opisni tekst o Trogiru iz 1591.

¹¹ Započinje epigramima napisanima povodom Petrove smrti na ff. 90–90v, a rukopis jasno odaje neizvježbanu, mladenačku ruku. Usp. Jovanović 2008: 44–45 i bilj. 3. Nasuprot tome, Kolumbić 1980: 1090–1091 iznosi kontradiktornu tvrdnju da *Epigrammata in obitum D. Petri Lucij dignissimi Traguriensis* također pripadaju Petrovu rukopisu (?). Jovanović 2010: 10–11 navodi: “Vrlo jaku i jasnu cezuru čini pak f. 90, s nadgrobnicama Petru Luciću, zapisanim novom, nevještijom rukom. Po svemu sudeći, to je čin pijeteta sina desetogodišnjaka nedugo nakon očeve smrti (Ivan Lucić rođen je 1604, a Petar Lucić umro je 1614). Nakon toga nedostaje šesnaest listova, a u sljedećoj cjelini (od f. 107r do posljednjeg ispisanog f. 136r) – otvara je Božičevićeva *Vita Marci Maruli Spalatensis* – prevladavaju tekstovi interesantni ljubitelju starina: srednjovjekovni nadgrobni natpisi, prijepisi isprava, historiografski tekstovi i kroničarski zapisi (svaki svešćić ispisivao je prvo Petar, a nadopunjavao Ivan Lucić)”.

Something more can be said about the provenance of the note from the *Codex Lucianus*. Also known as *Varia Dalmatica*, this collection in Latin and Italian is the result of the collecting and antiquarian labours of the Trogir patrician Petar Lučić (c. 1550 – 1614), who had compiled the majority of the collection. With some differences, N. Kolumbić and N. Jovanović convincingly explain that the part of the corpus that is relevant to us, was written by Petar’s very young son, Ivan Lučić – Lucius (born in 1604), which means that all those texts date back after Petar Lučić’s death in January 1614.¹¹ Ivan had supplemented his father’s antiquary texts. The folio with the note about St. Mary *de Platea* seems to belong to the segment in which the older handwriting (of Petar Lučić) begins again, but it is precisely on this folio that the texts contain several subsequent interventions (crossing out and correcting), so it remains unclear which part should be attributed to Lučić the father and which to Lučić the son.¹² It has already been pointed out above that the basic difference between the two notes is the function of the rector of St. Mary *de Platea*: in Farlati it is Ivan Celio, and in the *Codex Lucianus* it is Ivan Lučić the Elder – the author of the note.¹³ Who are the protagonists of both notes, Ivan Celio and Ivan Lucius? The name Ivan was common in the families Celio and Lucius, but considering that priests (canons) are mentioned in both versions of the note, only clerics named Ivan from these families

¹¹ It begins with epigrams written on the occasion of Petar’s death on ff. 90–90v, and the manuscript clearly betrays an untrained, youthful hand. Cfr. Jovanović 2008: 44–45 and note 3. In contrast, Kolumbić 1980: 1090–1091 makes the contradictory claim that *Epigrammata in obitum D. Petri Lucij dignissimi Traguriensis* also belong to Petar’s handwriting (?). Jovanović 2010: 10–11 states: “A very strong and clear caesura is made by f. 90, with epitaphs of Petar Lucić, written by a new, more clumsy hand. Apparently, this is an act of piety of a ten-year-old son shortly after his father’s death (Ivan Lucić was born in 1604, and Petar Lucić died in 1614). Sixteen pages are missing after that, and the next section (from f. 107r to the last written f. 136r) – opened by Božičević’s *Vita Marci Maruli Spalatensis* – is dominated by texts that are interesting to the admirer of antiquities: medieval sepulchral inscriptions, document transcripts, historiographical texts and chronicle entries (each booklet was written firstly by Petar, and then supplemented by Ivan Lucić)”.

¹² Kolumbić 1980: 1101, 1102.

¹³ Rapanić (1998: 50) also points that out as one of the main differences between the two versions.

no upravo na tom foliju tekstovi sadrže nekoliko naknadnih intervencija (precrtavanja i popravljavanja), pa ostaje nejasno koji njegov dio treba pridati ocu, a koji sinu Lučiću.¹²

Već je prije istaknuto da osnovnu razliku dviju bilješki čini funkcija rektora Sv. Marije *de Platea*: u Farlatija je to Ivan Celio, a u *codex Lucianus* je to Ivan Lučić Stariji – sastavljač bilješke.¹³ Tko su protagonisti jedne i druge bilješke, Ivan Celio i Ivan Lucius? Ime Ivan bilo je često u rodovima Celio i Lucius, no uzevši da su u obje verzije cedulje navedeni svećenici (kanonici), u obzir dolaze jedino klerici iz tih obitelji po imenu Ivan, i to oni koji su bili zrele dobi oko 1511. godine. U rodu Celio tim kriterijima odgovara jedino Ivan Celio (oko 1448. – prije 1518.), jedan od braće soprakomita Andrije Celija. Nema, međutim, pouzdanih potvrda da je taj Ivan bio svećenik.¹⁴ Što se tiče roda Lucius, očiti je kandidat arhiprezbiter Ivan (oko 1482. – 1541.), brat Nikole, pradjeda povjesničara Ivana Luciusa.¹⁵

¹² Kolumbić 1980: 1101, 1102.

¹³ To kao jednu od glavnih razlika dviju verzija ističe i Rapanić 1998: 50.

¹⁴ Otprilike u istoj generaciji žive četiri druga pripadnika roda Celio po imenu Ivan (1464. – poslije 1481., 1458. – prije 1510., 1478. – prije 1525. i 1492. – prije 1551.), no svi (osim prvonavedenoga, koji je izgleda živio kratko) imaju dobro dokumentirane brakove i potomstvo, što isključuje svećeničku službu – v. Andreis 2006: 159, 160, 165, 169. S obzirom na to da su Ivanov stariji brat Ludovik (rođen oko 1446.) i mlađi brat Marin (rođen oko 1452.) obojica bili svećenici, smijemo pretpostaviti da isto vrijedi za Ivana; mogućnost je tim veća što nisu zabilježeni Ivanovi brakovi ni djeca.

¹⁵ Andreis 2006: 226, 289. Sačuvana je njegova oporuka datirana 10. siječnja 1541. – Andreis 2006: 18. U njoj, međutim, nema spomena oporučiteljevoj službi rektora Sv. Marije *de Platea*. Preciznosti radi, treba reći da ovaj Ivan Lucius iz 1511. godine zapravo nije bio prastric povjesničara Ivana (djedov brat), već se u riječi *propatruus* krije praprastric (pradjedov brat), također *Ioannes Lucius*. Djed se, naime, povjesničara Lučića zvao Jerolim i zaista je imao brata Ivana, poznatijega pod imenom Ivan Štafilić-Lučić (ili: Ivan Lučić-Štafilić), šibenskoga biskupa od 1528. do smrti 1557. godine. Taj je, međutim, Ivan rođen 1498. godine, te nije nikako mogao 1511. biti trogirski pramancir i kanonik s obzirom na to da je tada imao samo 13 godina. Više o njemu: Farlati 1769: 475–476; Fisković 1969: 55–56; Andreis 2006: 227. No prema obiteljskomu stablu rekonstruiranom u Andreis 2006: 224, Ivan Lučić-Štafilić sin je Nikole (oko 1468. – prije 1551.), bratića povjesničareva pradjeda Nikole (istodobno bratića arhiprezbitera Ivana). Prezime Štafilić

come into consideration, and only those who were of mature age around 1511. In the Celio family, only Ivan Celio (around 1448 – before 1518), a brother of the sopracomito Andrija Celio, meets these criteria. There is, however, no reliable confirmation that this Ivan was indeed a priest.¹⁴ As for the Lucius family, the obvious candidate is the archpresbyter Ivan (c. 1482 – 1541), brother of Nikola, the great-grandfather of the historian Ivan Lucius.¹⁵ The historical data regarding him are rather sparse.¹⁶

¹⁴ Approximately in the same generation there were four other members of the Celio family named Ivan (1464 – after 1481, 1458 – before 1510, 1478 – before 1525 and 1492 – before 1551), but all (except the first one, who died young) have well-documented marriages and offspring, which excludes priestly service – see Andreis 2006: 159, 160, 165, 169. Given that Ivan's older brother Ludovik (born around 1446) and younger brother Marin (born about 1452) were both priests, it can be assumed that the same is true for Ivan; the possibility is all the greater precisely because there is no record of Ivan marrying or having children.

¹⁵ Andreis 2006: 226, 289. His will dated 10 January 1541 has been preserved – Andreis 2006: 18. In it, however, there is no mention of the testator's service as rector of St. Mary *de Platea*. For the sake of precision, it should be said that this Ivan Lucius from 1511 was not actually the granduncle of the historian Ivan (grandfather's brother), but that the word *propatruus* refers to the great-granduncle (great-grandfather's brother), also *Ioannes Lucius*. Namely, the grandfather of the historian Lucius was called Jerolim, and he indeed had a brother Ivan, better known as Ivan Štafilić-Lučić (or: Ivan Lučić-Štafilić), Bishop of Šibenik from 1528 until his death in 1557. However, Ivan was born in 1498, and he could not have been a Trogir primicerius and canon in 1511, since he was only 13 years old at the time. More about him: Farlati 1769: 475–476; Fisković 1969: 55–56; Andreis 2006: 227. However, according to the family tree reconstructed in Andreis 2006: 224, Ivan Lučić-Štafilić is the son of Nikola (around 1468 – before 1551), first cousin of the historian's great-grandfather Nikola (and at the same time first cousin of the archpresbyter Ivan). He added the surname Štafilić to his own surname Lučić in the memory of his uncle (mother's brother) Ivan Štafilić, the Bishop of Šibenik from 1512 to 1528 and his immediate predecessor in the Šibenik episcopal see. Bishop Lučić-Štafilić is best known for completing the construction of the Šibenik Cathedral and its consecration in 1555. In the cathedral is his sarcophagus, with a Latin epitaph that clearly indicates his age – cf. Farlati 1769: 476; Lucić 1979b: 1113; Pelc 2007: 307. Canon Johannes, author of the note on St. Mary *de Platea*, therefore, should be sought in Ivan Lučić, the brother of the historian's great-grandfather Nikola.

¹⁶ Fisković 1969: 58 and Fig. 15 attributes a Renaissance coat of arms to him with the initials I. L. on one of the houses in present-day Gradska Street in Trogir. The author also states that this Ivan is mentioned in the family tree (manuscript) as *Iohannes iuris utriusque doctor archipresbyter*.

Povijesni podatci o njemu prilično su škrti.¹⁶

Crkvene nadarbine su se u principu dodjeljivale doživotno, što znači da je Ivan Celio svoju uživao do oko 1518. godine, odnosno alternativno Ivan Lučić Stariji do 1541. godine. Teško bi bilo za života njih obojice pripisivati službu rektora Sv. Marije onome tko ju nije tada odista obnašao (čak i u dokumentaciji privatne naravi, namijenjenoj internoj upotrebi). Nadalje, Ivan Celio postao je padovanskim kanonikom tek u lipnju 1512. godine,¹⁷ te nije mogao nositi taj naslov već 1511. godine. To upućuje na to da je cedulja kojom se služio Farlati sastavljena u retrospektivi, odnosno da datira svakako poslije 1512. godine. Ovime se pod znak pitanja dovodi i Farlatijeva tvrdnja da je pred njim stajao Luciusov vjeran prijepis marginalije njegova istoimenog pretka: Ivan Lučić Stariji nije 1511. godine nako mogao anticipirati Celiovu čast padovanskoga kanonika. No, kako će se vidjeti, Farlatijeva *scheda* ipak zadržava znatnu heurističku prednost nad kodeksom Petra Lučića. U tom je smislu nekoliko zaključaka detaljnije analize od izuzetne važnosti.

Druga diskrepancija između dviju notâ odnosi se na lokaciju otkuda potječu graditelji crkve: u Farlatijevu je primjerku ona nazvana *salina* ('solana' – Soline kod Trogira), dočim se u *codex Lucianus* radi o urbonimu *Salona*. Iz tih odudaranja postaje jasno da sukcesivnim prepisivanjem predložaka i njihovih kopija sintagma *fuertur muratores de Salona* nije nipošto mogla uroditi sintagmom *fuertur muratorii de salina*, već je moguć

Church benefices were generally awarded for life, which means that Ivan Celio kept his until about 1518, or alternatively Ivan Lučić the Elder until 1541. It would be difficult during their lifetimes to attribute the office of the rector of St. Mary to a person who did not really perform it during that time (even in documents of a private nature, intended for internal use). Furthermore, Ivan Celio became a canon of Padua only in June 1512,¹⁷ and therefore he could not bear the aforementioned title as early as 1511. This indicates that the note used by Farlati was compiled in retrospect, that is, that it certainly dates after 1512. This also calls into question Farlati's claim that he consulted Lucius's faithful transcript of the marginalia by his ancestor of the same name: Ivan Lučić the Elder could not in any way anticipate in 1511 Celio's future honour as the canon of Padua. However, as it will be seen, Farlati's *scheda* still holds a significant heuristic advantage over Petar Lučić's codex. In this sense, several conclusions of a more detailed analysis are extremely important.

Another discrepancy between the two notes refers to the origin of the church builders: in Farlati's copy it is called *salina* ("salt pan" – Soline near Trogir), while the *Codex Lucianus* mentions the urbonym *Salona*. From these discrepancies it becomes clear that by successive rewriting of the originals and their copies, the phrase *fuertur muratores de Salona* could never have resulted in the phrase *fuertur muratorii de salina*, and that the only possible case is the reverse. Namely, in copying, as a rule, what is less known is "corrected" into what is better known, and not the other way around (*obscurum per clarius*, not *obscurum per obscurius*).¹⁸ It is to be assumed, of course, that the older text contained a more accurate expression, closer to the original. To transform, therefore, the obscure and (in this context) unexpected appellative and toponym *salina* into the very well-known urbonym *Salona*, is a completely natural and expected procedure of the scribe, left to his own devices before the text whose

dodao je svomu rođenom prezimenu Lučić u spomen na ujaka (majčina brata) Ivana Štafilića, šibenskoga biskupa od 1512. do 1528. godine i svoga neposrednog prethodnika na šibenskoj biskupskoj stolici. Biskup Lučić-Štafilić najpoznatiji je po tome što je dovršio gradnju šibenske katedrale i posvetio ju 1555. godine. U njoj je i njegov sarkofag, s latinskim epitafom što jasno označava njegovu dob – usp. Farlati 1769: 476; Lucić 1979b: 1113; Pelc 2007: 307. Kanonika Ivana, autora zabilješke o Sv. Mariji *de Platea*, stoga treba tražiti u Ivanu Lučiću, bratu povjesničarova pradjeda Nikole.

¹⁶ Fisković 1969: 58 i sl. 15 pripisuje mu renesansni grb s inicijalima I. L. na jednoj od kuća u današnjoj Gradskoj ulici u Trogiru. Autor ujedno navodi da se ovaj Ivan u rukopisnome rodoslovnom stablu obitelji navodi kao *Iohannes iuris utriusque doctor archipresbyter*.

¹⁷ Melchiorre 2010: 208, 386, 447, 452, 514, 529. Neobično je što se, s obzirom na postignute časti, Ivan Celio ne spominje u popisu svećenika iz toga trogirskog plemićkog roda – Andreis 2006: 289.

¹⁷ Melchiorre 2010: 208, 386, 447, 452, 514, 529. It is unusual that, given the honors achieved, Ivan Celio is not mentioned in the list of priests from that noble family of Trogir – Andreis 2006: 289.

¹⁸ For the same reason, Rapanić 1998: 49 is not inclined to favor the Zadar version of the note.

samo obrnuti slučaj. Pri prepisivanju se, naime, u pravilu ono što je manje poznato “ispravlja” u ono što je poznatije, a ne obratno (*obscurum per clarius*, ne *obscurum per obscurius*).¹⁸ Možemo pretpostaviti, razumije se, da je stariji tekst sadržavao točniji, izvorniku bliži izričaj. Preinačiti stoga opskuran te (u ovome kontekstu) neočekivan apelativ i toponim *salina* u veoma poznat urbonim *Salona*, sasvim je prirodan i očekivan postupak prepisivača prepuštena vlastitim kombinacijama pred tekstem čije je značenje trebao odgonetnuti. Identifikacija solanâ sa Salonom, dakle, indicija je da Farlatijeva inačica predstavlja presliku vjerniju izvorniku, a *codex Lucianus* nasuprot tome njegovu modifikaciju.¹⁹ U kojemu se trenutku i na kojoj karici tekstualne transmisije ovoga memorijalnog zapisa to dogodilo, nije moguće sasvim pouzdano ustanoviti. Zaključak o prvenstvu Farlatijeve verzije je unekoliko iznenađujući, jer bi se očekivalo da učeni pripadnici trogirske obitelji Lučić bolje raspolažu podacima iz lokalne toponomastike. No tu zadržku nadoknađuje sveobuhvatna analiza obaju zapisa. Na filološkoj i tekstološkoj razini tumačenja, podrijetlo Farlatijeve verzije toga zapisa valja smatrati načelno pouzdanijim.

Na to ukazuju i neke druge diskrepancije između dva postojeća teksta:

- Farlatijeva verzija pisana je u prvomu licu jednine, subjektivnim stilom (“ja, Ivan Lucius, ... sam zabilježio”); verzija iz *codex Lucianus* pisana je u trećemu licu jednine, neutralnim stilom (“zabilježeno rukom ... Ivana Lucija”);

- verzija iz *codex Lucianus* nosi naslov *O svetoj Mariji od Poljane* (kao naznaku rubrike kojoj tekst pripada u zborniku), čega u Farlatijevoj verziji nema

meaning he had to decipher. The identification of the salt pans with *Salona*, is therefore an indication that Farlati’s version is a more faithful copy of the original, and that the *Codex Lucianus*, in contrast, is its modification.¹⁹ It is not possible to establish quite reliably, at which point and in which part of the textual transmission of this memorial note did this shift occur. The conclusion about the primacy of Farlati’s version is somewhat surprising, because it would be expected that the learned members of the Lučić family from Trogir would have had better data about local toponymy. But this reservation is compensated by the comprehensive analysis of both notes. On the philological and textual level of interpretation, the origin of Farlati’s version of the note, should generally be considered more reliable.

This is indicated by other discrepancies between the two existing texts:

- Farlati’s version is written in the first person singular, in the subjective style (“I, Ivan Lucius, ... have recorded”); the version from the *Codex Lucianus* is written in the third person singular, in the neutral style (“recorded by the hand ... of Ivan Lucius”);

- the version from *Codex Lucianus* is entitled: *On St. Mary of the Square* (as an indication of the paragraph in the corpus to which the text belongs), which is not present in Farlati’s version (the original gloss on the margin of the missal did not need a title);

- it is explicitly stated in Farlati’s version that the rector of the church “at the present time” (*in praesentiarum*) is Ivan Celio; the present is specified below by the year 1511 (*anno MDXI*), i.e. Ivan Lučić the Elder reports on Ivan Celio **as his contemporary**; in the version from *Codex Lucianus* there are no concrete temporal markers to indicate the present, the honour of the rector of the church is merged in

¹⁸ Ni Rapanić 1998: 49 nije sklon dati prvenstvo zadarskoj verziji bilješke iz istoga razloga.

¹⁹ Opcija da bi Farlati samostalno “korigirao” *Salona* u *salina* može se bez mnogo krzmanja isključiti – usp. Rapanić 1998: 49: “U ovome primjeru ne vidimo prava razloga pomisliti da bi Lucije, živeći u Trogiru pokraj Splita i Salone, umjesto *Salona* napisao *saline*, niti, pak, da bi Farlati umjesto imena rimskoga grada, o kojemu je u svome djelu ispisao mnoge stranice, pogriješivši, donio riječ koja označuje mjesto gdje se pripravlja – *sol*!” Preostaje zaključiti da je talijanski povjesničar u drugoj polovini 18. stoljeća raspolagao kvalitetnijom, originalu bližom verzijom teksta nego Trogiranin Petar Lučić u drugoj polovini 16. stoljeća.

¹⁹ The option that Farlati could have “corrected” *Salona* to *salina* on his own can be ruled out without much fuss – cfr. Rapanić 1998: 49: “In this example we have no real reason to think that Lucius, living in Trogir near Split and *Salona*, would write *salina* instead of *Salona*, nor that Farlati instead of the name of a Roman city about which he wrote many pages in his work, would, mistakenly, write a word denoting the place where *salt* is prepared!”. It can only be concluded that the Italian historian in the second half of the 18th century had access to a better, and a version much closer to the original text, than Petar Lučić of Trogir did in the second half of the 16th century.

(izvornoj glosi na margini misala nije bio potreban naslov);

- u Farlatijevoj verziji izričito je navedeno da je rektor crkve “u sadašnje vrijeme” (*in praesentiarum*) Ivan Celio; sadašnjost se u nastavku precizira 1511. godinom (*anno MDXI*), tj. Ivan Lučić Stariji izvještava o Ivanu Celiju kao **suvremeniku**; u verziji iz *codex Lucianus* nema konkretnih vremenskih oznaka sadašnjosti, čast rektora crkve spaja se u jednoj jedinoj rečenici s ličnošću autora zapisa, Ivana Lučića Starijega, naznačujući prošlo vrijeme, nesuvremeno autoru zapisa (“upravitelja te crkve 1511. godine”).

Takvi zahvati u tekst (dodavanje ili brisanje riječi, mijenjanje riječi i izraza, skraćivanje, prepravljavanje) autorski su čin; odaje ga naročito sâm svršetak zadarskoga kodeksa iz kojega je razvidno da je ta verzija vremenski posteriorna tekstu kakav je u Farlatija (Lučić St. nije upravitelj crkve **sada**, već je to **bio** 1511. godine). Ta samostalna gramatička konstrukcija trag je prerade koju je autor *codex Lucianus* izvršio parafrazirajući svoj tekstualni predložak. Sâmim time daje solidan temelj za pretpostavku da tekst iz Lučićeva kodeksa **ne predstavlja** vjeran odraz prvobitnoga memorijalnog zapisa, već da je preuzet iz starijega i **drugačijeg** izvornika, u kojem su onda izvršene intervencije (a što je za raspravu o filijaciji i primatu dviju postojećih verzija teksta ujedno i najvažnije). U prosudbi o prvenstvu između dviju *scheda*, u svjetlu netom predloženih činjenica, prednost svakako treba dati Farlatijevoj verziji imajući pritom na umu vjerojatnost da ni ta varijanta sastavka ne mora nužno biti sasvim vjerna izvorniku; stoji, međutim, ocjena da je u odnosu na *codex Lucianus* ona starija, i samim time bliža matici. Stoga se Farlatijeva verzija čini najstarijom ili najbližom pratećem tekstu. Njezina je filijacija starija.

U sačuvanoj oporuci Ivana Lučića Starijega (+ 1541.) ne spominje se da je bio rektorom crkve Sv. Marije *de Platea*.²⁰ Uzevši u obzir doživotnost takvih beneficija (ako nisu poništeni unapređenjem, npr. promicanjem u biskupski rang), to je svakako indicija da kanonik Lučić zaista nije bio rektor Sv. Marije, već da ta tvrdnja potječe od Petra Lučića, kojemu smijemo pripisati sklonost da tu funkciju

a single sentence with the author of the note, Ivan Lučić the Elder, indicating past tense which is not contemporary to the author of the note (“administrator of that church in 1511”).

Such interventions in the text (adding or deleting the words, changing the words and expressions, shortening, rewriting) are an act of an author; this is evident by the very end of the Zadar Codex, where it becomes clear that this version is temporally posterior to Farlati’s text (Lučić the Elder is not the administrator of the church **at the present**, but he **was** in 1511). This independent grammatical construction is the evidence of a rewriting by the author of *Codex Lucianus*, achieved by paraphrasing his textual model. This in itself provides a solid basis for the assumption that the text from Lučić’ codex **is not** a true reflection of the original memorial note, but that it was rather taken from an older and **different** original, in which interventions were made (which is all the more important for the discussion about filiation and primacy of the two existing versions of the text). In judging the primacy between the two *schedae*, in the light of the presented facts, preference should certainly be given to Farlati’s version, bearing in mind the probability that even this variant of the written piece may not necessarily be entirely true to the original; however, we should regard it sufficiently established that it is older in relation to the *Codex Lucianus*, and therefore closer to the archetype. Therefore, Farlati’s version seems to be the oldest or closest to the original text. Its filiation is older.

The preserved will of Ivan Lučić the Elder (+ 1541) does not mention him being the rector of the church of St. Mary *de Platea*.²⁰ Considering the lifelong duration of such benefices (if they were not annulled by promotion, e.g. elevation to the episcopal rank), this is certainly an indication that canon Lučić indeed was not the rector of St. Mary, but that this claim originates from Petar Lučić, to whom we can attribute the tendency to credit his ancestor with this function. This is a further argument for the thesis that the real rector of the church in 1511 was Ivan Celio, that is, that Farlati’s version of the note is more

²⁰ DAZd, Arhiv Trogira, kut. 46, fasc. XLI.3, fol. 3. Zahvalan sam kolegi Marku Rimcu na pomoći pri pretraživanju građe.

²⁰ DAZd, The Trogir Archive, box 46, folder XLI.3, folio 3. I am grateful to my colleague Marko Rimac for his help in researching the material.

prida svome pretku. To je i daljnji argument za tezu da je stvarnim rektorom crkve 1511. godine bio Ivan Celio, odnosno da je Farlatijeva verzija cedulje vjerodostojnija. Oba zaključka upućuju, nadalje, da manipuliranje podatcima iz obje verzije ne treba očekivati za života obojice spornih protagonista, umrlih 1518. i 1541. godine, s obzirom na to da bi tada točnost podatka bilo lako provjeriti te ih time potvrditi ili osporiti.

Ako je Farlatijeva informacija iz 1769. bila točna, odnosno ako je stvarno izvorni zapis stajao na margini misala Ivana Lučića Starijega (+ 1541.), i došao do njega posredstvom prijepisa Ivana Lučića – Luciusa (+ 1679.), tada nema razloga sumnjati u ispravnost podatka o Ivanu Celiju kao rektoru, s obzirom na to da sâm Lučić Stariji u njemu ne opisuje sebe kao rektora crkve, već eksplicitno tu službu pridaje drugoj osobi. Druga je konzekvenca takvog zaključka – da je Farlati pod rukom imao vlastoručni ispis Ivana Lučića Mlađega iz 17. stoljeća – to da je ovaj nastao temeljem pratećeg, pri čemu je trogirski povjesničar **svjesno zanemario** kodeks svoga oca Petra; čitav ekskurs ukazuje na to da je pripisivanje rektorstva nad crkvicom Lučiću Starijemu plod intervencije Petra Lučića (ili nekoga od njegovih prethodnika iz 16. st.), čemu se njegov sin, učeni trogirski povjesničar, nije priklonio. Ostaje, međutim, i dalje otvoreno pitanje je li Farlati raspolagao vlastoručnim ispisom Ivana Lučića – Luciusa iz misala njegova starijeg imenjaka ili nekom kopijom toga ispisa, naknadno obogaćenom dodatnim vijestima: da je izvjesniji potonji slučaj, iznova upućuje Celiova titulacija *canonicus Patavinus* (s obzirom na to da on 1511. godine još nije bio postao padovanskim kanonikom). U nekom je, dakle, trenutku izvršen zahvat u tekst Lučićeva prijepisa iz praprastričeva misala, ali se preciznijemu određenju vremena i autora te intervencije više na-prosto ne može ući u trag.

Kojoj, na kraju, od dviju verzija zapisa treba pokloniti (veće) povjerenje? Postavka nekoliko dosadašnjih istraživača prema kojoj je taj tekst humanistički konglomerat historijskih i anakronističnih podataka čini se, ali tek i samo na prvi pogled, uvjerljivom, no neovisno o tomu pravi bi smisao sastavljanja tog zapisa – pa i razlikovanja u ličnostima rektora crkve – trebalo tražiti drugdje. Mislimo pritom prije svega na činjenicu da je jedna njegova verzija – i to ona koja upraviteljstvo

credible. Both conclusions further suggest that manipulation of the data from both versions should not be expected during the lifetimes of both protagonists involved, who died in 1518 and 1541 respectively, since the accuracy of the data at the time would be easy to ascertain and thus, to confirm or dispute. If Farlati's information from 1769 was correct, that is, if the original note was really found on the margins of the missal of Ivan Lučić the Elder (+ 1541), and if it came to him through a transcript by Ivan Lučić – Lucius (+ 1679), then there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the information about Ivan Celio as rector, since Lučić the Elder does not describe himself as the rector of the church, but explicitly assigns this office to another person. Another consequence of such a conclusion – if Farlati had a handwritten copy of Ivan Lučić the Younger from the 17th century – is that it was based on an original text, where the Trogir historian **knowingly ignored** his father Petar's codex; the whole discrepancy indicates that the attribution of the rectorate over the church to Lučić the Elder was a result of Petar Lučić's intervention (or one of his predecessors from the 16th century) a feat that his son, a learned Trogir historian, disagreed with. However, the question remains whether Farlati had Ivan Lučić – Lucius' handwritten copy extracted directly from the missal of his older namesake, or a copy of that copy, subsequently enriched with additional data: that the latter case is more certain is again indicated by Celio's title *canonicus Patavinus* (since in 1511 he had not yet become a canon of Padua). Therefore, at some point, an intervention was made to the text of Lučić's transcript from his great-grand-uncle's missal, but the precise time and author of that intervention simply cannot be ascertained.

Which of the two versions of the note, after all, should be trusted (more)? The assumption of several previous scholars that this text is a humanistic conglomeration of historical and anachronistic data seems convincing, but only at a first glance, and regardless of that, the true meaning behind the creation of this note – and the differences between the church rectors – should be sought elsewhere. We are referring to the fact that one of its versions – and the one that attributes the administration of the disputed church to a member of the Lucius family – is preserved solely in the written heritage of the Lučić family; it is difficult to shake off the impression that this is not a coincidence, all the more so as

nad spornom crkvom pripisuje jednomu članu obitelji Lučić – sačuvana upravo u obiteljskoj pisanoj tradiciji Lučićevih; teško je oteti se dojamu da tu nije posrijedi koincidencija, tim više što alternativna, Farlatijeva verzija istu službu pripisuje pripadniku posve drugoga trogirskog patricijskog roda, Ivanu Celiju. Druga pak važna indikacija nalazi se u tome što iz poblize raščlambe obiju verzija jasno proizlazi da Ivan Lučić Stariji zapravo **nije** iznalazitelj podataka o prošlosti crkve, već samo onaj koji ih je prvi zabilježio u pisanoj formi: oba su zapisa u tome pogledu sukladna te prilično nedvosmislena – vijesti o Sv. Mariji su **nađene u Splitu zapisane u nekoj kronici** (*hoc fuit inventum Spaleti in quadam chronica scriptum*), dočim je kanonik Lučić jedino sastavio zapis o tim vijestima (*et ego [...] manu propria registravi; et registratum manu propria*); posrijedi je nijansa izričaja koja je uglavnom promicala dosadašnjim istraživačima. Ničim se, dakle, ne prejudicira da historijski podatci o rotundi Sv. Marije datiraju iz 1511. godine: zapis navodi tek to da su te godine zabilježeni. Ako se, dakle, ne može bez ostatka tvrditi da je Ivan Lučić Stariji potpuno samostalno sastavio ovaj tekst, može se ipak s velikom sigurnošću pretpostaviti da ga je on prvi zapisao. Koliko su pak dugo ti podatci kolali prije negoli su oblikovani u memorijalni zapis, nemoguće je na temelju sadašnjih saznanja utvrditi. Vremenski hijat između “pronalaska” tradicije o crkvi i njezina uobličavanja u tekst može se približno odrediti jedino indirektnim pokazateljima, o čemu će biti više riječi u zaključnomu dijelu ovoga rada.

III.2. Historiografske interpretacije

Kako je već navedeno, trogiraska cedulja izazvala je osobitu pozornost historiografije zbog podataka koje je sadržavala o Velikom Severu, predvodniku Salonitanaca naseljenih u Dioklecijanovu palaču.

R. Katičić iznio je tezu da se “u toj tekstovnoj predaji Veliki Sever spominje nezavisno od djela Tome Arhiđakona i da se tu očito pretpostavlja da je on svakomu dobro poznat. Odatle se pokazuje vrlo vjerojatnim da je postojala starija pisana predaja o osnutku Splita, o Velikom Severu i njegovim potomcima, na kojoj je zasnovan prikaz Tome Arhiđakona, ali i vijest u kronici iz koje je kanonik Lučić uzeo svoju vijest o trogirskoj crkvi Sv. Marije na Poljani”, što su kasnije prihvatili i neki povjesničari,

the alternative, Farlati’s, version attributes the same service to a member of a completely different Trogir patrician family, Ivan Celio. Another important indication is that a closer analysis of both versions clearly shows that Ivan Lučić the Elder **was not** in fact the discoverer of data of the church’s past, but merely the first to record them in the written form: both notes are quite unambiguous and consistent in this respect – the data about St. Mary **was found in Split written in some chronicle** (*hoc fuit inventum Spaleti in quadam chronica scriptum*), and the canon Lučić only compiled a note about these findings (*et ego [...] manu propria registravi; et registratum manu propria*); this nuanced expression has mostly been overlooked by previous researchers. Nothing, therefore, presupposes that the historical data on the rotunda of St. Mary date from 1511: the note merely states that the data were recorded that year. Therefore, if it cannot be said that Ivan Lučić the Elder composed this text completely on his own, it can still be assumed, with great certainty, that he was the first to write it down. However, how long did these data circulate before they were turned into a memorial note, is impossible to determine on the basis of what we know now. The temporal hiatus between the “discovery” of the tradition about the church and its shaping into a text can only be roughly determined by indirect indicators, which will be discussed in more detail in the concluding part of this paper.

III.2. Historiographical interpretations

As previously mentioned, the Trogir note attracted special historiographical attention because of the information it contained about Severus the Great, the leader of the Salonitans who settled in the Diocletian’s Palace. R. Katičić presented the thesis that “in this textual tradition, Severus the Great is mentioned independently from the work of Thomas the Archdeacon and it is obviously assumed that he is well known to everyone. It is probable that there was an older written tradition about the founding of Split, about Severus the Great and his descendants, which was the basis for Thomas the Archdeacon’s description, and also for the entry in the chronicle from which canon Lučić took his data about the church of St. Mary of Square in Trogir”, which was later accepted by

najdosljednije N. Budak.²¹ Ako je, naime, Severov unuk živio u Trogiru u drugome desetljeću 8. stoljeća te tamo tada djelovao kao društveno afirmirana, zrela osoba, vrijeme života njegova djeda, navodnoga Ravenjaninova suvremenika, moglo bi se datirati sredinom prethodnoga vijeka. Prema tome, trogirski zapis potvrđivao bi – neovisno o Arhidakonu – tradicionalnu kronologiju utemeljenja Splitske crkve (sredina 7. stoljeća), što na prvi pogled svakako djeluje plauzibilno.

Katičić time objašnjava i otprije uočenu pogrešku u Arhidakonovu katalogu splitskih nadbiskupâ, gdje ovaj zabunom datira nadbiskupa Martina 970. godinom, “u vrijeme cara Teodozija i kralja Držislava”.²² S obzirom na to da je posljednji bizantski car toga imena, Teodozije III. (715. – 717.), živio oko 250 godina prije hrvatskoga kralja Držislava (oko 969. – 996.), Katičić pogrešku objašnjava pretpostavkom da su u Splitu postojali zapisi o dva različita nadbiskupa po imenu Martin: jednomu iz vremena cara Teodozija te drugomu iz 970. godine, iz vremena kralja Držislava. Toma Arhidakon je – po Katičićevu mišljenju – sastavljajući svoj *Catalogus archiepiscoporum de quibus extat memoria* pogrešno poistovjetio starijega Martina s mlađim, a zatim daljnjim previdom tu ličnost datirao kao Držislavova suvremenika iz druge polovine 10. stoljeća. Kompilirajući, naime, podatke iz dva vremenski različita teksta, kasnijemu nadbiskupu pridao je točnu godinu (970.) i suvremenoga mu hrvatskoga vladara (Držislava), ali ipak zadržavši u drugomu dijelu formule datacije bizantskoga cara (Teodozija) iz mnogo ranijega vremena. To bi u svemu, dakle, značilo “da je u Splitu postojao zapis o jednom nadbiskupu Martinu u vrijeme cara Teodozija III”.²³

²¹ Katičić 1987: 31–35 s rekapitulacijama u Katičić 1992 i Katičić 1998: 259–261 te Katičić 2008. Usp. Budak 1994: 14, 83–86; Budak 1996: 128–129; Budak 2012: 173 te najnoviji prilog u Budak 2018b: 177. Farlati 2010: 63 to je formulirao ovako: “Poklapaju se dakle međusobno unuk Velikog Severa, trogirski biskup Petar i car Teodozije, a to poklapanje vremena i osoba potvrđuje biskupovanje Petrovo, ili ga barem čini vjerojatnim i upućuje na to da ga treba smjestiti na početak osmoga stoljeća”.

²² HS 2003, c. XIII.3.1–3, p. 54; Katičić 1987: 30.

²³ Katičić 1987: 31. Katičić je u tom kontekstu upozorio na splitskoga nadbiskupa Martina spomenutoga u nekim od kataloga salonitansko-splitskih nadbiskupa, čija bi se kronologija naizgled slagala s vremenskim odrednicama

some historians, most consistently by N. Budak.²¹ If Severus’ grandson had lived in Trogir in the second decade of the 8th century and was established at that time as a socially affirmed, mature person, the lifetime of his grandfather, the alleged contemporary of John of Ravenna, could be dated back to the middle of the previous century. Therefore, the Trogir note would confirm – independently from the Archdeacon – the traditional chronology of the founding of the Split Church (mid-7th century), which, at a first glance, certainly seems plausible.

Katičić thus explains the previously noticed error in the Archdeacon’s catalogue of archbishops of Split, where he had mistakenly dated the Archbishop Martin to 970, “in the time of Emperor Theodosius and King Držislav”.²² Since the last Byzantine emperor of that name, Theodosius III (715 – 717), lived about 250 years before the Croatian king Držislav (reigned c. 969 – 996), Katičić explains the mistake by assuming that there were records kept in Split on two different archbishops named Martin: one from the time of Emperor Theodosius and the other from 970, from the time of King Držislav. In Katičić’s opinion, Thomas the Archdeacon, in compiling his *Catalogus archiepiscoporum de quibus extat memoria*, had mistakenly identified the older Martin as the younger, and then by further oversight had dated the figure as Držislav’s contemporary from the second half of the 10th century. Namely, by compiling data from two different texts, to the later archbishop he had attributed the correct year (970) and his contemporary Croatian ruler (Držislav), but in the second part of the formula he had retained the dating of the Byzantine emperor (Theodosius) from a much earlier period. All in all, this would mean “that there was a written source in Split about an Archbishop Martin during the time of the Emperor Theodosius

²¹ Katičić 1987: 31–35 with recapitulations in Katičić 1992 and Katičić 1998: 259–261 and Katičić 2008. Cfr. Budak 1994: 14, 83–86; Budak 1996: 128–129; Budak 2012: 173 and the latest contribution in Budak 2018b: 177. Farlati 2010: 63 formulated it as follows: “Severus’s the Great grandson, Peter the bishop of Trogir, and Emperor Theodosius coincide, and this coincidence of time and persons confirms Peter’s episcopate or at least makes it probable and suggests that it should be placed at the beginning of the eighth century.”

²² HS 2003, c. XIII.3.1–3, p. 54; Katičić 1987: 30.

Tako datiran, Martin bi se prikladno uklapao u kronologiju stanovitih rukopisnih kataloga splitskih nadbiskupa, gdje četvrti crkveni poglavar po redu nosi upravo to ime (*Martinus*). Pristajao bi drugomu desetljeću 8. stoljeća i u toj točki potvrđivao uvriježenu dataciju prvoga splitskog nadbiskupa, Ivana Ravenjanina, u sredini 7. stoljeća.

Iako sve ove zaključke ne bi valjalo *a priori* odbacivati, argumenti koji govore protiv njih prilično su jaki: vrlo je značajna, između ostalih, Margetićeva primjedba kako u dokumentu koji, navodno, potječe iz početka 8. stoljeća nipošto ne bi mogla stajati bizantska carska intitulacija u obliku *imperator et semper augustus*. Taj je oblik, naime, napušten još 629. godine, dakle gotovo puno stoljeće prije vladavine Teodozija III. Ta protokolarna sintagma, po svemu sudeći, nije vjerodostojna (radi se, zasigurno, o učenome dodatku sastavljača zapisa), što pod znak pitanja dovodi i ostatak teksta. Nadalje, naslov *comes* je prema Margetićevu mišljenju također anakron za razdoblje kojemu je pripisan te otkriva da je sastavljač bio pod utjecajem kasnosrednjovjekovne društvene stvarnosti kada su dalmatinski gradski kneževi nosili takav naslov.²⁴

trogirske bilješke. Martin je naveden kao četvrti splitski nadbiskup, tj. treći nasljednik Ivana Ravenjanina, u tzv. Propagandinu katalogu, katalogu A Cutheis, katalogu nadbiskupa Sforze Ponzonija, tzv. Rimskome katalogu (Bulić & Bervaldi 1912–1913: 170, 171, 172, 174, Prilozi B, C, D i F), kao i u više neobjavljenih kataloga. Njegov bi, dakle, suvremenik, po Katičiću, bio trogirski biskup Petar.

²⁴ Margetić 2007 [2004]: 106–109. Katičić 1987: 32–33 uočava da naslov *comes* početkom 8. stoljeća nije nikako mogao nositi poglavar gradske općine, pa se stoga odlučuje protumačiti ga kao počasnii naslov u jednome rodu gradskoga nobiliteta, nastao iz staroga naziva za zapovjednike gradske milicije koji su obavljali i neke civilne funkcije. Na gorenavedeni Margetićev rad recentna historiografija nije obratila dostatnu pozornost. Ipak, valja primijetiti da autorov zaključak o bizantskoj vladarskoj intitulaciji ne stoji. Upravo je, naime, uz jadranski bazen sačuvano niz epigrafskih i diplomatskih svjedočanstava koja potvrđuju da se starinski oblik *semper augustus* koristio i u 8. stoljeću, štoviše i u 9. stoljeću. Usp. natpis nadbiskupa Ivana VI. iz bazilike San Apollinare in Classe iz 731. godine: *imp(eranti)b(us) piissimis d(omi)n(is) Leone et Constantino a D(e)o coronat(is), pacific(is) magnis imp(eratori)b(us)* – Guillou 1969: 276. Iz drugog desetljeća 9. stoljeća datira ciborij iz Ulcinja, s natpisnom datacijom *sub temporibus domini nostri pi(i)s(simi) perpetuo a(u)gusti d(omi)n(i) Leo(nis) et d(omi)n(i) C(on)s(tantini)* – Mihaljičić & Steindorff 1982: 100–101, Nr. 155. Još početkom

III”²³ Dated thusly, Martin would appropriately fit into the chronology of certain manuscript catalogues of the archbishops of Split, where the fourth pontiff bears precisely that name (*Martinus*). He would fit the second decade of the 8th century, and in that regard would confirm the established dating of the first Archbishop of Split, John of Ravenna, in the middle of the 7th century.

Although all these conclusions should not be *a priori* rejected, the arguments against them are quite strong: among other remarks, Margetić’s is significant in the sense that a document allegedly dated at the beginning of the 8th century, would not contain the Byzantine imperial intitulation in the form of *imperator et semper augustus*. This form was abandoned in 629, almost a century before the reign of Theodosius III. This protocolary phrase, by all accounts, is not credible (it is surely a learned addition of the author of the note), which calls the rest of the text into question. Furthermore, the title *comes* is, in Margetić’s opinion, also an anachronism for the period to which it is attributed, and reveals that the author was influenced by late medieval social reality, when Dalmatian municipal heads bore such a title.²⁴

²³ Katičić 1987: 31. In this context, Katičić drew attention to the Archbishop of Split, Martin, mentioned in some of the catalogues of the Archbishops of Salona and Split, whose chronology would seemingly agree with the chronology of the Trogir note. Martin is listed as the fourth archbishop of Split, i.e. the third successor of John of Ravenna, in the so-called *Propaganda catalogue*, the catalogue of A Cutheis, the catalogue of Archbishop Sforza Ponzoni, the so-called *Roman catalogue* (Bulić & Bervaldi 1912–1913: 170, 171, 172, 174, Appendices B, C, D and F), as well as in several unpublished catalogues. Therefore, his contemporary, according to Katičić, would be the Bishop of Trogir, Peter.

²⁴ Margetić 2007 [2004]: 106–109. Katičić 1987: 32–33 notices that the title *comes* at the beginning of the 8th century could not be held by the head of the city commune, so he decided to interpret it as an honorary title in a family of city nobility, created from an old title for the commanders of the city militia who held certain civil functions. Recent historiography has not paid enough attention to Margetić’s above-mentioned work. However, it should be noted that the author’s conclusion about the Byzantine imperial title is not plausible. Namely, a number of epigraphic and diplomatic sources have been preserved along the Adriatic coast, which confirm that the ancient form *semper augustus* was used in the 8th century, and even in the 9th century. Cfr. the inscription of Archbishop John VI from the Basilica of San Apollinare in Classe from 731: *imp(eranti)b(us) piissimis d(omi)n(is) Leone et Constantino a D(e)o coronat(is), pacific(is) magnis imp(eratori)b(us)* –

Prihvatio li Katičićeva razmišljanja, i dalje ostaju nerazrješena tri supstancijalna problema:

a) kako je moguće da Trogir ima biskupa oko 715.-717. godine da bi ga zatim opet izgubio sve do oko 1000. godine?

10. stoljeća oporuka zadarskoga priora Andrije datirana je *imperante domino nostro Constantino piissimo ac perpetuo augusto* (CD I: 26); oporuka priora Madija s kraja istog vijeka nosi dataciju *imperantibus piissimis [et perpetu]is augustis Basilio et Constantino* (CD I: 45). Usp. Vežić & Lončar 2009: 231. Osim toga, Prigent 2008: 407 upozorio je da se naslov *comes* u Bizantskome Carstvu oficijelno zadržava još tijekom 8. i 9. stoljeća, pa je i Margetićeva kritika odgovarajućega naslova bila neosnovana. Naime, Teodor Studitski u pismu upućenome oko 815. godine metropolitu Dirahija, Antoniju, spominje *komitissu*, očigledno suprugu komesa. Ovoga je J. Ferluga povezivao s kategorijom nižih vojno-administrativnih službenika tematskoga uređenja koji su nosili takvu titulu (*komes*); taj zaključak mu je, između ostaloga, omogućavao da datira postanak Dračke teme najkasnije u vrijeme sastavljanja Teodorova pisma. Na nj se kritički osvrnuo V. Prigent (Prigent 2008: 407) primijetivši da je ta titula vrlo rijetka te zastupljena ponajviše u veoma starim i veoma važnim temama (Anatolik, Helada, Kibireot, Makedonija, Opsikij, Sicilija i dr.), što se za Dračku ne bi moglo reći. Osim toga, supruge bizantskih pokrajinskih dužnosnika nisu se običavale nazivati prema muževim funkcijama (dakle stvarnim službama u okviru državnoga hijerarhijskog aparata), nego prema počasnim titulama koje su s tim funkcijama bile spojene (npr. *hypatissa*, *stratorissa*, *spatharia*, *protospatharia*). Stoga je Prigent skloniji objasniti pojavu *komitisse* u Dirahiju na drugi način: on smatra da se radilo o supruzi lokalnoga odličnika, čiji je muž nosio naslov komesa prema mjesnim običajima; nije bio carski službenik niti je pripadao precizno određenomu razredu državne hijerarhije. Pozivajući se na Mauricijev *Strategikon*, Prigent pretpostavlja da je tu riječ o zapovjedniku jednoga mjesnog vojnog odreda (*bandon*, *numerus*) koji su se u prijašnjemu razdoblju nazivali tribunima (*Strategikon* izričito izjednačava čin *tribuni* s činom *comites*). Naslov *comes* koristila je lokalna elita i u drugim rubnim dijelovima Carstva, primjerice u Napuljskome dukatu – v. Prigent 2008: 407 i bilj. 120; Basić 2015a: 178–179 i bilj. 9. Postupno su kompetencije tribuna/komesa obuhvatile i administrativne, porezne i sudske poslove na čelu grada ili kaštela s ovisnim teritorijem, što je kulminiralo u 7. i 8. stoljeću u različitim jedinicama bizantskoga posjeda u Italiji (Napulj, Otranto). Brubaker & Haldon 2011: 767 također navode da se za komite (zapovjednici bandona – najmanje postojeće vojne jedinice od 200 ljudi, podređeni turmarhu; najkasnije do sredine 9. stoljeća stekli i određene administrativne ovlasti) povremeno koristio arhaični termin *tribounoi*, s obilatim sigilografskom evidencijom za 7., 8. i 9. stoljeće. Nije li neimenovani *comes* iz trogirske cedulje zapravo spadao u red takvih tribuna/komesa?

Even if we accept Katičić's views, there are still three substantial problems to be solved:

Guillou 1969: 276. The ciborium from Ulcinj dates back to the second decade of the 9th century, with the inscriptional dating *sub temporibus domini nostri pi(i)s(simi) perpetuo a(u)gusti d(omi)n(i) Leo(nis) et d(omi)n(i) C(on)s(tantini)*. As late as the beginning of the 10th century, the will of the Zadar prior Andrew was dated *imperante domino nostro Constantino piissimo ac perpetuo augusto* (CD I: 26); the will of the prior Madius from the end of the same century bears the date *imperantibus piissimis [et perpetu]is augustis Basilio et Constantino* (CD I: 45). Cfr. Vežić & Lončar 2009: 231. In addition, Prigent 2008: 407 pointed out that the title *comes* in the Byzantine Empire was maintained officially as far back as the 8th and 9th centuries. To that extent, Margetić's criticism of the same title was unfounded. Namely, Theodore the Studite, in a letter sent around 815 to the Metropolitan of Dyrrhachium, Antonius, mentions a *comitissa*, obviously the wife of a *comes*. J. Ferluga had associated the latter with the category of lower military-administrative officers of the thematic organization who held such a title (*comes*); this conclusion, among other things, enabled him to date the origin of the Theme of Dyrrhachium at the time of Theodore's letter at the latest. V. Prigent (Prigent 2008: 407) had criticized this, noting that this title was very rare and was present mostly in very old and very important themes (Anatolic, Hellas, Cibyrrhaeot, Macedonia, Opsikion, Sicily, etc.), which could not be said for Dyrrhachium. In addition, the wives of Byzantine provincial officials were not usually named after their husbands' functions (i.e. by actual offices within the state hierarchical apparatus), but rather after honorary titles associated with those functions (e.g., *hypatissa*, *stratorissa*, *spatharia*, *protospatharia*). Therefore, Prigent is more inclined to explain the appearance of the *comitissa* in Dyrrhachium in another way: he supposes that the *comitissa* in question was the wife of a local dignitary, whose husband held the title of *comes* according to local customs; he was not an imperial official nor did he belong to a precisely defined class of the state hierarchy. Referring to *Strategikon of Maurice*, Prigent assumes that this was a commander of a local military squad (*bandon*, *numerus*) who were called tribunes in the previous period (*Strategikon* explicitly equates the rank of *tribuni* with the rank of *comites*). The title *comes* was also used by the local elite in other peripheral parts of the Empire, for example in the Duchy of Naples – see Prigent 2008: 407 and note 120; Basić 2015a: 178–179 and note 9. Gradually, the capacities of the tribunes / *comites* had also included the administrative, tax and judicial affairs in the government of the city or *castellum* with dependent territory, which had culminated in the 7th and 8th centuries in various units under Byzantine sovereignty in Italy (Naples, Otranto). Brubaker & Haldon 2011: 767 also state that the archaic term *tribounoi* was occasionally used, with abundant sigilographic records for 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, for the term *comites* (commanders of the bandons – the smallest existing military unit of 200 people, subordinated to a tourmarches; they had gained certain administrative powers until the middle 9th century at the latest). Could the unnamed *comes* from the Trogir note have actually belonged to the ranks of such tribunes / *comites*?

b) zašto arheologija ne potvrđuje dataciju trogirске rotonde u početak 8. stoljeća?

c) zašto navodno vjerodostojni katalozi mimoilaze dobro dokumentiranoga splitskog nadbiskupa Ivana iz 787. godine?

Ad a) U slučaju, naime, da bezrezervno prihvaćamo podatke iz Lucijeve bilješke, valjalo bi prihvatiti i zadovoljavajuće protumačiti činjenicu – po našem mišljenju mnogo važniju – da se u spornome dokumentu javlja i prvi poznati trogirski biskup, *dominus Petrus*. Impliciralo bi se, dakle, da je trogirska općina početkom 8. stoljeća bila biskupija,²⁵ za što ne postoje nikakve druge potvrde u vrelima. Naprotiv, niz se povijesno potvrđenih trogirskih biskupa otvara tek oko 1000. godine, nakon čega se manje-više neprekidno nastavlja. Uvažavanje Lucijeve bilješke kao vjerodostojne neizbježno pretpostavlja i uvažavanje mnogo ranije datacije osnutka Trogirске biskupije. Može li se opravdati gledište o njezinu postojanju početkom 8. stoljeća, čemu bi slijedila potpuna šutnja vrelâ o Petrovim nasljednicima na trogirskoj biskupskoj katedri tijekom naredna tri vijeka? Okolnost što se na splitskim crkvenim saborima 925. i 928. godine među sufraganima splitskoga nadbiskupa ne spominje i trogirski biskup, svakako ne ide u prilog mišljenjima o tako ranomu utemeljenju biskupije. Jednako tako, nije jasan ni kontekst u kojemu bi ona prije 715.-717. godine navodno bila ustrojena. Nije se radilo ni o ranokršćanskoj biskupiji jer ne figurira ni među podložnicima salonitanskoga metropolita na saborima 530. i 533. godine.²⁶ Po svim raspoloživim pisanim vrelima, ta biskupija prije kraja 10. stoljeća nije postojala.

Sumnje pobuđuje i nedavno objelodanjeni podatak iz anonimnoga opisa grada Trogira s kraja 16.

a) How is it possible that Trogir had had a bishop around 715 – 717 and then had lost it until around the year 1000?

b) Why cannot the dating of the Trogir rotunda at the beginning of the 8th century be substantiated by archaeological record?

c) Why do the supposedly authentic catalogues bypass the well-documented Archbishop John of Split from the year 787?

Ad a) In the event that we unreservedly accept the data from Lucius' note, the fact – and in our opinion a more important one – that the first known Bishop of Trogir, *dominus Petrus* is mentioned in the disputed document, should be accepted and satisfactorily interpreted. It would be implied, therefore, that Trogir was a diocese at the beginning of the 8th century,²⁵ but this is not confirmed anywhere else in the sources. On the contrary, the series of historically attested bishops of Trogir begins only around 1000, after which it continues more or less uninterrupted. The acceptance of Lucius' note as credible, inevitably presupposes the acknowledging of the much earlier dating of the founding of the Trogir diocese. Can the view of its existence at the beginning of the 8th century be upheld against the complete silence of the sources for the next three centuries on Petar's successors in the Trogir episcopal see? The fact that the Bishop of Trogir was not mentioned among the suffragan bishops of the archdiocese of Split at the Split church councils in 925 and 928 certainly does not support the opinions about an early establishment of the diocese. Equally unclear is the context in which the diocese allegedly could have been established prior to 715 – 717. It was not an early Christian diocese either, because it does not appear among the suffragans of the Salonitan metropolitan at the councils of 530 and 533.²⁶ According to all available written sources this diocese did not exist before the end of 10th century.

²⁵ Pozivanje na istovjetno mišljenje Klaić 1985: 22–28 kao što to čini Katičić 1987: 34–35 i bilj. 53 u tom je smislu deplasirano jer autoričino gledište nije zasnovano na kritičkome razmatranju, niti je kasnije bilo prihvaćeno u historiografiji. Recentno Živković 2011: 79–80 prihvaća Katičićeve zaključke, dodajući da je Trogirska biskupija “nesumnjivo bila obnovljena već u drugoj polovini VII veka – ukoliko je uopšte i prestala da postoji” (?). Živković titulu *comes* pripisuje predstavnicima bizantske administrativne vlasti.

²⁶ O tim zapisnicima v. *HSM* 1967; Basić 2009; Basić 2010; Dodig & Škegro 2008.

²⁵ Reference to the same opinion by Klaić 1985: 22–28 as done by Katičić 1987: 34–35 and note 53 is, in this sense, misplaced, because the author's point of view is not based on critical consideration, nor was it later accepted in the historiography. Recently, Živković 2011: 79–80 accepts Katičić's conclusions, adding that the Trogir diocese “was undoubtedly restored in the second half of the 7th century – if it had ceased to exist at all” (?). Živković attributes the title of *comes* to the Byzantine administrative authorities.

²⁶ On the minutes of these councils see *HSM* 1967; Basić 2009; Basić 2010; Dodig & Škegro 2008.

stoljeća (sastavio ga je ili dao sastaviti vjerojatno Ivan Kažotić oko 1591.), koji, nabrajajući trogirске crkve, utemeljitelja Sv. Marije, Velikoga Severa, spominje kao rimskoga cara.²⁷ Taj podatak relativizira Katičićevu pretpostavku da je u Trogiru bilo dobro poznato tko je bio Veliki Sever.

Ad b) Crkva koju je Severov unuk navodno obnovio za vladavine Teodozija III. u svakom slučaju nije šesterolisna građevina koja se danas nalazi na trogirskome glavnom trgu. On nije obnovio ni neki objekt koji se prije nje mogao nalaziti na istome mjestu jer, kako je gore navedeno, u neprekinutoj vertikalnoj stratigrafiji na tom terenu, temeljem arheoloških istraživanja, nije bilo nikakve prijašnje crkve: postojeća je temeljima nalegla izravno na helenistički kulturni sloj.

Ad c) Dio rukopisnih kataloga donosi popis prvih nekoliko splitskih nadbiskupa u sljedećem redoslijedu: Ivan, Petar, Marijan, Martin, Lav, Petar, Justin.²⁸ U tzv. *Rimskome katalogu* interpolirana su pak, između Martina i Justina, imena 14 salonitanskih – ne splitskih – nadbiskupa (jedan od njih nosi ime Lav, dvojica Petar); isto je učinjeno i u četiri druga kataloga.²⁹ Stoga, po Katičiću, kataošku “zdravu jezgru” predstavlja niz: Ivan, Petar, Marijan, Martin, Lav, Petar, Justin, iz kojega su odstranjeni salonitanski crkveni poglavari koje je u nj uvrstio Farlati kako bi popunio praznine u kronotaksi splitskih nadbiskupa.³⁰ Posljednja dva navedena nadbiskupa, Petar i Justin, mogu se pomoću drugih izvora (Trpimirova darovnica, *Historia Salonitana* Tome Arhiđakona) približno datirati početkom vladavine hrvatskoga kneza Trpimira (oko 840.). Četvrti nadbiskup, Martin, bio bi, slijedeći Katičića, suvremenik cara Teodozija III. i izvorište zabune u Arhiđakonovoj kronici; istodobno suvremenik trogirskoga biskupa Petra.

Katičićeva kronologija počiva na pretpostavci da prvoga splitskog nadbiskupa, Ivana Ravenjanina, treba datirati sredinom 7. stoljeća, u skladu s

Doubts are also raised by the recently published data from the anonymous description of Trogir from the end of the 16th century (it was probably written or ordered by Ivan Kažotić around 1591), which, in listing churches of Trogir, also mentions the founder of St. Mary, Severus the Great, as being a Roman emperor.²⁷ This data argues against Katičić’s assumption that it was very well-known in Trogir who Severus the Great was.

Ad b) In any case, the church that was allegedly restored by Severus’ grandson during the reign of Theodosius III is not the hexaconch edifice that is located today on Trogir’s main square. Furthermore, he has not restored any building that could have been located in the same place before it, because, as mentioned above, in the continuous vertical stratigraphy of that object, based on archaeological research, there is no evidence of a previous church: the foundations of the existing one stand directly above the Hellenistic cultural layer.

Ad c) A part of the manuscript catalogues gives a list of the first few archbishops of Split in the following order: John, Peter, Marianus, Martin, Leo, Peter, Justin.²⁸ The names of 14 Salonitan – and not Split – archbishops (one of them is named Leo, two Peter) are interpolated between Martin and Justin in the so-called *Roman catalogue*; the same was done in the four other catalogues.²⁹ Therefore, according to Katičić, the catalogues’ “untainted core” is represented by the sequence: John, Peter, Marianus, Martin, Leo, Peter, Justin, excluding the Salonitan bishops, which were included by Farlati in order to fill in the gaps in the chronological order of the archbishops of Split.³⁰ The last two mentioned archbishops, Peter and Justin, can be roughly dated at the beginning of the reign of the Croatian Duke Trpimir (around 840) with the help of other sources (Trpimir’s donation charter, *Historia Salonitana* of Thomas the Archdeacon). According to Katičić, the fourth archbishop, Martin, would be a contemporary of Emperor Theodosius III and the

²⁷ D. Babić 2012: 294: *La Madonna della Piazza (farai qui discorso della miracoli antichità et edifitio, et li edificatori conte fiol Nobile de Costanzo nepote del Gran Severo Imperatore)*. Usp. također I. Babić 2012: 298.

²⁸ Šire o značajkama tih kataloga: Bulić & Bervaldi 1912–1913: 69–96; I. Babić 1993: 26–33.

²⁹ Bulić & Bervaldi 1912–1913: 83–85, 87, 126–137.

³⁰ Katičić 1987: 29–30.

²⁷ D. Babić 2012: 294: *La Madonna della Piazza (farai qui discorso della miracoli antichità et edifitio, et li edificatori conte fiol Nobile de Costanzo nepote del Gran Severo Imperatore)*. Cfr. also I. Babić 2012: 298.

²⁸ More on the characteristics of these catalogues: Bulić & Bervaldi 1912–1913: 69–96; I. Babić 1993: 26–33.

²⁹ Bulić & Bervaldi 1912–1913: 83–85, 87, 126–137.

³⁰ Katičić 1987: 29–30.

tradicionalnim historiografskim gledištima o njemu kakva je zasnovao Farlati u 18. stoljeću. Katičić, međutim, uopće ne objašnjava kako bi u tom slučaju bilo moguće popuniti vremenski vakuum između, okvirno, 717. i 840. godine sa samo dva ili tri nadbiskupa koji ostaju na raspolaganju u katalozima (Lav, Petar [† 840.], Justin).

Naime, u kronološkoj stratifikaciji pojedinih bolje poznatih ranih splitskih nadbiskupa fiksirano je nekoliko prilično čvrstih uporišta za uspostavljanje vremenske okosnice, tj. poblizu dataciju. Najčvršće utvrđene kronološke točke predstavljaju dobro datirani nadbiskupi Ivan (787.) i Petar; premda datacija biskupovanja potonjega ovisi o datiranju Trpimirove darovnice (između 840. i 852., ovisno o istraživaču), jasno je da Petrov pontifikat prije 840. ne dolazi u obzir.³¹ Ujedno je vrlo vjerojatno – makar ne i potvrđeno – da nadbiskup Ivan nije bio neposredni Petrov prethodnik, već da je između njih dvojice u Splitu stolovalo više drugih nadbiskupa. Takvo fiksiranje slijeda nadbiskupâ povlači za sobom i pitanje postoji li ikakva njegova korelacija prema dosad poznatim katalozima splitskih nadbiskupa. Jednostavnom kontrolom između tako uspostavljenoga niza i katalogâ vidi se da takve korelacije nema.

Biskupima Petrom, Marijanom, Martinom i Lavom ne može se, dakle, popuniti praznina u biskupskim katalozima mjesne provenijencije, kao

source of confusion in the Archdeacon's Chronicle; and at the same time a contemporary of the Bishop of Trogir, Peter.

Katičić's chronology rests on the assumption that the first archbishop of Split, John of Ravenna, should be dated to the middle of the 7th century, in accordance with the traditional historiographical views about him, as founded by Farlati in the 18th century. Katičić, however, does not explain at all how would it be possible in that case to fill the time gap between 717 and 840 with only two or three archbishops left available in the catalogues (Leo, Peter [† 840], Justin).

Namely, in the chronological strata offered by a number of better-known early archbishops of Split, several fairly solid bases for the establishment of the time frame have been fixed, thus enabling a more precise dating. The most firmly established chronological points are the well-dated Archbishops John (787) and Peter; although the latter's dating depends on the dating of the Trpimir's charter (between 840 and 852, depending on the researcher), it is clear that Peter's pontificate before 840 is out of the question.³¹ At the same time, it is very probable – though not certain – that the Archbishop John was not Peter's immediate predecessor, but that several other archbishops occupied the see of Split between them. Bearing in mind these fixed points in the sequence of the archbishops, one has to raise the question of whether there is any correlation

³¹ Polazeći od te, kronološki precizne odrednice, prethodnike Petra i Justina (od Ivana Ravenjanina do Lava) po tome bi se moglo datirati u drugu polovinu 8. i početak 9. stoljeća. Tradicionalna datacija biskupovanja Ivana Ravenjanina (oko 650.) ne može se uskladiti s ovako uspostavljenim nizom nadbiskupa jer bi to značilo da je u približno dvije stotine godina (640. – 840.) u Splitu stolovalo samo šest nadbiskupa. Već je iz ovoga jasno da davati povjerenje tim katalozima znači redatirati početke Splitske nadbiskupije u drugu polovinu 8. stoljeća (što je u skladu s novijom historiografijom, v. Basić 2013: 181–214, 235–422; Basić 2015b: 433–435, 437–440; Basić 2018b). Ovomu treba dodati da *Rimski katalog* i ostali katalozi njegove skupine, između 774. i 830. godine ne navode nijednoga nadbiskupa po imenu Ivan (dočim je splitski nadbiskup toga imena pouzdano potvrđen na Nicejskome koncilu 787. godine), što također svjedoči o nevelikoj vjerodostojnosti tih popisa. Historičnost osobe splitskoga nadbiskupa Martina i trogirskoga biskupa Petra, obojice navodno iz ranoga 8. stoljeća, prema tome, sasvim je neizvjesna. Usp. Basić 2018a: 160, bilj. 15.

³¹ Starting from this chronologically fixed point, the predecessors of Peter and Justin (from John of Ravenna to Leo) could be dated to the second half of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century. The traditional dating of the episcopate of John of Ravenna (c. 650) cannot be reconciled with the thus established series of archbishops, as this would mean that in approximately two hundred years (640 – 840) there were only six archbishops in Split. Already now it is clear that trusting these catalogues implies re-dating the beginnings of the Split archdiocese in the second half of the 8th century (which is actually in line with recent historiography, see Basić 2013: 181–214, 235–422; Basić 2015b: 433–435, 437–440; Basić 2018b). It should be added that the *Roman catalogue* and other catalogues of its group, between 774 and 830, do not mention any archbishop named John (while the archbishop of Split of the same name is well-attested at the Council of Nicaea in 787), which also testifies to the unreliability of these lists. The historicity of the Archbishop of Split, Martin, and the Bishop of Trogir, Peter, both allegedly from the early 8th century, is therefore quite uncertain. Cfr. Basić 2018a: 160, note 15.

i onomu Tome Arhiđakona, jer bi to značilo da je u čitavu razdoblju 717. – 840. godine splitsku nadbiskupsku stolicu zauzima samo jedan prelat – nadbiskup Lav (*Leo*) kojeg katalozi donose kao Martinova nasljednika, ujedno prethodnika nadbiskupa Petra spomenutoga u darovnici kneza Trpimira. Uz to, u tom bi slučaju prvorazrednim izvorima potvrđeni nadbiskup Ivan iz 787. godine ostao posve neobjašnjen. Dakle, pristajanje uz kronologiju biskupâ za kakvu se zalaže R. Katičić značilo bi da između nadbiskupa Martina, navodno živućega oko 715.-717. godine, i nadbiskupa Petra († oko 840.), prema kronotaksi koju spomenuti istraživač smatra najvjerodostojnijom, raspoložemo zapravo samo jednim crkvenim poglavarom, nadbiskupom Lavom, koji bi bio Petrov neposredni prethodnik. Inače sasvim nepoznati nadbiskup Lav bio bi, dakle, jedini splitski crkveni poglavar u razdoblju dužem od stotinu godina. Nema povijesnih izvora koji bi potvrđivali opstojnost toga prelata, kao što i nije objašnjeno gdje bi se u tako zamišljenoj kronologiji trebao nalaziti nadbiskup Ivan, prisutan na Nicejskome koncilu 787. godine.³²

Osim toga, ovakva metoda selektivnoga pristupa krije u sebi velike opasnosti – ako se prihvati dio teksta o komesu iz Severova potomstva, a previdi ili zanemari dio o prvome poznatom trogirskom biskupu (zbog kojega je čitav zapis prvotno i ušao u historiografiju),³³ ili o kronologiji same šesterolisne crkve, onda su moguće različite kombinacije u smislu odbacivanja onoga što je nepodesno, odnosno prihvaćanja samo onoga što nam odgovara. Tako su i oni dosadašnji istraživači, na tragu unaprijed oblikovanih shvaćanja ovoga ili onoga medievista, koji su poklanjali znatno povjerenje podacima Lucijeve bilješke, implicitno prihvaćali vijest o biskupu Petru kao pouzdanu ili (jednako implicitno) odbacivali jasne arheološke pokazatelje da na tome mjestu crkve iz osmoga i ranijih stoljeća nije bilo.

³² Šire: Basić 2013: 332–341.

³³ Farlati 1769: 306–307.

thereof with the hitherto known catalogues of the archbishops of Split. A simple comparison between the previously established sequence and the catalogues shows that there is no such correlation.

Bishops Peter, Marianus, Martin and Leo, therefore, cannot fill the gap in the episcopal catalogues of local provenance, as well as in that of Thomas the Archdeacon, because this would mean that in the whole period between 717 – 840 the archdiocese of Split was occupied by only one prelate – Archbishop Leo, who is listed in the catalogues as Martin's successor, and also the predecessor of Archbishop Peter who is mentioned in the grant of Duke Trpimir. Moreover, in that case, the archbishop John from 787 (attested by trustworthy sources) would remain completely unexplained. Thus, agreeing with the chronology of bishops as advocated by R. Katičić would mean that between the Archbishop Martin, who supposedly lived around 715 – 717 and the Archbishop Peter († c. 840) – according to the chronological order that Katičić considers to be the most credible – we actually have at our disposal only one pontiff to fill in the gap: Archbishop Leo, Peter's immediate predecessor. Otherwise completely unknown Archbishop Leo would, therefore, be the only prelate of Split in the period longer than a hundred years. There are no historical sources that can confirm the existence of this prelate, nor is there an explanation of Archbishop John's position in thusly envisioned chronology, taking into account that he was present at the Council of Nicea in 787.³²

Besides, this method of selective approach carries great dangers – if a part of the text about the *comes* being one of Severus' descendants is accepted, and the part about the first known bishop of Trogir (thanks to whom the note itself had originally entered the historiography),³³ or chronology of the hexaconch church itself is overlooked or ignored, then different combinations are possible in the sense of rejecting what is unsuitable, that is, accepting only what suits us. In the same manner, the previous researchers, following the preconceived notions of this or that medievalist, who gave considerable credibility to

³² More in Basić 2013: 332–341.

³³ Farlati 1769: 306–307.

Razgovijetno je, dakle, da bi korištenje Lucijeve bilješke kao potkrepe drugim događajima bilo s metodološke točke gledišta vrlo dvojbeno. To bi značilo da joj treba pristupiti krajnje selektivno, odnosno parcijalno ju rabiti kao povijesni izvor: prihvatiti dijelove teksta koji nam odgovaraju, a odbaciti one koji nam ne odgovaraju. Uz to treba naglasiti da – čak i ako bi bilo moguće koristiti ju kao kontrolni mehanizam u vezi Velikoga Severa – sama ta činjenica nipošto ne podrazumijeva da ona može poslužiti kao jednako dobar kontrolni mehanizam u vezi Ivana Ravenjanina. I to iz jednostavnoga razloga što ta dva protagonista najranije povijesti Splita u Tominu narativu potječu iz različitih predložaka, nastalih u različitim sadržajnim i vremenskim kontekstima;³⁴ oni nisu suvremenici, već su takvima predstavljeni u Arhidakonovu pokušaju ujednačavanja rane splitske crkvene prošlosti. Ako bi se, prema tome, i moglo prihvatiti da *Codex Lucianus* bolje osvjetljuje kronologiju Severa – ne ispuštajući ni jednoga časa iz vida da je i takvo datiranje hipotetično – to se nikako ne bi moglo ustvrditi za kronologiju nadbiskupa Ivana.

data from Lucius' note, have implicitly accepted the information on Bishop Peter as reliable or (equally implicitly) have rejected clear archaeological indications that a church from the eighth or an earlier century did not exist in that spot.

It is clear, therefore, that the use of Lucius' note as support for other events would be a very dubious endeavour from a methodological point of view. This would mean that it should be approached extremely selectively, that is, it should be used as a historical source only partially: the parts of the text that suit us should be accepted, and those that do not suit us should be rejected. In addition, it should be emphasized that – even if it were possible to use it as a control mechanism in relation to Severus the Great – this fact alone by no means implies that it can serve as an equally good control mechanism in relation to John of Ravenna. This is simply because these two protagonists of the earliest history of Split in Thomas' narrative originate from different sources, created in different contextual and temporal circumstances;³⁴ they are not contemporaries, but are presented as such in the Archdeacon's attempt to harmonise the early ecclesiastical history of Split. If, therefore, it could be accepted that the *Codex Lucianus* sheds more light on the chronology of Severus – without ignoring for a moment that such dating is also hypothetical – the same could not be said of Archbishop John's chronology.

³⁴ Za punu eksplikaciju v. Basić 2013, 162–340 i Basić 2018b.

³⁴ For full explanation see Basić 2013, 162–340 and Basić 2018b.

IV. TROGIRSKA ROTONDA U ARHEOLOŠKOME I TIPOLOŠKOME KONTEKSTU

Grupna ili pojedinačna datacija dalmatinskih šesterolisnih rotondi – pa tako i trogirske – u nedostatku preciznijih stratigrafskih ispitivanja, ovisila je prvenstveno o kamenoj plastici koju se s više ili manje plauzibilnosti moglo vezati za njihov sakralni interijer. O vremenu gradnje postojećega trogirskog šesterolista iskristaliziralo se tako više gledišta, koja se sva zasnivaju na datiranju ulomaka predromaničke plastike pripisane opremi crkve.³⁵ Njihov pregled i navođenje odnosne argumentacije premašilo bi granice ovoga rada. Posljednji su o tome analitički pisali N. Jakšić i I. Josipović.³⁶ Njihovi argumenti upućuju, zasad prilično uvjerljivo, da najstariji ansambl interijera polikonhalne trogirske crkve pripada produkciji klesarske radionice koja je djelovala u okružju toga grada u prvoj četvrtini 9. stoljeća (tzv. *Trogirska klesarska radionica*) (Sl. 4).

Ista je radionica izradila crkveni namještaj u šesterolisnoj rotondi sv. Mihovila u Brnazama kod

³⁵ Koliko mi je poznato, trogirskoj su rotondi u literaturi pripisivana tri različita luka oltarne ograde pronađena na prostoru Trogira, sva tri providena natpisima: luk s posvetom sv. Mihovilu (*Trogirska klesarska radionica*, prva četvrtina 9. st.), zabat s formulom zagovora Bogorodici (iste radionice i datacije) te luk sa spomenom nepoznatoga prokonzula i njegove supruge (neutvrđene produkcije i upitne datacije). Za bibliografsku orijentaciju usp. Burić 1990 i Rapanić 1998: 56–58. S obzirom na dedikaciju sv. Mihovilu, smatram očitim da je prvi luk bio namijenjen crkvi posvećenoj tom svetcu, što automatski eliminira njegovu provenijenciju iz Sv. Marije *de Platea*. Zacijelo je potjecao iz neke druge crkve na trogirskome području (koja i nije morala biti šesterolisnoga plana), pa je utoliko razložno njegovo povezivanje sa Sv. Mihovilom u Iverniću kraj Trogira. Arheološki kontekst (predvorje rotonde), radioničko podrijetlo i epigrafska posveta drugoga luka čine ga najizglednijim ostatkom interijera Sv. Marije *de Platea* (usp. Josipović 2011). Podrijetlo i datacija trećega epigrafskog luka ostaju otvoreni. Mogućnost da je prokonzul spomenut na njegovu natpisu motivirao kasniju asocijaciju crkve uz javnu vlast primamljiva je, ali nedokaziva zbog nepoznate provenijencije luka.

³⁶ Jakšić 2004b; Josipović 2011 uvjerljivo obrazlaže pripadnost zabata s formulom zagovora izvornoj opremi interijera Sv. Marije *de Platea*, kao i produkciji *Trogirske klesarske radionice* (prva četvrtina 9. st.). S obzirom na to da stariji reljefi koji bi joj pripadali dosad nisu ustanovljeni, sukladnu dataciju trebalo bi primijeniti na čitavu crkvu.

IV. THE TROGIR ROTUNDA IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND TYPOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Collective or individual dating of Dalmatian hexaconch rotundas – including the Trogir one – in the absence of proper stratigraphic analysis, has depended primarily on stone sculpture, which could, more or less plausibly, be associated with their church interiors. Several views have crystallized about the period of construction of the existing Trogir hexaconch, all of which are based on dating the fragments of pre-Romanesque sculpture attributed to the liturgical furnishings of the church.³⁵ Their review and presentation of the relevant argumentation would exceed the limits of this paper. N. Jakšić and I. Josipović³⁶ have recently published several studies on this issue. Their arguments suggest, and quite convincingly so far, that the oldest ensemble of stone sculpture belonging to the interior of the

³⁵ As far as I know, three different arches of the altar screen found in the area of Trogir have been attributed to the Trogir rotunda, and all three bear inscriptions: an arch dedicated to St. Michael (*Trogir stonecarvers' workshop*, first quarter of the 9th century), chancel screen gable with the formula of intercession to the Blessed Virgin (of the same workshops and date) and a chancel screen arch mentioning an unknown proconsul and his wife (of unidentified origin and questionable dating). For bibliographic orientation cfr. Burić 1990 and Rapanić 1998: 56–58. Given the dedication to St. Michael, I find it obvious that the first arch was intended for a church dedicated to that saint, which automatically eliminates its provenance from St. Mary *de Platea*. It must have originated from another church in the Trogir area (which did not have to be a hexaconch), so its connection with St. Michael in Ivernić near Trogir is reasonable. The archaeological context (the rotunda antechamber), the origin of the workshop and the epigraphic dedication of the second arch make it the most probable remnant of the interior decoration of St. Mary *de Platea* (cfr. Josipović 2011). The origin and the dating of the third epigraphic arch remain open. The possibility that the mention of a proconsul on this inscription had motivated the later association of the church with the public authority is tempting, but impossible to prove due to the unknown provenance of the arch.

³⁶ Jakšić 2004b; Josipović 2011 convincingly argues that the gable with the formula of intercession belonged to the original liturgical installations of St. Mary *de Platea*, and to the production of the *Trogir stonecarvers' workshop* (first quarter of the 9th century). Since any older reliefs that would have belonged to it have not been established so far, a consistent dating should be applied to the entire church.



Slika 4. Tlocrt crkve Sv. Marije i ulomci liturgijskih instalacija *Trogirske klesarske radionice* iz Trogira (Josipović 2011: 104, sl. 9).

Figure 4. Ground plan of the church of St. Mary and the fragments of liturgical installations made by the *Trogir stonecarvers' workshop* from Trogir (Josipović 2011: 104, fig. 9).

Sinja.³⁷ Ona je prvih desetljeća 9. stoljeća djelovala na više lokaliteta srednje Dalmacije, proširujući svoju produkciju s primorskih lokaliteta prema kontinentalnome dijelu pokrajine (Trogir, Bijaći, trogirsko Malo polje, Morinje kod Šibenika, Kljaci kod Drniša, Pađene kod Knina, Brnaze kod Sinja, Otres kod Bribira), a opus joj je najiscrpnije definirao N. Jakšić.³⁸

Uočivši da su šesterolisti u Brnazama i Trogiru kao predložak rabili likovne uzore s reljefa Sv. Trojice na Poljudu u Splitu, N. Jakšić iznio je hipotezu da je splitska šesterolisna crkva Sv. Trojice (sv. Mihovila) u koncepcijskome smislu bila uzor pri gradnji i opremanju drugih dalmatinskih crkava toga tipa.³⁹ Ta pretpostavka posredno

polyconchal church in Trogir was made by a stonecarver's workshop that operated in the vicinity of that city in the first quarter of the 9th century (the so-called *Trogir stonecarvers' workshop*) (Fig. 4).

The same workshop had made church furnishings in the hexaonch rotunda of St. Michael in Brnaze near Sinj.³⁷ In the first decades of the 9th century, it operated in several sites in central Dalmatia, expanding its production from the littoral to the continental part of the province (Trogir, Bijaći, Malo polje of Trogir, Morinje near Šibenik, Kljaci near Drniš, Pađene near Knin, Brnaze near Sinj, Otres near Bribir), and its opus was most exhaustively defined by N. Jakšić.³⁸

Noticing that the hexaonchs in Brnaze and Trogir had used same decorative patterns as the reliefs of The Holy Trinity on Poljud in Split, N. Jakšić had hypothesized that the Split hexaonch church of Holy Trinity (St. Michael) was, in the conceptual sense, a model for the construction and furnishing of other Dalmatian churches of this type.³⁹ This assumption indirectly enables the construction and decoration of the Split rotunda to be dated somewhat earlier than the period when the *Trogir stonecarvers' workshop* was active, i.e. in the first quarter of the 9th century. Thus established relative chronology enables us, therefore, to date the construction of the hexaonch church of the Holy Trinity (St. Michael) and its furnishing with the first set of liturgical installations, back to the end of the 8th century or at the very beginning of the next century at the latest, c. 800. In this sense, the Poljud hexaonch can be perceived as a prototype, if not for all Dalmatian hexaonchs, then at least for those from the central Dalmatian region (Trogir, Brnaze). Finally, if the Trogir rotunda is posterior to the Split rotunda in both architectural and liturgical-decorative sense, then its dating to the beginning of the 8th century becomes untenable.

³⁷ Najiscrpnije: Jakšić 2004b: 275 i d.

³⁸ Nakon početnih zapažanja (Burić 1982: 131, 146–147), radionicu je potpuno definirao Jakšić 1986: 60–76, potom objavio u Jakšić 2004b: 284–285 pridruživši joj još jedan lokalitet u Jakšić 2009: 21–27. Vidjeti također Jakšić 2001: 40 i Jakšić 2015: 267–294 te Josipović 2013: 85–102.

³⁹ Jakšić 2004b: 276–285.

³⁷ Most exhaustive: Jakšić 2004b: 275ff.

³⁸ After initial observations (Burić 1982: 131, 146–147), the workshop was fully defined by Jakšić 1986: 60–76, then published in Jakšić 2004b: 284–285, adding another site to it in Jakšić 2009: 21–27. See also Jakšić 2001: 40 and Jakšić 2015: 267–294 and Josipović 2013: 85–102.

³⁹ Jakšić 2004b: 276–285.

omogućuje da se izgradnja i dekoracija splitske rotunde vremenski pozicionira nešto ranije od vijeka djelovanja *Trogirske klesarske radionice*, tj. od prve četvrtine 9. stoljeća. Tako uspostavljena relativna kronologija omogućuje nam, dakle, da podizanje šesterolisne crkve Sv. Trojice (Mihovića) i njezino opremanje prvim kompletom liturgijskih instalacija datiramo krajem 8. stoljeća ili najkasnije samim početkom idućega vijeka, oko 800. godine. U tom se smislu poljudski šesterolist može pretpostaviti kao prototip, ako ne svim dalmatinskim šesterolistima, onda u najmanju ruku onima iz srednjodalmatinske regije (Trogir, Brnaze). Ako je, na koncu, trogirska rotunda i u arhitektonskome i u liturgijsko-dekorativnome smislu posteriorna splitskoj, tada postaje neodrživom njezina datacija početkom 8. stoljeća.

S točke gledišta stratigrafije, ni prvobitna arheološka istraživanja na Plokati u Trogiru, ni njihova revizija tridesetak godina kasnije, kako je već navedeno, nisu ušla u trag ostacima neke ranije crkve, već jedino helenističkomu kulturnom sloju kao izravno prethodećemu predromaničkoj rotundi.⁴⁰ Stoga ni u kojem pogledu zasad nije moguće govoriti o dataciji trogirske rotunde ranijoj od prve četvrtine 9. stoljeća. Takvoj kronološkoj slici odgovaraju i dosad ponuđene datacije drugih građevina istoga tipa (sl. 5). Sve su približno

⁴⁰ Kovačić 2015: 98: "Prilikom arheoloških istraživanja predvorja trogirske rotunde i njezina neposrednog okoliša, u prizemlju i dvorištu župnoga dvora izdvojena su dva arheološka sloja, arhitektonski jasno definirana, od kojih stariji pripada kasnohelenističkoj stambenoj arhitekturi. Nedvojbeno je da su šesterolisna crkva sv. Marije i crkveno predvorje sepulkralne namjene neposredno superponirani antičkoj arhitekturi". Ulomke antičke keramike u sloju ispod pločnika crkve spominje već Marasović 1963: 86, 87. Kovačić 2015: 100–101 smiono pretpostavlja da je sarkofagu sred rotunde pripadao poklopac s natpisom, trogirske provenijencije, čiji je jedini ulomak pohranjen u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu; o njemu v. najrecentnije Basić 2018c. Kada bi to bilo moguće dokazati, ta bi okolnost upućivala da je trogirska rotunda podignuta u posljednjih dvadesetak godina 8. stoljeća s obzirom na to da natpis spominje bizantskoga cara Konstantina VI. (780. – 797.), usp. Basić 2018c: 288, 292–295, 314, 321. Sarkofag i prvobitno popločenje crkve stratigrafski su istovremeni – Marasović 1963: 91 navodi da je sarkofag postavljen ispod poda prvobitne crkve, niži od izvornoga pločnika za debljinu ploče (14 cm), što znači da mu je poklopac bio dio pločnika.

From the point of view of stratigraphy, neither the initial archaeological excavations at Plokata in Trogir during the late 1950's, nor their revision thirty years later, as previously mentioned, have unearthed any remains of an earlier church, except for the Hellenistic cultural layer as directly preceding the pre-Romanesque rotunda.⁴⁰ To that extent, it is not possible to speak about the dating of the Trogir rotunda earlier than the first quarter of the 9th century. The hitherto offered datings of other buildings of the same type also correspond with such chronological picture (Fig. 5). All of them have approximately equal dimensions, consistent forms, with patron saints reduced to two options (St. Mary or St. Michael).⁴¹ Therefore, it is not probable that the pre-Romanesque Dalmatian hexaconchs were built over a longer period of time, but in a narrower time span.

Namely, none of the typologically identical examples of such ecclesiastical architecture (Poljud, Kašić, Pridraga) can be plausibly dated before the 9th century, let alone in the early 8th century. Thus, for example, the oldest ensemble of liturgical installations in the hexaconch in Pridraga near Zadar belongs to

⁴⁰ Kovačić 2015: 98: "During the archeological excavations of the Trogir rotunda antechamber and its immediate surroundings, the ground floor and the courtyard of the vicarage, two architecturally clearly defined archaeological layers were singled out, the older of which belongs to late Hellenistic residential architecture. It is unquestionable that the St. Mary hexaconch and the church vestibule of sepulchral purpose are directly superimposed on Antique architecture". The fragments of Antique pottery in the layer under the paved floor of the church are already mentioned by Marasović 1963: 86, 87. Kovačić 2015: 100–101 boldly assumes that the sarcophagus in the middle of the rotunda was originally covered by a lid bearing an inscription, found in Trogir, only fragment of which is now kept in the Archaeological Museum in Split; most recently on this inscription: Basić 2018c. If possible to ascertain beyond reasonable doubt, this detail would indicate that the Trogir rotunda was erected during the last two decades of the 8th century, since the inscription mentions the Byzantine emperor Constantine VI (780 – 797), cfr. Basić 2018c: 288, 292–295, 314, 321. The sarcophagus and the original paving of the church are stratigraphically simultaneous – Marasović 1963: 91 states that the sarcophagus was placed under the floor of the original church, lower than the original pavement by the thickness of the slab (14 cm), which means that its lid was a part of the pavement.

⁴¹ See recent overviews in Marasović 2008: 228–236; Vežić 2012.

jednakih dimenzija, ujednačene forme, titularâ reduciranih na dvije opcije (Sv. Marija ili sv. Mihovil).⁴¹ Samim time nije vjerojatno da su predromanički šesterolisti Dalmacije građeni u širokome razdoblju, već u užem vremenskom rasponu.

Nijedan, naime, od tipološki istovjetnih primjera ovakve crkvene arhitekture (Poljud, Kašić, Pridraga) ne može se plauzibilno datirati prije 9. stoljeća, a kamoli u rano 8. stoljeće. Tako, na primjer, najstariji ansambl liturgijskih instalacija u šesterolistu u Pidrasi pored Zadra pripada *Klesarskoj radionici iz vremena kneza Trpimira* (druga i treća četvrtina 9. st.); isto vrijedi za šesterolist u Kašiću.⁴² Iznimku zasad predstavlja jedino polikonhalna građevina na Bribirskoj glavici (*Varvaria*), za koju su najnovija istraživanja pokazala da datira najvjerojatnije iz 6. stoljeća, prethodeći svim poznatim primjerima takvoga tipa centralne gradnje u Dalmaciji.⁴³ Međutim, konačan sud o dataciji i funkciji bribirske rotunde te njezinu eventualnom utjecaju na druga dalmatinska polikonhalna zdanja – svojim arhitektonskim rješenjem ona ipak bitno odudara od “standardnih” predromaničkih šesterolista – trebat će pričekati do definitivnoga objavljivanja istraživačkih rezultata.

Načelno je, doduše, moguće da trogirski šesterolista rotunda predstavlja najstariji primjer te i takve arhitekture, te mogući uzor i predložak svima ostalima,

⁴¹ Usp. recentne preglede u Marasović 2008: 228–236; Vežić 2012.

⁴² Jurković 1995: 230–232; Jakšić 2015: 295–314 (Kašić, Pridraga); Josipović 2013: 287–305 (Kašić); 523–610 (Pridraga); Josipović 2018: 9–26. Ostale šesteroliste (Sv. Krševan i Sv. Marija Stomorica u Zadru, Škabrnja, Ošlje) zasad nije moguće pobliže datirati, ali je plauzibilno pretpostaviti da su građeni unutar uskoga vremenskog odsječka.

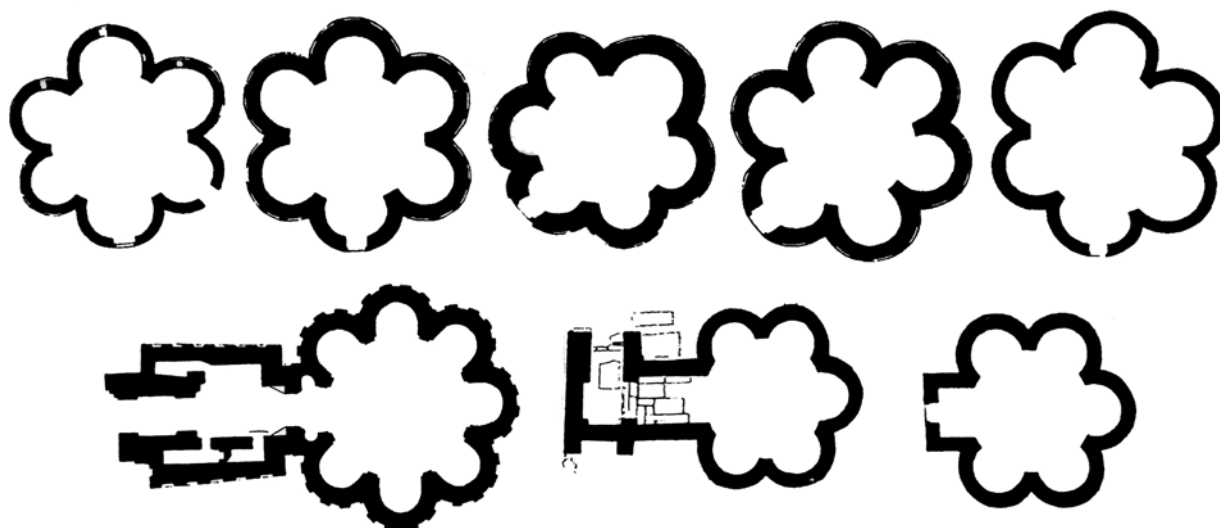
⁴³ Nakon duge diskusije o tome je li bribirska rotunda šesterolista ili osmerolista tlocrta, nova arheološka istraživanja iznjedrila su zaključak da je posrijedi ponešto deformirani, elipsoidni osmerolist, odnosno sedmerolist s četvrtastim prostorom umjesto jedne konhe sučelice glavnoj apsidi. Glavna, istočna apsida dimenzijama bitno nadilazi šest lateralnih apsida. Istraživanja su još uvijek u tijeku, a privremeni rezultati dosadašnjih kampanja sumirani u Milošević & Uroda 2019. Autori iznose mišljenje (37–39) da je bribirska rotunda memorijalna građevina kasnoantičkoga podrijetla (6. st.). Također pretpostavljaju da je bila arhitektonski predložak ostalim dalmatinskim šesterolistima u ranome srednjem vijeku.

the *Stonecarver workshop from the time of Duke Trpimir* (the second and third quarters of the 9th century); the same goes for the hexaconch in Kašić.⁴² The only exception so far is the polyconchal building on Bribirska glavica (*Varvaria*), which has been shown by recent research to date most likely to the 6th century, preceding all known examples of this type of buildings in Dalmatia.⁴³ However, the final judgment on the dating and function of the Bribir rotunda and its possible impact on other Dalmatian polyconchal buildings – since its architecture significantly differs from the “standard” pre-Romanesque hexaconchs – will have to wait until definitive research results are published.

Still, it is generally possible that the Trogir hexaconch rotunda is the oldest example of such architecture, and a possible model and template for all other churches, i.e. that it stands at the beginning of the developmental line of such edifices (if we ignore the correlation with the older church of The Holy Trinity on Poljud). Whoever wants to take this assumption seriously, is obliged to provide a qualified and unambiguous answer to two questions, supported by decisive archaeological or written record: firstly, why is it then archeologically impossible to confirm the existence of an early 8th century church in Trogir; and secondly, how can the chronological gap in the construction of hexaconch churches in Dalmatia between the beginning of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century be explained (since no other churches of this type

⁴² Jurković 1995: 230–232; Jakšić 2015: 295–314 (Kašić, Pridraga); Josipović 2013: 287–305 (Kašić); 523–610 (Pridraga); Josipović 2018: 9–26. The other hexaconchs (St. Chrysogonus and St. Mary *de Pusterla* in Zadar, Škabrnja, Ošlje) cannot be precisely dated, but it is plausible to assume that they were built within a narrow time-frame.

⁴³ After a long discussion as to whether the Bribir rotunda had a hexaconch or octaconch ground plan, the new archaeological research has concluded that it is a somewhat deformed, ellipsoidal octaconch or a heptaconch with a quadrangular space instead of a conch facing the main apse. The main, eastern apse is significantly larger than the six lateral apses. Research is still ongoing, and the provisional results of previous campaigns are summarized in Milošević & Uroda 2019. The authors express the opinion (37–39) that the Bribir rotunda is a memorial building of late antique origin (6th century). They also assume that it was an architectural template for other Dalmatian hexaconchs in the early Middle Ages.



Slika 5. Tlocrti ranosrednjovjekovnih crkava polikonhno-ga tipa u Dalmaciji (Marasović 2008: 406).

Figure 5. Ground plans of the early medieval churches of the polyconch type in Dalmatia (Marasović 2008: 406).

odnosno da stoji na početku razvojne linije takvih građevina (zanemarimo li načas korelaciju sa starijom Sv. Trojicom na Poljudu). Tko god želi ozbiljno uzimati u obzir tu pretpostavku, dužan je pružiti kvalificiran i jednoznačan, egzaktnim materijalnim ili pisanim pokazateljima potkrijepljen, odgovor na dva pitanja: prvo, zašto je u tom slučaju arheološki nemoguće potvrditi u Trogiru postojanje crkve s početka 8. stoljeća; drugo, kako objasniti kronološku prazninu u podizanju šesterolisnih crkava u Dalmaciji između početka 8. i početka 9. stoljeća (s obzirom na to da druge takve osim gorenavedenih nisu ustanovljene)? S jedne strane, dakle, stoji stratigrafski diskontinuitet (što negira crkvu iz 715. – 717.), s druge strane diskontinuitet u tipološkoj difuziji (što negira vezu s ostalim crkvama jer je teško vjerovati da bi se trogirski crkva počela imitirati u monumentalnome pejzažu tek stotinjak godina nakon što je podignuta). Uz sve navedeno, na umu neprestano treba imati činjenicu da rana datacija Sv. Marije *de Platea* počiva **isključivo** na Lucijevoj bilješci; bez toga spornog teksta vjerojatno ne bismo nikada razmatrali vrlo ranu dataciju te crkve s obzirom na to da za to ne pružaju nikakve argumente ni arheološka stratigrafija lokaliteta, ni tipologija građevine, ni stilske značajke njezine kamene plastike.

of such an early date have been established)? Therefore, we are faced with a stratigraphic discontinuity (which disproves the church from 715 – 717) on one hand, and a discontinuity in typological diffusion on the other (which disproves the connection with other churches, because it is difficult to believe that the Trogir church would begin to be imitated in the monumental landscape only a hundred years after its construction). In addition, one should constantly keep in mind the fact that the early dating of St. Mary *de Platea* rests **solely** on Lucius' note; without this controversial text, we would probably never consider the extremely early dating of that church, as neither the archaeological stratigraphy of the site, nor the typology of the building, nor the stylistic features of its sculpture provide any arguments for this.

Alternative locations of the previous church of St. Mary have been suggested, for example the early Christian church archaeologically established under the nearby Benedictine abbey of St. John the Baptist.⁴⁴ Despite the ingenuity of this hypothesis, it boils down to resourcefulness, i.e. to the conjuring up of possibilities in the absence of a better explanation, in order to defend the credibility of Lucius' note and to reconcile its data with the archaeological picture. Even if the patron saint was indeed transferred from the church that preceded the Romanesque St. John the Baptist, then it should be said that the remains of the early Christian church

⁴⁴ Kovačić 1993: 291 and an overview in Rapanić 1998: 48. This idea is accepted, for example, by Marasović 2011: 134.

Predlagane su alternativne lokacije prethodne crkve Sv. Marije, primjerice ranokršćanska crkva arheološki ustanovljena pod nedalekom benediktinskom opatijom sv. Ivana Krstitelja.⁴⁴ Usprkos dosjetljivosti te hipoteze, ona se svodi na domišljajnije, tj. otvaranje mogućnosti u nedostatku boljšeg objašnjenja, kako bi se spasila vjerodostojnost Lucijeve bilješke te uskladilo njezine podatke s arheološkom slikom. Ako i jest titular prenesen s crkve koja je prethodila romaničkomu Sv. Ivanu Krstitelju, onda treba reći da ostatci ranokršćanske crkve pronađeni pod njom nemaju ničega zajedničkog s arhitekturom Sv. Marije *de Platea*. Ranokršćanska crkva pod romaničkom opatijom je, sudeći po svemu, bila konvencionalno uzdužno zdanje, bazilikalno ili jednobrodno, s polukružnom apsidom (na mjestu postojeće romaničke četvrtaste).⁴⁵ To bi značilo da su trogirski graditelji početkom 8. stoljeća inovirali odnosno osmislili arhitektonski tip šesterolisne rotunde (i to ne preuzimajući oblik prethodne građevine), što nije osobito vjerojatno. Tome treba dodati da je trogirski šesterolist u geometrijskome smislu najpravilniji od svih do sada poznatih te u građevinskome pogledu predstavlja veoma zahtjevan projekt.⁴⁶ Kontinuitet oblika se, dakle, ne vidi ni lokalno, ni regionalno između ranoga 8. i ranoga 9. stoljeća. Sve indikacije upućuju da crkva Sv. Marije *de Platea* ne datira iz ranoga 8., već iz ranoga 9. stoljeća.

V. PRIJEDLOG RJEŠENJA

S obzirom na to da vanjske značajke ovoga memorijalnog teksta nisu doprle do našega vremena, moguće ga je prosuđivati jedino po njegovim nutarnjim značajkama. Iz njih pak proizlazi da je uloga toga teksta bila utilitarna, determinirana navlastitim interesima njegova sastavljača. Utvrditi pak koji je problem u centru pažnje autora cedulje znači poći od jednostavnoga upita koji se

found underneath it have nothing in common with the architecture of St. Mary *de Platea*. The early Christian church found under the Romanesque abbey was apparently a standard oblong edifice, a basilica or a single-nave church with a semi-circular apse (in the place of the existing Romanesque square apse).⁴⁵ This would suggest that the Trogir builders at the beginning of the 8th century have invented i.e. designed the architectural type of the hexaconch rotunda (without taking the form from the previous building), which is not particularly likely. It should be added that the Trogir hexaconch is the most geometrically regular of all known hexaconchs so far, and it represents a very demanding project in terms of construction.⁴⁶ The continuity of form is not visible either locally or regionally between the early 8th and the early 9th century. All indicators point towards the fact that the church of St. Mary *de Platea* does not date from the early 8th, but from the early 9th century.

V. PROPOSED SOLUTION

Considering that the external features of this memorial text have not reached our time, it is possible to judge it only by its internal features. However, it follows from them, that the text had a utilitarian role, determined by the special interests of its author. However, to determine the problem in the centre of attention of the author of the note means to start from a simple query that can be formulated approximately as follows: what is the main reason for compiling this text, its *raison d'être*? It has already been indicated (see above III.1) that it was not merely a source of antiquary interest, and that it had a very specific purpose.

What was the intention of the altered text of the note and for whom it was intended can be seen most clearly from the comparison of the two versions of the last sentence: it is simply impossible that the position of the rector of the church of St. Mary was occupied by two different men in same year (1511), Ivan Celio

⁴⁴ Kovačić 1993: 291 i osvrt u Rapanić 1998: 48. Tu ideju prihvaća npr. Marasović 2011: 134.

⁴⁵ Usp. Kovačić 1989: 92; Migotti 1990: 10; Kovačić 1992: 307–308; Kovačić 1993: 291–294; Chevalier 1995: 226; Migotti 2008: 366, kat. 14.2; Kovačić 2009: 164; I. Babić 2016: 351.

⁴⁶ Usp. I. Babić 2012: 288.

⁴⁵ Cfr. Kovačić 1989: 92; Migotti 1990: 10; Kovačić 1992: 307–308; Kovačić 1993: 291–294; Chevalier 1995: 226; Migotti 2008: 366, kat. 14.2; Kovačić 2009: 164; I. Babić 2016: 351.

⁴⁶ Cfr. I. Babić 2012: 288.

može formulirati približno na sljedeći način: koji je osnovni razlog sastavljanja toga teksta, njegov *raison d'être*? Da on nije bio puka antikvarna građa, nego da je služio sasvim određenoj svrsi, već je naznačeno u prethodnome tekstu (v. gore III.1).

Kome i čemu je bio namijenjen izmijenjeni tekst cedulje najjasnije se vidi iz usporedbe posljednje rečenice u dvjema njezinim verzijama: jednostavno je, naime, nemoguće da su u jednoj te istoj godini (1511.) položaj rektora crkve Sv. Marije zauzimala dva različita čovjeka, Ivan Celio i Ivan Lučić Stariji.⁴⁷ Ta se dva podatka zapravo isključuju. Moramo se odlučiti između inačica Daniele Farlatija (Ivan Celio) i Petra Lučića (Ivan Lučić Stariji). Čini se da u odgovoru na ta pitanja prednost valja dati prvonavedenoj (v. gore III.1). Izričaj, stoga, da je “ovo nađeno u Splitu zapisano u nekoj kronici i zabilježeno rukom časnoga gospodina Ivana Lucija, primicerija i kanonika trogirskoga, upravitelja te crkve 1511. godine” predstavlja onaj diskurzivni element teksta kojim se željelo u *codex Lucianus* postići određeni učinak, nasuprot objektivnijemu tekstu iz Farlatijeve redakcije. Različiti podatci o tim ličnostima (točnije rečeno, različit identitet tih ličnosti), kao i sve već navedeno, zaista “navode na pomisao da se u svemu tome krije neki važniji razlog od puke želje da se u 16. stoljeću točno registrira ipak nevažna činjenica – tj. davni popravak crkve”.⁴⁸

Usporedba pokazuje nastojanje da se tekstem kakav je u *codex Lucianus* prikrije i prešuti “onaj drugi”, u ovome slučaju Ivan Celio. U tom se segmentu može do izvjesne mjere nazrijeti autorov duhovni profil, ali još pouzdanije društveni milje kojemu je pripadao: interes za atribuiranjem časti rektora crkve Sv. Marije jednom od trogirskih patricijskih rodova jasno ocrtava autora kao jednoga od pojedinaca iz njihovih redova.

⁴⁷ Hipotetički, to bi bilo moguće jedino ako bi jedan od njih dvojice zamijenio drugoga zbog smrti prethodnika u istoj godini. Oba trogirska klerika su, međutim, poživjela još dugo nakon te godine – Ivan Celio do oko 1518., a Ivan Lučić Stariji do 1541. godine.

⁴⁸ Rapanić 1998: 51.

and Ivan Lučić the Elder.⁴⁷ These two data are actually mutually exclusive. We have to decide between the version of Daniele Farlati (Ivan Celio) and Petar Lučić (Ivan Lučić the Elder). In answer to these questions, preference seems to be given to the former (see III.1 above). The expression, therefore, that “this was found in Split, written in some chronicle and recorded by the hand of the honourable lord Ivan Lučić, primicerius and canon of Trogir, administrator of that church in 1511” is the discursive element of the text which was sought to achieve a certain effect in the *Codex Lucianus*, as opposed to a more objective text from Farlati’s edition. Different information about the persons (different identities of those persons, to be more exact), as well as all of the above, really “suggest that there is a more important reason than the mere desire to register a rather unimportant fact in the 16th century – i.e. the ancient repair of a church”.⁴⁸

The comparison demonstrates an effort to cover up and silence the “other” text, in this case, the one mentioning Ivan Celio, with the text from the *Codex Lucianus*. The author’s spiritual profile can be discerned to some extent in that segment, but even more reliably, the social milieu to which he belonged: the interest in attributing the honour of the rector of the church of St. Mary to one of the Trogir patrician families, clearly outlines the author as an individual from their ranks.

It is pointed out in the memorial note that the church of St. Mary *de Platea* was built by the *praedecessores* of the anonymous *comes* (*a suis praedecessoribus constructa*). Should the term *praedecessores* be understood as the biological predecessors of the *comes* (his ancestors: Constantius and Severus the Great) or as his institutional predecessors (the former *comites*)? Or perhaps as a combination of both: three generations of the same family in which they all bore the title of *comes*?⁴⁹ In the first case, the church

⁴⁷ Hypothetically, this would only be possible if one of them had replaced the other due to the death of a predecessor in the same year. However, both Trogir clerics have survived long after that year – Ivan Celio until around 1518, and Ivan Lučić the Elder until 1541.

⁴⁸ Rapanić 1998: 51.

⁴⁹ M. Ivanišević and Ž. Rapanić interpret them as ancestors and R. Katičić as predecessors. The importance of such distinction is also noticed by Jarak 2013: 176–177, which is in terms of quality the only new contribution in her lengthy discussion dedicated to this church (175–180).

U memorijalnome zapisu istaknuto je da su crkvu Sv. Marije *de Platea* sagradili *praedecessores* anonimnoga komesa (*a suis praedecessoribus constructa*). Treba li termin *praedecessores* shvatiti kao biološke prethodnike komesa (njegove pretke: Konstancija i Velikoga Severa) ili kao njegove institucionalne prethodnike (prijašnje komese)? Ili možda kao kombinaciju jednoga i drugoga: tri generacije iste obitelji u kojoj su svi nosili titulu *comes*?⁴⁹ U prvome slučaju, crkva nije mogla biti sagrađena prije Severova vremena (sredinom 7. stoljeća, s obzirom na to da se nikakvi drugi srodnici ne navode, a trogirski patricijat nije se mogao pozivati na utemeljitelje starije od raseljenih Salonitanaca), pa ne zvuči vjerojatno – uzimajući tekst cedulje doslovno – da je bila urušena “sve do tla” već nakon dvije generacije, oko 715. godine, odnosno da ju je tada trebalo iznova graditi od temelja; u krajnjoj liniji, ni arheološki profil crkve ne potvrđuje takav zaključak. Sever i Konstancije vjerojatno nisu predšasnici (*praedecessores*) koji su gradili crkvu jer nije vjerojatno da bi se ona za samo dvije generacije urušila do te mjere da bi ju već unuk utemeljitelja morao popravljati iz temelja. Doduše, izrazi kao što su *vetustate conlapsa, corrupta* i sl. u srednjovjekovnim narativnim vrelima funkcioniraju kao opća mjesta, u želji da se naglasi kontrast između prijašnjega nezadovoljavajućeg stanja dotične građevine i njezine sadašnje veličajnosti, postignute zaslugom donatora, investitora.⁵⁰ Pretjerivanje u

could not have been built before Severus’ time (in the middle of the 7th century, as no other relatives are mentioned, and the Trogir nobles could not refer to the founders preceding the displaced Salonitans), so it does not sound probable – taking the text of the note literally – that it was demolished “all the way to the ground” after only two generations, around 715, i.e. that it then had to be rebuilt from the ground up; ultimately, the archaeological profile of the church does not confirm such conclusion. Severus and Constantius are probably not the predecessors (*praedecessores*) who have built the church, because it is unlikely that in just two generations, it would collapse to such an extent that the grandson of the founder would have to repair it from the ground up. However, the expressions such as *vetustate conlapsa, corrupta*, etc. function as commonplaces in the medieval narrative sources, all in the desire to emphasize the contrast between the previous unsatisfactory condition of the building in question and its current grandeur, achieved by the merit of donors and investors.⁵⁰ The exaggeration of epithets in the textual descriptions of such interventions was in the service of emphasizing the opposition between the old and the new as a standard part of the genre of dedicatory inscriptions, which can be traced in epigraphy since early Christian times. Therefore, the text on the repair of St. Mary *de Platea* should not be taken literally. On the other hand, emphasizing the renovator’s initiative only makes sense if some intervention on the previous building has indeed taken place; otherwise the initiator of the renovation would not be able to take the credit for an intervention that did not exist.

⁴⁹ Kao pretke ih tumače M. Ivanišević i Ž. Rapanić, kao preteče u službi R. Katičić. Važnost takve distinkcije uočava i Jarak 2013: 176–177, što je i jedini kvalitativno nov doprinos u podužoj autoričinoj raspravi posvećenoj ovoj crkvi (175–180).

⁵⁰ Usp. Caillet 1993: 409–410. Izvrstan primjer je posvetni natpis biskupa Eufrazija u apsidi katedrale u Poreču (*InscrIt X-2, 81*): prijašnju crkvu opisuje kao trošnu i ruševnu; nedovoljno učvršćenu i nesigurnu; malenu i neukrašenu; truloga krova koji prijete urušavanjem; biskup je preduhitrio rušenje davši razoriti građevinu (*Hoc fuit in primis templum quassante ruina terribilis labstu nec certu robore firmum exiguum magnoque carens tunc furma metallo / sed meritis tantum pendebant putria tecta ut vidit subito labsturam pondere sedem providus et fidei fervens ardore sacerdos Eufrasius s(an)c(t)a precessit / mente ruinam labentes melius sedituras deruit aedes*). Preuveličavanje uloge novoga donatora Eufrazija vidljivo je, između ostaloga, iz činjenice što je nova bazilika zapravo bila nešto manjih dimenzija od prethodne, a i iskoristila je najmanje tri njezina perimetralna zida, usp. Terry & Gilmore Eaves 2001: 23, 139–140.

⁵⁰ An excellent example is the dedicatory inscription of Bishop Euphrasius in the apse of the Cathedral in Poreč (*InscrIt X-2, 81*): he describes the former church as dilapidated and ruinous; insufficiently fixated and insecure; small and undecorated; with a rotten roof that threatens to collapse; the bishop had anticipated the collapse by demolishing the building (*Hoc fuit in primis templum quassante ruina terribilis labstu nec certu robore firmum exiguum magnoque carens tunc furma metallo / sed meritis tantum pendebant putria tecta ut vidit subito labsturam pondere sedem providus et fidei fervens ardore sacerdos Eufrasius s(an)c(t)a precessit / mente ruinam labentes melius sedituras deruit aedes*). The exaggeration of the role of the new donor Euphrasius is evident, among other things, from the fact that the new basilica was actually somewhat smaller in size than the previous one, and it had also used at least three of its perimeter walls, cfr. Terry & Gilmore Eaves 2001: 23, 139–140.

epitetima pri tekstualnim opisima takvih zahvata stajalo je u službi isticanja opozicije između staroga i novoga kao standardnoga dijela žanra posvetnih natpisa, što se može pratiti u epigrafiji još od ranokršćanskoga doba. Stoga ni tekst o popravku Sv. Marije *de Platea* ne bismo smjeli shvaćati doslovno. S druge strane, naglašavati inicijativu obnovitelja ima smisla jedino ako je do nekakve intervencije na prethodnome zdanju zaista došlo; u protivnome inicijator obnove ne bi bio u stanju prisvojiti zasluge za zahvat kojega nije bilo. Da je ikakva crkvena građevina prethodila šesterolisnoj rotondi u Trogiru – ponavljamo – jasno je negirano arheološkim zapisom. Samorazumljivo je da takva, nepostojeća građevina, nije mogla biti obnavljana ni popravljana.

U drugome slučaju, da su posrijedi isključivo institucionalni prethodnici, autor bilješke očito poistovjećuje termin *comes* s funkcijom gradskoga poglavara (jer implicira nizanje komesâ u vremenskome slijedu), a što ne odgovara slici kakvom raspoložemo o upravnoj strukturi gradova u 8. stoljeću – očekivali bi se kasnoantički naslovi *curator*, *defensor civitatis* ili pak ranosrednjovjekovni naslov *prior*.⁵¹ Evidentno je, dakle, da treba odbaciti prvu mogućnost (predci), čime preostaje druga mogućnost (prethodnici u službi). Termin *comes*, međutim, posve odgovara društvenoj stvarnosti znatno kasnijega vremena s obzirom na to da su komesima (*comites*) standardno nazivani gradski knezovi dalmatinskih komuna od 12. stoljeća nadalje.⁵² To nas dovodi do stvarnoga vremena i razloga sastavljanja ovoga teksta. Mišljenja smo da je autor bilješke

Any existence of an ecclesiastical building preceding the hexaconch rotunda in Trogir is – once again – clearly denied by the archaeological record. It is obvious that such a non-existent building could not have been restored or repaired.

In the second case, if these were purely institutional predecessors – the author of the note obviously equates the term *comes* with the function of a municipal head (because he implies a succession of *comites* following one another), which does not correspond to the known facts about the administrative structure of cities in the 8th century – the late antique titles *curator*, *defensor civitatis* or the early medieval title *prior* are to be expected here instead of *comes*.⁵¹ It is evident, therefore, that the first possibility (ancestors) should be rejected, leaving the second possibility (predecessors in the service). The term *comes*, however, corresponds entirely to the social reality of a much later time, since *comites* were in fact the municipal heads of the Dalmatian communes from the 12th century onwards.⁵² This brings us to the real time and reason for the creation of this text. We believe that the author of the note tried to associate the title of *comes* with the earliest beginnings of the medieval municipal administration of Trogir. According to the author's notion, the church was built by the *comes*' institutional predecessors – the *comites* – and the *comes*' kinship with the very famous Severus the Great could only increase and strengthen the prestige of the church's restorer, linking him simultaneously to the very beginnings of the Trogir patriciate and the exclusive traditions of the old Salona.

What could have been the cause for this special relation of the author of the note towards this particular

⁵¹ Ferluga 1978: 137–140. Vidjeti i bilj. 24.

⁵² Titula *comes* za poglavara gradske uprave prodire u dalmatinske gradove tek od 12. stoljeća. Usp. npr. Novak 2005a: 333–353; Novak 2005b: 293–296; Ferluga 1978: 225–233; Steindorff 1984: 100–101, 164–165, 169–173; Margetić 1997: 40–45. Uz povremeno javljanje drugih titula (izmjenično i usporedno: *rector*, *potestas*, *consul*, *miles* itd.), *comes* je od 12. stoljeća osnovni naziv za gradskoga kneza, bilo birana unutar grada bilo postavljena od strane vrhovne vlasti. Neovisno o podrijetlu i političkoj afilijaciji, nose ga čelnici dalmatinskih gradova i za vrijeme dinastije Arpadovića i za povremene dominacije Venecije nad pojedinim dalmatinskim ozemljima. Od 1420. godine to je službeni naziv kneza redovito slanoga iz Venecije, ovoga puta s talijaniziranim terminom *conte*.

⁵¹ Ferluga 1978: 137–140. See also note 24.

⁵² The title *comes* for the head of the city administration penetrates the Dalmatian cities only from the 12th century. Cfr. e.g. Novak 2005a: 333–353; Novak 2005b: 293–296; Ferluga 1978: 225–233; Steindorff 1984: 100–101, 164–165, 169–173; Margetić 1997: 40–45. With the occasional appearance of other titles (alternating and parallel: *rector*, *potestas*, *consul*, *miles*, etc.), *comes* has been the basic name for a municipal head from the 12th century, either elected within the city or appointed by the supreme authority. Regardless of their origins and political affiliation, it was held by the heads of Dalmatian cities both during the Árpád and Anjou dynasties and during the occasional domination of Venice over certain Dalmatian territories. Since 1420 it has been the official name of a count regularly sent from Venice, but this time with the Italianized term *conte*.

naslov *comes* nastojao asociirati uz najstarije početke srednjovjekovne gradske uprave Trogira. U autorovoj predodžbi, crkvu su sagradili komesovi institucionalni prethodnici – *comites* – a komesovo srodstvo s veoma poznatim Velikim Severom moglo je samo uvećati i učvrstiti prestiž obnovitelja crkve, vezujući ga za sâme početke trogirskoga patricijata, istovremeno uz ekskluzivne tradicije stare Salone.

Što je moglo biti uzrokom tom posebnom odnosu autora zapisa prema ovoj trogirskoj crkvi? Dok je većinom ostalih crkava (i njihovih posjeda) u Trogiru upravljala biskupska menza ili potomci plemićkih obitelji koje su ih utemeljile, ovom crkvom ravnalo je vijeće plemića što je, kako primjećuje I. Babić, “naznaka o posebnosti njene izvorne funkcije”.⁵³

Ako je suditi prema Andreisovim podacima iz 1670-ih, crkva je bila prilično dobro materijalno dotirana jer se navodi da je opskrbljena s čak 11 nekretnina (više nego ijedna druga od crkava koje autor nabroja unutar gradskih zidina).⁵⁴ Patronatsko pravo nad dotičnom crkvom nije omogućavalo jedino kontrolu nad imenovanjem njezina rektora (upravitelja, nadarbenika), nego je imenovanome donosilo pravo uživanja vrlo opipljivih prihoda od nadarbina, beneficija. U materijalnome smislu to je značilo doživotno raspolagati zemljišnim posjedima kojima je crkva dotirana, ponekad nemale veličine; s druge strane, svećeničke obveze rektora nisu morale biti prevelike, naročito ako se nije radilo o župnoj crkvi. Zadržati trajnu kontrolu nad juspatronatom stoga je bilo itekako unosno, a nagle promjene u tom smislu mogle su izazvati znatne prijepore.

Crkva Sv. Marije *de Platea* spominje se u zapisima pisarne trogirске općine počevši od 1263. godine, ponekad kao mjesto sastavljanja isprava (*factum in ecclesia s. Marie*), ispred nje (*ante ecclesiam s. Marie*) ili uza nju (*iuxta ecclesiam s.*

church? While most of the other churches (and their estates) in Trogir were managed by the episcopal mensa or by the descendants of the noble families who founded them, this church was governed by a council of nobles, which is, as I. Babić notes, “an indication of the particularity of its original function”.⁵³ Judging by Andreis’ data from the 1670s, the church was fairly well materially endowed, as it is stated that it had accumulated as many as 11 properties (more than any other of the churches the author lists within the city walls).⁵⁴ The patronage claim over the church in question did not only enable control over the appointment of its rector (administrator, benefice holder), but also the appointed person was given the right to enjoy the very tangible revenue from the benefices. In the material sense, this implied the lifelong use of the land properties given to the church, which sometimes were of considerable size; on the other hand, the priestly duties of the rector did not have to be too onerous, especially if the object in question was not a parish church. Maintaining permanent control of the *jus patronatus* was therefore very lucrative, and sudden changes in this regard could cause considerable controversy.

The church of St. Mary *de Platea* is mentioned in records of the Trogir communal office starting in 1263, as the place where documents were signed, either inside of it (*factum in ecclesia s. Marie*), in front of it (*ante ecclesiam s. Marie*), or next to it (*iuxta ecclesiam s. Marie*).⁵⁵ Apart from the Cathedral, St. Mary was one of the churches in front of which agreements were concluded between 1264 and 1271 (before the construction of a communal palace with an office for that purpose),⁵⁶ which clearly indicates the social prestige of this particular sacral building. It also served as a place for female witnesses of the plebeian class, in order to petition litigations and other proceedings (since women were prohibited by the statute from accessing the communal palace and

⁵³ Lucić 1979b: 1042; Andreis 1977: 355; citat iz I. Babić 2012: 294.

⁵⁴ Andreis 1977: 335. Uz iznimku Sv. Marije od Karmena, koja je također posjedovala 11 nekretnina, ali je bila beneficij kaptola, ne komune.

⁵³ Lucić 1979b: 1042; Andreis 1977: 355; citation from I. Babić 2012: 294.

⁵⁴ With the exception of St. Mary of Carmen, which also owned 11 estates, but was the benefice of the chapter and not of the commune.

⁵⁵ *MTI*/2: 14, 21, 25, 33, 70, 82, 113, 119, 185, 245; Marasović 1963: 84.

⁵⁶ Benyovsky Latin 2009: 48.

Marie).⁵⁵ Uz katedralu, Sv. Marija je bila jedna od crkava pred kojom su sklapani ugovori između 1264. i 1271. godine (prije izgradnje komunalne palače s kancelarijom u tu svrhu),⁵⁶ što jasno ukazuje na društveni ugled upravo te sakralne građevine. Služila je i kao mjesto za svjedoke ženskoga spola, pučkoga staleža, u parnicama i inim postupcima (s obzirom na to da je ženama statutom bio zabranjen pristup u komunalnu palaču i lođu).⁵⁷ U neposrednoj blizini šesterolisne crkve izvodio se vrlo star pravni obred javne zakletve na križ i knjigu evanđelja, nad okruglom kamenom pločom (*plancha rotunda*): najkasnije od 1330. godine sve do 17. stoljeća o uskršnjim blagdanima izlagao se tzv. Rotni križ (križ od zakletve) od pozlaćena srebra, položen na ploču nad kamenom rakom (*arca di pietra*) pod jednim od prozora rotunde okrenutih prema trgu.⁵⁸ Doda li se tome da je upravo u šesterolisnoj rondi bilo mjesto sastajanja Vijeća prije izgradnje komunalne palače (primjerice, 1267. godine ono je sazvano “na uobičajen način” u crkvi Sv. Marije, a ondje je 1277. godine sklopljen i mir sa Šibenikom),⁵⁹ postaje jasno da je njezina asocijacija s javnom, komunalnom vlašću vrlo stara i da seže u protokomunalno razdoblje Trogira kada je crkva bila najuže vezana s trogirskom gradskom elitom.

Svemu tome treba dodati da se barem od 14. stoljeća – a vjerojatno i ranije – ta crkva nalazila pod patronatom trogirskoga komune (*ius patronatus*), dakle pod kolektivnim pokroviteljstvom patricijskoga vijeća. U tom pogledu je od prvorazredne važnosti za proučavanje dokument koji je, pod nadnevkom 9. veljače 1338., sačuvan u ostavštini

loggia).⁵⁷ In the immediate vicinity of the hexaconch church, a very old legal rite of pledging a public oath on the cross and the Book of the Gospel was performed; it was done over a round stone slab (*plancha rotunda*): at least since 1330 up until the 17th century, the so-called Rota cross (oath cross) was exhibited during the Easter holidays. It was made of gilded silver and placed on a slab above the stone tomb (*arca di pietra*), under one of the rotunda windows facing the square.⁵⁸ Adding to the fact that the hexaconch rotunda was the meeting place for the Council before the construction of the communal palace (for example, in 1267 it was convened “in the usual way” in the church of St. Mary, and in 1277 the peace treaty with Šibenik was signed there),⁵⁹ it becomes clear that its association with the public, communal authorities is very old and it dates back to the proto-communal period of Trogir, when the church was closely connected with the Trogir city elite.

It should be added that at least since the 14th century – and probably even earlier – this church was under the patronage of the Trogir commune (*ius patronatus*), i.e. under the collective patronage of the patrician council. In this respect, the document which, dated February 9, 1338, is preserved in the estate of Ivan Lučić – Lucius in the Archdiocesan Archives in Split, is of the utmost importance for this study.⁶⁰ This is a notarial instrument created on the orders of the Trogir communal syndic Mengacius, son of Desa. The text registers the election of the new administrator of the church of St. Mary *de Platea*, a certain primicerius Nicholas, who was presented in that capacity the previous day (February 8th) to the

⁵⁷ Benyovsky Latin 2009: 62, 104.

⁵⁸ Lucić 1979a: 496–497; Andreis 1977: 132; Benyovsky 1997: 19; Benyovsky Latin 2009: 62–63; I. Babić 2012: 293–294; I. Babić 2016: 97, 200, 427. The mentioned stone tomb must have been a sarcophagus. A closer study of Clérisseau's watercolour drawing in fact reveals the outlines of a sarcophagus facing the square at the junction between the north-west and north-east apses. A lid with acroteria can also be seen.

⁵⁹ Lucić 1979a: 264; Farlati 1769: 351 = Farlati 2010: 185; I. Babić 2016: 428.

⁶⁰ NAS, MS 542, folio 341r–341v = The Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, Estate Lucius, book 4: 43–44. In a marginal note, Lucius has marked the text as *Rectoris Sancte Marie de Platea presentatio per comune*. I am grateful to my colleague Mirko Sardelić for his help in consulting this text.

⁵⁵ *MTI*/2: 14, 21, 25, 33, 70, 82, 113, 119, 185, 245; Marasović 1963: 84.

⁵⁶ Benyovsky Latin 2009: 48.

⁵⁷ Benyovsky Latin 2009: 62, 104.

⁵⁸ Lucić 1979a: 496–497; Andreis 1977: 132; Benyovsky 1997: 19; Benyovsky Latin 2009: 62–63; I. Babić 2012: 293–294; I. Babić 2016: 97, 200, 427. Spomenuta kamena grobnica zacijelo je bila sarkofag. Pažljivijim proučavanjem Clérisseauova akvarela zaista se na spoju između sjeverozapadne i sjeveroistočne apside naziru obrisi jednoga sarkofaga, okrenutoga prema trgu. Uočava se, čini se, i poklopac s ugaonim akroterijima.

⁵⁹ Lucić 1979a: 264; Farlati 1769: 351 = Farlati 2010: 185; I. Babić 2016: 428.

Ivana Lučića – Luciusa u Nadbiskupskom arhivu u Splitu.⁶⁰ To je notarski instrument sastavljen po nalogu trogirskoga komunalnog sindika Mengacija Desina. Tekst registrira izbor novoga upravitelja crkve Sv. Marije *de Platea*, izvjesnoga primicerija Nikole, koji je prethodnoga dana (8. veljače) u tome svojstvu predstavljen trogirskom biskupu Lampridiju Vitturiju. Taj se položaj, kako je opisano u tekstu, ispraznio smrću arhiđakona Kasarice, prethodnoga upravitelja crkve. Ističe se da je Nikolu izabralo Veliko (Opće, Generalno) vijeće (*ellectus per consilium generale in rectorem seu plebanum Ecclesiae Sancte Marie de Platea*) te se očekuje biskupova potvrda izbora. U nastavku se iznova naglašava da izbor rektora rečene crkve, kao i crkve sv. Ilije, pripada trogirskoj komuni (*quarum ecclesiarum ellectio Comuni Traguriensi pertinet*).

Dodatnu potvrdu pruža jedan drugi ispis iz Lučićeve ostavštine, vezan za ustoličenje trogirskoga biskupa Nikole Kažotića (*Casotti*). Naime, nastupom Nikole Kažotića na službu i čast biskupa 1362. godine, oslobodilo se mjesto rektora Sv. Marije *de Platea* koje je on dotad zauzimao. Kako bi se to mjesto iznova popunilo, trogirska komuna je u roku od tri dana morala izabrati novoga rektora iz reda trogirskih klerika; u tekstu je istaknuto da je navedena crkva “od davnine utemeljena i dotirana od strane komune” (*dicta ecclesia antiquitus de havere communis fuerit fundata et dotata*).⁶¹ Izvjesno je, dakle, da je u 14. stoljeću u Trogiru već odavna ustaljena tradicija o rotundi Sv. Marije kao komunalnoj crkvi, odnosno da je postojala svijest da je taj i takav status crkva uživala od starine. Valja potcrtati kako se – prema ovom dokumentu – vjerovalo da je

Bishop of Trogir, Lampridius Vitturi. This position, as described in the text, was vacated by the death of Archdeacon Kasarica, the previous administrator of the church. It is emphasized that Nicholas was elected by the Grand (Communal, General) Council (*ellectus per consilium generale in rectorem seu plebanum Ecclesiae Sancte Marie de Platea*), and that the Bishop's confirmation of the election was expected. In continuation, it was emphasized again that the election of the rector of the said church, as well as the church of St. Elijah, pertained to the Trogir commune (*quarum ecclesiarum ellectio Comuni Traguriensi pertinet*).

An additional confirmation is provided by another excerpt from Lučić's estate, related to the accession of the Bishop of Trogir, Nikola Kažotić (*Casotti*). Namely, with the promotion of Nikola Kažotić to the office of Bishop in 1362, the position of the rector of St. Mary *de Platea* was vacated, since it was occupied by him until then. In order to fill the position again, the Trogir commune had to elect a new rector among the Trogir clerics within three days; the text emphasizes that the said church “was founded and subsidized by the commune since ancient times” (*dicta ecclesia antiquitus de havere communis fuerit fundata et dotata*).⁶¹ It is certain, therefore, that in the 14th century in Trogir there was a long-established tradition of the St. Mary rotunda as a communal church, that is, that it was commonly recognized that the church has enjoyed such status since days of old. It should be emphasized that – according to this document – it was believed that the commune itself was the founder of the church (*de havere communis fuerit fundata*), although without any specification on how far back into the past does this tradition go. The reasons why this particular church – and not some other – was chosen as the municipal chapel are impossible to fathom due to the lack of sources.⁶² The

⁶⁰ NAS, MS 542, fol. 341r–341v = Arhiv HAZU, Zagreb, Ostavština Lucius, knj. 4: 43–44. Lucius je u marginalnoj opasci tekst okarakterizirao kao *Rectoris Sancte Marie de Platea presentatio per comune*. Zahvalan sam kolegi Mirku Sardeliću na pomoći pri konzultiranju ovoga teksta.

⁶¹ Rački 1881: 236–237: 1362, 19. novembr. *Nicolaus de Cazottis episcopus, erat rector ecclesie st. Marie. Nicola de Casottis ellecto episcopo vacat ecclesia ste. Mariae de Platea. Cum dicta ecclesia antiquitus de havere communis fuerit fundata et dotata, elligitur alius rector de clericis Traguriensibus, qui ob plezariam debet administrare seculariter, intra tres dies et decem aureos com. ad inveniendum cap. 15. a.*

⁶¹ Rački 1881: 236–237: 1362, 19. novembr. *Nicolaus de Cazottis episcopus, erat rector ecclesie st. Marie. Nicola de Casottis ellecto episcopo vacat ecclesia ste. Mariae de Platea. Cum dicta ecclesia antiquitus de havere communis fuerit fundata et dotata, elligitur alius rector de clericis Traguriensibus, qui ob plezariam debet administrare seculariter, intra tres dies et decem aureos com. ad inveniendum cap. 15. a.*

⁶² In Zadar, the same function was performed by the early Romanesque church of St. Lawrence (11th century) on People's Square; it is mentioned explicitly as *ecclesia comunis*

sâma komuna bila utemeljitelj crkve (*de havere communis fuerit fundata*), iako bez poblizega navođenja koliko daleko u prošlost seže ta tradicija. U razloge zašto je upravo ova crkva – a ne neka druga – odabrana za municipalnu kapelu nemoguće je proniknuti zbog manjka izvora.⁶² Sâma činjenica što se takva uloga šesterolisne crkve sredinom 14. stoljeća poimala kao pradavna i tradicionalna, ukazuje, s jedne strane, da je stvaran trenutak osnivanja, građenja i obdarivanja crkve već prije dugo vremena bio iščeznuo iz pisane i misaone memorije; s druge strane, jasan je pokazatelj da valja razlikovati povijest te crkve kao materijalnoga objekta (koji u arhitektonskome smislu nije postojao prije prve četvrtine 9. st.) od njezine povijesti kao komunalne ustanove (kakvom nije mogla postati prije zreloga i kasnoga srednjeg vijeka). Nova njezina uloga vezana je za instituciju komune kao autonomne korporacije javnoga prava te nije mogla u tom obliku potjecati iz ranoga srednjovjekovlja. Razlikovanje, dakle, između stvarne i zamišljene (domišljene) prošlosti rotunde na glavnome trogirskom trgu u srži je povijesne egzegeze memorijalnoga teksta o Sv. Mariji *de Platea*.

U statusu komunalne crkve dočekala je i mletačku vlast nad Trogirom (1420.), a interes komune za zadržavanjem patronata nad njom vidi se i iz činjenice da se 1432. godine vijeće pobrinulo da postavi dvojicu plemića kao posebne zastupnike ovlaštene da brane prava i dobra Sv. Marije *de Platea*. Uslijed epidemije kuge, 1434.

⁶² U Zadru je istu tu funkciju vršila ranoromanička crkva sv. Lovre (11. st.) na Narodnome trgu; spominje se izričito kao *ecclesia comunis Iadre* u dokumentu iz 1379. godine, usp. Vežić 1996: 339, 357. Narodni trg (*Platea Magna*) je od vremena formiranja komunalnih institucija okupljao građevine svjetovne gradske uprave (gradska loža i sl.), nasuprot crkvenim, biskupijskim institucijama koncentriranima oko Foruma, ciljano se distancirajući od njih. Takve komunalne crkve, uz iznimku Dubrovnika, nisu u historiografiji detaljnije istraživane (u tom je kontekstu nešto bolje istražena crkva sv. Vlaha u Dubrovniku, usp. Janeković Römer 2008: 136–137; Lonza 2017: 35; Zelić 2017: 43–44, 46). Vežić 2012: 59–60 zaključuje da rotunde koje se nalaze u gradovima nastaju kao oratoriji lokalne vlasti ili s vremenom poprimaju tu funkciju. Također se zalaže za užu dataciju šesterolisnih rotundi.

very fact that the role of the hexaconch church was perceived as ancient and traditional in the middle of the 14th century indicates, on one hand, that the real moment of founding, building and endowment of the church had disappeared from written and mental memory long ago; on the other hand it is a clear indicator that the history of this church as a material object (which, in architectural sense, did not exist before the first quarter of the 9th century) should be distinguished from its history as a communal institution (as it could not have become one before the high and late Middle Ages). Its new role is related to the communal institution as an autonomous corporation of public law, and it could not have originated in the early Middle Ages in such form. Therefore, the distinction between the real and the imagined (devised) past of the rotunda on the main square of Trogir is at the centre of the historical exegesis of the memorial text on St. Mary *de Platea*.

It had also met the Venetian rule in Trogir (1420) in the status of a communal church, and the commune's interest in retaining patronage over it can be seen from the fact that in 1432 the council had ensured the appointment of two nobles as special representatives authorized to defend the rights and goods of St. Mary *de Platea*. Due to the plague epidemic in 1434, the position of rector of St. Mary had remained vacant, so the Count of Trogir during that time, Marco Memo (1432 – 1435), had unilaterally transferred the right to elect the rector of the church to himself. The council of nobles, however, did not acquiesce to this and as of 1442 its procurator was once again elected from the ranks of Trogir

Iadre in a document from 1379, cfr. Vežić 1996: 339, 357. Since the period of formation of communal institutions, the People's Square (*Platea Magna*) has housed edifices of secular, municipal administration (city lodge, etc.), as opposed to church, diocesan institutions concentrated around the Forum, specifically distancing itself from them. Such communal churches, with the exception of Dubrovnik, have not been studied in more detail in historiography (in this context, the church of St. Blaise in Dubrovnik is somewhat better studied, cfr. Janeković Römer 2008: 136–137; Lonza 2017: 35; Zelić 2017: 43–44, 46). Vežić 2012: 59–60 concludes that rotundas located in cities were created as oratories of local government, or that over time they have assumed this function. He also advocates the narrower dating of hexaconch rotundas.

godine, mjesto rektora Sv. Marije ostalo je nepopunjeno, pa je tadašnji trogirski knez Marco Memo (1432. – 1435.) jednostrano prenio pravo biranja rektora te crkve na samoga sebe. Plemičko vijeće se, međutim, s time nije htjelo pomiriti te je od 1442. godine njezin prokurator iznova biran iz redova trogirskoga patricijata.⁶³ Ingerencija kneza nad crkvom trajala je, dakle, osam godina, ali je interes plemićâ za očuvanjem davnašnjega pokroviteljstva nad crkvom na kraju ipak prevladao.

Tek je nedavno, međutim, objavljen podatak iz kojega je vidljivo da je prvi spomen crkve zapravo stariji te da potječe s kraja 12. stoljeća, kao i to da je već tada Sv. Marija *de Platea* raspolagala zemljišnim posjedima kao beneficijima: to je montanej ženskoga benediktinskog samostana sv. Dujma i sv. Nikole iz 1194. godine, čije su zemlje na jednome mjestu kopnenoga dijela trogirskoga teritorija graničile sa zemljama Sv. Marije.⁶⁴ Iz teksta se, doduše, ne razabire je li već u to vrijeme crkva Sv. Marije stajala pod juspatronatom komune (komunalno ustrojstvo u Trogiru ne može se datirati tako rano), no neovisno o toj dilemi nema razloga sumnjati u pozitivni podatak da je bila dotirana zemljištima prije 1194. godine.

Tražeci kontekst u kojemu je moglo doći do komunalnoga pokroviteljstva te dotiranja i nove namjene crkve u urbanoj topologiji Trogira, jedna mogućnost izlazi u prvi plan. Više, naime, trogirskih i mletačkih povjesničara spominje kako su Trogir razarali napadači s mora u 12. stoljeću, štoviše i egzodus stanovništva s naknadnim povratkom i ponovnim podizanjem uništenoga grada, no u historiografiji nije postignut konsenzus o broju (jedan, dva ili tri), kronologiji (1123., 1133., 1125. ili 1171. godine) i podrijetlu tih napada (Saraceni iz sjeverne Afrike ili Španjolske, Arapi iz Barija pod vrhovništvom normanskih kraljeva Sicilije, Mlečani?), kao ni o njihovim konkretnim posljedicama.⁶⁵ Neovisno o tim nedoumicama, čini se neupitnim da je Trogir u

patricians.⁶³ Therefore, the Count's authority over the church lasted eight years, but the nobles' interest in preserving the ancient patronage over the church eventually prevailed.

However, the information which demonstrates that the first mention of the church is actually older and that it dates from the end of the 12th century was published only recently, also attesting to the fact that St. Mary *de Platea* had already been endowed with land properties (benefices) during that time: the information is contained in the chartulary of the female Benedictine monastery of St. Domnius and St. Nicholas of 1194, whose lands bordered St. Mary's lands in a certain place of the continental part of the Trogir territory.⁶⁴ However, it is not clear from the text whether the church of St. Mary was under the *jus patronatus* of the commune during that time (the communal structure in Trogir cannot be dated so early), but regardless of this, there is no reason to doubt the positive fact that it was endowed with lands before 1194.

Looking for a context in which communal patronage, subsidizing and the creation of a new purpose for the church in the urban topology of Trogir could have taken place, one possibility presents itself. Namely, several Trogir and Venetian historians mention the destruction of Trogir by sea invaders in the 12th century, and also the exodus of the population, the subsequent return and the rebuilding of the destroyed city, but there is no historiographic consensus on the number (one, two or three), chronology (1123, 1133, 1125, or 1171) or the origin of these attacks (Saracens from North Africa or Spain, Arabs from Bari under the rule of the Norman kings of Sicily, Venetians?), nor about its exact consequences.⁶⁵ Regardless of these doubts, it seems unquestionable that Trogir had suffered severe destruction at least once in the 12th century, followed by the interruption of urban life, the temporary emigration of the inhabitants of Trogir and the destruction of a significant number of written documents, since the introduction of the chartulary from 1194 –

⁶³ Šire: Benyovsky Latin 2009: 242, s osloncem na Andreis 1977: 169–170 i na drugu objavljenu i neobjavljenu građu.

⁶⁴ I. Babić 2014: 122, 123, 136.

⁶⁵ Za pregled izvora i literature usp. Benyovsky-Latin 2009: 16–18 i Benyovsky-Latin 2010: 19–21 i bilj. 22.

⁶³ More information: Benyovsky Latin 2009: 242, with reference to Andreis 1977: 169–170 and other published and unpublished material.

⁶⁴ I. Babić 2014: 122, 123, 136.

⁶⁵ For an overview of sources and literature cfr. Benyovsky-Latin 2009: 16–18 i Benyovsky-Latin 2010: 19–21 and note 22.

12. stoljeću najmanje jednom pretrpio tešku destrukciju praćenu prekidom gradskoga života, privremenim iseljavanjem Trogirana i uništenjem znatnoga broja pisanih dokumenata s obzirom na to da uvod montaneja iz 1194. godine – čija vjerodostojnost nije upitna – izričito spominje prethodnu destrukciju grada, kao i gubitak važne dokumentacije.⁶⁶ Usljedila je svekolika obnova, u fizičkome i institucionalnome smislu, pa u tom kontekstu vjerojatno treba vidjeti uloženi napor trogirske općine da se rotunda na glavnome trgu iznova dovede u funkciju, posveti i obdari nekretninama (moguće i doradi detalje eksterijera, sada u zreloromaničkim stilskim oblicima).⁶⁷ Stilsko dotjerivanje šesterolisnoga

⁶⁶ I. Babić 2014: 132: *Hinc est (igitur) quod ego Stria, nepta Carochuli, monasterii sancti Domnii abbatissa, licet immerita, post susceptam officii curam, ex iniuncta administratione, priscorum statuta seu priuilegia ipsius monasterii cognoscere uolens, ea diligenter inquirere et requirere cepi, quę dum cuncta prope olim captę ciuitatis desolatione penitus abolita et amissa, nec ulla earum cognitionem inueni, grauitur dolui* – “Stoga sam ja Strija, Karokulova unuka, makar i nedostojna, opatica samostana Svetog Dujma, pošto sam primila službu, na temelju s njom povezane dužnosti upravljanja, htjela upoznati isprave starih, odnosno povlastice tog samostana te sam ih počela marno istraživati i za njima tragati; no s obzirom da je **u negdašnjem pustošenju osvojenog grada gotovo sve potpuno uništeno i izgubljeno**, ne doznadoh ništa pa se silno rastužih” (prev. Branko Jozić, naglasio autor).

⁶⁷ Ako je suditi po Clérisseauovu akvarelu, prilikom te obnove gabariti, organizacija prostora i arhitektonski koncept crkve, sudeći po svemu, nisu ni najmanje mijenjani. Preinačena je jedino vanjska površina rotonde: plošno zidane, plitke predromaničke lezene zamijenjene su debljim i dubljim slijepim arkadama, oblikujući tako lučno zaključene niše (koje na tamburu i uokviruju prozore). Zidne su plohe dodatno raščlanjene uvođenjem vijenca visećih arkada (konzolá) pod krovom tambura kao i svih šest konhi. Na taj je način vanjština građevine plastički naglašena (eksteriornost, tipična za romaniku) – ali je ta plastika aplicirana bez stvarne tektonske funkcije – što je postignuto na razmjerno jednostavan način: novi je dekorativni sustav vanjskoga oplošja crkve naprosto prilagođen zatečenoj, predromaničkoj artikulaciji zida. Uznappedovalo, međutim, prihvaćanje romaničke morfologije, praćeno stupnjevanjem masâ te dosljedno provedenim trodimenzionalnim shvaćanjem eksterne plohe crkve, uspješno je adaptiralo stariji ranosrednjovjekovni oratorij novim stilskim shvaćanjima. Stoga, nasuprot Vežiću (Vežić 2012: 48, 53) smatramo da dekorativna artikulacija zidnoga plašta crkve kakvu bilježi Clérisseauov crtež ne ukazuje na ranoromaničku adaptaciju (“na preuređenje građevine potkraj 10. ili tijekom 11.

whose credibility is unquestionable – explicitly mentions the previous destruction of the city, as well as the loss of important documentation.⁶⁶ A complete renovation followed, in physical and institutional terms, so the efforts of the Trogir commune to put the rotunda on the main square back into service, to consecrate it and endow it with properties (and possibly to finish-up the exterior details, now in the mature Romanesque stylistic forms),⁶⁷ should be noted in this con-

⁶⁶ I. Babić 2014: 132: *Hinc est (igitur) quod ego Stria, nepta Carochuli, monasterii sancti Domnii abbatissa, licet immerita, post susceptam officii curam, ex iniuncta administratione, priscorum statuta seu priuilegia ipsius monasterii cognoscere uolens, ea diligenter inquirere et requirere cepi, quę dum cuncta prope olim captę ciuitatis desolatione penitus abolita et amissa, nec ulla earum cognitionem inueni, grauitur dolui* – “Therefore, I, Stria, Carochula’s granddaughter, albeit unworthy, abbess of the monastery of St. Domnius, after receiving my service, and based on its associated duty of administration, wanted to know the documents of the old ones, that is, the privileges of the said monastery and therefore I had begun to research them and seek after them diligently; but given **that in the former devastation of the conquered city almost everything was completely destroyed and lost**, I could not learn anything and therefore was saddened greatly” (after the Croatian translation by Branko Jozić; emphasized by the author).

⁶⁷ Judging by Clérisseau’s watercolour, the dimensions, the organization of the space and the architectural concept of the church have not been changed in the slightest during that renovation. Only the outer surface of the rotunda has been altered: the flat-built, shallow pre-Romanesque lesenes have been replaced by thicker and deeper blind arcades, thus forming arched niches (which frame the windows on the tambour). The wall surfaces were further dissected by introducing a cornice of hanging arcades (consoles) under the tambour roof as well as all six conchs. This way, the exterior of the building was plastically accentuated (accentuation of exterior, typical of Romanesque) – but this sculpture was applied without real tectonic function – which was achieved in a relatively simple way: the new decorative system of the church exterior is simply adapted to the existing, pre-Romanesque articulation of the wall. However, the advanced acceptance of Romanesque morphology, followed by gradation of masses and consistently implemented three-dimensional understanding of the external surface of the church, successfully adapted the older early medieval oratory to new stylistic endeavours. Therefore, in contrast to Vežić (Vežić 2012: 48, 53), we believe that the decorative articulation of the church wall as recorded by Clérisseau’s drawing does not indicate an early Romanesque adaptation (“the renovation of the building in the late 10th or 11th century”), but rather points to the period of mature Romanesque style, which cannot be dated before the 12th century on the east coast of the Adriatic. In this respect, it is in fact very probable that the said architectural modification of St. Mary corresponds in terms of chronology to the reconstruction of the city that occurred after the documented destruction of Trogir in the 12th century. This

oratorija vjerojatno je, stoga, istovremeno njegovoj prenamjeni u komunalnu crkvu Trogira; točnije rečeno, oba su događaja posteriorna razaranju grada u 12. stoljeću. Datacija preobrazbe Sv. Marije u “komunalnu” crkvu, dakle, ostaje na razini manje ili više plauzibilne pretpostavke, ali i dalje važi činjenica da u najstarijim sačuvanim općinskim dokumentima iz 13. stoljeća ona već funkcionira u toj ulozi (v. gore), pa početke te i takve nove funkcije svakako valja tražiti u prethodnome razdoblju. Sredinom 14. stoljeća, kako je navedeno, postoji svijest da je rotunda “od starine” (*antiquitus*) komunalna, ali precizno vrijeme njezine “municipalizacije” više nije bilo moguće navesti, iz čega se može zaključiti da se taj podatak u međuvremenu naprosto izgubio, odnosno da nije bio dio kolektivnoga pamćenja lokalne zajednice.

Upravo će to nesigurno znanje o starijoj prošlosti crkve Sv. Marije, po našem mišljenju, motivirati potragu za materijalom koji bi mogao zajamčiti njezin kontinuitet u novonastalim okolnostima mletačke vlasti. Postavši u zreleme srednjem vijeku – najvjerojatnije u drugoj polovini 12. stoljeća – trogiriska komunalna crkva (*ecclesia communis*), predromanički šesterolisni oratorij zadobio je posve novu funkciju i značenje u kolektivnom identitetu i sakralnoj topografiji grada. Upravo se u kontekstu važnosti crkve za kasnosrednjovjekovni i renesansni Trogir može objasniti i usustavljenje povijesnih narativa o njoj i naknadno oblikovanje tradicije vezane za njezin nastanak, a koji su pretočeni u analizirani memorijalni tekst.

stoljeća”), već na razdoblje zreloga romaničkog stila kakav se na istočnoj obali Jadrana ne može datirati prije 12. stoljeća. U tom pogledu je, dapače, vrlo vjerojatno da je rečena arhitektonska preinaka Sv. Marije vremenski podudarna s obnovom grada koja je nastupila poslije dokumentima osvjedočenoga razaranja Trogira u 12. st. Ta bi se intervencija mogla dovesti u izravnu vezu s podatkom iz memorijalnoga teksta koji kaže da je crkva “popravljena iz temelja”, a što je naknadnim konfabuliranjem moglo biti povezano s mnogo starijim akterima (bizantski car Teodozije, glasoviti *Severus Magnus*, itd.). Štoviše, adaptacija je možebitno sukladna romaničkoj morfološkoj razradi eksterijera katedrale, s druge strane trga, čija je izgradnja započeta oko 1200. godine. Otprilike istovremeno gradi se samostanska crkva sv. Ivana Krstitelja, dovršena 1270. godine.

text. The stylistic refinement of the hexaconch oratory is probably, therefore, simultaneous to its conversion into the communal church of Trogir; more precisely, both events are posterior to the destruction of the city in the 12th century. The dating of the transformation of St. Mary to a “communal” church, therefore, remains at the level of a more or less plausible assumption, but the fact remains that in the oldest preserved communal documents from the 13th century, it had already operated in that capacity (see above), so the beginnings of such new function should definitely be sought in the previous period. As stated above, it was common knowledge in the middle of the 14th century that the rotunda was communal “from antiquity” (*antiquitus*), but the exact time of its “municipalization” could no longer be stated, so it can be concluded that this information was simply lost in the meantime, i.e., that it was not a part of the collective memory of the local community.

In our opinion, it is precisely this uncertain knowledge of the older past of the St. Mary church that will motivate the search for material that could guarantee its continuity in the newly created circumstances of the Venetian rule. By becoming a communal church of Trogir (*ecclesia communis*) in the high Middle Ages – most probably in the second half of the 12th century – the pre-Romanesque hexaconch oratory had acquired a completely new function and meaning in the collective identity and sacral topography of the city. The systematization of the historical narratives about the church and the subsequent shaping of the tradition related to its origin, which were turned into the analysed memorial text, can be explained in the context of the church’s importance for the late medieval and renaissance Trogir.

Namely, it has already been said that, according to one version of the note (*Codex Lucianus*), Ivan Lučić the Elder was both the author and the discoverer of

intervention could be directly related to the data from the memorial text which says that the church was “repaired from the ground”, which by subsequent confabulation could have been associated with much older actors (Byzantine emperor Theodosius, the famous Severus Magnus, etc.). Moreover, the adaptation is possibly in accordance with the Romanesque morphological elaboration of Cathedral’s exterior on the other side of the square, whose construction began around 1200. Approximately at the same time, the abbey church of St. John the Baptist was being built (completed in 1270).

Već je, naime, rečeno da je prema jednoj verziji zapisa (*codex Lucianus*) Ivan Lučić Stariji bio i njegov autor i pronalazač tradicije o crkvi Sv. Marije, dok je prema drugoj (Farlatijevoj) on samo tekstualno uobličio otprije ustaljenu tradiciju. Čini se da upravo ova istančana distinkcija zrcali dva različita, zapravo potpuno suprotstavljena, shvaćanja o genezi predočenoga teksta. Posebice treba naglasiti rečenicu *Et hoc fuit inventum Spaleti in quadam chronica scriptum et registratum manu propria* itd., iz koje proizlazi da je netko “pronašao, iznašao, otkrio” podatke o najstarijoj prošlosti trogirske crkvice, da bi ih potom Ivan Lucius Stariji pribilježio (v. gore III.1). Slijedi da u Trogiru ništa od toga prije nije bilo poznato, da bi nakon “otkrića” taj podatak naprasno postao općom svojinom. Neobično je važno što u gradskoj sredini, među učenim Trogiranima, nije bilo traga ni o kakvoj tradiciji o prvim utemeljiteljima crkve, pa tako i baštinjenju beneficija crkve. Za dokazivanje drevnoga potpadanja crkve pod komunalnu jurisdikciju bila je nužna pisana dokumentacija koja bi potvrđivala da je ova od najstarijih vremena stajala pod nadležnošću gradske vlasti. Ovaj prozni sastavak je, dakle, imao utilitarnu svrhu, nije bio predmet samo antikvarnoga interesa. Zainteresirani patroni – u ovome slučaju trogirsko Vijeće plemića – mogli bi onda iznova preuzeti crkvu, odnosno nastaviti imenovati svećenike koji će u njoj služiti i uživati prihode sa zemljišta kojima je bila obdarena. Memorijalni zapis u tom bi slučaju predstavljao svojevrsnu “izmišljenu tradiciju” pomoću koje bi se trogirski plemići mogli učinkovito suprotstaviti pretenzijama mletačkoga kneza.

Tradicija upravljanja nad rotandom, koju su trogirski patriciji ljubomorno čuvali i čijem su ponovnom uspostavljanju, usput rečeno, bile posvećene dvije dukale,⁶⁸ morala se osloniti na

the tradition about St. Mary's, while according to the second version (Farlati's) he had only shaped into text the previously established tradition. It seems that this subtle distinction reflects two different, and in fact completely opposite, conceptions of the genesis of the presented text. Special emphasis should be placed on the sentence *Et hoc fuit inventum Spaleti in quadam chronica scriptum et registratum manu propria* etc., from which it follows that someone had “found, uncovered, discovered” information about the oldest past of the small Trogir church, which was then recorded by Ivan Lučić the Elder (see above III.1). It follows that none of this was known in Trogir before, and that this information had suddenly become common property after its “discovery”. It is extremely important that, in the urban environment among the learned people of Trogir, there was no trace of any tradition about the first founders of the church, and thus, about the rights to inherit the benefices pertaining to the church. Written documentation, which would confirm that the church has been under the jurisdiction of the municipal authorities since earliest times, was necessary to prove the ancient affiliation of the church to the communal jurisdiction. Therefore, this piece of text had a utilitarian purpose, and it was not merely a subject of antiquarian interest. The interested patrons – in this case the Trogir Council of Nobles – could then once again re-possess the church, that is, to continue to appoint priests which would serve in it and enjoy the revenues attached to its ecclesiastical benefices. In that case, the memorial note would represent a kind of “invented tradition” by which the nobles of Trogir could effectively oppose the pretensions of the Venetian count.

The tradition of administrating the rotunda, which was jealously guarded by the patricians of Trogir, and to whose re-establishment, incidentally, two ducal decrees were dedicated,⁶⁸ had to rely on a firmer base.

⁶⁸ Andreis 1977: 169–170: “Memo je završio slavno svoje upravljanje, a u njegovu zamjenu došao je Marko Zeno. [trogirski knez 1435. – 1436., op. autora] (...) Grad je malaksao utučen zbog obnavljanja kuge, koja se nekoliko godina ranije bila strahovito osjetila. Najviše službâ ostalo je upražnjeno, i zbog smrti njihovih (sudaca), i jer se plemići, poplašeni od ovako strašnog biča, nisu usuđivali okupljati u Vijeću da ih obavljaju. Vlast izbora čitava je ostala na knezu, koji je bio po svojoj volji djelatelj onih časti, koje su danomice

⁶⁸ Andreis 1977: 169–170: “Memo had gloriously ended his rule, and was replaced by Marco Zeno. [Count of Trogir in 1435 – 1436] (...) The city languished, devastated by the resurgence of the plague, which had been felt terribly a few years earlier. Many of the offices remained vacant, both because of the death of their (judges), and because the nobles, frightened by such a terrible whip, did not dare to gather in the Council to perform them. The power of election rested entirely with the Count, who, at his will, gave out the honours which were being vacated daily. Two benefices had also been vacated, the St. Mary of Plokata and St. Elijah,

čvršće uporište. Na taj je način postanak trogir-ske šesterolisne rotunde, možda, projiciran u dalju prošlost memorijalnim tekstom koji “dokazuje” da se oduvijek nalazila pod patronatom komunalne vlasti (a u kontekstu suvremenih presizanja mletačkoga kneza nad njom). Osnovna je, dakle, svrha ovoga povijesnog narativa o crkvi bilo zadržavanje komunalnoga patronata nad njom. Oblikovan je 30-ih ili 40-ih godina 15. stoljeća, a zatim pretočen u pisani tekst najkasnije početkom 16. stoljeća. Pritom je za sastavljače teksta bilo sporedno što “komunalna vlast” – kakva je poimana u kasnome srednjem i ranome novom vijeku – nije mogla postojati u 8. stoljeću jer oni, sastavljači, nisu ni mogli raspolagati takvim specijalističkim znanjima o pretkomunalnoj društvenoj strukturi.

Jednako tako, od sporedne je važnosti činjenica što u pretkomunalnome razdoblju, koliko se danas može razabrati, nisu postojali takvi oratoriji lokalne vlasti (izuzevši one privatnih donatora ili predstavnika državnoga aparata, poput županâ): njihova geneza, kako je već rečeno, mora stajati u uzročno-posljedičnoj vezi s formiranjem korporativnoga koncepta komune kao autonomnoga tijela, što nalazi izraz u patronatu lokalne političke uprave nad pojedinim sakralnim građevinama, izuzetima od crkvene jurisdikcije. Nositelji toga patronata nisu pojedinci (prior, potestat, knez) ni plemeniti rodovi, već upravno tijelo komune kao kolektivni pokrovitelj. Crkvu Sv. Marije i o njoj ovisne posjede, kakvi su postojali u kasnome srednjem i ranome novom vijeku, Lucijeva

postajale upražnjene. Došlo je također do upražnjenja dvaju beneficija, Svete Marije od Plokate i Svetoga Ilije, juspatronata komune. Slijedeći primjer da izabire na službe Vijeća knez je sebi prisvojio izbor na beneficije postavljajući na onaj don Ivana (sina) Jakova Testa, a na ovaj don Kristofora Grasulića. Općenito je Vijeću teško pao ovaj izbor, kao da bi ga ovaj primjer, iako je za nj govorilo teško iznimno stanje onih vremena, mogao lišiti starog prava juspatronata. Negodovanje je bilo izraženo s dužnim pritužbama principovu suverenstvu, iz čega su isprosilili najprije dukale od 11. srpnja da se pri takvim izborima ne smije obarati stare uhodane običaje, i na drugom mjestu druge od 4. listopada 1436, upravljene Valaressu [trogirski knez 1436. – 1439., op. autora], koje su poništavale izbore njegova prethodnika Zena, s tim da dade slobodu onom Vijeću da dva već udijeljena beneficija dodijeli kome mu se bude više svidjelo.”

In this way, the origin of the Trogir hexaconch rotunda was, perhaps, projected into the distant past by a memorial text that “proved” that it has always been under the patronage of communal authority (and in the context of Venetian count’s contemporary pretensions over it). Therefore, the basic purpose of this historical narrative about the church is the retention of the communal patronage over the church. It was shaped in the 1430s or 1440s and afterwards turned into a written text in the early 16th century at the latest. It was secondary for the authors of the text that the “communal rule” – as it was understood in the late Middle and Early Modern periods – could have not existed as such in the 8th century, because the authors themselves could have not had such specific knowledge on the pre-communal social structure.

Also of limited importance is the fact that, in the pre-communal period, as far as it can be discerned today, there were no such oratories of local authority (except those of private donors or representatives of the state apparatus, such as *župani* – prefects, county governors): their genesis, as mentioned above, must stand in causal connection with the formation of the corporate concept of the commune as an autonomous body, which is in turn expressed in the patronage of the local secular governing body over certain sacral buildings, exempt from church jurisdiction. The bearers of this patronage are not individuals (prior, podestà, count), nor noble families; the bearer of the patronage is the governing body of the commune as a collective patron. The church of St. Mary and the estates dependent (the latter existing in this form only from the High Middle ages), were placed by Lucius’ note in the early 8th century in order to

the jus patronatus of the commune. By following the example of selecting the offices of the Council, the count appropriated the selection of the benefices by placing on one don Ivan (son of) Jakov Testa, and on the other don Kristofor Grasulić. In general, this choice was troubling for the Council, as if this example, although the exceptionally difficult situation of the time spoke for it, could deprive it of its old right of jus patronatus. Dissatisfaction was expressed with due complaints to the Doge’s sovereignty, from which they elicited the first ducal decree of July 11 that the old, established customs should not be subverted in such elections, and the second of October 4, 1436, addressed to Valaresso [Count of Trogir in 1436 – 1439], which annulled the election of his predecessor Zeno, granted that he gave freedom to the Council to award the two already granted benefices to whomever it prefers best.”

je bilješka smjestila u davno vrijeme ranoga 8. stoljeća, kako bi im pružila dostojnu tradiciju te zaštitila od presizanja mletačkoga kneza.

Sastavljač cedulje, razumljivo, nije bio dobro upućen u prilike početka 8. stoljeća: sastavio je tekst koji je mogao eventualno poslužiti tek kao *ad hoc* sredstvo u dokazivanju starine crkve i komunalnih prava na nju. U njega je ugradio podatke iz gradskoga života svoga vremena kakve je očekivao i u davnini – gradskoga kneza (*comes*) i biskupa (*episcopus*). Tome je, kao čvršću potkrepu starine i ugleda, pridružio vijest o “salonitanskom” podrijetlu graditeljâ, što je moglo zvučati uvjerljivo čitateljima Arhidakonove kronike (gdje se čitalo da su Salonitanci napustili grad u Severovo vrijeme), a stajalo je u skladu s pripisivanjem salonitanskoga podrijetla pojedinim drugim trogirskim spomenicima i odličnicima (Radovanov portal, Kvirin).

S obzirom na to da je ime komesa – obnoviteljâ crkve – sudeći po svemu manjkalo već u najranijemu poznatom zapisu kanonika Lučića koji potječe iz 1511. godine,⁶⁹ očigledno je njemu prethodila jedna ili više redakcija u kojima je došlo do toga previda; oblikovanje informacija koje su došle do Lučića Starijega može se, dakle, datirati najkasnije potkraj 15. stoljeća, jer nije vjerojatno da bi se ime najznačajnijega protagonista memorijalnoga zapisa (donatora građevine, trogirskoga komesa) izgubilo iz tradicije tako skoro po otkriću (pod pretpostavkom da je iznađeno u prvomu desetljeću 16. stoljeća). Po svemu se, prema tome, čini da podatci o crkvi potječu iz znatno ranijega vremena od 1511. godine, a u određenome su trenutku (poslije 1511.) pretočeni u pisani tekst. Osvrćući se po trogirskoj prošlosti

provide them with a respectable tradition and to protect them from the pretensions of the Venetian count.

Understandably, the author of the note was not well versed in the circumstances of the early 8th century: he compiled a text that could have possibly only served as an *ad hoc* means of proving the church's antiquity and the communal rights to it. In it, he had incorporated the information on the urban life from his own times, as he had expected them to be same in the ancient times – the city count (*comes*) and the bishop (*episcopus*). To this, as a stronger corroboration of antiquity and prestige, he added the data on the “Salonitan” origin of the builders, which might have sounded convincing to readers of the Archdeacon's chronicle (where it read that the Salonitans left the city in Severus' period) and which was in accordance with attributing Salonitan origins to certain other monuments and dignitaries of Trogir (Radovan's portal, Quirinus).

Considering that the name of the *comes* – the restorer of the church – was apparently already missing from the earliest known version of the note belonging to the canon Lučić, dating from 1511,⁶⁹ it was obviously preceded by one or more revisions in which this oversight happened; the shaping of the information that came to Lučić the Elder can therefore be dated to the end of the 15th century at the latest, because it is unlikely that the name of the most important protagonist of the memorial note (the donor of the building, the Trogir *comes*) would be lost from tradition so soon after its discovery (assuming that it was found in the first decade of the 16th century). Therefore, by all accounts, the data on the church seem to originate from a much earlier time than 1511, and at some point (after 1511)

⁶⁹ Činjenica da je ime komesa, Konstancijeva sina i Severova unuka, u oba teksta nezabilježeno (nečitko?) upućuje na to da je već u predlošcima za obje cedulje ono bilo nedostajalo, kontaminirano u transmisiji teksta. U Farlatijevu izričitu tvrdnju da je Ivan Lučić Mlađi prepisao tekst izravno iz misala svoga pretka nema razloga sumnjati, što vodi k zaključku da u autografu Ivana Lučića Starijega nije stajalo ime komesa, ili nije bilo napisano na razaznatljiv način. Sasvim je malo vjerojatno da je u pitanju drugonavedena mogućnost (nerazaznatljivost ili nerazumijevanje rukopisa arhetipa) s obzirom na to da se iz obiju verzija cedulje vidi da su oba prepisivača savršeno točno razumjela svoj predložak, njegov diskurs, leksik, sintaksu, kratice i termine.

⁶⁹ The fact that the name of the *comes*, son of Constantius and grandson of Severus, is unrecorded (illegible?) in both texts, indicates that it was already missing in the original of both notes contaminated in the transmission of the text. There is no reason to doubt Farlati's explicit claim that Ivan Lučić the Younger copied the text directly from his ancestor's missal, which leads to the conclusion that Ivan Lučić the Elder's autograph did not contain the name of the *comes*, or that it was not written in a discernible way. The latter possibility is quite unlikely (incomprehensibility or misunderstanding of the handwriting of the archetype), given that both versions of the note show that both copyists have perfectly and accurately understood other data contained in their template: its discourse, vocabulary, syntax, abbreviations and terminology.

u potrazi za društvenim kontekstom vremena u kojemu je do toga moglo doći, kao moguće vrijeme postanka u prvi plan izlazi gore već spomenuti sukob između trogirskoga kneza i Plemičkoga vijeća oko Sv. Marije iz 1430-ih i 1440-ih godina. Potreba za oblikovanjem umjetno stvorene tradicije o vremenu gradnje, tj. obnove crkve pokazala se tada pregnantnom. Takva identifikacija dosta precizno korespondira s podatkom o vremenskoj razlici između oblikovanja tradicije o crkvi i njezina artikuliranja u pisanoj formi, na koji je gore ukazano.

Podrijetlo prozopografskih podataka navedenih u memorijalnom tekstu nije teško utvrditi: njihovu osnovnu podlogu predstavlja *Historia Salonitana* splitskoga kroničara Tome Arhiđakona (dovršena oko 1266.-1268.). Gotovo je suvišno isticati da su rukopisi *Historiae Salonitanae* cirkulirali srednjodalmatinskim kulturnim miljeom u 14. i 15. stoljeću – potvrda tome velik je broj prijepisa Tomina djela od 13. stoljeća nadalje.⁷⁰ U sâmom Trogiru arhivski podatak iz 1452. godine navodi da se primjerak *Historiae Salonitanae* nalazio u knjižnici trogirске biskupije,⁷¹ pa je jasno da su Trogirani imali dobar uvid u narativ o Salonitancu Severu i prvim početcima Splita. Što direktno, što indirektno, elementi su Tomina djela preuzeti u nekoliko vrlo poznatih i utjecajnih tekstova trogirске provenijencije, i narativnoga i diplomatskoga karaktera: na prvomu je mjestu *Pacta conventa* (*Qualiter, Appendicula, Memoriale*; 14. st., nastala temeljem XVII. poglavlja Arhiđakonove kronike), slijedi *Opis obale Ilirika* (*De situ orae Illyrici*) trogirskoga preceptora, padovanskoga humanista Paladija Fuska (*Palladius Fuscus*, oko 1508./1509., upire se o VII., VIII., IX. i druga poglavlja splitske kronike), na kraju *Petri Mocenici imperatoris gesta*, tj. *De bello Asiatico* trogirskoga plemića Koriolana Cipika (1477.; Tomino VIII. poglavlje oslonac je Cipikovim konstatacijama o ranoj povijesti Dubrovnika).⁷² Sve navedeno stoji u jasnoj vezi

they were translated into written text. Looking back into the past of Trogir in search of the social context of the time in which this could have happened, the above-mentioned conflict between the Count of Trogir and the Council of Nobles on the matter of St. Mary in the 1430s and 1440s emerges as the possible period of creation. The need to shape the artificially created tradition of the time of construction, i.e. the renovation of the church, proved to be important at that time. Such identification corresponds quite precisely to the data on the temporal difference between the creation of the church's tradition and its articulation in written form, which is pointed out above.

The origin of the prosopographic data mentioned in the memorial text is not difficult to determine: their general basis is the *Historia Salonitana* of the Split chronicler Thomas the Archdeacon (completed around 1266 – 1268). It is almost superfluous to point out that the manuscripts of the *Historia Salonitana* had circulated through the central Dalmatian cultural milieu in the 14th and 15th centuries – a confirmation of this is the large number of transcripts of Thomas' works from the 13th century onwards.⁷⁰ In Trogir itself, an archival document from 1452 states that a copy of the *Historia Salonitana* was kept in the library of the Trogir diocese,⁷¹ so it is clear that the people of Trogir had a good insight into the narrative of Severus the Salonitan and the beginnings of Split. Both directly and indirectly, elements of Thomas' work were assumed into several very famous and influential texts of Trogir provenance, both of narrative and diplomatic character: in the first place the *Pacta conventa* (*Qualiter, Appendicula, Memoriale*; 14th century, created on the basis of the chapter XVII of the Archdeacon's Chronicle), followed by a *Description of the coast of Illyricum* (*De situ orae Illyrici*) of the Trogir praepceptor, the Paduan humanist Palladius Fuscus (c. 1508/1509, based on VII, VIII, IX and other chapters of the Split Chronicle), and finally *Petri Mocenici imperatoris gesta*, i.e. *De bello Asiatico* of the Trogir nobleman Coriolanus Cepio (1477; Thomas' chapter VIII is the basis for Cepio's statements on the early history of Dubrovnik).⁷² All of this relates to what has

⁷⁰ Vidjeti Matijević-Sokol 2002: 46–49 i Perić 2003: V–XIV.

⁷¹ Ančić 1990: 524; Matijević-Sokol 2002: 49.

⁷² Najiscrpnije: Matijević-Sokol 2009. Paladije Fusko je u Šibeniku boravio od 1475. do 1480., a u Trogiru od 1480./81. do 1493. godine, v. Kurelac 1990: 20, 22, 27, 31, 34, 42, 45. *De*

⁷⁰ See Matijević-Sokol 2002: 46–49 and Perić 2003: V–XIV.

⁷¹ Ančić 1990: 524; Matijević-Sokol 2002: 49.

⁷² Most exhaustive: Matijević-Sokol 2009. Palladius Fuscus stayed in Šibenik from 1475 to 1480, and in Trogir from 1480 – 1481

s onim što je naprijed rečeno o kolanju najstarijih prijepisa *Salonitanske povijesti*, pri čemu su se najraniji kodeksi (izvan Splita) nalazili upravo u Trogiru i Šibeniku. To, kao i činjenica da je splitsku kroniku nešto prije 1487. godine u Šibeniku koristio Juraj Šižgorić za svoje djelo *O smještaju Ilirije i o gradu Šibeniku* (*De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici*),⁷³ jasno ukazuje na interes za njom u humanističkim krugovima.

Splitska kronika predstavljala je fond znanja o prošlosti. Kao takva, ona je u ranome novom vijeku bitno utjecala na percepciju prošlosti ovoga prostora, nudeći kao gotove “činjenice” pojedine tvrdnje iz svoga gradiva, poput onih o načinu i kronologiji postanka Splita posredstvom salonitanskih patricija raspršenih po srednjodalmatinske primorju i otocima nakon propasti njihova grada. Recepcija i posljedično usvajanje tih i takvih “činjenica” ravnala je shvaćanjima i trogirskoga renesansnog patricijata, koji svoje vlastite korijene vidi na početku dugačkoga procesa povijesnoga gibanja započetoga upravo u vremenu o kojem razglaba Toma Arhiđakon. Ideja o kontinuitetu ugrađena je i reproducirana u takvim narativima. Pripisivanje prestižnoga salonitanskog podrijetla pojedinim spomenicima ili osobama (donatorima, graditeljima) u renesansnome Trogiru nije usamljen slučaj, a vezuje se za ono što je naprijed rečeno o svjesnom antikiziranju lokalne prošlosti, odnosno potrazi za stvarnim ili zamišljenim rimskodobnim prethodnicima.⁷⁴

situ orae Illyrici sastavio je u Zadru oko 1508. – 1509., ali je djelo nastajalo sporo (barem od 1504.) – Kurelac 1990: 48. Za kulturni kontekst važno je primijetiti da je jedan od prethodnika Paladija Fuska u Trogiru trebao biti pjesnik Tracalo da Rimini, čije je angažiranje 1459. godine predlagao Koriolan Cipiko, usp. Šegvić-Belamarić & Belamarić 1995: 34 i 44–45, bilj. 38.

⁷³ Ančić 1990: 524–525; Kurelac 1990: 49.

⁷⁴ Indikativno je što anonimni opis trogirskoga teritorija s kraja 16. stoljeća monumentalni Radovanov portal drži spomenikom prenesenim iz Salone, i to zaslugom salonitanskoga nobila Kvirina koji je dao sagraditi trogirsku katedralu – v. D. Babić 2012: 35: *le porte di marmoro, quali furono già della famosa città di Salona, portate da un Signor Quirino che tale fù il suo nome, Nobile di quella città quale fece fondare questo domo*. I u tom se detalju vidi miješanje, preklapanje i superponiranje različitih elemenata “tradicije” koji su usmenim i pismenim putem kolali među trogirskim patricijatom u 16. stoljeću; u sređenoj (“standardiziranoj”) formi uneseni su u *codex Lucianus*.

been said above about the circulation of the oldest transcripts of the Salonitan history, with the earliest codices (outside of Split) being located precisely in Trogir and Šibenik. This, as well as the fact that the Split Chronicle was used in Šibenik shortly before 1487 by Juraj Šižgorić for his work *On the Location of Illyria and the City of Šibenik* (*De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici*),⁷³ clearly indicates the interest of the humanistic circles in it.

The Split Chronicle has represented a store of knowledge about the past. As such, it had significantly influenced the perception of the past of this area in the Early Modern Era, offering some of its assertions and conjectures as ready-made “facts”, such as those on the manner and the chronology of the genesis of Split through the mediation of Salonitan patricians scattered on the central Dalmatian coast and islands after the collapse of their hometown. The reception and consequent adoption of such “facts” had guided the perceptions of Trogir Renaissance patricians, who saw their own roots at the beginning of a long process of historical motion that began precisely in the period which was discussed by Thomas the Archdeacon. The idea of continuity was embedded and reproduced in such narratives. The attribution of a prestigious Salonitan origin to certain monuments or persons (donors, builders) in Renaissance Trogir is not an isolated case, but is related to what has been said above about the conscious historicizing of the local past harking back to Antiquity, i.e. the search for real or imagined Roman-era predecessors.⁷⁴

until 1493, see Kurelac 1990: 20, 22, 27, 31, 34, 42, 45. He composed *De situ orae Illyrici* in Zadar around 1508 – 1509, but he worked on it slowly (at least from 1504) – Kurelac 1990: 48. For the cultural context it is important to note that one of Palladius Fuscus’ predecessors in Trogir was supposed to be the poet Tracalo da Rimini, whose recruitment in 1459 was proposed by Coriolanus Cepio, cfr. Šegvić-Belamarić & Belamarić 1995: 34 and 44–45, note 38.

⁷³ Ančić 1990: 524–525; Kurelac 1990: 49.

⁷⁴ It is indicative that the anonymous description of Trogir territory from the end of the 16th century describes Radovan’s portal as a monument transferred from Salona, thanks to the Salonitan nobleman Quirinus who had built the Trogir Cathedral – see D. Babić 2012: 35: *le porte di marmoro, quali furono già della famosa città di Salona, portate da un Signor Quirino che tale fù il suo nome, Nobile di quella città quale fece fondare questo domo*. This detail shows the mixing, overlapping and superimposing of the various elements of the “tradition” that circulated orally and in writing among the Trogir patricians in the 16th century; they were entered in the *Codex Lucianus* in an orderly (“standardized”) form.

Ovime ne negiramo mogućnost stvarnoga postojanja srodnika Velikoga Severa u Trogiru, pa ni funkciju komesa (tribuna) koju su mogli nositi. Društveni kontinuitet Trogira tijekom 7. i 8. stoljeća nije upitan, kao ni nastavak kasnoantičkih obrazaca društvene afirmacije njegovanih i permanentno održavanih među elitom.⁷⁵ Sasvim je, stoga, realno u Trogiru očekivati pripadnike vodećega sloja u rodbinskim odnosima s patricijatom susjednoga rastućeg centra, Splita. Ime Konstantin zaista se koristilo u ranosrednjovjekovnome Trogiru.⁷⁶ Imena trojice zidara, iako ne posve neproblematična, također su zamisliva u 8. stoljeću.⁷⁷ I ime Sever

By stating this, we are not denying the possibility of the actual existence of the relatives of Severus the Great in Trogir, nor the function of *comes* (tribune) that they could have had. The social continuity of Trogir through the 7th and 8th centuries is not questionable, nor is the continuation of late antique patterns of social affirmation, nurtured and permanently maintained among the elite.⁷⁵ It is quite realistic, therefore, to expect that the members of the leading class in Trogir are related to the patricians of the growing neighbouring centre, Split. The name Constantius was indeed used in the early medieval Trogir.⁷⁶ The names of the three masons, though not entirely unproblematic, are also conceivable in the 8th century.⁷⁷ The name Severus – regardless of the

⁷⁵ Usp. epigrafski sarkofag trogirskoga odličnika Pavla, koji se može datirati u posljednja dva desetljeća 8. st. – Basić 2018c.

⁷⁶ Tako I. Babić 2012: 279 upozorava na trogirski patricijski rod čiji su predstavnici u ispravi iz 1033. godine navedeni isključivo kao *fili Constantini*, bez vlastite denominacije (CD I: 67–68; Ivanišević 1980: 977–978 [s komentarom]); dočim Ivanišević 1981: 176 i tab. VIII objavljuje ranosrednjovjekovni trogirski natpis na gredi oltarne ograde sa spomenom imena *Consta(ntinus?)*.

⁷⁷ Katičić 1987: 33 navodi da “sasvim autentično djeluju imena zidara koji su gradili crkvu”, ali u bilj. 51 za barem jedno od imena (Melota) priznaje da “takvo ime dosad nije uspio drugdje naći”. I. Babić 2012: 298 duhovito primjećuje da imena Izidor i Melota asociraju na Izidora iz Mileta, jednog od dvojice graditelja crkve sv. Sofije u Konstantinopolu. Imena Teodor i Teodozije učestalo se susreću u trogirskome rodu Peće (*Pecce*), usp. Andreis 2006, 160–161. Četiri grčko-rimska imena iz Lucijeve cedulje mogu se uspoređivati s prilično precizno reproduciranim imenima prvih šest uglednih došljaka iz Salone (ne Epidaura!) u Rauziju, o kojima v. *DAI* 1967: 29/230–233 (Grgur, Arsafije, Viktorin, Vitalij, Valentin arhiđakon i Valentin, otac protospatara Stjepana). Taj popis implicira kontekst 7. stoljeća, nakon propasti Epidaura i preseljenja stanovništva na obližnji otočić *Rausion*. Iako se ovi prozopografski podatci doimaju veoma konkretnima i preciznima, gotovo je potpuno sigurno da ne potječu iz postuliranoga vremena. Kao prvo, jednoga se doseljenika, Valentina, opisuje kao oca protospatara, što je položaj u hijerarhiji koji njegov sin Stjepan nije mogao postići prije zrele dobi (tako da je tradicija očigledno zabilježena tek u trenutku kada je on, Stjepan, stekao društvenu afirmaciju). Nadalje, *protospatharios* se kao počasna titula u Bizantu javlja tek od 727. godine. Pretpostavimo li da se titula protospatara u Rauziju nije javila neposredno nakon njezine prve zasvjedočene pojave u bizantskim dokumentima – a imajući na umu i da zapis spominje protospatarova oca

⁷⁵ Cfr. the epigraphic sarcophagus of the Trogir dignitary Paul, which can be dated to the last two decades of the 8th century – Basić 2018c.

⁷⁶ Thus I. Babić 2012: 279 points to the Trogir patrician family whose representatives in the document from 1033 are listed exclusively as *fili Constantini*, without their own denomination (CD I: 67–68; Ivanišević 1980: 977–978 [with comment]); while Ivanišević 1981: 176 and table VIII published an early medieval inscription from Trogir (on the architrave of a choir screen) with the mention of the name *Consta(ntinus?)*.

⁷⁷ Katičić 1987: 33 states that “the names of the masons who have built the church seem quite authentic”, but in note 51 he admits for at least one of the names (Melota) that “such a name has not hitherto been found elsewhere.” I. Babić 2012: 298 humorously notes that the names Isidore and Melota may be understood as an association with Isidore of Miletus, one of the two builders of the church of St. Sophia in Constantinople. The names Theodore and Theodosius are frequently encountered in the Trogir family Peće (*Pecce*), cfr. Andreis 2006: 160–161. The four Greco-Roman names from Lucius’ note can be compared with the rather precisely reproduced names of the first six eminent newcomers from Salona (not Epidaurus!) into Rausium, on which see *DAI* 1967: 29 / 230–233 (Gregorios, Arsaphios, Viktorinos, Vitalios, Valentinus the archdeacon and Valentinus, father of protospatharios Stephanos). This list implies the context of the 7th century, after the collapse of Epidaurus and the relocation of the population to the nearby islet of Rausion. Although these prosopographic data seem very concrete and precise, it is almost certain that they do not originate from the postulated time. Firstly, one settler, Valentinus, is described as the father of the protospatharios, a position in the hierarchy that his son Stephanos could have not achieved before adulthood (so the tradition was apparently recorded at the time when he, Stephanos, had gained social affirmation). Furthermore, *protospatharios* appears as a honorific title in Byzantium only from 727. Assuming that the title of protospatharios in Rausium did not appear immediately after its first attested appearance in the Byzantine documents –

– neovisno o najpoznatijem salonitansko-splitskom nositelju toga imena – rabilo se na ovom prostoru u ranokršćansko doba (sudeći prema kultu istoimenoga svetca u susjednome Splitu u 6. stoljeću).⁷⁸ Svi ti podatci nisu morali biti sasvim izmišljeni i fabricirani, ali je vrlo teško – u nedostatku konkretnih suvremenih podataka – razlučiti koji su od njih ispravni, a koji kontaminirani s vremenom. Ono što ovaj memorijalni tekst čini nevjerodostojnim nije podrijetlo svakoga pojedinačnog podatka (faktografskog, prozopografskog, onomastičkog i dr.), već **oblikovanje odnosa među njima**. Pojedini su podatci, dakle, mogli biti stvarni, ali se njima kontekstualno manipulira. Tekst je oblikovan sukladno shvaćanjima obrazovanoga patricijskog i građanskog sloja kasnoga srednjeg i ranoga novog vijeka. Njegova preradba zasnivala se na fundusu “činjenica” dostupnih sastavljaču u njegovo vrijeme,⁷⁹ ali se iz

kao jednog od sudionika prvoga naseljenja grada – sve spomenute okolnosti ne upućuju na 7., već radije na poodmaklo 8. st. kao kronološki okvir u kojemu su se odvijali navedeni događaji. Čin protospatara bi, dakle, u bilo kojem povijesnom okviru ranijem od 727. godine bio upadljiv anakronizam. Šire: Basić 2013: 406–407.

⁷⁸ Usp. Duplančić 2013: 213–214, gdje je objavljen olovni relikvijar (*capsella reliquiarum*) iz Splita (6. ili 7. st.) s natpisom *S(an)c(tu)s Seuerus*; Džino 2020b: 169: “It is not impossible that Lucius Senior or the author of the unknown chronicle he used, found actual information that the unknown *comes* was ‘the son of Constantius and grandson of Severus’, subsequently identifying this Severus with Severus Magnus whom tradition placed in these times. A recent paper convincingly argued the existence of the cult of St Severus in late antique Spalatum, so it is likely that this name could have belonged to a number of prominent individuals living in the mid/late 7th and later 8th centuries”. Usp. također Džino 2020a: 114; Basić 2008a: 94–95; Basić 2008b: 263–264.

⁷⁹ U ranorenesansnome Trogiru nije manjkalo humanistički obrazovanih ličnosti – lokalnoga ili inozemnoga podrijetla – koje su bile u stanju iznjedrili takve sastavke (Petar Cipiko, Koriolan Cipiko, biskup Jakov Turlon, Paladije Fusko, Toma Nigris itd.), usp. Gligo 1977: 7–47; Kurelac 1990: 13. Dovoljno je primijetiti da u isto vrijeme u Trogiru djeluje humanist Petar Cipiko (o. 1390. – 1440.), kolekcionar antičkih narativnih i epigrafskih tekstova te aktivan sudionik ranohumanističke internacionalne *res publica litterarum*, u bliskome kontaktu s Ciriakom de’ Pizzicolljem iz Ankone te Jurjem Benjom iz Zadra. O kulturnome kontekstu v. Ančić 2005, I. Babić 2006, Špikić 2006: 50–51; Lučin 2007: 65–66; Špikić 2009: 69.

most famous bearer of that name from Salona-Split – was also used in this area in the early Christian era (judging by the cult of the saint of the same name in the neighbouring Split in the 6th century).⁷⁸ All these data did not have to be completely fictitious and fabricated, but it is very difficult – in the absence of more concrete contemporary sources – to distinguish which of them are correct and which have been contaminated over time. What makes this memorial text unbelievable, is not the origin of each individual data (factual, prosopographic, onomastic, etc.), but **the way their mutual relation is formed**. Some data, therefore, could be real, but they are manipulated in terms of context. The text is shaped according to the perceptions of an educated patrician and bourgeois stratum of the late Middle Ages and early modern times. Its rearrangement was based on the pool of “facts” available to the author during his time,⁷⁹

and bearing in mind that the record mentions the protospatharios’ father as one of the participants in the first settlement of the city – all the mentioned circumstances do not point to 7th, but rather to the advanced 8th century as a chronological framework in which the aforementioned events took place. The rank of protospatharios would, therefore, be a striking anachronism in any historical context earlier than 727. More on this: Basić 2013: 406–407.

⁷⁸ Cfr. Duplančić 2013: 213–214, where a lead reliquary (*capsella reliquiarum*) from Split (6th or 7th century) was published with the inscription *S(an)c(tu)s Seuerus*; Džino 2020b: 169: “It is not impossible that Lucius Senior or the author of the unknown chronicle he used, found actual information that the unknown *comes* was ‘the son of Constantius and grandson of Severus’, subsequently identifying this Severus with Severus Magnus whom tradition placed in these times. A recent paper convincingly argued the existence of the cult of St Severus in late antique Spalatum, so it is likely that this name could have belonged to a number of prominent individuals living in the mid/late 7th and later 8th centuries”. Cfr. also Džino 2020a: 114; Basić 2008a: 94–95; Basić 2008b: 263–264.

⁷⁹ In the early Renaissance Trogir, there was no shortage of personalities with humanistic background – both of local and foreign origin – who were able to produce such pieces (Petar Cipiko, Coriolanus Cepio, bishop Jakov Turlon, Palladius Fuscus, Toma Niger, etc.), cfr. Gligo 1977: 7–47; Kurelac 1990: 13. Suffice it to say that this same time was a period of fervent activity of the Trogir humanist Petar Cipiko (c. 1390 – 1440); a collector of ancient narrative and epigraphic texts and an active participant in the early humanist international *res publica litterarum*, in close contact with Ciriaco de’ Pizzicollji from Ancona and Georgius Begna from Zadar. On the cultural context see Ančić 2005; I. Babić 2006; Špikić 2006: 50–51; Lučin 2007: 65–66; Špikić 2009: 69.

sučeljavanja dovršenoga teksta s “činjenicama” kojima raspolaže moderna povijesna znanost ipak razaznaju kontradikcije koje su rezultat nastojanja da ga se prilagodi očistu autora, tj. prevede u vladajuća poimanja i stavove svojstvene 15. stoljeću. Podatke o trogirskome *neposu* Velikoga Severa ne možemo olako otpisati. Međutim, s obzirom na kontekst u kojemu se ti podatci nalaze – ispunjen anakronizmima i ahistorijskim elementima – vrlo ga je teško prihvatiti kao stvarnu povijesnu ličnost.

Možda i najlabilniji dio sastavljačeva rada odnosi se na podrijetlo vijesti koje donosi, na *auctoritas*: on se referira na “neku kroniku u Splitu” kao izvor svojih podataka (*Et hoc fuit inventum Spaleti in quadam chronica scriptum*). Već je na prvi pogled razvidno kako je na ovome mjestu sastavljač – u nedostatku konkretnih predložaka za svoje tvrdnje – pribjegao prilično prozirnomu objašnjenju. Pomisao da je u Splitu postojala kronika s vrlo, vrlo detaljnim i elaboriranim podacima što sežu u rano 8. stoljeće, i to o Trogiru (zašto bi “neka splitska kronika” pomno bilježila imena zidarâ crkve u Trogiru?) susreće se s gotovo nepremostivim poteškoćama. Ta i takva kronika bi, osim toga, tobože bila poznata i dostupna Trogiranima još u 15. stoljeću, ali bi istovremeno potpuno mimoišla sva druga djela splitskoga srednjovjekovnog kroničarstva (Toma Arhidakon, Miha Madijev de Barbezanis, A Cutheis).⁸⁰ Uopćeno pozivanje na Split i pobliže neodređenu “kroniku” očito je trebalo poslužiti tome da se proizvoljno iznesenim

but the discrepancies which are the result of the efforts to adapt it to the author’s point of view, i.e. to translate it into the notions and attitudes peculiar to the 15th century, can be discerned by confronting the finished text with the “facts” available to the modern historian. Data on the *nepos* of Severus the Great in Trogir cannot be easily dismissed. However, given the context in which these data are set – riddled with anachronisms and unhistorical elements – it is very difficult to accept him as a real historical figure.

Perhaps the most untenable part of the author’s work relates to the origin of the account he presents, to *auctoritas*: he refers to “some chronicle in Split” as the source of his information (*Et hoc fuit inventum Spaleti in quadam chronica scriptum*). At first glance, it is clear that at this point the author – in the absence of more concrete sources for his claims – had resorted to a fairly transparent explanation. The idea that there existed a certain chronicle in Split with extremely detailed and elaborate account dating back to the early 8th century, on top of that about Trogir (why would “some chronicle in Split” carefully record the names of the masons building a church in Trogir?) encounters almost insurmountable difficulties. Such a chronicle would, moreover, be supposedly known and available to the people of Trogir as late as the 15th century, but at the same time it would completely bypass all other works of medieval chroniclers of Split (Thomas the Archdeacon, Miha Madii de Barbezanis, A Cutheis).⁸⁰ The general reference to Split and the certain vague “chronicle” have

⁸⁰ Teško je zamisliti takav izvor kojim bi se pretpostavljeni korisnici u Trogiru mogli adekvatno služiti u 15. stoljeću. Baratanje podacima poput ovih o obnovi crkve Sv. Marije, njezinu inicijatoru komesu, imenima zidarâ itd., pretpostavljalo bi, štoviše, postojanje sve do kraja srednjega vijeka jednoga izvora splitske provenijencije što je raspolagao vrlo starim i preciznim lokalnim podacima – i to na veoma detaljnoj razini (prozopografija, obiteljski odnosi, vremenske odrednice, toponimija) – o najranijim stoljećima srednjovjekovlja (7. i 8.); taj bi izvor, istovremeno, potpuno zaobišao svaku tekstovnu predaju što je dala izvore kojima raspolaže suvremena povijesna znanost. Dakako, nipošto ne treba isključiti mogućnost da je takvo, postulirano djelo, zaista postojalo, no polagati povjerenje u njegovo postojanje znači nadilaziti prihvatljiv spoznajni slijed. Šire o splitskoj historiografskoj produkciji u srednjemu vijeku: Antoljak 2004: 19–20; Matijević Sokol 2005.

⁸⁰ It is difficult to imagine such a source, presumably copiously used by the citizens of Trogir in the 15th century. Dealing with data like these about the renovation of the church of St. Mary, about the *comes* who initiated the restoration, the names of the builders, etc., would moreover presuppose that there existed a singular source, probably originating in Split, which survived until the very end of the Middle Ages, and had access to very old and accurate local knowledge – and at a very detailed level (prosopography, family relations, chronological markers, toponymy) – about the earliest centuries of the Middle Ages (7th and 8th). This source would, at the same time, completely bypass any textual tradition which has provided the sources available to modern historical study. Of course, the possibility that such a postulated work did indeed exist should not be entirely ruled out, but to seriously place confidence in its existence is to stretch credulity beyond the limits of what is acceptable. More on medieval historiographical production in Split: Antoljak 2004: 19–20; Matijević Sokol 2005.

tvrdnjama dade privid kakve-takve uvjerljivosti, pouzdajući se u autoritet Splita kao naj snažnijega regionalnog središta pisane kulture i, samim time, društvene memorije.

Ivan Lučić – Lucius 1673. godine izričito navodi da se, izuzevši katedralu, od crkava u staroj gradskoj jezgri “samo za tri u izvorima spominje da su postojale prije opustošenja grada i to crkva i samostan svetog Ivana Krstitelja, crkva svetog Duje i crkva svetog Lava”.⁸¹ Za ostale crkve navodi “ono što se dade izvući iz zapisa”, nalazeći najstarije spomene Bogorodičine crkve na Trgu tek iz 1338. godine.⁸² Iz tih se navoda vidi da Lucius, iako je evidentno poznao sporni tekst o Sv. Mariji iz ostavštine svoga oca i svoga praprastrica, nije njega iskoristio kao izvor za prošlost Trogira, zacijelo s razlogom sumnjajući u njegovu autentičnost.

Pitanje vlasništva nad crkvom – ovoga puta katedralom sv. Lovre – na sličan je način istaknuto u još jednome trogirskom novovjekovnom falsifikatu, tobožnjoj oporuci “salonitanskog prvaka” Kvirina, datiranoj 503. godinom. Iako je autentičnost toga teksta argumentirano odbacio još Ivan Lučić – Lucius,⁸³ ne može se

obviously served to give the appearance of some credibility to the arbitrarily made claims, relying on the authority of Split as the most influential regional centre of written culture and, thus, of social memory.

In 1673, Ivan Lučić – Lucius explicitly stated that, with the exception of the Cathedral, of all of the churches in the old city centre “only three are mentioned as existing before the sacking of the city, those being the monastery of St. John the Baptist, the church of St. Domnius and the church of St. Leo”.⁸¹ For the rest of the churches, he merely refers to the facts “which can be extracted from the records”, discovering the earliest mentions known unto him of the church of the Blessed Virgin in the Square only in 1338.⁸² It can be seen from these words that Lucius, although evidently acquainted with the disputed text about St. Mary from the papers of his father and great-granduncle, did not use it as a source for the history of Trogir, certainly doubting its authenticity with good reason.

The question of the authority over a church – this time the Cathedral of St. Lawrence – is similarly highlighted in another Early Modern forgery of Trogir, the alleged will of the “Salonitan dignitary” Quirinus, dated 503 AD. Although the authenticity of this text was justifiably rejected by Ivan Lučić – Lucius,⁸³ a

⁸¹ Lucić 1979b: 1037.

⁸² Lucić 1979b: 1042. Zanimljivo je Lučićevo zapažanje da se “iz načina gradnje vidi da nije tako stara kao ona svetoga Martina”. Izvor iz 1338. godine na koji se Lucius poziva je gotovo sasvim sigurno dokument na koji smo ovdje već upozorili (v. bilj. 60). Otprilike istovremeno s Luciusovim, nastaje rukopis Pavla Andreisa *Chiese in Traù* (1673. – 1676.), gdje je građa o pojedinim crkvama znatno obogaćena; o Sv. Mariji *de Platea* (*Maddonna di Piazza*) v. Zelić 2009: 94, 110. Andreis je opisuje kao “struttura antica di forma rotonda; consta memoria di quella solamente dall’anno 1338”. I ovome autoru su, dakle, nepoznati trogirski izvori o crkvi stariji od 14. stoljeća.

⁸³ Lucić 1979a: 85: “Ja ću je navesti onako kako ona jednako glasi u svim primjercima i to više zato da se ne bi reklo da sam je izostavio nego zato što bi mi bila vjerodostojna”. Oporuka je datirana 503. godine po kršćanskoj eri (*Anno ab incarnatione Domini*), dočim je taj kronološki sustav ustanovljen tek 525. godine. Neuobičajen je za dokumente toga tipa i način na koji se oporučitelj autoreferencira: “jedan od prvaka Salone, odličniji od drugih, a isto tako i najbogatiji od svih u svakom bogatstvu” (*unus de principibus Salone et prestantior ceteris, nec non et ditissimus in cunctis facultatibus meis pro omnibus*). Oporuka je objavljena u Ivanišević 1980: 966–967. Nedavno otkriće ranokršćanske konfesije ispod glavnoga oltara trogirске katedrale definitivno je potvrdilo dataciju prvobitne

⁸¹ Lucić 1979b: 1037.

⁸² Lucić 1979b: 1042. Lučić’s observation that “from its manner of construction it can be seen that it is not as old as St. Martin” is interesting. The source from 1338 to which Lucius refers is almost certainly the document we have pointed out above (see note 60). At more or less the same time as Lucius, Pavao Andreis finished his manuscript *Chiese in Traù* (1673 – 1676), wherein the data on individual churches was considerably enriched; on St. Mary *de Platea* (*Maddonna di Piazza*) see Zelić 2009: 94, 110. Andreis describes it as “struttura antica di forma rotonda; consta memoria di quella solamente dall’anno 1338”; Therefore, the sources about the church older than the 14th century are unknown to this author, too.

⁸³ Lucić 1979a: 85: “I will present it in the manner equal to all copies, so that it cannot be said that I had left it out, rather than because it is credible to me.” The will dates back to 503 AD (*Anno ab incarnatione Domini*), but this chronological system was not established until 525 AD. The way in which the testator refers to himself is also unusual for the documents of this type: “one of the dignitaries of Salona, more excellent than others, and also the richest of all in all wealth” (*unus de principibus Salone et prestantior ceteris, nec non et ditissimus in cunctis facultatibus meis pro omnibus*). The will was published in Ivanišević 1980: 966–967. The recent discovery of an early Christian *confessio* under the main altar of the Trogir Cathedral definitely confirms the dating of the original building to 5th or

poreći stanovita vještina uložena u njegovo sastavljanje. Svakako je indikativno što jedini poznati primjerak oporuke također potječe iz kodeksa Petra Lučića (fol. 125v). Način na koji je tretiran objekt darivanja, tj. predmet oporučivanja gotovo je istovjetan cedulji o Sv. Mariji *de Platea*: Salonitanac Kvirin ponovno je pokrenuo obnovu crkve sv. Lovre u Trogiru “koje se najveći dio zbog starodrevnosti srušio” (*que olim pre vetustate maxima pars de ea ceciderat*); obnovu, točnije ponovnu izgradnju crkve, izvest će svojim vlastitim dobrima (*quam ego reedifico de propriis bonis meis*); svoja prava i obveze temelji na tome što ga “svi smatraju baštinikom onih koji su nekoć prije sagradili kuću Božju” (*quia me hereditarium noveram tenere cunctorum, qui antea domum Dei construxerant*). Diskurs je u oba sporna teksta gotovo identičan. Ovaj falsifikat pokazuje koliko su Trogirani u renesansi bili sposobni sastavljati manje ili više vješte krivotvorine, ali i to da je u pozadini tih sastavaka stajala želja za transgeneracijskim potvrđivanjem vlasničkih odnosa nad određenim crkvenim zdanjima u gradu. Okolnost, nadalje, da je sâm Lucius dobro poznao oba teksta – Kvirinovu oporuku i cedulju o Sv. Mariji *de Platea* – da se o autentičnosti prvoga izjasnio vrlo negativno, a preko drugoga šutke prešao, dovoljno govori o njihovoj heurističkoj vrijednosti.

Nastao je tako tekst artikuliran kao retrospektivna naracija, sa zadaćom da čvršće asocira pojedine istaknute članove trogirskih patricijskih obitelji uz komunalnu crkvu. Drugi pak željeni učinak teksta iz *codex Lucianus* odnosi se na prvi dio naracije, onaj u kojemu je opisana geneza crkvice. Svrhu toga dijela cedulje najsazetije bi se moglo okarakterizirati kao konstruiranje društvene memorije, postignuto sastavljanjem teksta koji u potrazi za legitimacijom sadašnjosti poseže za elementima lokalne prošlosti, “popravljajući” ih i prilagođavajući potrebama svoje suvremenosti – **domišljanje kontinuiteta**.

Nažalost, iz raspoloživih podataka ne vidi se tko bi točno bio autor ovih konstrukcija o crkvi, ali čini se da sastavljač svakako dolazi iz kruga

certain skill invested in its creation cannot be denied. It is certainly indicative that the only known copy of the will also stems from the codex of Petar Lučić (folio 125v). The manner in which the object of the bestowing, i.e. the subject of the will, was treated is almost identical to the note on St. Mary *de Platea*: the Salonitan Quirinus undertook the restoration of the church of St. Lawrence in Trogir “which for the most part had collapsed due to antiquity” (*que olim pre vetustate maxima pars de ea ceciderat*); the renovation, more precisely the rebuilding of the church, will be carried out by his own goods (*quam ego reedifico de propriis bonis meis*); he bases his rights and obligations on the fact that “everyone considers him as the successor of those who once before had built the house of God” (*quia me hereditarium noveram tenere cunctorum, qui antea domum Dei construxerant*). The discourse in both disputed texts is almost identical. This forgery shows how capable were the people of Trogir, during the Renaissance, to compose more or less skillful forgeries, but also that there was a desire behind these pieces to confirm the ownership of certain church buildings in the city over the span of many generations. Furthermore, the fact that Lucius himself was well acquainted with both texts – with Quirinus’ will and the note on St. Maria *de Platea* – and that he spoke very negatively about the authenticity of the first, and had silently passed over the second, speaks volumes about their heuristic value.

Thus a text was created, in the form of retrospective narration, with the task of firmly associating the prominent members of Trogir patrician families with the communal church. The second desired effect of the text from the *Codex Lucianus* refers to the first part of the narration, the one in which the genesis of the church is described. The purpose of this part of the note could be most succinctly characterized as the construction of social memory, achieved by the composition of a text, which in search of the legitimation of the present, reaches for the elements of the local past, “fixing” and adapting them to the needs of his time – **devising the continuity**.

Unfortunately, the available sources cannot show exactly who was the author of these constructions about the church, but it seems that the author certainly came

građevine u 5. ili 6. stoljeće – Kovačić 2009. Usp. također Chevalier 1995: 224–225 i Migotti 2008: 366, kat. 14.4.

6th century – Kovačić 2009. Cfr. also Chevalier 1995: 224–225 and Migotti 2008: 366, cat. 14.4.

trogirskih patricijskih rodova, članova Vijeća, te da otud dolazi i motivacija da se podrijetlo te crkve prikaže kao drevno i neupitno.⁸⁴ Novouspostavljena tradicija se poslije (nakon 1511.) grana u dvije varijante. Njihova je naracija povezana, ali suprotstavljena: sukladno potrebama svoga vremena, njihovi autori nastoje konstruirati memoriju služeći se manipuliranjem realnim povijesnim činjenicama i “povijesnim činjenicama” kakve im je pružao fundus podataka sadržan u utjecajnim lokalnim srednjovjekovnim narativima poput kronike Tome Arhiđakona.

Iako je takvim fiksiranjem memorije ona dobila trajnost, prenošenje novootkrivene tradicije o crkvi u pisanu formu ipak nije provedeno isključivo iz neutralnoga, egzaktnoga i apstraktnoga razloga “da bi se u budućnosti pamtilo” (*ad futuram rei memoriam*, kako je to formulirao Lučić St.), već radi znatno konkretnijih probitaka, usidrenih u suvremene preokupacije Trogirana. “Pronalazak” tradicije, njezino tekstualno uobličavanje i poruka koju je taj i takav tekst nosio očito su bili namijenjeni vrlo određenomu, ciljonomu “repcijskom krugu”, najvjerojatnije trogirskom patricijatu izravno zainteresiranomu za status crkve i za njegove eventualne promjene.

Stvarni naglasak je bio, prvo, na dokazivanju da je šesterolisna rotunda sred Trogira od pamtivijeka, u kontinuitetu, stajala pod paskom javne gradske vlasti i nikoga drugog. Od vremena instituiranja komune ta je javna gradska vlast oličena u Plemičkome vijeću kao korporativnomu organu, čijem je starodrevnomu juspatronatu nad crkvom u 15. stoljeću, u novonastalim okolnostima mletačke vlasti, postalo potrebno priskrbiti naknadni legitimitet, iz kojega bi dugo trajanje komunalnih ingerencija nad crkvom bilo bjelodano. U nedostatku stvarnih svjedočanstava o višestoljetnome kontinuitetu tih funkcija,

from the circle of Trogir patrician families, members of the Council, and hence the motivation to present the origin of the church as ancient and unquestionable.⁸⁴ The newly established tradition (after 1511) afterwards branches into two variants. Their narration is connected but conflicting: according to the needs of their time, their authors seek to construct memory by manipulating real historical facts and the “historical facts” provided to them by the body of knowledge contained in the influential local medieval narratives such as the Chronicle of Thomas the Archdeacon.

Although it had gained permanence with such fixation of the memory, the transfer of the newly discovered church tradition into written form was not carried out solely for a neutral, objective and abstract reason “to be remembered in the future” (*ad futuram rei memoriam*, as formulated by Lučić the Elder), but for the sake of much more concrete gains, anchored in the contemporary preoccupations of the people of Trogir. The “discovery” of the tradition, its textual shaping and the message of the text were obviously intended for a very specific, targeted “circle of reception”, most likely the Trogir patriciate directly interested in the status of the church and its possible changes.

The real emphasis was, firstly, on proving that the hexaconch rotunda in the middle of Trogir was, from time immemorial, continuously under the control of the public city authorities and no one else. Since the establishment of the commune, this public city authority has been embodied in the Council of Nobles as a corporate body, whose ancient *jus patronatus* over the church in the 15th century needed to acquire additional legitimacy in the newly formed circumstances of the Venetian rule, wherefrom the long-lasting duration of the communal jurisdiction over the church would be clear. In the absence of real evidence of the centuries-long continuity of these

⁸⁴ Rapanić 1998: 51: “Što se sve to ipak kako-tako slaže, ima očito nekakav razlog u namjeri pisca bilješke da nešto naglasi. Možda vlasništvo crkve – od starine. Ostalo je, valjda, samo potrebna ambalaža.” Kao analogija se može navesti spor oko jurisdikcije nad dubrovačkom katedralom potkraj 16. st., u kojemu je dubrovačka vlast inzistirala na legendarnim podacima o engleskome kralju kao donatoru katedrale, a pri čemu su “činjenice” o Rikardu Lavljega Srca ugrađivane u proces kao “dokazi”, usp. Zelić 2017: 50.

⁸⁴ Rapanić 1998: 51: “The fact that all of this more or less corresponds, obviously has a reason in the intention of the author of the note to emphasize something. Maybe the ownership of the church – from antiquity. The rest of it is, perhaps, necessary packaging.” The dispute over the jurisdiction of the Dubrovnik Cathedral in the late 16th century is a possible analogy: the Dubrovnik authorities insisted on the legendary information about the English king as a donor of the Cathedral, and the “facts” about Richard the Lionheart were duly incorporated into the process as “evidence”, cfr. Zelić 2017: 50.

bilo je potrebno pribjeći konstruiranju narativa oslonjenoga na neke općepoznate (te u Arhiđakonovoj kronici “provjerljive”) predodžbe o ranosrednjovjekovnoj prošlosti Trogira, te u njih uklopiti poželjne elemente o prošlosti sporne crkvice. Rezultat je bio aktualnim potrebama prilagođeni narativni konstrukt – kombinacija domišljanja i faktografije – koji je u sljedećemu navratu, prolaskom vremena, postao prihvatljivom kolektivnom memorijom. Druga specifična funkcija teksta sekundarna je, ali proizlazi iz prve: upraviteljstvo nad tom uglednom i starom, unosnim beneficijima obdarenom crkvom, svojata se među različitim rodovima trogirskoga patricijata, te je u tom kontekstu pitanje prestiža atribuirati upraviteljstvo nad njom članovima vlastite obitelji iz bliže ili dalje prošlosti.

Naravno, Lucijeva *scheda* ovime u najvećoj mjeri prestaje biti relevantna kao izvor za vrijeme o kojem govori, ali se u isto vrijeme ukazuje kao itekako pozornosti vrijedan izvor za vrijeme u kojemu je – ako su naše pretpostavke opravdane – nastala. Očigledno je da se naše pretpostavke temelje na negativnome argumentu, na nemogućnosti da se vijesti koje memorijalna *scheda* donosi valjano potvrde u arheološkome i povijesnome zapisu. Ako, međutim, buduća istraživanja pisanih i materijalnih izvora iznesu na vidjelo argumente kojima bi se moglo opovrgnuti ono što je ovdje izloženo, pa eventualno upute na sasvim drukčije zaključke (npr. da su sve šesterolisne rotunde Dalmacije zapravo kasnoantičkoga ishodišta), taj dobitak predstavljao bi nam više nego dostatnu satisfakciju.

functions, it was necessary to construct a narrative based on certain well-known (and “verifiable” in the Archdeacon’s chronicle) notions of the early medieval past of Trogir, and also to add to them desirable elements about the past of the disputed church. The result was a narrative construct adapted to the current needs – a combination of invention and factography – which after a while, by the passing of time, had become an acceptable collective memory. The second specific function of the text is secondary but it derives from the first: the administration of this respected and ancient church, endowed with lucrative benefices, is claimed by different families of the Trogir patriciate, and in this context, it was the question of prestige to attribute its administration to one’s own family members from the closer or distant past.

Of course, Lucius’ *scheda* thus ceases to be a relevant source for the period it seemingly refers to, but at the same time it appears to be a very noteworthy source for the time in which – if our assumptions are justified – it had originated. It is obvious that our assumptions are based on a negative argument, on the inability to provide a valid confirmation to the data contained in the memorial *scheda* in the archaeological and historical record. However, if the future studies of the written and material sources will reveal arguments that could refute what is presented here, and even possibly lead to completely different conclusions (e.g. that all hexaconch rotundas of Dalmatia are actually of late antique origin), such gain would be more than pleasing to us.

Bibliografija / Bibliography**Skraćenice / Abbreviations**

DAZd – Državni arhiv u Zadru / *The State Archives in Zadar*

NAS – Nadbiskupski arhiv u Splitu / *The Archdiocesan Archives in Split*

Izvori / Sources

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