

## The Diocese of Muccurum (*Ecclesia Muccuritana*) in Dalmatia

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### Izvleček

V času Drugega salonitanskega cerkvenega zbora, 4. maja 533, so bile med drugim ustanovljene tri nove škofije s sedeži v Sarsenteru, Muku in Ludru. Z lokacijo teh treh središč, območij vključenih v škofije in jurisdikcijo njihovih škofov, so se ukvarjali številni raziskovalci. Kljub temu so bistvena vprašanja o novo ustanovljenih škofijah še vedno sporna in predmet razprave. Vzrok so predvsem številne napake in popačena latinščina, v kateri so zapisani akti cerkvenega zbora. Ti dokumenti pa so edini, ki navedene škofije omenjajo.

Škofija s sedežem v Muku je bila tipična ruralna dieceza. Območje jurisdikcije mukurskega škofa je segalo od jugovzhodnih predelov Mosorja in Poljic vse do neretvanskih močvirij ter od srednjedalmatinskih otokov Brača, Hvara in Visa (morda tudi Korčule) in severozahodnega dela polotoka Pelješka verjetno vse do imotsko-bekijskega območja.

**Ključne besede:** Dalmacija, zgodnje krščanstvo, mukurska škofija (*Ecclesia Muccuritana*)

### Abstract

During the Second Salonitan council held on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May 533, among other things, three new dioceses were established with their seats at *Sarsenterum*, *Muccurum* and *Ludrum*. Many authors have dealt with the question of the location of these places, the entities included in the dioceses, as well as the jurisdiction of their bishops. However, many fundamental issues concerning them are still disputable, due to the many mistakes and the corrupted Latin in which the documents of the council were written, since this is the only document in which these dioceses were mentioned. The diocese with its seat at *Muccurum* had all the characteristics of a rural diocese. The jurisdiction of its bishop spread, quite likely, from the southeastern parts of Mosor Mountain and Poljica to the Neretvan marshes and the central Dalmatian islands of Brač, Hvar, and Vis (possibly also Korčula), as well as from the northwestern parts of the Pelješac peninsula to the area of Imotski-Bekija.

**Keywords:** Dalmatia, Early Christianity, Diocese of *Muccurum* (*Ecclesia Muccuritana*)

### INTRODUCTION

The Second Salonitan Council Acts also registered the founding of three new dioceses with their seats at *Sarsenterum*, *Muccurum* and *Ludrum*.<sup>1</sup> Presbyter *Paulinus* was appointed the bishop of *Sarsenterum*, presbyter *Stephanus* became the bishop of *Muccurum* and presbyter *Celianus* or *Cecilianus* was appointed the bishop of *Ludrum*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Farlati 1753, 173: *ut in Sarsentero, Muccuro, & Ludro Episcopi debeant consecrari*; Batthyán 1785, 291; Kukuljević-Sakcinski 1874, 198; Rački 1894, 16: *ut in Sarsentero, Mucuro et Ludro episcopi debeant consecrari*; Šišić 1914, 162: *vt in Sarsentero, Muccuro et Ludro episcopi debeant consecrari*; Klaić 1967, 83: *ut in Sarsentero, Muccuro et Ludro episcopi debeant consecrari*; Gunjača 1973, 54; Ivanišević 1994, 161.

<sup>2</sup> Farlati 1753, 173: *in Muccuro Stephanum presbyterum, in Sarsentero Paulinum presbyterum, in Ludro Celianum presbyterum spiravere Episcopos consecrari*; Batthyán 1785, 291: *Cecilianum*; Kukuljević-Sakcinski 1874, 198: *in Ludrio Cellianum*;

These bishops were also among the last signatories of the Acts of this Council.<sup>3</sup> On that occasion, the

Rački 1894, 16, λ: *Celianum*; Šišić 1914, 162, 164: *Cecilianum*; Klaić 1967, 83, 85 n. 328: *Celianum*, n. 259: *Cecilianum*; Gunjača 1973, 54, 56: *Celianum*; Ivanišević 1994, 161: *Celianum*.

<sup>3</sup> Farlati 1753, 174: *Paulinus Ep. Eccl. Sarsenterensis. Stephanus Episcopus Muncorensis. Cecilianus Episcopus ecclesie Ludroensis*; Batthyán 1785, 293: *Paulinus Episcopus Ecclesiae Sarsenterensis. Stephanus Episcopus Muccorensis. Cecilianus Episcopus Ecclesiae Ludroensis*; Kukuljević-Sakcinski 1874, 198: *Paulinus episc. ecclesiae sarsenterensis. Stephanus episc. muncorensis. Celianus episc. ecclesiae ludricensis*; Rački, 1894, 18: *Paulinus episcopus sarsenterensis. Stephanus episcopus muicorensis. Celianus episcopus ecclesiae ludroensis*; Šišić 1914, 164: *Paulinus episcopus (ecclesiae) Sarsenterensis. Stephanus episcopus Muccorensis. Cecilianus episcopus ecclesiae Ludroensis*; Klaić 1967, 85: *Paulinus episcopus ecclesie sarsenterensis* (n. 326: *sarsenterensis, sarsenterensis*). *Stephanus episcopus muncorensis* (n. 327: *Muccarensis, Muccorensis*). *Celianus episcopus ecclesie ludroensis* (n. 328: *Cecilianus*, n. 329: *ludioensis, ludrensis*); Gunjača 1973, 56: *Paulinus episcopus ecclesie sarsenterensis. Stephanus episcopus*

basilicas from the area of *Dellontinum*, *Stantino*, *Novense per Rusticiarum*, *Pecuatico et Beuzavatico* were included into the Diocese of *Sarsenterum*.<sup>4</sup> In contemporary research, this diocese has been located in the area of Eastern Herzegovina as well as the area around Ston on the Pelješac peninsula, with its seat in the ancient settlement at Stolac.<sup>5</sup> The Diocese of *Ludrum* comprised *Magnioticum*, *Equitinum*, *Salviaticum* and *Sarsiaticum*.<sup>6</sup> Recently there have been attempts to locate this diocese in the deep hinterland of the central part of the eastern Adriatic coast (the region of the Čikola river and its tributary the Vrba, the region of Sinj and Vrlika, as well as the area of Glamoč, Livno and Buško Blato = Buško Lake). Its seat was identified

*muncorensis*. *Celianus episcopus ecclesie ludroensis*; Ivanišević 1994, 161: *Paulinus episcopus ecclesie sarsenterensis*. *Stephanus episcopus muncorensis*. *Celianus episcopus ecclesie ludroensis*.

<sup>4</sup> Farlati 1753, 173: *ut in Sarsenterensis Episcopus, basilicasque in Municipiis de Lontino, Stantino, Nouense per Rusticiarum pecuatico, & Beuzzavatico supra constituta*; Batthyán 1785, 291: *ut Sarsenterensis Episcopus Basilicas, quae in municipiis de Lontino, Stantino, Nouense per Rusticiarum Pecuatice, et Beuzzavatico, et supra constitutae sunt*; Kukuljević-Sakcinski 1874, 198: *ut in Sarsenterensis episcopatus, basilicasque in municipiis de Lontino, Stantino, Novense per Rusticiarum, Pecutiaco, et Beuzzavatico supra constituta*; Rački 1894, 16-17: *ut in Sarsentero sit episcopus, basilicasque (habeat) in municipiis Dellontino, Stantino, Novense, per Rusticiarum, Potuatico et Beuzavatico, supra constituto*; Šišić 1914, 162: *ut Sarsenterensis episcopus basilicas, quae in municipiis Dellontino, Stantino, Nouense per Rusticiarum, Potuatico et Beuzavatico et supra constitutae sunt*; Klaić 1967, 83: *ut (in) Sarsinterensis (n. 264: sarsinterensis; sarsenterensis) episcopus basilicas, quae in municipiis Dellontino, Stantino, Novense per Rusticiarum (n. 268: Rusticiarum; Rusticiarum), Pecuatice (n. 269: pecuatio, potuatico, Pecuatice, Potuatico) et Beuzavatico (n. 270: Bulsanatico), supra constituto que tamen ad nos hactenus respexere, in parochiam consequantur (n. 273: consequamur, consequatur)*; Gunjača 1973, 54: *ut Sarsinterensis episcopus basilicas, quae in municipiis Dellontino Stantino, Novense per Rusticiarum, pecuatico et Beuzavatico, supra constituto que tamen ad nos hactenus respexere, in parochiam consequantur*; Ivanišević 1994, 161; *ut in Sarsinterensis episcopus basilicas, quae in municipiis Dellontino, Stantino, Novense per Rusticiarum, Pecuatice et Beuzavatico, supra constituta que tamen ad nos hactenus respexere, in parochiam consequantur*.

<sup>5</sup> Škegro 2006, 69-82; Puljić, Škegro 2006a, 7-50; 2006b, 219-241.

<sup>6</sup> Farlati 1753, 173: *Ludrensis vero Episcopus Magnioticum, Equitinum, Salviaticum, & Sarziaticum, sicut ad ordinem nostrum noscit obtinuisse, percipiat*; Batthyán 1785, 291: *Ludrensis vero Episcopus Magnioticum, Equitinum, Salviaticum, et Sarziaticum, sicut ad ordinem nostrum noscit obtinuisse, percipiat*; Kukuljević-Sakcinski 1874, 198: *Ludrecensis vero episcopus magnioticum, equitinum, salviaticum et sarziaticum, sicut ad ordinem nostrum noscit obtinuisse, percipiat*; Rački 1894, 17; Šišić 1914, 162; Klaić 1967, 83: *Ludrensis vero episcopus (municipium) Magnioticum, Equitinum, Salviaticum et Sarsiaticum, sicut ad ordinem nostrum noscit obtinuisse, percipiat*; Gunjača 1973, 54; Ivanišević 1994, 161: *Ludrensis vero episcopus Magnioticum, Equitinum, Salviaticum et Sarsiaticum, sicut ad ordinem nostrum noscit obtinuisse, percipiat*.

with *municipium Magnum* on Balina glavica in Umljanović near Drniš, i.e. in the area of Buško Blato (Buško Lake).<sup>7</sup> The Diocese of *Muccurum* included the mountainous area, *Delminense Onestinum*, the Salonitan islands opposite the coast east of *Oneum*, as well as *Redditicum*.<sup>8</sup> The case of the Diocese of *Baloie*<sup>9</sup> (which was in the area of

<sup>7</sup> Škegro 2007a, 59-92; 2007c, 197-220; 2007e, 9-24.

<sup>8</sup> Farlati 1753, 173: *Muccuritanus namque Episcopus se montanorum Delminense, Onestinum, Salonitanum quoque dumtaxat quicquid in insulis continetur vel transoneum noscitur esse divisum quod continens appellatur; sed etiam redditicum in diocesim habiturum accipiat et; & exceptis reliquis in territorio Salonitano basilicis...*; Batthyán 1785, 291-292: *Muccuritanus autem Episcopus se (adde: extra fines) Montanorum Delminense, Onestinum, Salonitanum quoque, dumtaxat quidquid in Insulis continetur, vel trans Oneum noscitur esse diuisum, quod continens appellatur; sed etiam Redditicum in diocesim habiturum accipiat; et exceptis reliquis in territorio Salonitano Basilicis...*; Kukuljević-Sakcinski 1874, 198: *Muccuritanus namque episcopus se montanorum, delminense, onestinum, salonitanum quoque dumtaxat quidquid in insulis continetur, vel transoneum noscitur esse diuisum, quod continens appellatur; sed etiam redditicum in diocesim habiturum accipiat; et exceptis reliquis in territorio salonitano basilicis...*; Rački 1894, 17: *Muccuritanus namque episcopus se montanorum Delminense, Onestinum, Salonitanum dumtaxat quidquid in insulis continetur, vel trans Oneum noscitur esse divisum, quod continens appellatur; sed etiam Redditicum in diocesim habiturum accipiat; et exceptis reliquis in territorio salonitano basilicis...*; Šišić 1914, 162: *Muccuritanus autem episcopus se (extra fines) montanorum Delminense, Onestinum, Salonitanum quoque, dumtaxat quidquid in insulis continetur, vel trans Oneum noscitur esse diuisum, quod "continens" appellatur, sed etiam Redditicum in diocesim habiturum accipiat; et exceptis reliquis in territorio Salonitano basilicis...*; Klaić 1967, 83: *Muccuritanus namque episcopus se montanorum (n. 276: Muccuritanus autem episcopus se (extra fines) Montanorum), delminense (n. 277: delminense, delmiense) Onestinum, salonitanum quoque dumtaxat quicquid in insulis continetur vel trans Oneum noscitur esse divisum, quod Continens appellatur. Sed etiam Redditicum in diocesim habiturum accipiat et, exceptis reliquis in territorio salonitano (salonitano) basilicis...*; Gunjača 1973, 54: *Muccuritanus namque episcopus se montanorum, delminense Onestinum, salonitanum quoque dumtaxat quicquid in insulis continetur vel trans Oneum noscitur esse divisum, quod Continens appellatur. Sed etiam Redditicum in diocesim habiturum accipiat et, exceptis reliquis in territorio salonitano. Salonitano basilicis...*; Ivanišević 1994, 161: *Muccuritanus namque episcopus se montanorum, delminense Onestinum, salonitanum quoque dumtaxat quicquid in insulis continetur vel trans Oneum noscitur esse divisum, quod Continens appellatur. Sed etiam Redditicum in diocesim habiturum accipiat et, exceptis reliquis in territorio salonitano (salonitano) basilicis...*

<sup>9</sup> Farlati 1753, 173: *Sicut etiam in Barcensi ecclesia, praedecessore vestro beatae recordationis Honorio, est provide ordinatum; quia in tanta distensione locorum rarius consignationem chrismatis populus renatus adsequitur*; Batthyán 1785, 291: *Sicut etiam in Baciensi Ecclesia, Praedecessore vestro beatae recordationis Honorio, est provide ordinatum; quia in tanta distensione locorum rarius consignationem Chrismatis populus renatus adsequitur*; Kukuljević-Sakcinski 1874, 197: *Sicut etiam in barcensi ecclesia, praedecessore vestro beatae recordationis Honorio, est provide ordinatum, quia in tanta distensione locorum rarius consignationem chrismatis populus renatus adsequitur*; Rački 1894, 15-16: *Sicut*

western Bosnia, with its seat in Šipovo<sup>10</sup>) founded by the Salonitan archbishop Honorius Senior (ca. 493 – ca. 505)<sup>11</sup> and the rejection of the Bestoen bishop Andreas' request to divide his diocese,<sup>12</sup> confirmed that the establishment of new dioceses was in the jurisdiction of the Salonitan archbishop; during the rule of the Ostrogoths, the Salonitan archbishop had jurisdiction over the whole area

*etiam in baroensi ecclesia predecessore vestro, beatae recordationis Honorio, est provide ordinatum; quia in tanta distensione locorum rarius consignationem chrismatis populus renatus adsequitur* (n. η: *baloie* a "Baloie", Baloe, XII m. p. a Sarite versus Servitium distante, tab. peut. segm. VI, 2); Šišić 1914, 161: *sicut etiam in Baroensi ecclesia* (n. 1: *Baroensis ecclesia = Baloensis*), *praedece-ssore vestro beatae recordationis Honorio, est provide ordinatum, quia in tanta distensione locorum rarius consignationem chrismatis populus renatus adsequitur*; Klaić 1967: 82: *Sicut etiam in bar-censi ecclesia, predecessore vestro, beatae recordationis Honorio, est provide ordinatum; quia in tanta distensione locorum rarius consignationem chrismatis populus renatus adsequitur* (n. 235: *baroensi; Baciensi*); Gunjača 1973, 53; Ivanišević 1994, 161: *Sicut etiam in barcensi ecclesia predecessore vestro, beatae recordationis Honorio, est provide ordinatum, quia in tanta distensione locorum rarius consignationem chrismatis populus renatus adsequitur*.

<sup>10</sup> Škegro 2007d, 357–365.

<sup>11</sup> Honorius (*Senior*): Cf. Ivanišević 1993, 234–236.

<sup>12</sup> Farlati 1753, 173: *atque ideo quaeso ut a loco Copella, & et Arena, usque ad has urbes, basilicasque, quae in mea patrocina continentur, ad proponendum isdem locum faciat Episcopum pertinere. ... Et ideo cum divinitas propitiata concesserit, adhuc unum, ad quem eadem loca pertinere debeant, curavimus ordinari Pontificem*; Batthyán 1785, 292: *atque ideo quaeso, vt a loco Capellae, et Arena, vsque ad has Vrbes, Basilicasque, quae in mea Patrocina continentur, ad proponendum iisdem locis faciatis Episcopum pertinere. ... Et ideo quum Diuinitas propitiata concesserit, adhuc vnum, ad quem eadem loca pertinere debeant, curabimus ordinari Pontificem*; Kukuljević-Sakcinski 1874, 197: *atque ideo quaeso ut a loco Copella et Aren; usque ad has urbes, basilicasque, quae in mea patrocina continentur, ad proponendum isdem locum faciat Episcopum pertinere. ... Et ideo cum diuinitas propitiata concesserit, adhuc unum, ad quem eadem loca pertinere debeant, curavimus ordinari pontificem*; Rački 1894, 17, 18: *Ad que ideo quaeso, ut a loco Copelle et Arena usque ad has urbes (et) basilicas, que quae in mea patrocina continentur, ad proponendum i(i)sdem locum faciat Episcopum pertinere. ... Et ideo, cum divinitas propitiata concesserit, adhuc unum, ad quem eadem loca pertinere debeant, curabimus ordinare pontificem*; Šišić 1914, 163: *atque ideo quaeso, vt a loco Capellae et Arena vsque ad has vrbes basilicasque, quae in mea parochia continentur, ad proponendum iisdem locis faciatis Episcopum pertinere. ... Et ideo quum diuinitas propitiata concesserit, adhuc vnum, ad quem eadem loca pertinere debeant, curabimus ordinari pontificem*; Klaić 1967, 84, 85: *obsequio atque ideo queso, ut a loco Copella (n. 298: Capellae) et Arena usque ad has urbes basilicas, quae in mea patrocina continentur, ad proponendum iisdem locum faciat Episcopum pertinere. ... Et ideo cuum divinitas propitiata concesserit ad huc unum, ad quem eadem loca pertinere debeant, curavimus ordinare pontificem*; Gunjača 1973, 55; Ivanišević 1994: 161: *atque ideo queso, ut a loco Copella et Arena usque ad has urbes basilicasque in mea patrocina continentur, ad proponendum iisdem locum faciat Episcopum pertinere. ... Et ideo cum divinitas propitiata concesserit ob huc unum, ad quem eadem loca pertinere debeant, curavimus ordinare pontificem*; Škegro 2005b, 369–389.

of western Dalmatia and the southern Pannonian regions.<sup>13</sup> As the Second Salonitan Council's Acts suggested, such major decisions needed the consent of not only the bishops attending the council but all the Council fathers.<sup>14</sup>

## MUCCURUM

In the codices of the Second Salonitan Council Acts, *Muccurum*<sup>15</sup> or *Muccarum*<sup>16</sup> was specified as the seat of the Diocese of *Muccurum*. Its bishop was addressed as *Muccuritanus episcopus*,<sup>17</sup> *Muc-coritanus episcopus*,<sup>18</sup> *episcopus Muccorensis*,<sup>19</sup> *epi-scopus Muncorensis*<sup>20</sup> or *episcopus Muicorensis*.<sup>21</sup> In the "Cosmography" of the Anonymous Ravennan Geographer from the 7<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the name was mentioned in the syntagmatic form *Aronia id est Mucru*, in the coastal Dalmatian settlements (*per litus maris*).<sup>22</sup> Morphologically almost identical with *Aronia* was the road station *Inaronia* (probably: *in Aronia*) from the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.<sup>23</sup> The Byzantine writer Procopius (ca. 500 – post 562) mentioned the conquest of Muikuron or Monékuron (*Μουίκουρον, Μονήκουρον*) in 549 by the Ostrogothic army led by the runaway Byzantine army leader Ilaulf.<sup>24</sup> In the "Chronicle" of Thomas the Archdeacon of Split (1200–1268), it was called *Mucarum*.<sup>25</sup> In *Provinciale vetus*, last redacted at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, among twenty Dalmatian and Croatian dioceses belonging to the Metropolis of Salona, *civitas Mucrona* was also mentioned.<sup>26</sup> The Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus (945–959) in his work

<sup>13</sup> Gabričević 1987, 309; 1991, 349.

<sup>14</sup> Farlati 1753, 163, 173–174; Batthyán 1785, 290, 293; Rački 1894, 15; Šišić 1914, 160–161; 163–164; Klaić 1967, 81, 85; Gunjača 1973, 52–53; 55–56; Ivanišević 1994, 160, 161.

<sup>15</sup> Farlati 1753, 173; Batthyán 1785, 291; Kukuljević-Sakcinski 1874, 198; Rački 1894, 16; Šišić 1914, 162; Klaić 1967, 83; Gunjača 1973, 54; Ivanišević 1994, 161.

<sup>16</sup> Klaić 1967, 83, n. 256.

<sup>17</sup> Farlati 1753, 173; Batthyán 1785, 291; Kukuljević-Sakcinski 1874, 198; Rački 1894, 16; Šišić 1914, 162; Klaić 1967, 83, n. 276.

<sup>18</sup> Klaić 1967, 83; Gunjača 1973, 54.

<sup>19</sup> Batthyán 1785, 293; Šišić 1914, 164; Klaić 1967, 85, n. 327; Gunjača 1973, 54.

<sup>20</sup> Farlati 1753, 174; Kukuljević-Sakcinski 1874, 198; Klaić 1967, 85, n. 327; Gunjača 1973, 56; Ivanišević 1994, 161.

<sup>21</sup> Rački 1894, 18.

<sup>22</sup> *Cosmogr.* IV, 16, p. 208, *V, 14*, p. 380; *Guidon*, p. 542, 114; *Medini* 1970, 25–26; Čaće 1995, 16.

<sup>23</sup> *Tab. Peut.* V, 3.

<sup>24</sup> *Proc. Bell. Goth.* III, 35; *Viz. izv.* 1, 41, n. 74, 75; *Medini* 1970, 31, 33; Goldstein 1992, 27–28; Uglešić 1990–1991, 74.

<sup>25</sup> Perić, Matijević Sokol, Katičić 2003, 62, 63, and n. 14.

<sup>26</sup> Škegro 2005a, 52–53.

“*De administrando Imperio*” named the place as Mókron (τὸ Μόκρον) or Mokróon (Μοκρόν).<sup>27</sup> *Muccurum* was also identified with the seat of *Ecclesia Martaritana*, the diocese found “in the Acts of the First Salonitan Council held on the 15<sup>th</sup> of July 530.”<sup>28</sup> The seat of the Diocese of *Muccurum* was located in Makar<sup>29</sup> above Makarska or in Makarska.<sup>30</sup> The remnants of the early Christian basilica from the site of St Peter (Sveti Petar) support the idea of its location in Makarska,<sup>31</sup> as do the ruins of a monumental Roman building from the Donja luka<sup>32</sup> (Lower Port), a Late Roman cemetery,<sup>33</sup> the ruins of a fortress from Late Antiquity (*castrum*),<sup>34</sup> the abundance of drinking water, etc.<sup>35</sup> The name of the place refers to moisture (*mucor*), which is an additional argument for it having been located in Makarska, since the area around this town was swampy until recently.<sup>36</sup> In addition to St Peter as the seat of the diocese, the site of St Philip Neri’s church was also mentioned,<sup>37</sup> the evidence of which are remnants of the Roman architecture as well as the inscription of a Bishop Stephanus, who was identified with the bishop mentioned in the Second Salonitan Council Acts.<sup>38</sup>

The seat of the bishop of *Muccurum* was well located to communicate with all parts of his diocese. Maritime routes had been used since the Neolithic to travel to the islands and coastal areas,<sup>39</sup> and so were roads leading to the moun-

tainous hinterland areas.<sup>40</sup> Sea travellers from the eastern Mediterranean to northeastern Italy mostly passed through the Diocese of *Muccurum*.<sup>41</sup> The *Tabula Peutingeriana* shows the route by which the area of Makarska (*Inaronia*) was connected through Epetio and Oneo with Salona as the centre of the Metropolis (*Fig. 1*).<sup>42</sup> However, it is not quite clear whether the southeastern parts of the Diocese of *Muccurum* were connected by road to its centre.<sup>43</sup>

### Components of the Diocese of *Muccurum*

Compared to the Dioceses of *Sarsenterum* and *Ludrum*, whose bishops were assigned municipalities (*Dellontinum* and *Stantinum* to the bishop of *Sarsenterum*, and *Magnioticum* and *Equitinum* to the bishop of *Ludrum*), the Diocese of *Muccurum* had no municipalities. There is no sound evidence that *Muccurum* itself had the properties of a municipality,<sup>44</sup> due to which the founding of this diocese (as well as those of *Sarsenterum* and *Ludrum*)<sup>45</sup> has been challenged.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that in Late Antiquity *Muccurum* had a central position in the region between Salona and Narona.<sup>47</sup> The Diocese of *Muccurum* was primarily rural and thinly populated. That could have been the reason for including such enormous territory in it. The territory comprised the coastal area of southeastern parts of Mosor Mountain and Poljica, through the lower Cetina area, then Omiška, Dinara Mountain, Biokovo Mountain, and the Biokovo hinterland, to the northwestern parts of the Pelješac Peninsula and the Neretvan marshes, which divided this diocese from that of Narona (*Ecclesia Naronitana*).<sup>48</sup> It also included the islands, which had earlier been under the jurisdiction of the Salonitan bishop. The main activities of the population from the region of the Diocese of *Muccurum* were cattle-breeding and agriculture, whereas the inhabitants of the islands lived on fishing and seafaring.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *DAI* 36/14–15; *Viz. izv.* 2, 65, n. 236.

<sup>28</sup> Skok 1929, 49, 50.

<sup>29</sup> Farlati 2004, 43, n. 122; Ravlić 1934, 159, n. 5; Medini 1970, 31, 32, 33, 45–46; 1980, 75; Jurišić 1970, 94; Kolarić 1993, 9; Čače 1995, 57, 59, 60, 67, 68, 69–72, 74; Kovačić 1995, 11; 1999, 113; 2007, 305; Marković 2004, 118; Kapitanović 2006, 149.

<sup>30</sup> Farlati 1753, 174, 175; Rački 1894, 16, r; Alačević 1897, 109; Patsch 1900, 297; Bulić – Bervaldi 1912–1913, 55; Glavinčić 1878, 186, 188; Šišić 1914, 156; 1925, 171; Wilkes 1969, 432; Bratož 1986, 378, n. 80; Kolarić 1998, 9; Marin et al. 1999, 241; Cambi 2002, 209; Tomasović 2004, 46–47; Vučić 2005, 159–162.

<sup>31</sup> Kaer 1914, 32; Tomasović 1993, 333–334; 2004, 43, 47, picture 1, n. 143; 2005, 67–68, 69; Jeličić-Radonić 1994, 47, 54 n. 13; Vojnović, 1995, 89.

<sup>32</sup> Fortis 1984, 215; Tomasović 2004, 32; 2005, 53.

<sup>33</sup> Medini 1970, 27–28, 32; Tomasović 1999–2000, 171–183; 2005, 67.

<sup>34</sup> Lupis, Stančić 1992, 9; Medini 1970, 32; Tomasović 2004, 46–48.

<sup>35</sup> Fortis 1984, 215; Tomasović 2004, 32–38.

<sup>36</sup> Fortis 1984, 214, 215; Tomasović 2004, 35; 2005, 53.

<sup>37</sup> Paulovichius-Lucichius 1810, 86–87; Lulich 1860, 61–62; Medini 1970, 28, n. 66, 30.

<sup>38</sup> (+ STEFANUS + EPISCOPUS +): Fortis 1774, vol. II, p. 107; Paulovichius-Lucichius 1810, 86–87; Kaer 1914, 43; About the uncertainty of these inscription cf.: Medini 1970, 28; Babić 1993, 34, n. 97; Tomasović 2004, 30, n. 59; 2005, 54.

<sup>39</sup> Jurišić 2000, pass.

<sup>40</sup> Medini 1970, 44–48; Bojanovski 1977, 130–131, Map. 1.

<sup>41</sup> Medini 1970, 48 and n. 152; Zaninović 1997, 10–11; Škegro 1999, 211–227.

<sup>42</sup> *Tab. Peut.* VI, 3; Medini 1970, 44–48.

<sup>43</sup> Bojanovski 1977, 130–131; 1980, 185–186, 189; Zaninović 1997, 12.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Medini 1970, 33, 46.

<sup>45</sup> Skok 1929, 49, n. 10.

<sup>46</sup> Babić 1993, 33–34.

<sup>47</sup> Zaninović 1997, 13.

<sup>48</sup> About this diocese cf.: Vučić 2005, 159–170.

<sup>49</sup> Medini 1970, pass.



Fig. 1: The Roman road Salona-Inaronia from the Tabula Peutingeriana.  
Sl. 1: Rimska cesta Salona-Inaronia na Tabuli Peutingeriani.

### *Montanorum [basilicae]*

*Montanorum* was among the first subjects included into the Diocese of *Muccurum*. Considering the fact that the other two dioceses were allocated not only municipalities but also tribal territories and other areas, it is justifiable to see the religious centres (*basilicae*) from the mountainous area east of Salona gravitating to *Muccurum*.<sup>50</sup> *Montanorum* may be connected with the area of Imotski (Imotski-Bekija),<sup>51</sup> where many early Christian basilicas were registered, such as: Crkvina-Bublin - Zmijavci, Crkvina - Cista Velika,<sup>52</sup> the Catholic cemetery of St Michael's in Proložac Donji,<sup>53</sup> Postranje,<sup>54</sup> Šamatorje - Gorica near Grude,<sup>55</sup> Vinjani,<sup>56</sup> Vrljika-Opačac, Meteri in Lug, and Tadići-Grabovac.<sup>57</sup> Those in the Catholic cemetery of St Michael's in Proložac Donji<sup>58</sup> and in Šamatorje in Gorica near Grude<sup>59</sup> are mostly still in their original function today. An early Christian structure on Crkvina near Cista Velika was restored five times from the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>60</sup> The area of Imotski-Bekija was mostly associated with the

Diocese of *Sarsenterum*,<sup>61</sup> which, as recent investigations have proven, was situated in the area east of the Neretva river, around Ston on the Pelješac peninsula, with its seat in the Roman settlement at Stolac.<sup>62</sup> The Biokovo hinterland was connected to Makarska by roads (*viae vicinales*)<sup>63</sup> enabling communication with the whole area of Makarska, which is also supported by epigraphic sources.<sup>64</sup> As the main Salona - Naronia road passed through this area,<sup>65</sup> and considering the fact that the latter was culturally and economically oriented to Naronia, the jurisdiction of the Naronitan bishop over it cannot be excluded.<sup>66</sup>

### *Delminense Onestinum*

The Diocese of *Muccur* also included the territory known as *Delminense Onestinum*.<sup>67</sup> It was previously mostly related to the Diocese of Delminium or the Diocese of *Delminium-Montanorum (Episcopia Delminensis Montanorum)*.<sup>68</sup> Recent research has

<sup>50</sup> Kovačić 1995, 11, n. 2; 2007, 305.

<sup>51</sup> *Rječnik 1887-1891*, 270-271.

<sup>52</sup> Maršić, Gudelj, Lozo 2003, 115-128.

<sup>53</sup> Gudelj 2006, pass.

<sup>54</sup> Gudelj 2006, 44-57.

<sup>55</sup> Glavaš 1997, 67-71; 1998, 68-73.

<sup>56</sup> Gudelj 2006, 44, n. 144; Cambi 2007, 89-92.

<sup>57</sup> Gudelj 2006, 44, n. 144.

<sup>58</sup> Gudelj 2006, pass.

<sup>59</sup> Gudelj 2006, 17; 2007, 119, 121, 123.

<sup>60</sup> Gudelj 2007, 123.

<sup>61</sup> Patsch 1900, 334; Ujević 1991, 69; Goldstein 1995, 61, 163; Gudelj 2006, 17.

<sup>62</sup> Škegro 2006, 69-82; Puljić, Škegro 2006a, 7-50; 2006b, 219-241.

<sup>63</sup> Zaninović 1997, 12.

<sup>64</sup> Medini 1970, 41-42.

<sup>65</sup> Bojanovski 1974, Map. 5; 1977, 91-93, 105-107, 137; Maršić, Gudelj, Lozo 2000, 117.

<sup>66</sup> Vučić 2005, 167.

<sup>67</sup> Farlati 1753, 173; Batthyán 1785, 291; Rački 1894, 17, φ, ζ; Šišić 1914, 162; Klaić 1967, 83; Gunjača 1973, 54; Ivanišević 1994, 161.

<sup>68</sup> Tomaschek 1880, 10; Zaninović 1996a, 200-201; 1998a, 12; Šišić 1914, 162; Pašalić 1960, 37; Bilogrivić 1998, 33; Bo-

proven that such a diocese never existed.<sup>69</sup> Earlier historiography mostly associated the terms *montanorum* and *Delminense*<sup>70</sup> (*Deltinense*,<sup>71</sup> *Delmiense*<sup>72</sup>), which sometimes occurs even today.<sup>73</sup> Modern publishers of the Second Salonitan Council Acts regard these two terms as separate, instead connecting *Delminense* with *Onestinum*.<sup>74</sup> Thus the Diocese of *Muccurum* also included the Dalmatian tribe *Onastini*, which according to the boundary inscription on Greben (Sumpetar) in Jesenice<sup>75</sup> was located in the southeastern part of Srednja (Central) and Primorska (Coastal) Poljica.<sup>76</sup> The same territory was mentioned by Thomas the Archdeacon of Split on the occasion of the sanctification of a church in the place called *civitas Delmis* by the Capuan bishop *Germanus*<sup>77</sup> – the envoy of the Roman Popes Anastasias II (496–498) and Hormisdas (514–523) in Constantinople.<sup>78</sup> This can be supported by the parts of the sanctification inscription found in the early Christian basilica in Sumpetar (Jesenice) in Poljica.<sup>79</sup>

*Salonitanum quicquid in insulis continetur*

The Diocese of *Muccurum* also comprised some insular territories, whose position was not specified, only the fact that they had earlier belonged to the Salonitan bishop. Considering the fact that the coastal area of the Diocese of *Muccurum* spread from the eastern parts of Mosor mountain and

Poljica to the Pelješac peninsula<sup>80</sup> and the Neretvan marshes (*Fig. 2*), we could suggest that the islands opposite the mentioned coastal territory were included (Brač, Hvar, Vis, northern parts of the Pelješac peninsula, and, possibly, the islands of Korčula and Lastovo) (*Fig. 3*), almost the same territory which belonged to the Diocese of Hvar in 1185.<sup>81</sup> That was a significant part of the Manian Bay (*Μάνιος κόλπος; Manius sinus*),<sup>82</sup> which was mostly included into the Salonitan *ager*<sup>83</sup> and which was, according to traces of Early Christian buildings, relatively well Christianized.<sup>84</sup> Korčula and Pelješac, together with Mljet, Lastovo and Sušac, were considered parts of the Diocese of Narona.<sup>85</sup> As the area was “thinly populated and the population in the coastal-mountainous part was mostly poor, it would have been difficult for the bishop of the Diocese of *Muccurum* to support the church and the clergy, and also to evangelize the people. The Diocese of *Muccurum* had an extensive territory, but compared to the part that stayed under the jurisdiction of the Salonitan bishop, it had fewer sacral buildings. The foundation of the new dioceses and including some parts of the Archdiocese of Salona in them did not endanger the existence and dignity of the Salonitan archbishops.<sup>86</sup> This could be supported by the fact that even the last Salonitan archbishops Natalis (ca. 580–593) and Maximus (593/594 – ca. 602) were living in luxury and debauchery.<sup>87</sup>

*Trans Oneum – quod Continens appellatur*

The Diocese of *Muccurum* also included the territory on the other side of the Oneum.<sup>88</sup> Providing that Oneum (known by Pliny the Elder – *Oneum*,<sup>89</sup> Claudius Ptolomaeus – *Ουαίον*,<sup>90</sup> from

janovski 1984, 413; Ančić 1990, 26–27; 2000, 15; Puljić 1995, 107; 1996, 92.

<sup>69</sup> Škegro 2002, 15–114; 2008 f., pass.

<sup>70</sup> Farlati 1753, 173; Batthyán 1785, 291, 292; Rački 1894, 17, φ; Šišić 1914, 162.

<sup>71</sup> Rački 1894, 17, φ; Jadrijević 1936, 203; Klaić 1967, 83, n. 277.

<sup>72</sup> Batthyán 1785, 291.

<sup>73</sup> Nikolajević 1986, 139–142; Steindorff 1995, 150–151; Puljić 1996, 92; 1998, 107.

<sup>74</sup> Klaić 1967: 83; Gunjača 1973, 54; Ivanišević 1994, 161.

<sup>75</sup> *CIL* III 8472; Wilkes 1976, 265, no. 17, Fig. 7, Pl. III, 8: *L(ucius) Trebius / Secundus pr/aeff(ectus) castr/orum inter / <sup>5</sup>Onastinos et / Narestinos ter/minos pos(u)it ius/su L(uci) Volusi Satu/rni(ni) leg(ati) pro pr/<sup>10</sup>aetore C(ai) Cafes/arijs Au[g]u[sti] G/[e]rmanici ex / sentent<ent>i/a quam is ath/<sup>15</sup>irito (sic) consilio dixit.*

<sup>76</sup> Maršić 2003, 436–438.

<sup>77</sup> Rački 1894, 39–40; Šišić 1914, 157–164; Gunjača 1973, 83: *Istaque fuerunt regni eorum confinia: ab oriente Delmina, ubi fuit civitas Delmis, in qua est quaedam ecclesia, quam beatus Germanus capuanus episcopus consecravit, sicut scriptum reperitur in ea. Gunjača 1973, 83: Dalmīna; civitas Dalmis.*

<sup>78</sup> Škegro 2002, 29–39.

<sup>79</sup> Bulić 1922, 102–103; *ILJug* 1985; Chevalier 1995a, 259–260.

<sup>80</sup> Cambi 1985, 35.

<sup>81</sup> Farlati 2004, 42–43; Smičiklas 1904, 193: *Pharensis episcopus habeat sedem suam in Phar et habeat has parochias: Phar, Braciam et Lissam, Corceram, Lastam et Mulcer et totam Crainam.*

<sup>82</sup> Suić 1996a, 269–282; 1996b, 289–316.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Babić 1991, 49–67.

<sup>84</sup> Medini 1970, 56 and pass.; Fisković 1980, 216–224; Belarmarić 1994, pass; Jeličić-Radonić 1994, pass.

<sup>85</sup> Cambi 1985, 35, 47, 50, 55; Chevalier 1995b, 24; Vučić 2005, 162–163, 167.

<sup>86</sup> Migotti 1996, pass. and map on page 194.

<sup>87</sup> Škegro 2008, pass.

<sup>88</sup> Farlati 1753, 173; Batthyán 1785, 291–292; Kukuljević-Sakcinski 1874, 198; Rački 1894, 17; Šišić 1914, 162; Klaić 1967, 83; Gunjača 1973, 54; Ivanišević 1994, 161.

<sup>89</sup> *Plin.* III, 142.

<sup>90</sup> *Ptol.* 2, 16, 3.

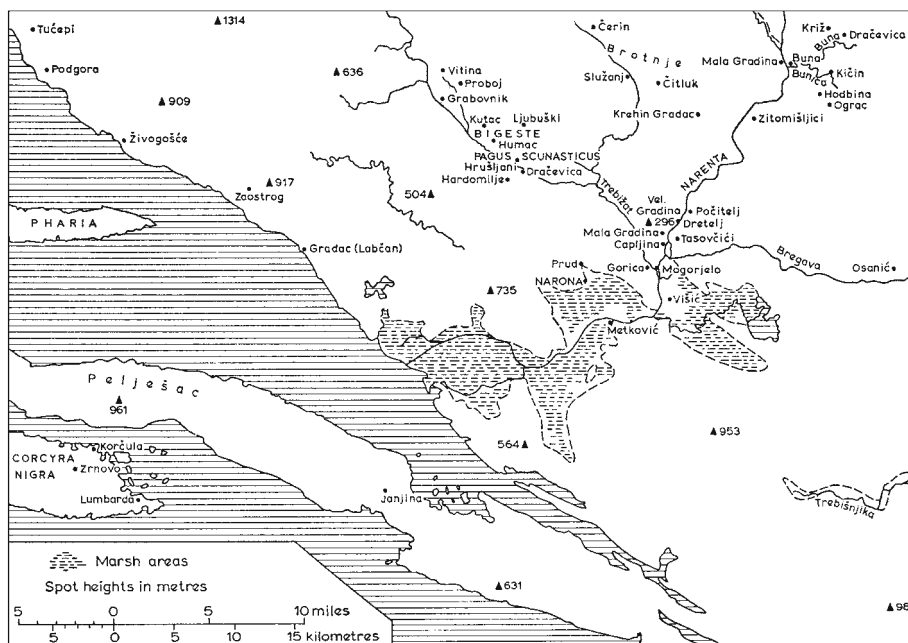


Fig. 2: The Neretvan marshes in the Late Roman period (according to Wilkes 1969, fig. 8).  
Sl. 2: Neretvanska močvija v poznorimskem času (po Wilksu, 1969, sl. 8).

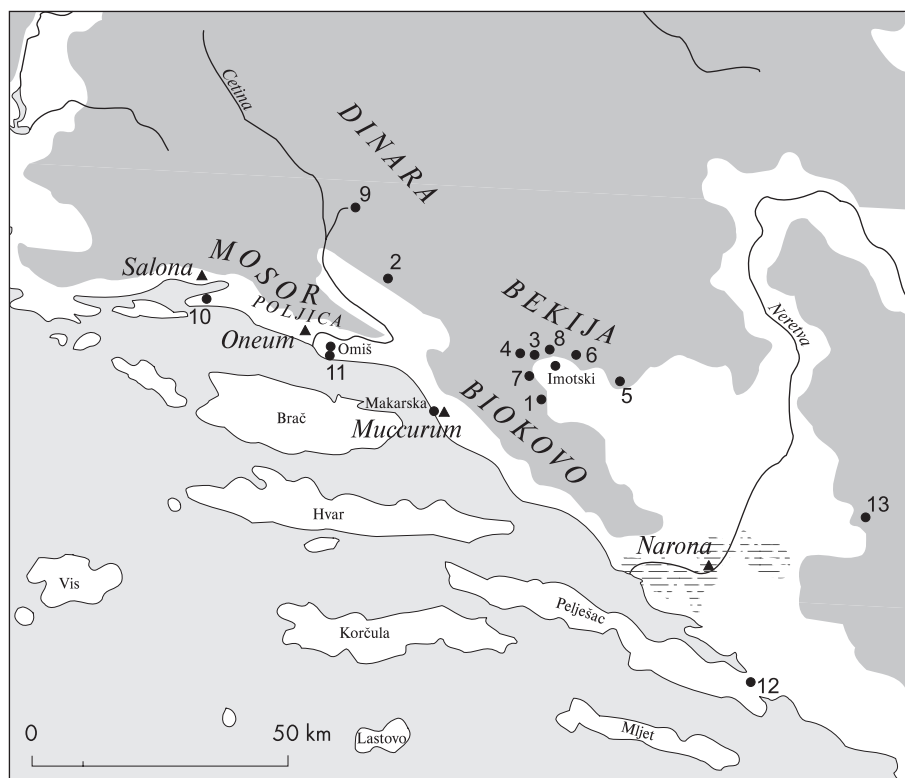


Fig. 3: Probabilistic area of the Diocese of Muccurum. Early Christian sites mentioned in the text: 1 Crkvina-Bublin (Zmijavci); 2 Crkvina (Cista Velika); St Michael's (Proložac Donji); 4 Postranje; 5 Šamatorje (Gorica pri Grudah); 6 Vinjani; 7 Vrljika-Opačac; 8 Meteri (Lug); 9 Tadići (Grabovac); 10 Sumpetar (Jesenice); 11 St Peter's and St Mary's (Omiš-Priko); 12 Ston; 13 Stolac.  
Sl. 3: Domnevno območje mukurske škofije. V besedilu omenjena zgodnjekrščanska najdišča: 1 Crkvina-Bublin (Zmijavci); 2 Crkvina (Cista Velika); 3 Sv. Mihael (Proložac Donji); 4 Postranje; 5 Šamatorje (Gorica pri Grudah); 6 Vinjani; 7 Vrljika-Opačac; 8 Meteri (Lug); 9 Tadići-Grabovac; 10 Sumpetar (Jesenice); 11 Sv. Peter in Sv. Marija (Omiš-Priko); 12 Ston; 13 Stolac.

the *Tabula Peutingeriana* – *Oneo*<sup>91</sup> and from the “Cosmography” of the Anonymous Ravennan – *Oneon*)<sup>92</sup> had existed in the area of Omiš,<sup>93</sup> the term *Continens* could have included the territory of Omiš, precisely the area by the lower Cetina River. The territory along the middle and the upper Cetina River – *Equitinum* – was a composite part of the Diocese of *Ludrum*.<sup>94</sup> In the Omiš area, traces of Early Christian buildings were discovered under the churches of St Peter’s and St Mary’s in Omiš and Priko.<sup>95</sup> Obviously the Council fathers had applied the term *trans Oneum* ... *quod Continens appellatur* to the territory along the lower Cetina River, followed by the massifs of Rogoznica Mountain and Biokovo Mountain – at the foot of which was the seat of this diocese. All these parts continuously extended into one other, which explains the term *Continens*.

### Redditicum

The last place mentioned within the Diocese of *Muccurum* was *Redditicum*,<sup>96</sup> which is the most controversial. It is etymologically close to the ethnonym *Riditia*, known on a Roman inscription from Trilj (from 184 A.D.),<sup>97</sup> *municipium Rider* on an inscription from Jesenice (1<sup>st</sup> cent. A.D.),<sup>98</sup> *municipium Riditarum* on an inscription from Danilo Gornje near Šibenik (1<sup>st</sup> cent. and the beginning of

the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. A.D.)<sup>99</sup> and from Salona,<sup>100</sup> and possibly on the inscriptions from Srinjine in Poljica,<sup>101</sup> and finally *Ridder* from the “Cosmography” of the Anonymous Ravennan.<sup>102</sup> The inscription found in the Milanese church of St Dionysius (from 475 A.D.) also cannot help to clarify this problem. The bishop of *Riditio* was mentioned there (*Aurelius civitatis Riditionis episcopus*),<sup>103</sup> identified mostly with the bishop of *municipium Riditarum*<sup>104</sup> and located in Danilo Gornje near Šibenik.<sup>105</sup> If the *civitas Riditionis* from the inscription in Milan is truly identical to *municipium Riditarum* at Danilo Gornje near Šibenik, then the answer to this problem could be found in the transferal of the bishop’s seat from Danilo Gornje to the safer, and not too distant Scardona, which was not unusual in the period of Late Antiquity. If the Milanese inscription is original, then the mentioned bishop could be the predecessor of the Scardonian bishop attested in the First Salonitan Council Acts (*Constantinus*

<sup>91</sup> *Tab. Peut.* V, 3.

<sup>92</sup> *Cosmogr.* IV, 16; V, 14; Čače 1995, 74.

<sup>93</sup> Maršić 2003, 439–440.

<sup>94</sup> Škegro 2007a, 73–74; 2007c, 200; 2007e, 12–13.

<sup>95</sup> Jeličić 1984, 177–178; Chevalier 1995, 255–257; Maršić 2003, 440.

<sup>96</sup> *Sed etiam Redditicum in diocesim habiturum accipiat et, exceptis reliquis in territorio Salonitano (Salonitano) basilicis ...* Farlati 1753, 173; Batthyán 1785, 291–292; Rački 1894, 17, ψ; Šišić 1914, 162; Klaić 1967, 83; Gunjača 1973, 54; Ivanišević 1994, 161.

<sup>97</sup> *CIL III 3202: Imp(erator) Caesar / M(arcus) Aurelius / Commodus / Antoninus / <sup>5</sup>Aug(ustus) Pius Sarm(aticus) / Germ(anicus) Maximus / Brittanicus / pont(ificex) max(imus) trib(unitia) / pot(estate) VIII imp(erator) VI / <sup>10</sup>co(n)s(ul) III p(ater) p(atriciae) / Pontem / Hippi flumi/nis vetustate cor/ruptum restituit / sumptum et operas / <sup>15</sup>subministrantibus / Novensibus Delmi/nensibus Riditis. Cu/rante et dedicante / L(ucio) Iunio Rufino Procu/<sup>20</sup>liano leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore).*

<sup>98</sup> *CIL III 12815a; Rendić-Miočević 1989a, 854, 880: [D(is)] M(anibus) / Aurelio / Vero dec(urioni) / municipi / Rideri, mil(iti) leg(ionis) / XI Cl(audia) p(iae) f(idelis), milit(avit?) / ann(os) XXV Aur[el]li Varro et Can/dida parent(es).*

<sup>99</sup> *CIL III 2774; Rendić-Miočević 1989a, 849, 854, Pl. XV: D(is) M(anibus) / Q(uinto) Rutilio / Q(uinti) f(ilio) Titiano / (duum)vir(o) q(uin)q(uennali) / et / Q(uinto) Rutilio / Q(uinti) f(ilio) Proculo / (duum)vir(o) q(uin)q(uennali), / filio / eius / principi mu/nicipi Ri/ditarum; Rendić-Miočević 1989a, 855: Zaninović 1998b, 126: — / — / dec(urioni) et pr(incipi) municipi / Riditaru[m co(n)giugi? obse]/quentis(si)mo [qui vi]/xit ann(os) LI[—?] et Pin?]/so fr[at]ri eius? dec(urioni)? muni/ci[pi] Riditarum] / —.*

<sup>100</sup> *CIL III 2026; Rendić-Miočević 1989a, 857 and n. 20: T(ito) Flavio / T(iti) fil(io) Tro(mentina tribu) / Agricolae / decur(ioni) col(oniae) Sal(onitanae), / aedili, (duum)vir(o) iure / dic(undo), dec(urioni) col(oniae)Aequi/tatis, (duum)vir(o) q(uin)q(uennali) disp(unctori) / municipi Riditar(um), / praef(ecto) et patron(o) coll(egii) / fabr(um) ob merita eius coll(egium) / fabr(um) ex aere conlato. / Curatori rei pub(licae) Splonis/starum, trib(un) leg(ionis) X g(eminae) p(iae) f(idelis).*

<sup>101</sup> *Rendić-Miočević 1989a, 859 no. 7 and n. 25: [—] Flo[rus] de[ur]io [muni]cipi Ri[ditarum] —(duum)vir —*

<sup>102</sup> *Cosmogr.* V, 14, p. 380, 18; *Guidon.*, 115, p. 542, 20.

<sup>103</sup> *CIL V, p. 620, no. 7; 6183a; ILCV 1043; Cambi 2001, 13: Deposuit corpus tumulo sed laude perennis. / Aurelius penetrans regna beata poli, / qui mortem vicit meritis mundumque relinquens, / immensum Christi possidet imperium / <sup>5</sup>cuius, ut agnoscas, sanctae praeconia vitae. / Consortis lector respice fata viri / ambo pari lucis clausurunt tempore metam. / Membraque Dionysio iunxit amica papae / prompta sacerdotis lacrymas mens iuvit orantis. / <sup>10</sup>Hanc, ideo, tabulam obtulit Eusebia: / Aurelius civitatis Riditionis episcopus, / hac die positus quo etiam pontifex sanctus / confessorque Dionysius, post consol(atum) / domni n(ostri) divi Leonis Iunioris.*

<sup>104</sup> Delehay 1929, 313–320; 1931, 49–57; Jadrijević 1936, 194–204; Wilkes 1969, 433; Bratož 1986, 390; Rendić-Miočević 1989a, 850–851; 1989b, 575–583; Suić 1994–1995, 293; 1998, 181.

<sup>105</sup> *Rendić-Miočević 1972, 229–234; 1977, 133–145; 1984, 119–132; 1989a, 845–852; 853–869; 871–890; 891–892; 1989b, 575–583; 1990, 471–485; Suić 1994–1995, 293; 1998, 181; Čače 1995, 36; Zaninović 1996b, 307–323; 1998b, 125–126.*



*episcopus ecclesie Scardonitane*).<sup>106</sup> The fact that the bishop's seat was in Scardona did not have to mean the end of the *Ecclesia civitatis Riditionis* and the foundation of the Diocese of Scardona (*Ecclesia Scardonitana*), as is usually suggested,<sup>107</sup> but merely the transfer of the same bishop from the less secure (or destroyed) Rider to the more secure Scardona.<sup>108</sup>

*Redditicum*, allocated to the Diocese of *Muccur* in 533, should be sought in the territory east of *Salona*,<sup>109</sup> described as *Riditae* in the mentioned inscription from Trilj (*Tilurium*). In the case that *Rider*, *municipium Riditarum*, *civitas Riditio* and *Redditicum* all refer to the same place,<sup>110</sup> then the solution to the problem of *Redditicum* should be found in the transfer of (part of) the Redditan community from the area of Danilo Gornje near Šibenik to the territory east of Salona or vice versa. Namely, it is known that groups of the Dalmatian peoples were moved not only all over Dalmatia, but also to other provinces of the Roman Empire, including Dacia, Noricum, Moesia Superior, etc.<sup>111</sup> With a small correction to the text of the Second Salonitan Council Acts,<sup>112</sup> it would become clear that *Redditicum*, after the disappearance of its bishop, came under the jurisdiction of the Salonitan archbishop.<sup>113</sup> However, this seems less probable as the Diocese of Scardona surely already existed at the time the First Council of Salona.

## CONCLUSION

The Diocese of *Muccurum*, as well as those of *Sarsenterum* and *Ludrum* are mentioned only in the Acts of the Second Council of Salona. Some of their components were mentioned in different forms

in certain other Late Roman or Early Medieval sources. Confusion in the above documents cannot challenge the existence of those dioceses. The fact that many basilicas and other sacral buildings were built in these areas prove that the process of Christianization advanced significantly. The doubling of church organizations in local – often very distant – parishes and dioceses, was a part of the state politics of certain Byzantine emperors, especially Justinian (527–565). The seats of the three early Christian dioceses, as well as others from the region of Dalmatia, may have been devastated during the Byzantine-Ostrogothic Wars (535–555). It is difficult to believe that the seat of the Diocese of *Muccurum* would have remained unharmed in 549, during the conflict between the Ostrogothic and Byzantine armies, when the population of *Laureatae*, in the vicinity, is documented as having been destroyed. It is also possible that some parts of this diocese would have survived the chaos of the period of Barbaric Migrations, especially those on the islands. Surely, the roots of the later Diocese of Hvar can be found in the Early Christian period. The fact that the very seat of the Diocese of *Muccurum* was a component part of that diocese was probably not accidental. There is no doubt that the Christianized population at least partly survived, and after the danger had passed, they could return to the places where they had previously lived. It is known that the Diocese of Salona was similarly revived, with its seat in the not very distant Diocletian's Palace. If the territory of Imotski-Bekija really was a component part of the Diocese of *Muccurum*, then evidence of this can be found at Crkvina in Cista Velika, the cemetery of St Michael's in Proložac Donji, and Šamatorje in Gorica near Grude.

<sup>106</sup> Farlati 1753, 163; Batthyán 1785, 290; Kukuljević-Sakcinski 1874, 197; Rački 1894, 15; Šišić 1914, 160; Klaić 1967, 81; Gunjača 1973, 53; Ivanišević 1994, 160.

<sup>107</sup> Cambi 2001, 15; Uglešić 2006, 12.

<sup>108</sup> About the Diocese of Scardona cf.: Migotti 1992, 101–112.

<sup>109</sup> Barada 1928, 37–39; Cambi 1976, 249; 2001, 14–15.

<sup>110</sup> Cambi 2001, 12–16.

<sup>111</sup> Škegro 1999, 52–53.

<sup>112</sup> Jadrijević 1936, 203: *Muccoritanus namque episcopus se Montanorum, Deltinense, Onestinum; Salonitanus dumtaxat quidquid in insulis continetur, vel trans Oneum noscitur esse divisum, quod Continens appellatur, sed etiam Redditicum, in dioecesi habiturum, accipiat.*

<sup>113</sup> Jadrijević 1936, 203–204.

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## Mukurska škofija (Ecclesia Muccurritana) v Dalmaciji

### Povzetek

Akti Drugega salonitanskega cerkvenega zbora, ki je potekal 4. maja 533 pod vodstvom salonitanskega nadškofa Honorija Mlajšega (528-547), omenjajo ustanovitev treh novih škofij in njihovi sedeži postanejo *Sarsenterum*, *Muccurum* in *Ludrum*. Za škofa Mukura je ob tej priložnosti določen duhovnik Štefan (*presbyter Stephanus*). Kot posvečeni škof je s škofoma Sarsentera in Ludruma sopolodpisnik aktov omenjenega zbora. Primer balojske škofije, ki jo je ustanovil salonitanski nadškof Honorij Starejši (pribl. 493 - pribl. 505), in zavrnitev zahteve bestoenskega škofa po razdelitvi njegove škofije pričata, da je bilo na območju Zahodnega Ilirika od obdobja gotske oblasti (493-537) naprej ustanavljanje novih škofij v pristojnosti salonitanskega nadškofa.

Za sedež mukurske škofije je bil določen Mukur (*Muccurum*) oz. Mukar (*Mucparum*). Škof se naslavlja kot mukuritanski (*Muccuritanus episcopus*), mukoritanski (*Muccuritanus episcopus*),

mukorenski (*episcopus Muccorensis*), munkorenski (*episcopus Muncorensis*) ali muikorenski (*episcopus Muicorensis*).

Omenjeno krajevno ime se v "Kozmografiji" anonimnega geografa iz Ravene pojavi v skupini dalmatinskih obalnih naselij (*per litus maris*) v sintagmi *Aronia id est Mucru*. *Aronia* je gotovo identična cestni postaji Inaronia (*in Aronia*), označeni na *Tabuli Peutingeriani*.

Bizantinski pisec Prokopij (okrog 500 - po 562) v svojem delu *Bellum Gothicum* omenja osvajanje Muikura (Muikuron, Monekuron) leta 549 - vzhodnogotski vojski je poveljeval odpadniški bizantinski vojskovodja Ilaulf. Splitski arhidiacon Tomas (1200-1268) naselje v svojem delu *Historia salonitana* imenuje Mukar (*apud Mucarum*). V poznoantično-zgodnje-srednjeveškem viru *Provinciale vetus* je med dvajsetimi mesti Dalmacije in Hrvaške v okviru salonitanske nadškofije navedena tudi *civitas Mucrona*. Konstantin VII. Porfirogenet (945-959) v

svojem delu *De administrando Imperio* kraj navaja kot Mókron oz. Mokrón.

Mukur se običajno enači tudi s središčem martaritanske škofije (*Ecclesia Martaritana*), znane iz aktov Prvega salonitanskega cerkvenega zbora, ki je potekal 15. julija 530.

Sedež mukurske škofije locirajo v Makar pri Makarski oz. v samo Makarsko. Kot argument služijo ostanki zgodnjekršćanske bazilike na najdišču Sv. Petar, ostanki monumentalnih antićnih objektov na obmoćju Donje Luke, poznoantićno grobišće, ostanki poznoantićne utrdbe (*castrum*), izviri pitne vode ipd. Pomen krajevnega imena kaže na vlagu (*mucor*), kar je dodatni argument za njegovo lokacijo v Makarsko. Razen na lokaciji Sv. Petar bi bil sedež mukurskega škofa lahko še na obmoćju cerkve sv. Filipa Nerija, prav tako v Makarski. Indic so sledovi antićne arhitekture in napis nekega škofa Štefana (*Stefanus episcopus*), ki bi bil lahko istoveten z mukurskim škofom, omenjenim v aktih Drugega salonitanskega cerkvenega zbora.

Lega sedeža mukurskega škofa je omogoćala dobro komunikacijo z vsemi deli škofije. Proti otoško-obalnim obmoćjem so že od prazgodovine vodile ustaljene pomorske poti, proti gorskim predelom pa poti (*viae vicinales*) oz. ceste (*viae munitae*). Glavnina pomorskega prometa iz vzhodnega Sredozemlja proti severovzhodu Italije se je odvijala prav po vodnih poteh mukurske škofije. Na *Tabuli Peutingeriani* je oznaćena pot, ki je makarsko obmoćje (*Inaronia*) preko Epetia in Onea povezovala z metropolitanskim središčem Salono (*sl. 1*). Dokazov za cestno povezavo jugovzhodnih delov škofije s središčem pa ni.

Ni znano, ali je bilo v obmoćje mukurske škofije sploh vkljućeno kakšno mesto, zato nekateri celo dvomijo v njeno ustanovitev. V teritorij so bili vkljućeni gorsko-planinski predeli, teritorij *Delminense Onestinum* in salonitansko otoćje nasproti kopnega, ki leži vzhodno od Oneuma in Reditika (*Redditicum*) (*sl. 3*).

Mukursko škofijo moramo razumeti kot podeželsko, slabo poseljeno diecezo. Zdi se, da je prav zato vkljućevala razmeroma veliko ozemlje. Gre za priobalni prostor od jugovzhodnih predelov planinskih masivov Mosorja in Poljic, preko obmoćja ob dolnji Cetini, preko Dinare pri Omišu, Biokova in vzhodno od Zabiokovlja pa vse do severozahodnih delov polotoka Pelješca in moćvirij ob izlivu Neretve, ki so mukursko škofijo verjetno razmejevala od naronitanske (*Ecclesia Naronitana*) (*sl. 2*). Dodeljeni so ji bili tudi otoki, ki so bili pred tem pod jurisdikcijo salonitanskega nadškofa. Prebivalstvo z obmoćja mukurske škofije se je ukvarjalo v prvi vrsti z živinorejo in kmetijstvom, tisto na otokih pa z ribolovom oz. pomorstvom.

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