

O primjerima «*damnatio memoriae*» iz hrvatske baštine

On the Examples of “*Damnatio Memoriae*” from the Croatian Heritage

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U širokom vremenskom luku, od prvog do devetnaestog stoljeća Kristove ere, prati se fenomen «damnatio memoriae» na spomenicima istočne obale Jadrana. Izabrani primjeri, naravno, odreda potvrđuju kontinuitet antičkog običaja poznatog u širem svijetu, ali gotovo svaki pojedinačno raskriva okolnosti njegova obavljanja u uvjetima domaće povijesti. Budući da su tek rijetki rasvijetljeni dokumentima, a većinom nisu ni obrađeni u stručnoj literaturi, nastoji ih se sagledati u kronologiji koja samo donekle pruža i okvire razlozima «zabrane spomena» ili načinima izvršenja «osude na zaborav». Na prvom su mjestu potiranja poganskih biljega i ostataka antičko-rimske kulture od strane kršćanskih pobjednika koji su utvrdili održanje običaja do duboko u srednji vijek. Premda je glavnina ostalih potaknuta s mijenama ideoloških stajališta, poglavito ovisna o odlukama crkvenih ustanova, učestale su posljedice državno-političkih programa pa i privatnih posezanja ili spontanijih djelovanja. Razvidno nema jedinstvenih pravila te se lanac primjera prati do u kasno doba i kao jedan od vidova kulturološkog izražavanja provincijalnih prostora urbane i ruralne naravi.

Ključne riječi: «damnatio memoriae», tradicija, poganstvo, kršćanstvo, srednji vijek, mletačka uprava

The phenomenon of “damnatio memoriae” is followed on the monuments of the eastern Adriatic coast in a wide chronological arch, from the first century until the nineteenth century of Christ’s era. The selected examples, naturally, without exception corroborate the continuity of an ancient custom known in the wider world, but almost each one individually sheds light on the circumstances of its execution in the conditions of local history. Considering that only few have been clarified by documents and that they are in general not analyzed in the scholarly literature, an attempt was made at examining them within the chronology than only to a certain extent offers the framework for the reasons for the “prohibition to mention” or the methods of implementation of the “condemnation to oblivion”. The first position is reserved for the persecution of pagan signs and relics of ancient Roman culture by the Christian victors who secured the duration of the custom deep into the Middle Ages. Even though the majority of the others were prompted by transformations of ideological attitudes, primarily dependant on the decisions of ecclesiastical institutions, there are frequent consequences of state or political programs or even private encroachment or spontaneous actions. There are obviously no uniform rules and the chain of examples is followed up until the late period also as one of the aspects of culturological expression of provincial zones of urban and rural nature.

Key words: “damnatio memoriae”, tradition, paganism, Christianity, Middle Ages, Venetian administration

Na teritorijima burnih povijesnih zbivanja i općenito nemirne društvene prošlosti, s razlogom se često koristio običaj «*damnatio memoriae*». Uvriježen od rimske antike (PWRE 1901, 2059-2061), utjelovljavao je opće uvjerenje da fizičko uništenje tragova i prikrivanje znakova određenih pojava znači njihovo zbiljno iskorjenjivanje, bacanje u zaborav bez povratka. Kao takav posvuda je pratio slojevanje politika različitih ustroja ili smjene suprotstavljenih ideologija, posebice svrgavanje vlasti i vladara. Najbrojniji

The custom of “*damnatio memoriae*” was used frequently and with good reasons in the territories with tumultuous historical events and turbulent social history in general. Accustomed from Roman antiquity (PWRE 1901, 2059-2061), it embodied the general belief that the physical destruction of traces and concealment of signs of certain phenomena signifies their eradication in real life, casting into oblivion without possibility of return. As such it everywhere followed the layering of politics of different organization or changes in opposing ideologies, particularly overthrow of authority or a ruler. The

su mu dokazi na djelima kamenarske proizvodnje kojima se poradi prirodne čvrstine osnovne građe predviđao vječni opstanak. No kako su upravo ta djela u različitim okolnostima izazivala protivljenja živih čimbenika, tako je sama trajnost građe očuvala i čitke potvrde naknadnih ljudskih posredovanja usmjerenih nijekanju njihova prvobitnog oblika i sadržaja ili smisla. Osvjetljavajući sudbinu pojedinih mjesta slijedom više razdoblja,¹ sve se to zasigurno najučinkovitije iskazalo već pri velikoj pobjedi kršćanstva nad poganstvom. Ipak, sva kasnija uklanjanja ili brisanja određenih uspomena nisu bila vođena djelovanjem u cilju pobijanja opstojnosti sredina gdje se periodično smjenjivahu državne uprave, niti vršena voljom i pod nadzorom vlastodržaca. Podjednako su činove «damnatio memoriae» prouzročile same unutarnje društvene promjene, a u nekoj mjeri također individualna ili privatna posezanja u ime protivljenja onome što je određeni spomenik izvorno svjedočio. Potpadajući pak makro-planovima i kulturnog izražavanja, odaju odnose prema naslijeđu, ne kao posljedica mijena estetskih prohtjeva ili stanja ukusa kojima poglavito naša struka poklanja pozornost, nego kao pokazatelj preporađanja predodžbi i stajališta pripadnika starih naraštaja o biljezima identiteta mikro-okružja vlastitog im življenja.

Zanimljiva su osvjedočenja tog široko provjerljivog postupka na tlu Dalmacije, gdje se iz niza razloga očuvalo najviše tragova prošlosti, svakako i stoga što se ona u tom prostoru stoljećima najgušće iskazivala sa svim svojim dobrima. Tim lakše se i fizičke potvrde provođenja različitih «damnatio memoriae» može smatrati jednom od linija tradicionalnih izražavanja, jer im u podlozi stoje rimsko-antička iskustva, također zajamčena s vrlo konkretnim tragovima u naslijeđu provincije. Unatoč često protivnim svjetonazorima, naime, svako je društvo na njezinim pozornicama ostvarivalo specifične osmoze s prethodnim stvaralaštvom, te čak unatoč službenim zabranama njegovih iskaza nije nastupalo isključivo rušilački. Naravno, i takve je poticaje dobivalo iz suvremenog svijeta, poglavito iz centara moći ili žarišta svekolikog djelovanja, pa u tom leže i pretpostavke za ocjenjivanje ili tumačenje fenomena kojima se okrećemo, bez traženja općih usporedbi ili isticanja izravnih uzora. Neminovno ih, međutim, valja propitati u vremenskim slojevima, razlikujući navade iz antike od izričaja srednjeg vijeka, što nam daje više prava govoriti o regionalnim barem nekim biranim njegovim odrednicama. No njih i nije lako izlučiti s obzirom da svi primjeri nisu istoznačni, a neki se zapliću u šira razmatranja povijesti, iziskujući opširnija istraživanja kakva ovdje donekle i usmjeravam.

Ostavljajući po strani bezbrojne potvrde srastanja idejno, ali ne i materijalno, razdvojenih kultura duž istočne oba-

1. Osnovni sam problem bio ocrtao izlaganjem na XXIX. svjetskom kongresu povjesničara umjetnosti u Amsterdamu 1996. god. (Fisković I., 1999, 753-759). Otada sam promijenio neka bitna stajališta, npr. identifikaciju kralja na splitskom reljefu kao i druga, a uvid u širu tematiku raščlanjujem u ovom tekstu kao poziv na daljnja istraživanja.

evidence for this is most frequently found in the stonework, regarded as everlasting on account of the natural strength of basic material. However, as it was precisely those works that provoked opposition by living factors in various circumstances, thus the very permanence of the material preserved also clear confirmation of subsequent human mediation directed at negation of their original form and contents or meaning. Shedding light on the destiny of distinct spots during several periods,¹ it was all certainly most effectively demonstrated already in the great victory of Christianity over paganism. However, all subsequent eliminations or deletions of certain memories were not governed by action with the objective of negating the survival of the centres in which state administrations occasionally changed, nor they were performed by will and under control of the rulers. The acts of «damnatio memoriae» were about equally caused by changes within the society themselves, and to a certain extent also by the individual or private encroachment in the name of opposing that what a given monument originally embodied. On the other hand, being subjected to macro-plans of cultural expression, they reveal the attitudes towards heritage, not as a consequence of changes of esthetic demands or states of the taste to which primarily our profession devotes attention, but rather as an indicator of a revival of conceptions and viewpoints of the members of old generations regarding the marks of identity of a micro-environment of their own living.

Very interesting are testimonies of this widely testable process in the territory of Dalmatia, where the most vestiges of the past have been preserved on account of many reasons, certainly also because in this area it was most densely expressed with all its goods throughout centuries. With this the physical proofs of implementation of various «damnatio memoriae» can all the more easily be considered one of the lines of traditional expression, because the Roman-ancient experiences lie at their base, likewise guaranteed by very real traces in the heritage of the province. In spite of often contrasting world views, every society effectuated on its stages specific osmoses with previous creations, and even in spite of official prohibition of its expressions it did not behave in an exclusively destructive manner. Naturally, it received also such impulses from the contemporary world, primarily from the centres of power or focal points of all-comprising activity, and therefore in this lie also the assumptions for the assessment or interpretation of the phenomena to which we turn, without looking for general comparisons or emphasizing the direct models. However, they necessarily ought to be tested within chronological layers, while making a distinction between the ancient customs and the expressions of the Middle Ages, which gives us more right to speak of regional determinants, at least some of those. However, they are not easily distinguished considering that not all the examples are synonymous, and some are entangled in wider considerations of history, requiring more extensive research, of the kind that I myself direct here to a degree.

Leaving aside countless confirmations of merging of – in the sphere of ideas, but not of the matter – divided cultures along the eastern coast of the Adriatic, I would first like to mention the conscious and decisive break up of the Christian-

1. I outlined the basic problem in my paper delivered at the XXIX World Congress of Art Historians in Amsterdam in 1996 (Fisković I., 1999, 753-759). Since then I have changed certain important attitudes, e.g. the identification of the king on the relief from Split as Zvonimir, as well as others, and in this work I analyze the introduction into the wider body of issues as an appeal for further research.

le Jadrana, ponajprije bih iznio svjesna i odlučna raskidanja kristijaniziranih zajednica s poganskom prošlošću putem zatiranja umjetničkih njezinih djela. Osobito je u tom pravcu znakovito uklanjanje sarkofaga cara Dioklecijana iz njegova monumentalnog mauzoleja sred palače, koja je od 7. st. postala jezgrom grada Splita kao sjedišta provincijalne crkvene ustanove. U vrijeme, naime, kad je isti mauzolej pretvoren u kršćansku prvostolnicu (Karaman 1937), nestao je ne samo zbog svrsishodna njezina uređenja grobni spomenik cara poznatog po progonima kršćana. Prema pukim nalazima ulomaka jednog masivnog sarkofaga od skupocjenog egipatskog porfira, često rabljenog za carske ukope, naime, vjeruje se da bijaše nasilno razbijen i potom sigurno raznesen iz samog mauzoleja. Možda je to bilo počinjeno na gotovo ritualni način, ali o samom događaju nema podataka, a komadi grobnice se nisu koristili u ikoje druge svrhe nego su vjerojatno razbacani sa znanjem uz koji su sadržaj prvobitno bili vezani. Najvjerojatnije je ista sudbina zadesila skulpture carskog programa koje su resile sva tri kopnena ulaza u Dioklecijanovu palaču, posebice najbogatije ustrojene na sjevernoj strani.² Niše na pročelju i baze na njegovu vrhu odavno su bez svojih likova, pa se o njima kao ni o onima s istoka ili zapada ništa pozitivno ne zna. Radikalno im presudivši potpuni zaborav, dodijelili su im učinkoviti «damnatio memoriae» vjerojatno izravnom odlukom crkvene uprave, koja je čitavu palaču rano uzela u svoje ruke i postala gospodarom glavnine dičnih spomenika. Tako se na njima iskazao i najjači instrumentarij u ritmičkom potvrđivanju najšire prizme posvudašnjeg običaja.

Nešto je slično u Splitu zadesilo i mramorni blok s prikazom povorke *Suovetaria* iz raskošne rimske palače, po svojoj prilici dio većeg spomen-obilježja nekom carskom – možda i Dioklecijanovu trijumfalnom dolasku. Otkrilo ga se u katedrali Sv. Dujma, unutar njegova oltara iz 15. st. Svi su pak izgledi da je s pobjedom kršćanstva bio bačen u more kako bi nestao iz vidokruga javnosti, no kasnije je izvađen da bi u njemu izdubli kovčežić u koji su pohranjene relikvije sveca.³ Jamačno se vodilo računa o vrijednosti na našoj obali teško pribavljive građe, koju su smatrali doličnom za čuvanje posvećenih ostataka prvoizabranog svog svetog zaštitnika, makar to nisu pokazali jer su ga zatvorili unutar oltara. Premda sve sadrži crte stanovite simbolike, a slijedi korake opće povijesne prakse, čini se najznačajnije kako su prethodno otučeni reljef postavili na dno i okrenuli tlu da se nikako ne vidi, iako bi ga sigurnije zatrli npr. da su na toj strani izdubli blok. Ovako su tek pri rastavljanju oltara uočeni obrisi dvaju *victimarius* i bika otklesanih s glatke pozadine, te je uz prepoznavanje ikonografije reljefa otkrivena izuzetna slojevitost kao i domišljatost ukupnog postupka.⁴ Budući da je mramorni bijeli sanduk postao ne-

ized communities with the pagan past by means of quashing its artistic achievements. Particularly significant in that respect is the removal of the sarcophagus of Emperor Diocletian from his monumental mausoleum in the centre of the palace, which starting with the 7th century became the core of the city of Split as the centre of the provincial ecclesiastical institution. At the time when the same mausoleum was transformed into a Christian cathedral (Karaman 1937), the grave monument of the emperor renowned for the persecution of the Christians disappeared, not only due to the requirements of its purposeful arrangement. Owing to mere finds of fragments of a massive sarcophagus made of precious Egyptian porphyry, often used for imperial burials, it is believed that it was violently destroyed and subsequently certainly taken away from the mausoleum itself. This may have been done in an almost ritual manner, but there is no information about the event itself, and the pieces of the tomb were not used for anything else, but were discarded together with the knowledge about the contents with which they were originally connected. Probably the same fate befell the sculptures of the imperial program that decorated all three land entrances into Diocletian's palace, especially the most richly designed ones on the northern side.² The niches on the façade and the bases on its top have long lacked their figures, so nothing is positively known about them, and the case is the same with those from the east or west. By the radical verdict of complete oblivion, they bestowed upon them an effective "damnatio memoriae", probably by a direct decision of church administration, which from early on took the entire palace into its hands and became a master of the majority of honourable monuments. In that way they experienced the most powerful system of instruments in the rhythmic confirmation of the widest prism of an omnipresent custom.

In Split something similar befell also the marble block with the depiction of a *Suovetaria* procession from a lavish Roman palace, in all likelihood a part of a larger commemorative monument to an imperial arrival – perhaps the triumphal arrival of Diocletian. It was discovered in the cathedral of St. Doimus (Dujam), in the interior of his 15th-century altar. In all probability it was thrown into the sea after the victory of Christianity in order to remove it from public sight, but later it was taken out so that a casket could be carved in it, in which the saint's relics were deposited.³ The value of the material was surely taken into account, as it is not easily available on our coast, and it was considered suitable for preserving sanctified remains of their first chosen patron saint, even though they did not show it as they enclosed it within the altar. Although everything contains traits of certain symbolism and follows the steps of general historical practise, it seems most significant that they placed the previously broken-off relief on the base and turned it face down lest it should be seen, even though they would have it quashed more securely if they had e.g. hewn the block on that side. This way the outlines of two *victimarii* and a bull carved off the smooth surface were noticed only during the dismantling of the altar, when the exceptional layering as well as the ingenuity of the entire procedure was discovered, together with the recognition of the relief iconography.⁴ Regarding that the white marble case

2. Obuhvatno o temi: Cambi 1989, s drugim radovima istog istraživača.
3. Sve podatke očitavamo u izvješću istraživanja obavljenih u svrhu obnove cjeline oltara Sv. Dujma kakav je morao biti oblikovan 1427. god., zajedno s ciborijem nad njime, prema pothvatu majstora Bonina Jakovljeva iz Milana (Fisković C., 1958)
4. Pema tekstu i crtežu C. Fiskovića, te fotografijama iz 1958. god. koje preuzimam u ovom članku.

2. Extensively about the subject: Cambi 1989, with other works by the same scholar.
3. All the data comes from the report of the investigation carried out with the objective of renovation of the altar of St. Doimus in its presumed original 1427 shape, together with a ciborium above it, all this a work of master Bonino (son of Jacob) from Milan (Fisković C., 1958).
4. After the text and drawing by C. Fisković, as well as photographs from 1958, which I use in this paper.

dodirljiva jezgra višekratno oblikovanog spomenika, predmnijevamo kako je samo poništavanje prizora iz imperijalnog kulta vodila težnja za osvetom, pa ne bi trebalo biti upitno u svemu vidjeti istinski čin «damnatio memoriae». Iako nije pojašnjeno koja je to bila faza uređenja grobne cjeline, zbog samog preuzimanja mramorne građe i načina prilagodbe novoj svrsi, reklo bi se da spada u prvo srednjovjekovlje jer čitav postupak svojevrsne reupotrebe djela iz antike odgovara ograničenim mogućnostima ondašnjeg izražavanja.

Osobito ih dopunja činjenica da je mala mramorna škrinja s prvom olovnom za svetačke relikvije, umetnuta u veći mramorni sarkofag ranokršćanskog tipa sa središnjim likom *Dobrog pastira* između dva simetrična polja ispunjena motivom *strigila*.⁵ Njemu, malo skraćenom, nije poznato izvorno mjesto, a tek natpis uklesan na vanjskom rubu pokrivne ploče kazuje da je konačnoj namjeni oltarske menze poslužio u početku 12. st.⁶ Ujedno je očito kako su tvorci postupno komponirane grobnice sv. Dujma, osim uvažavanja višestruke, zbiljne i simbolične vrijednosti samoga mramora, slijedili naputke o njegovoj magičnoj učinkovitosti za jačanje svetosti stvari. Povrh svega su spoznali sadržaj reljefnog pročelja sarkofaga, pa su ga posve smišljeno ugradili vidljivim u obrednoj cjelini kao podanak liturgijskog stola. K tome začuđuje kako ga se kasnije zaboravilo kad su učeni crkvenjaci pisali da se radi o liku dječaka s ovcama, odnosno o prizoru Dijane u lovu.⁷ Naime, slijedom svega što se unutar nadbiskupije događalo, valja pretpostaviti da bi na takvom već prije bio izvršen «damnatio memoriae», smjerom onih postupaka koji svjedoče invazivni, makar ne uvijek jednako žestoki odnos kršćana prema poganskim spomenicima.

S istim je pak htijenjem na zapadnim vratima Dioklecijanove palače, sred pomno sastavljene grede otvora monumentalnog ulaza, sa zaglavnog kamena grubo otklesan reljef Nike (Dyggve 1951), preciznije *Victoriae Augusti* kao simbola carske pobjede. To zacijelo predstavlja tipični čin «damnatio memoriae» shvatljiv u kontekstu uzdizanja državnih religija, ali je završen na osobit način. Zapravo je u času uklanjanja lika poganske boginje umjesto nje oblikovan lijepi latinski križ stilskih oznaka 6. st., slijedeći jasnu nakanu brisanja «demoni prošlosti», a isticanja nove kulturne i vjerske pripadnosti društvene zajednice grada Splita (Cambi 1961). Nisu, dakle, tehnički uvjeti rada s dlijetom na visini spriječili potpuno brisanje prvobitnog simbola i izravnavanje površine kamena, već se u neponištenoj njegovoj izbočini predviđalo isklesati makar plići reljefni znamen nove religije. Čak i zadržavanje dijela krila i skuta odore stare vjesnice bogova postrance vitkome križu, bezuvjetno izrađenom od vještog klesara, možda bijaše namjerno kako bi se trajno pokazivalo što je sa čime za-

became an untouchable core of a monument that was shaped in several instances, we presume that the annulment itself of the depiction from the imperial cult was governed by desire for revenge, so it should not be doubted that the event represents a true act of «damnatio memoriae». Although it has not been made clear which phase of the arrangement of the grave assemblage it was, due to the very takeover of the marble and the way of adjustment to a new function, it seems that it belongs to the first mediaeval period, as the entire process of a reuse of sorts of a work from antiquity corresponds to the limited possibilities of the expression of the time.

They are particularly complemented by the fact that the small marble casket with the first lead one for saintly relics, was inserted into a larger marble sarcophagus of early Christian type with a central figure of the *Good Shepherd* between two symmetrical fields filled with the *strigil* motif.⁵ It was slightly shortened and its original place is not known, and only an inscription carved on the outer edge of the cover slab tells that it acquired its final function of an altar mensa at the beginning of the 12th century.⁶ It is at the same time obvious that the creators of the gradually composed tomb of St. Doimus, in addition to having respected the multiple, real and symbolical value of marble itself, followed the instruction about its magical efficacy for enhancing the sanctity of things. Above all they comprehended the contents of the relief façade of the sarcophagus and so they quite deliberately incorporated it visibly within the ritual assemblage as a base of the liturgical table. In addition to this, it is surprising that it latter fell into oblivion, when the learned clerics wrote that it was a figure of a boy with sheep, or a depiction of Diana hunting.⁷ In view of everything what was happening within the archdiocese, it can be presumed that such representation would have already previously been subjected to a «damnatio memoriae» along the lines of the procedures bearing testimony to the invasive, yet not always equally violent attitude of the Christians toward pagan monuments.

The same desire led to crude chiseling off of a relief of Nike (Dyggve 1951), more precisely *Victoriae Augusti*, as a symbol of imperial victory, from the key stone of the carefully composed beam of the monumental entrance on the western gate of Diocletian's palace. This certainly represents a typical act of «damnatio memoriae» conceivable in the context of promotion of state religions, but it was finished in an idiosyncratic way. In fact, at the moment of the removal of the figure of the pagan goddess a Latin cross with stylistic features of the 6th century was shaped instead, following a clear intention of deletion of the «demons of the past», and of promoting a new cultural and religious affiliation of the social community of the city of Split (Cambi 1961). It was not therefore the technical conditions of working with a chisel on height that prevented the complete obliteration of the original symbol and the leveling of the stone surface, but the intention was to carve at least a shallow relief symbol of the new religion in its undelimited projection. Even the preservation of a part of the wings and the skirts of the robe of the ancient messenger of gods laterally to the slender cross, undoubtedly crafted by a skilled carver, was perhaps deliberate with the aim of showing forever what replaced what on the entrance into a diocesan city. More freely said: a «poster» with an obvious meaning was re-

5. Usporediti: Cambi 1977.

6. Prijepis donosi C. Fisković, n.dj. no još uvijek nije interpretiran cjelovito kako zaslužuje.

7. Isto – navodi crkvene vizitatore S. Cosmia i F. Cupillija te D. Farlatija iz 1751.god., 492.

5. Compare: Cambi 1977.

6. The transcription was published by C. Fisković, op. C., but it has still not been comprehensively interpreted as it deserves.

7. Ibid. – lists the church visitors S. Cosmi and F. Cupilli as well as D. Farlati, 1751, 492.

mijenjeno na ulazu u biskupski grad. Slobodnije rečeno: jedan je «poster» razvidnog značenja nadomješten drugom, kojeg su suvremenici ideološki lako prepoznatljivog otprije poštivali i slavili. Zastalno su time bili više nego zadovoljni, ne dvojeći kako je uspješno poteklo zatiranje poganskih tragova po načelu «damnatio memoriae», što je na kraju razgoljelo čitavo carsko zdanje od nekoć osebujne figuralne opreme, na čije se sadržaje sigurno okomio srednji vijek.

Moguće je, dakle, u istom okružju razlikovati nekoliko načina obistinivanja istog običaja koji izvire iz podudarnih poticaja i nastojanja, ali nije redovito urodio surovim postupcima kakve bismo očekivali. U karakterističnom obliku susreću se među ruševinama Salone, gdje je u bazilici sv. Anastazija skladna poganska *ara* potkraj 3. st. pretvorena u posudu za svetu vodu izravnim preokretanjem kvadratnog kamenog tijela. Prvobitno na gornjem rubu isklesani ornament položen je uz tlo, a na prijašnjem, tada gore podignutom dnu, izduben recipijent navedene svrhe (Dyggve 1951, 9, Fig. 1,15), što nas podsjeća na metodu primijenjenu u Splitu pri stvaranju sahraništa Staševa parbenjaka sv. Doimusa. Unatoč načelnim podudarnostima, ipak je svaki slučaj zaseban i kao takav zaslužan spominjanja prema različitim tijekovima i ishodima. Jasniji pak trag ideoloških nasrtaja na antičke starine predstavlja oštećenje votivnog natpisa na postamentu Merkurova kipa, zacijelo izvršeno od prvih kršćana koji su i drugdje slično nastupali (Dyggve 1951, 9, Fig. 1,15). S više se povoda sluti kako je grubo okrnjeni natpis bio neko doba dostupan salonitanskoj javnosti upravo da bez mistike zapečati usud spomenika odbačene vjere. Nije se našlo ni shodnim da ga se ikako više koristi poput suvremenih sarkofaga koje na kraju, zajedno s ranokršćanskima uglavnom poradi gole pljačke a ne neke svijesti o uništavanju baštine zazornog sadržaja, nemilosrdno probijahu ili rastrgavahu barbari.

No već prije njihovih prodora sami su podanici rimske države provodili običaj koji nije bio pravno kodificiran, tj. zakonski određen nego je ovisio o odlukama Senata ili bio određen nalogima lokalnih uprava. Između inih poznate su one iz prvog stoljeća Kristove ere izazvane službenim osudama vlasti, o kakvima su izravno izvijestili stari pisci spominjući i užitak ljudi koji su tada rastreskavali njihove kipove.⁸ Najčešće se time svjedočilo smjenjivanja careva, ali su dostupna i obazrivija ponašanja u istim okolnostima, jer su se odnosila na prvobitna ostvarenja, koje se zbog opće koristi nije smjelo niti htjelo uništiti. Ogledni su primjeri na kojima se čin nedvojbenog htijenja ograničio na uredno isklesavanje careva imena s raznih spomen-natpisa o različitim gradnjama. U Ninu pak iz istih je povoda došlo do preoblikovanja carskih portreta, te se sekundarno posredovanje kipara svelo na nijekanje fizionomije, zapravo onemogućavanje njezina prepoznavanja (Kolega 1992).

8. Vidjeti: Svetonije (1956) u poglavlju o Kaliguli navodi osudu Senata za izvršenje "damnatio memoriae". Usp. i poglavlju o Domicijanu 23, 1. te Plinije ml. Panegirik Trajanu, poglavlje 23.

placed by another one, easily recognizable ideologically by its contemporaries and as such respected and celebrated from before. They were forever more than satisfied with this, not doubting that the quashing of pagan traces by the "damnatio memoriae" principle was successful, which eventually stripped naked the entire imperial edifice of the once idiosyncratic figural equipment, whose contents were certainly assailed by the Middle Ages.

It is, therefore, possible to distinguish within the same environment between several ways of realization of the same custom, which springs from corresponding impulses and endeavours, but did not regularly result in cruel actions that we might expect. In their characteristic form they are encountered among the ruins of Salona, where in the basilica of St. Anastasius a neat pagan *ara* was transformed toward the end of the 3rd century into a vessel for the holy water by directly upending the square stone body. The ornament carved on the originally upper edge was placed next to the soil, and on the base, turned upwards now, a container was hollowed with the mentioned function (Dyggve 1951, 9, Fig. 1,15), which reminds us of the method used in Split when the tomb was being made for Anastasius' counterpart St. Doimus. In spite of general correspondence, each case is nevertheless individual and as such deserves mention according to different courses and results. A clearer trace of ideological attacks on antiquities is found in the damaging of a votive inscription on the pedestal of the statue of Mercury, certainly carried out by the first Christians, whose conduct was similar in other places as well (Dyggve 1951, 9, Fig. 1,15). There are several reasons for the idea that the violently damaged inscription was during a certain period accessible to the Salonitan public precisely in order to seal the fate of a monument of the rejected faith without mystique. Nobody found it appropriate to use it in any longer in any way whatsoever, like contemporary sarcophagi that were together with the early Christian ones eventually mercilessly pierced or torn apart by barbarians mostly due to sheer pillaging and not to any kind of conscious destruction of legacy of objectionable contents.

However, even before their incursions the subjects of the Roman state themselves carried out a custom that was not legally codified, i.e. stipulated by law, but depended on decisions by the Senate or was regulated by decrees of local administration. Among others, we know of those from the first century of the era of Christ provoked by the official verdicts of the authority, directly reported by the ancient authors who mentioned also the relish of the people who were then smashing up their statues.⁸ Most of these instances bore testimony to the successions of emperors, but also more careful behaviours were available in the same circumstances, as they related to the original creations, which nobody could or wanted to destroy on account of the public benefit. The model cases are those in which the act of indisputable willing was limited to a clean chiseling of emperor's name off various memorial inscriptions about various buildings. In Nin the same reasons led to a transformation of imperial portraits, and the secondary mediation of the sculptor was restricted to negation of the physiognomy, in fact to rendering it unrecognizable (Kolega 1992). Although there is no doubt that these are true cases of "damnatio memoriae", this is still not a literal application

8. See: Suetonius (1956) in the chapter on Caligula mentions the condemnation by the Senate for carrying out "damnatio memoriae". Comp. also the chapter on Domitian 23, 1. and Pliny the Younger's *Panegyricus Trajani*, chapter 23.

lako «damnatio memoriae» u tim slučajevima nije sporan, ipak ne znači doslovnu njegovu primjenu onog tipa o kojemu govorimo. Za naš su osvrt ti slučajevi zanimljivi s razloga što je kod inače podrobno istumačenih preradbi spomenika izbila štedljivost provincijske sredine. Uslijedilo je i preklesavanje čitavih kipova za koje se ne zna kako su uopće stradali, ali su im dijelove tijela iz skupe građe u nepromijenjenim prilikama života koristili za nove portrete državnih čelnika.⁹

Zasigurno navedena, međusobno nejednaka provođenja «damnatio memoriae» imaju svoje slikovitije analogije u jačim antičkim sjedištima Mediterana. Iako mnoge zorno predočuju dinamiku ideoloških prekreta njegova svijeta, uglavnom su nastavak statičnijih stanja iz carskog doba koje je prema svojim nahođenjima fizički preudešavalo značajne spomenike, tek im u nekoj mjeri mijenjajući izvorne oblike. Očigledno se fenomen u načinu obavljanja razlikuje od mehanički vještog dodavanja novih glava već načinjenim tijelima vladara, koje se nije preobražavalo jer se htjelo zadržati dojmivost postojećih skupih skulptura vrhunskog sadržaja, neovisno o ličnostima koje su ga obnašale. Svakako su na jačinu zahvata utjecale sve sposobnosti pojedine sredine, pa su oni razmjerni materijalnim i duhovnim ili intelektualnim mogućnostima okružja. No njih se u specifičnim uvjetima ratnih opasnosti nije uspjelo aktivirati, pa su – primjerice – u zidine Salone ugrađivane are i nadgrobni spomenici pojedinaca kojima su značenja i prije brisana otklesavanjem reljefnih likova i svih smisleno dokučivih znamenja.¹⁰ Zato se prikladnije čini poimanje «damnatio memoriae» ilustrirati s izravnim uklanjanjem temeljnih poruka koje su spomenici u pravilu razvidno pripočevali, a postadoše protivne novim uvjerenjima ili svjetonazorima.

Među potvrdama prvonabrojenima sukladnih posredovanja na kamenim ostacima rimskog razdoblja ističe se brisanje reljefnog lika božanstva *Silvana, vilicusa* ili *agrestisa*,¹¹ sa stupca iz negdašnje *villae rusticae* u poljicima Bunje na istočnom kraju otoka Brača (Vrsalović 1960, 82). Od prvobitnog prikaza očuvao se samo sićušni lik jarca pokraj nogu otklesanog čovječjeg, te se mogu dokučiti pobude primitivnih žitelja ruralne sredine. Oni su pri pokršćavanju svoje naseobine u otočkoj zabiti, usporedno s upisivanjem križa na akroterij golemog nezgrapnog sarkofaga, potrlj pokazatelje prijašnjih vjerovanja.¹² No nisu brutalno raskomadali čitav stupac koji im je mogao drukčije poslužiti, već su uklonili svojim novim vjerskim opredjeljenjima izazovni lik s nekom pomnjom, ipak ne tolikom da se ne očita postupak i završni učinak. Zasad je to osamljeni primjer pri-

of the type that we are speaking of. These cases are of interest for our review only due to the fact that the frugality of the provincial milieu surfaced in otherwise thoroughly interpreted modifications of the monuments. Even entire statues were subsequently recarved, even though nobody knew how they were damaged, but their body parts made of valuable material were used in the unchanged living circumstances for new portraits of state leaders.⁹

The mentioned, mutually different implementations of «damnatio memoriae» certainly have their more picturesque analogies in stronger ancient centres of the Mediterranean. Even though many of them clearly demonstrate the dynamics of the ideological transformations of their world, they are mostly a continuation of more static states from the imperial period, which physically modified important monuments as it saw fit, changing their original forms only to a certain extent. The manner of execution of the phenomenon obviously differs from the mechanically skillful addition of new heads to prefabricated bodies of the rulers, which were not modified because of the wish to retain the impressiveness of the existing costly sculptures of superior content, irrespective of the persons involved. The extent of the intervention was certainly conditioned by the sum of abilities of a given milieu, so they are proportional to the material and spiritual or intellectual capabilities of the environment. However, in the specific conditions of wartime danger these could not be activated and so, for instance into the fortifications of Salona, aras and tomb monuments were incorporated of the individuals whose meanings were even earlier erased by chiseling off the relief figures and all meaningful symbols.¹⁰ This is why the understanding of «damnatio memoriae» is more appropriately illustrated on the example of direct removal of basic messages that the monuments in general clearly delivered, and which became contrary to new beliefs or worldviews.

The deletion of a relief figure of the deity *Silvan, vilicus* or *agrestis* from the column from the former *villa rustica* in the fields of Bunje on the eastern end of the Brač island (Vrsalović 1960, 82)¹¹ is prominent among the confirmations of the mediations on stone remains from the Roman period congruent with the first mentioned ones. The only thing remaining from the original depiction is the tiny figure of a he-goat next to the legs of the chiseled-off human figure, so one can grasp the intentions of the primitive inhabitants of the rural milieu. On the occasion of the baptism of their settlement in the backwoods of the island, parallel with the inscription of a cross into the acroterium of the huge ungainly sarcophagus, they blotted out the indicators of former beliefs.¹² However, they did not brutally tear the entire column apart, as it may have served them for another purpose, but they removed the figure which they found offensive due to their new religious persuasion with a certain precaution, which was still not great enough to prevent the act and the final effect. This is so far the sole example of the private performance of the custom that would become habitual in the Middle Ages with a differ-

9. M. Kolega (1992, 61-63) opširno razrađuje problematiku s komparativnim djelima izvan naše zemlje.

10. Te procese najvjerojatnije oslikavaju otučeni prikazi na spomeniku koji je nedavno objavila J. Jeličić – Radonić (2006), a sličnih bi se nasilja nad memorijalnim ostacima nepoznatih pojedinaca zacijelo našlo i više.

11. Nije službeni nego privatni kult: Srejšević, Cermanović, 1979, 383.

12. O tome sam pisao u svojoj disertaciji 1975. god., te u članku: Ranokršćanski sarkofazi s otoka Brača, VAHD LXXV, Split, 105-137.

9. M. Kolega (1992, 61-63) extensively elaborates the body of problems with comparative works outside Croatia.

10. Those processes are in all likelihood illustrated by chiseled-off depictions on the monument recently published by J. Jeličić-Radonić (2006), and one could certainly find more similar acts of violence against memorial remains of the individuals unknown to the perpetrators.

11. Not an official but a private cult: Srejšević, Cermanović, 1979, 383.

12. I wrote about that in my dissertation in 1975 and in the paper: Early Christian Sarcophagi from the Brač Island, VAHD LXXV, Split, 105-137.

vatnog obavljanja običaja koji će se uhodati u srednjem vijeku s drukčijim predznakom, a i kasnije istim putem kakav mu je zacrtala klasična antika već prije sukoba službenih vjera okončanog usvajanjem kršćanstva, što će dovesti do potpunog odbacivanja svega minulog.

Zapravo, obujam i način poništavanja starih spomenika ne dopušta uvijek razlikovanje posljedica određenih predaja od spontanih osjećanja, ali omogućava raspoznavanje nekih nagonskih zahvata negativnog predznaka. U redu potonjih najdrastičnije razaranja antičkih svetinja na svjetlo dana pružila je Narona s izuzetnim nedavnim nalazima u porušenom *Augusteumu* (Marin 2004). Tamo su rimske mramorne skulpture također postale žrtva naleta barbara, ali zbačene sa svojih postolja, oskrvnjene i zatrpane ruševinama uz koje se prolazilo bez ikakva zanimanja, a kamoli poštovanja. Naprotiv, drukčije su se ponašali žitelji Nina kad su na temeljima rimskog hrama u 9. st. ozidali svoju crkvicu Sv. Mihovila (Petricioli 1985), i očuvali kontinuitet sakralnog mjesta. No posebno je zanimljivo kako su mahom neoštećene kipove poganskih bogova i vladara – obavještava me Nikola Jakšić – ukopali u blizini,¹³ prethodno im pripremvši prave grobne rake, pa se najvjerojatnije radilo o domišljenoj ritualnoj radnji. Za sličnim bi se posezanjima, dakle, trebalo tragati s više arheološke pozornosti, ne bi li se utvrdilo daljnje primjere «damnatio memoriae» s pokapanjem odbačenih skulptura.¹⁴

Nakon inih više nego simboličnih poteza iz prijelaza iz antike u srednji vijek, u baštini vezanoj za domaće stvaralaštvo diljem jadranske Hrvatske, može se ustvrditi niz krajnje jasnih osvjedočenja «damnatio memoriae». Odreda se oni po zamisli bitno odvajaju od puke reupotrebe gotovih djela, čak i uvriježenog urezivanja križeva i natpisa u klesane izrađevine, izvađene iz starih zdanja za nove (Fisković I., 2000), jer su usmjereni poništavanju raznih izvornih sadržaja uz fizičko preinačivanje pojedinosti. Osim što je kontinuitet običaja klasičnog podrijetla time pratio dinamiku povijesnih zbivanja, svrsishodno je osvjetljavao izvedbene dosege predromaničkog i romaničkog razdoblja, ne mareći o njihovoj estetskoj rječitosti. Tako se već unutar starijeg, koje nije poznavalo figuralno oblikovanje, bilježi brisanje stavki natpisa koji pobliže tumače nastanak ornamentiranog crkvenog namještaja zbog primarne posvećenosti, a i skupoće čuvanog u cjelini. Primjeri iz drugog razdoblja koje je ovladalo figuralikom, pak, okreću postupak promjeni smisleno upečatljivijih činitelja kamenih slika, uz uvođenje novih stvaralačkih momenata koji im tek donekle održavaju oblikovne izvornosti. Iako je pretegnulo nametanje novina i posezanje za punim obnovama, nisu izostali primjeri neujednačenih ponašanja u permanentnom cilju zatajivanja zatečenog. Na njima traje metoda kako prikraćivanja

ent undertone, and also later by the same path traced out by classical antiquity even before the confrontation of the official faiths, brought to an end by the adoption of the Christianity, which would lead to the total rejection of all things past.

In fact, the scope and method of deletion of old monuments does not always allow differentiation of consequences of certain traditions from spontaneous feelings, but it does make possible to distinguish certain instinctive negative interventions. Regarding the latter, the most drastic example of destruction of ancient holy objects was provided by Narona with outstanding recent finds in the destroyed *Augusteum* (Marin 2004). The Roman marble sculptures from there likewise became victims of a barbarian incursion, only they were toppled from their pedestals, desecrated and buried by debris past which people passed without interest, let alone respect. On the contrary, the behaviour of the inhabitants of Nin was quite different, when in the 9th century they built their small church of St. Michael on the foundations of a Roman temple (Petricioli 1985), preserving thus the continuity of the sacral place. However – as Nikola Jakšić informs me – it is particularly interesting how they buried the mostly undamaged statues of pagan gods and rulers in the vicinity,¹³ having previously prepared actual graves for them, which means that in all likelihood this was a thought-out ritual act. If one aims to ascertain further examples of "damnatio memoriae" with a burial of rejected sculptures one should look for similar encroachments with more archaeological attention.¹⁴

After other, more than symbolic interventions from the transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages, a series of entirely clear manifestations of "damnatio memoriae" can be ascertained in the heritage related with the local creativity throughout the Adriatic Croatia. All these diverge considerably by concept from a sheer reuse of finished works, even from habitual incision of crosses and inscriptions onto carved artefacts, taken out from the old buildings for the new ones (Fisković I., 2000), because they aim to annul various original contents with physical modification of details. The continuity of customs of classical origin not only followed by this the dynamics of historical events, but it also meaningfully illuminated the scope of performance of pre-Romanesque and Romanesque period, without taking care of their esthetic eloquence. Thus already within the older period, which did not know figural forms, eradication is documented of portions of inscriptions that interpret in more detail the creation of ornamented church furniture kept as a whole on account of primary consecration, but also due to its expensiveness. In contrast to this, the examples from the second period, which mastered the figurative expression, turn the process toward the change of conceivably more impressive factors of stone images, with the introduction of new creative moments that only to a degree reflect their original forms. Although imposition of novelties and preference for full reconstruction prevailed, there was no lack of examples of irregular behaviour in the permanent objective of suppressing the encountered. They exhibit not only the method of negation of the integrity of plastic monuments in different circumstances of their survival, but also that of conceived modification of meaning of

13. Za njihov smještaj u hramu zalagao se M. Suić. Ne postoji dokumentacija o iskapanjima iz 18. st. kad su skulpture nađene, ali je N. Jakšić to uočio uvidom u profile zemljišta pri reviziji.

14. Iz kasnijih doba poznato je jednostavno ukopavanje u zemlju razlomljenih reljefa mletačkog lava.

13. M. Suić advocated their position in the temple. There is no existing documentation about excavations in the 18th cent., when the sculptures were found, but N. Jakšić perceived that through inspection of the profiles of the terrain during the revision.

14. From later periods we know of a simple burial of broken reliefs of the lion of Venice.

integriteta plastičkih spomenika u drukčijim okolnostima njihova opstanka, tako promišljenog mijenjanja značenja ne samo duhovnošću nego i drugim polugama opečaćene skulpture sakralnih građevina kao mjesta iskaza širih nastojanja ili postignuća izvan likovnih domena.¹⁵

Intervencije iz predromanike usredotočuju se na latinske natpise kakvi su tijekom 9. i 10. st. dopunjali dijelove opreme svetišta u ime uspostave komunikacije s nebeskim i zemaljskim ozračjem. Stotinjak poznatih unutar geometrijski klesanih reljefa s mnoštvom tipičnih motiva sakralne simbolike, donose imena donatora, a uz ime nebesnika kojima je posveta upućena, nerijetko i datum postavljanja (Delonga 1996). Budući da ih uglavnom ne prate povijesna vrela, osobito oni s navođenjem narodnih vladara i raznih dužnosnika, tvore izuzetno vrijedni i materijalno najistrajniji arhiv, važan za mnoga pitanja uključujući i razlikovanje klesarskih radionica. Najčešće su na gredama i tegurijima oltarskih ograda ili na lukovima ciborija nad oltarom, tako da pripadaju «posvećenim tijelima» u idejnom sklopu vjerskih zavjeta namijenjeni nebesnicima. U zbilji razgraničavajući obredni dio arhitektonskog prostora od polusvjetovnog, okrenuti pohoditeljima a ne vršiteljima liturgije, pojašnjavaju kome se osiguravao put u blaženu vječnost. Dodjeljujući ga i na zemlji povlaštenom sloju ljudi, ujedno predviđeni za dugo trajanje, služili su uzdizanju ugleda živih naručitelja ili darovatelja jamčeći mu stalni trag i poštovanje u društvenoj zajednici, kojoj je pridonio već i gradnjom bogomolje. Upravo su zato postali meta naknadnog brisanja s namjerom zatiranja spomena dostojanstvenika i moćnika u prostoru i vremenu, ili barem poništenja djela s kojim su se oni sami kanili zadržati u pamćenju naraštaja.

Budući da su najočitiji takvi slučajevi iz seoskih sredina u zaleđu obale, podložnih češćim unutarnjim preustrojanjima, može se pretpostaviti kako su «damnatio memoriae» počinili lokalni neprijatelji onoga koga je natpis imenovao. Naravno, zato što je platio izradu cancelluma, valjda i gradnju crkve, pa se time podičio a očekivao uzvrat, poglavito u vjerskoj sferi. Međutim su mu se po svoj prilici nakon smrti usprotivili izvršitelji privatnih razračunavanja, možda osobnih osveta, začudo ne susprežući se pred posvetom zavjeta. Predmnijevamo posve izvjesnim kako na nepridržavanje njezinih zakonitosti pristajahu i pripadnici crkvenih ustanova, budući da se bez njihova odobrenja u obrednim zdanjima malo što moglo događati. U tom smislu izgleda da je običaj ponovo dobio određeni legalitet, iako nije potican s društvenog vrha. Nije isključeno da ga zgodimice poduzimahu novi vlasnici posjeda ili gospodari područja, svakako oni koji pripadahu neumitno istoj vjeroispovijesti, a i više-manje istom društvenom sloju. Da su im težnje a i sposobnosti bile drukčije, u najmanju ruku bi gradili novo svetište umjesto da se služe s postojećim i preinačuju mu izvorni lik i značaj. Prema tome, smijemo slu-

15. Razumljivo je iz ugla takvog gledanja dopušteno skratiti opise koji bi vodili suvišnim zaključcima o vrsnoći rada, a prikladnije naglasak staviti na izravnije vizualno pokazivanje s fotografijama.

the sculpture – sealed not only by spirituality but also by other levers – of sacral buildings, as places for expression of wider endeavours or achievements beyond the domains of art.¹⁵

The interventions from the pre-Romanesque period are concentrated on the Latin inscriptions of the kind that in the 9th and 10th century supplemented the pieces of sanctuary equipment in the name of establishing communication with the celestial and terrestrial environment. A hundred or so known within geometrically carved reliefs with a multitude of typical motifs of sacral symbolism bring the names of donors, and in addition to the name of the celestial person to whom the dedication was addressed they also frequently mention the date of setting (Delonga 1996). Considering that they are mostly not accompanied by historical sources, particularly those that mention national rulers and various officials represent an exceptionally valuable and materially most persistent archives, important for numerous questions including that of the distinction of stone-carving workshops. They are mostly positioned on beams and teguria of altar partitions or on the arches of the ciborium above the altar, so that they belong to “consecrated bodies” in the conceptual framework of religious vows intended for the celestials. Delimiting in reality the ritual zone of the architectural space from the semi-secular one, facing the visitors instead of the performers of the liturgy, they make clear who it was for whom the way to blessed eternity was secured. By allocating them to the social stratum that is privileged on Earth as well, at the same time intended to last long, they served for raising reputation of living commissioners or donors, guaranteeing them permanent vestige and respect within the social community, to which he made the contribution by building the church. This is precisely why they became a target of posterior eradication with the purpose of extermination of memory of dignitaries and power-wielders in space and time, or at least revocation of the act by which they themselves had intended to remain in the memory of generations.

Considering that the most obvious cases of that sort come from rural centres in the hinterland of the coast, liable to frequent interior transformations, it can be assumed that the acts of “damnatio memoriae” were committed by local enemies of those named by the inscription. Obviously, because he paid for the *cancellum* and perhaps also for the building of the church, of which he boasted and expected remuneration, primarily in the religious sphere. However, in all likelihood the executors of private score-settlings, possibly personal grudges, opposed him after he died, surprisingly not halting before the votive dedication. We find it entirely certain that members of ecclesiastical institutions also acquiesced to non-compliance with its laws, considering that little or nothing could happen within ritual buildings without their consent. In that sense it appears that the custom regained certain legitimacy, even though it was not fomented from the highest level of the society. It is not excluded that it was occasionally undertaken by new landowners or regional lords, definitely those who undeniably belonged to the same religious conviction and more or less the same social stratum. Had their desires and capabilities been different, they would at least have built a new sanctuary instead of using the existing one while changing its original form and meaning. We are therefore entitled to a presentiment

15. Understandably, from that point of view it is permissible to cut short the descriptions that would lead to excessive conclusions about the quality of work, while it is more appropriate to lay emphasis on the more direct visual illustration by photographs.

titi kako su iza obavljanja «damnatio memoriae» u malim zajednicama više stajale kolektivne sudbine i individualne drame negoli opće idejne orijentacije. Sva su djela sakralne umjetnosti, uostalom, onda opstajala u službi religije moći, inače neodvojive od općeljudskih vokacija i kršćanskih svjetonazora, pa su se tim lakše našla na udaru raznih suparništava i nadmetanja.

Promišljanja danas nije teško proširiti, ali ništa ne jamči koja se i kakva istina krije u pozadini naizglednih općenitosti mnoštva ulomaka usitnjenih do te mjere da su radnje tipa «damnatio memoriae» često neizvjesne. Temeljno je ustvrditi barem one bjelodane kao što je jedva spojiva gređa oltarne ograde iz Stombrata, gdje bijahu dvori knezova pa je i svetište bilo izloženije političkim udarima (Karaman 1930). Izbrisano je ime samo prvog, tj. glavnog člana natpisa, ali ne i navod njegove supruge i sina: //////////////// CONIVGE ET CVM FILIIS MEIS VOTVM COMPLEVI.¹⁶ Čak se radnja nije prikrila zaglađivanjem ispražnjenog polja, nego je ono ostavljeno hrapavim od izravnih udaraca dljeteta. Razlozi takva odricanja prava razvidno važne osobe s natpisa jesu zagonetni, ali su istraživačima znakoviti kao inačica dokučivih ponašanja. U Brnazama je na sličnom natpisnom polju s početka kamene gređe ostao tek naslov, tj. titula za nas bezimenog moćnika koji je sagradio šesterokonašnu crkvicu, najvjerojatnije kao pokopalište čitave svoje obitelji,¹⁷ pa je to očekivani uzor za druge na koje padaju iste sjene. U Pađenima kod Knina – primjerice - natpis na uskoj traci između donje pletenice i gornjih kuka je pomno izbrisan, doslovce izbrušen čak bolje od površina okolnog ukrasa. Utoliko nema mogućnosti spoznavanju sadržaja makar pretpostavljamo da nije kazivao nešto izvan uobičajenih formula i poruka. No na drugom se ulomku po svemu sudeći iste gređe imenuje župan Rastimir (Delonga 1996, kat. 186), ipak kao potvrda nekih socijalnih stalnosti, nukajući nas vjerovati da «damnatio memoriae» nije bio spontan, odnosno nekontroliran. Jedino ostaje neizvjesno je li uklonjeno ime sudionika u donaciji, ili neka pohvala koju on po kasnijem uvjerenju nije zaslužio. U svakom je slučaju jasno kako su diljem siromašne Zagore postignute čedne realizacije običaja na strukturalno nepromijenjenim građevinama i njihovoj tipološki više-manje ujednačenoj opremi.

S obzirom da su crkvice kojima natpisi izvorno pripadahu, porušene prilikom osmanlijskih provala ili zubom vremena u osiromašenju područja, sigurno su se radiranja imena odvila unutar srednjeg vijeka, dok je njihov sadržaj nešto značilo malobrojnom pismenom sloju pučanstva. Iako su natpisi mahom sadržavali komunikaciju sa svetima i kao takvi bili uzdignuti na viši duhovni stupanj, nemoguće je preskočiti njihova značenja u prosječnoj svakidašnjici, gdje su tek svećenici bili učeni. Dakle, navedene su intervencije čvrste potvrde «osuda na zaborav», potaknutih živim odnosima spram pojedincima iz hijerarhije lokalnih

16. Prema: Delonga 1996, kat. 8., TVIII.

17. Pretpostavku sam razvio komparacijom s drugim gradnjama istoga tipa (Fisković I., 1985, 37).

that in small communities it was more the collective destinies and individual dramas that stood behind the implementation of "damnatio memoriae" than some general conceptual orientations. In any case, all works of sacral art were then surviving in the service of the religion of power, otherwise inseparable from universally human vocations and Christian worldviews, which is why they all the more easily came under attack by diverse rivalries and competitions.

It is at present not difficult to widen considerations, but there is no guarantee as to which and what truth hides behind the apparent generalities of the multitude of pieces fragmented to the point that the acts of the "damnatio memoriae" type are frequently rendered uncertain. It is basic to ascertain at least those self-evident ones such as the barely attachable altar partition from Stombrate, where a princely court was situated and therefore the sanctuary was more exposed to political coups (Karaman 1930). Only the name of the first, i.e. main member of the inscription was erased, but not the mention of his wife and son: //////////////// CONIVGE ET CVM FILIIS MEIS VOTVM COMPLEVI.¹⁶ Even the act was not concealed by smoothing the emptied field, but it was left coarse from direct strokes of the chisel. The reasons for such denial of rights of a clearly important person from the inscription are indeed enigmatic, but they are significant for the researchers as variants of conceivable behaviours. In Brnaze, only the appellation, i.e. the title of a potentate unknown to us, who built a small six-apsed church, most likely as a tomb for his entire family,¹⁷ has remained on a similar inscription field from the beginning of a stone beam, and this is an expected model for the other ones on which the same shadows fall. For instance, in Pađeni near Knin an inscription on a narrow stripe between the lower braid and the upper hooks was carefully erased, in fact literally scraped away even better than the surfaces of the surrounding decoration. There is thus no possibility to grasp the contents even though we assume that it did not say anything beyond the ordinary formulae or expressions. However, župan Rastimir is named on another fragment of what is in all likelihood the same beam (Delonga 1996, cat. 186), as a confirmation of certain permanent social circumstances, letting us believe that "damnatio memoriae" was not spontaneous or uncontrolled. It only remains uncertain whether the name of the participant in the donation was removed, or some praise which later conviction found undeserving. Be as it may it is clear that throughout poor Zagora modest realizations of customs were achieved on structurally unchanged buildings and their typologically more or less uniform equipment.

Considering that the churches to which the inscriptions originally belonged were destroyed during the Ottoman incursions or by the passage of time in the impoverishment of the land, the erasure of names certainly occurred during the Middle Ages, when their content meant something to the few people that formed the literate stratum of society. Even though the inscriptions by and large contained communication with the sacred and as such were elevated to a higher spiritual level, it is impossible to bypass their meanings in the average daily life, where only the priests were learned. Therefore, the mentioned interventions are strong confirmations of "condemnation to oblivion", motivated by living relationships toward individuals from the hierarchy of local social communities in the time when they only started to be built with

16. After: Delonga 1996, Cat. 8, Pl. VIII.

17. I developed the assumption by comparison with other constructions of the same type (Fisković I., 1985, 37).

društvenih zajednica u doba kad su se one tek gradile s očiglednim estetskim nastojanjima, koje je kasnije bitno oskvrnula prevrtljivost povijesnih prilika. Bez detaljnijeg njihova poznavanja, uostalom, teško je reći je li drastično razbijanje znamenitog sarkofaga kraljice Jelene u Solinu,¹⁸ također ishodilo iz čina srodnog onom s grobnicom Dioklecijana u Splitu, ili je puka posljedica općeg razaranja starih svetišta u prostorima izloženima nasrtajima s Istoka. Približna takva nagađanja nameću i rijetki preostaci natpisa poput onog, nažalost, izgubljenog gotičkog iz Ostrovice kod Bribira,¹⁹ koji imenujući «rex Zuonemerusa» ostaje više nego tajanstven.

U urbanim, svekoliko razvijenijim središtima, podudar ni slučajevi mahom potpadaju drugim kategorijama, jer obala bijaše poprište sukobljavanja složenijih političkih interesa. Ipak, poznati primjeri «damnatio memoriae» nisu obvezni njihov odraz, pa je izostajanje čitavog natpisa u dugačkoj traci pri vrhu plastički bogato obrađenog pročelja zadarskog sarkofaga, datiranog u početak 9. st. (Jakšić 2006),²⁰ moglo uslijediti i iz jagne pojedinaca da ga uzmu za svoje pokopalište. Osim što su grobnice prije i kasnije, bilo prodajom bilo otimanjem, posvuda mijenjale vlasnike i korisnike, privlačnost ovog natprosječno urešenog bijaše pojačana njegovim položajem usred grada. Prije spremanja u muzej, naime, bio je pomoću konzola uzdignut na vanjskom obodu apside katedrale i takav smještaj, uobičajeno dostupan zaslužnima, umanjuje vjerojatnost da je trajno ostavljen bez natpisa. Zato je slobodno promišljati da izvorno bijaše namijenjen nekom crkvenom poglavaru, u redovima kojih se nasljeđivanje grobnica znalo ponavljati,²¹ a čimbenici se društvene samouprave nisu tome protivili. Svejedno nisu česta rana pokapanja svjetovnjaka bilo kojeg ranga na reprezentativnim točkama kakvu je zauzimao taj skupi sarkofag, po svemu sudeći rano podvrgnut izravnom «damnatio memoriae». Dolično mjestu koje je zadržao, shvatljivijim se čini visoki stupanj tehnike brisanja natpisa zbog kojeg se zadugo nisu bile uočile sve vrsnoće toga spomenika.

Za problematiku koju on dotiče veoma je znakovita pojava imena hrvatskih vladara na crkvama unutar ili tik do zidina primorskih gradova od zrelog 11. st. Izravno svjedoče kako su im se male komune, poglavito crkvene ustanove, oduživale za potporu u izgradnji autonomija suprotiva vrhovne vlasti Bizanta. U Splitu je tako pri podizanju benediktinskog samostana Sv. Eufemije, zalaganjem poduzetnog nadbiskupa-reformatora Lovra, na portalu crkve bilo označeno da je izgrađena 1069. god., «dok je Dalmacijom vladao kralj Krešimir» (Fisković C., 1948). Unatoč tek relativnoj povijesnoj točnosti, natpis je važan s razloga što na javnom mjestu u drevnoj formuli otkriva mjerenje vremena s nacionalnim vladarom i ističe njegovo priznavanje. Upravo

obvious esthetic intentions, which were later considerably desecrated by the inconstancy of historical circumstances. It is in fact difficult to say without a more detailed knowledge of those whether the drastic destruction of the renowned sarcophagus of queen Jelena in Solin¹⁸ was likewise the outcome of an act similar to that with the tomb of Diocletian in Split or was it a sheer consequence of general destruction of old sanctuaries in the areas exposed to the incursions from the East. Approximate assumptions are imposed by rare remains of inscriptions such as the Gothic one, unfortunately lost, from Ostrovica near Bribir,¹⁹ which remains more than mysterious with its mention of «rex Zuonemerus».

In urban centres, in every way more developed, corresponding cases by and large fall into other categories, because the coast was the scene of confrontation of more complex political interests. However, the known examples of «damnatio memoriae» are not their obligatory reflection, so the absence of an entire inscription in a long stripe near the top of a plastically richly rendered façade of a sarcophagus from Zadar, dated to the beginning of the 9th century (Jakšić 2006)²⁰ may have been the outcome of a scramble of individuals to use it as their burial place. In addition to the fact that the tombs have everywhere, before and after, through purchase or usurpation changed owners and users, the attraction of this one with its outstanding decoration was enhanced by its position in the very centre of the city. Prior to its deposition in the museum, it was elevated to the exterior of the apse of the cathedral by means of consoles, and such position, generally available to deserving individuals, decreases the probability that it was permanently left without an inscription. One is therefore free to assume that it was originally determined for an ecclesiastical leader, among whom the succession of tombs was a known occurrence,²¹ and factors of social self-government were not opposed to that. Still, early burials of secular individuals of any rank are rare on representative spots such as the one occupied by that expensive sarcophagus, which was in all likelihood early on subjected to a direct «damnatio memoriae». As it becomes the place it had kept, one more easily understands the high level of technique of deletion of the inscription, which was the reason why for a long time one was unable to perceive all the qualities of this monument.

Very significant for the body of problems that it touches on is the appearance of names of Croatian rulers on churches within the walls or immediately next to the walls of coastal cities from the developed 11th century. They are a direct testimony that small communes, primarily ecclesiastical institutions, were rewarding them for their support in building the autonomies in opposition to the supreme authority of Byzantium. Thus in Split, on the occasion of the erection of the Benedictine monastery of St. Euphemia, through endeavour of enterprising archbishop-reformer Lawrence (Lovro), it was marked on the church portal that it had been built in 1069, «when Dalmatia was ruled by king Krešimir» (Fisković C., 1948). In spite of its only relative historical accuracy, the inscription is important because it reveals in a public place the measurement of time with a national ruler and indicates his recognition. Precisely on account of this it was removed in 1735 by decision of the Venetian authority, demonstrably disposed

18. Opširna literatura o spomeniku ne iznosi tu mogućnost.

19. F. Šišić (1925, 588) nažalost ne tumači spomenik.

20. N. Jakšić (2006, 66, kat.2.) sa starijom literaturom.

21. Vjerojatno najslabiji slučaj iz korčulanske katedrale osvijetlio je u više navrata G. Nikšić (2005, 132).

18. The extensive literature about the monument does not put forward this possibility.

19. F. Šišić (1925, 588) unfortunately does not interpret the monument.

20. N. Jakšić (2006, 66, Cat. 2) with older literature.

21. G. Nikšić (2005, 132) shed light on the probably most complex case on several occasions.

kao takav uklonjen je 1735. god. po nalogu venecijanske uprave, provjereno sklone zabranama spomena živih ili brisanja uspomena na mrtve, na gotovo neprimjetan način,²² ali su lokalni kroničari s bjelodanim ciljem pravodobno zabilježili njegovo negdašnje postojanje. U svakom je slučaju to bio posljednji odraz klasičnog imperijalnog govora, koji se s motivima i temama tako trijumfalne naravi više neće obnoviti, a ova «zabrana spomena» ga je dokinula.

Samo donekle se s time slažu memorije Krešimirova nasljednika, kralja Zvonimira, koji je bio protegnuo utjecaj sve do kvarnerskih otoka, gdje je benediktincima u Baškoj na Krku pomogao pri gradnji crkve i darivao zemlje. Njegovo ime otkriva Bašćanska ploča, ako ne najstariji a ono najznamenitiji nacionalni epigrafski spomenik, izrazite literarne vrсноće pisan glagoljicom oko 1100. god. Oblikovana za cancellum oltara crkve Sv. Lucije, slijedom kasnijih promjena ukusa i liturgijskih potreba monumentalna je ploča uklonjena te položena u pločnik okrenuta licem zemlji, možda posluživši i kao pokrov groba. Iako se baš time očuvao čitav natpis, zamrlo je sjećanje na ovlasti kralja pri podjeli zemalja, utječući i na uvjerenja o granicama hrvatske države. No kad je konačno otkrivena, nije se razjasnilo je li izbačena s izvornog mjesta i nedostojno upotrijebljena iz čisto pragmatičnih razloga, snalažljivošću graditelja groba odnosno nedostatka sredstava za novo uredno popločenje bogomolje, ili se to izvelo s političkom nakanom,²³ možda u ime suzbijanja uvjerenja o opravdanosti isticanja kralja Zvonimira na Krku. Uz takve otvorene mogućnosti, svejedno se tajnom obavila natpisom u crkvi naglašena nadarbina, što graniči sa svetogrđem, a u biti jamči kako je dugački kameni zapis pregazilo vrijeme.²⁴ S obzirom da je temeljni učinak bilo nijekanje nazočnosti tragaavnog vladara, donekle se otklanja i dvojba oko ubravanja sekundarne povijesti Bašćanske ploče u red jamstava «damnatio memoriae», sastavnice kojeg ona i neutanačena ipak ima.

Kudikamo je zapleteniji historijat mramorne ploče s reljefnim likom vladara i dva pratitelja, od zreloga srednjeg vijeka ugrađene u zdenac krstionice splitske katedrale,²⁵ čija istraživanja su me i uvela u temu na koju se ovdje osvrćem. Rasprave, pak, o značenju i podrijetlu rečenog pluteja obujmom nadilaze pisanja o bilo kojem drugom umjetničkom spomeniku u hrvatskom prostoru. To on uistinu zavrjeđuje s obzirom da u svojoj Europi nema monumentalnije skulpturalne slike regalne ikonografije iz istog doba. Opravdano se drži da je pripadao oltarskoj cjelini neke ugledne crkve, a prednosti se daju solinskoj ranoromaničkoj bazilici, naslovljenoj sv. Petru i Mojsiju (Petricioli 1967). Osim što su u njoj tijekom 11. st. krunjeni hrvatski dinasti, pa bijaše

to prohibit mention of the living or delete memories of the dead, in an almost imperceptible way,²² but local chroniclers registered its former existence with an obvious intention. This was in any case the last reflection of the classical imperial discourse, which would never be renewed again with the motifs and topics of such a triumphal nature, and this "prohibition to mention" ended it.

The memories of Krešimir's successor, king Zvonimir, only partly correspond to this. He extended his influence all the way to the islands of the Kvarner Gulf, where he helped the Benedictines in Baška on the Krk island in the construction of the church and gave them land. His name is revealed by the Baška tablet, the most significant if not the oldest national epigraphic monument, of exceptional literary quality, written in the Glagolitic script around 1100. Designed for the *cancellum* of the altar of the church of St. Lucy, in the succession of subsequent changes of taste and liturgical requirements the monumental tablet was removed and laid in the pavement face down, perhaps used as a cover of a grave. Even though the inscription was preserved in its entirety precisely on account of that, the memory of the authority of the king died down, influencing also the ideas about the borders of the Croatian state. But when it was eventually revealed, it was not made clear whether it was removed from its original place and indecently used from entirely pragmatic reasons, by resourcefulness of the grave builder or the lack of means for a new and orderly paving of the church, or it was done with a political motif,²³ perhaps in the name of suppressing belief in justification of mentioning the name of king Zvonimir on Krk. In spite of these open possibilities, mystery all the same enveloped the dedication mentioned in the church inscription, which borders with a sacrilege, while in fact it shows that the lengthy record in stone was rendered obsolete by time.²⁴ Considering that the basic effect was negation of the presence of a ruler from remote past, the doubt is partly removed as to the inclusion of the secondary history of the Baška tablet in the rank of the guarantees of "damnatio memoriae", whose components, even though unstipulated, it nevertheless possesses.

The history of the marble slab with a relief figure of a ruler and two squires –the research on this monument has in fact introduced me to the topic which I review here– which has been built into the well of the baptistery of the Split cathedral²⁵ since the developed Middle Ages, is considerably more intricate. On the other hand, the discussions on the significance and origin of the mentioned *pluteus* surpass in terms of quantity the writings about any other artistic monument in the Croatian area. This monument truly deserves this, considering that there is not a more monumental sculptural depiction of a regal iconography from the same period in the whole of Europe. It is justifiably believed that it belonged to the altar piece of a prestigious church, with the main candidate being the early Romanesque basilica in Solin, dedicated to St. Peter and Moses (Petricioli 1967). In addition to the fact that during

22. Naime, od 1678. god. datiraju u nas njezine odluke o brisanju kamenih natpisa i grbova dostojanstvenika na javnim mjestima: Fisković C., 1954, 84-89.

23. U opširnoj literaturi o tom spomeniku nisam našao traga toj pretpostavci, ali je zacijelo treba imati na umu.

24. Može se pretpostaviti da se to dogodilo s jačim preinakama crkve nakon 13. st., dok prvospomenuti pisani trag istoga kralja datira u 14. st., a pripada okružju Šubićeva gospodstva gdje je po svojoj prilici niknula i legenda o ubojstvu Zvonimira.

25. Vidjeti: Fisković I., 2001.

22. In our case its decisions on the erasure of stone inscriptions and coats of arms of the nobility in public places date from 1678: Fisković C., 1954, 84-89.

23. I have not found any trace of that assumption in the extensive literature about that monument.

24. It can be presumed that it happened with major changes in the church after the 13th century, while the first mentioned written trace of the same king dates from the 14th century, and belongs to the environment of the Šubić estate, where in all probability the legend about the murder of Zvonimir was born.

25. See: Fisković I., 2001.

predodređena iznimnom opremanju, iz nje su otkopani ulomci morfološki posve srodni djelima odlične radionice znamenitih pluteja sv. Nediljice u Zadru. Njihovim su likovima najbliža i tri s asimetrične kompozicije koja je pouzdana podvrgnuta činu «damnatio memoriae», što joj bitno potvrđuje svjetovnu narav. Tome u prilog ide izostanak aureole nad glavom okrunjenog, najvećeg lika posjednutog na prijestolju u odori, nalik onoj s istodobnih fresaka u Stonu (Fisković C., 1960). Druge su analogije dokazale da se i poklonstvo ničice uz noge vladaru, kakvo predočuje ležeći lik na reljefu u Splitu, prakticiralo na dvorovima zapadne Europe tijekom ranog srednjovjekovlja, te nije svojstveno isključivo počastima Božjem sinu ili bizantskom caru, kako se dugo tvrdilo. Osim pisanih pravila o svjetovnom ritualu, naime, postoje predočenja *prostratia* ili *proskynese* na minijaturama nekoliko pravnih kodeksa u Italiji,²⁶ sastavljenih beneventanom, čiju su kulturu na istočni Jadran prenijeli benediktinci u vrlo dobrim odnosima s ovdašnjim vladarima, posebice uoči i u jeku velike crkvene reforme 11. st. U tim su okvirima sročeni ključni uvjeti nastanka jedinstvenog reljefa izloženog u nekom svetištu sasvim prema duhu ondašnjih likovnih i ostalih nastojanja.

No njih su u jednom trenutku prekinula događanja koja izazvaše promišljena i umješna posredovanja na umjetnici. Osim što se, naime, ustvrdilo da je s gornjeg ruba pluteja naknadno brisan poduži natpis, također se razabralo kako je pomno iz ruku stojećeg vladareva pratitelja otklesan *rotulus* (Fisković I., 2002).²⁷ Njegov obris se i danas nazire, ali mu je površina popunjena stiliziranim naborima odore, ne bi li se prikrilo isključivanje za sadržaj kamene slike važnog elementa.²⁸ Zajedno s uspješno izvedenim skidanjem sloja natpisnih slova i brušenjem površine njihove trake, znači da je lažiranje okončano dok plutej još bijaše u funkciji, ali su umjesto jednostavnog izbacivanja iz svetišta zataškane poruke koje je dično sricao. S nizom argumenata, dakle, poduprto je uvjerenje o idejno osebujujoj i na zbilju oslojnoj slici *Rex Iustus*, svepriznatog Kristova vikara, koji čitko ističe svoje profane atribute zajedno s križem kao općim signumom uloge neposrednog zaštitnika kršćanskog naroda na zemlji.

Na toj osnovi uznastojalo se očitati o kojem bi vladaru točno mogla biti riječ, posebice s obzirom na izvršeni «damnatio memoriae», što je dugo u znanosti ostao nepovezan s poznatim zbivanjima iz prošlosti. Naposljetku je uspjelo dokučiti znatne podudarnosti iz života Petra Krešimira IV., zadnjeg kralja iz roda Trpimirovića, i umjetničkih okosnica reljefa. Ključ je u činjenici da je on, vladajući dva desetljeća od 1054. god.,²⁹ spojio obalne gradove i duboko zaleđe u jedinstvenu državu. Svoju je moć dokazao poticanjem gradnje brojnih samostana i crkava diljem obale, te stekao i velike zasluge u razvoju graditeljstva i kiparstva.

the 11th century it was the coronation church of the Croatian dynasts, which is why it was predestined for exceptional furnishing, it yielded fragments entirely similar morphologically to the works of a high quality workshop of the renowned pluteus of the St. Nediljica church in Zadar. Three figures from the asymmetrical composition which was indisputably subjected to the act of «damnatio memoriae» come most closely to their figures, which substantially confirms its secular nature. In favour of this speaks the omission of a halo above the head of the crowned figure – the largest figure seated on the throne in a robe resembling that from the contemporary frescoes in Ston (Fisković C., 1960). Other analogies have proven that prostration at the feet of a ruler, as depicted by the prostrate figure on the relief in Split, was practiced at the courts of western Europe during the early Middle Ages, and that it is not characteristic exclusively for the honours bestowed on the Son of God or a Byzantine Emperor, as had been claimed for a long time. In addition to the written rules regarding the secular ritual, there are proofs of *prostratia* or *proskynesis* on the miniatures of several juridical codices in Italy,²⁶ composed in Beneventan script, whose culture was brought to the eastern Adriatic by the Benedictines with good relationship with the local rulers, particularly on the eve of and in the midst of the great church reform of the 11th century. The key conditions for the creation of a unique relief exhibited in a sanctuary entirely in the spirit of the contemporary artistic and other endeavours were articulated within that framework.

However, at one moment they were interrupted by the events that caused conceived and artful mediations on this artistic piece. It was not only ascertained that a lengthy inscription was subsequently erased from the upper edge of the pluteus, but it was also perceived that a *rotulus* was carefully chiseled off from the hands of the standing squire of the ruler (Fisković I., 2002).²⁷ Its outline is still discernible today, but its surface is filled with stylized pleats of the robe, with the aim of concealing the exclusion of an important element for the content of the stone image.²⁸ Coupled with the successful removal of the layer of the letters of the inscription and the scraping of the surface of their stripe, this means that the fabrication was completed while the pluteus was still in function, but instead of simple discard from the sanctuary, the messages that it proudly spelled were stifled. It is therefore with a series of arguments that the belief is substantiated in a conceptually idiosyncratic, and leaning on the reality, image of *Rex Iustus*, all-recognized vicar of Christ, who displays in clear script his profane attributes together with the cross as the general symbol of the role of a direct guardian of the Christian people on earth.

This was the basis for the endeavours with the aim of interpreting which ruler this might be, particularly with consideration of the conducted «damnatio memoriae», which scholars for a long time failed to connect with known events from history. Eventually substantial correlation between the life of Petar Krešimir IV, the last king from the dynasty of Trpimirovići, and the artistic backbone of the relief was acknowledged. The key lies in the fact that in his two decade long rule, starting with 1054,²⁹ he united the coastal cities and deep hinterland into a unified state. He proved his power by encouraging building of numerous monasteries and churches along the entire coast

26. Vidjeti: Fisković I., 2002. gl. 5.

27. Sažeti prikaz problematike: Fisković I., 2007.

28. Isto – ustvari je to jedna os osnovnih teza čitave knjige.

29. Slijedno identifikaciji kralja i njegovu sam povijest sintetizirao u navedenoj knjizi koristeći brojnu literaturu.

26. See: Fisković I., 2002. ch. 5.

27. A review of the body of problems: Fisković I., 2007.

28. The same – in fact this is an axis of the basic theses of the entire book.

29. In accordance with the identification of the king I synthesized his history as well in the mentioned book with the use of extensive literature.

Osim što je doba svojeg vladanja učinio uspješnijim od bilo kojeg drugog našeg drevnog suverena, učvrstio je osnove za vrhunska umjetnička ostvarenja među kakve reljef spada u europskim mjerilima. No sve je to ometalo politički proboj borbenog pape Grgura VI., koji je svuda nametao centralistički sustav crkvene države,³⁰ a na Jadranu nakon povlačenja Bizanta težio uspostaviti svoje totalitarne vlasti. Osnaženi hrvatski vladar mu se prilično opirao ili barem ometao planove, te je Sveti Otac – pričaju onodobna pisana vrela – poslao na njega brodovlje s vojskom Normana.³¹ U sukobu je kralj zarobljen 1072. god. nedaleko Nina i odonda o njemu nema glasa, a iz Rima mu je za nasljednika imenovan Dmitar Zvonimir, dotadašnji ban Slavonije. Utamničivši zakonitog prijestolonasljednika Stjepana, on je s glavarima područne crkve pristao na uvjete koji uvelike srozavaju postignuća Krešimira na području suvereniteta.³² Povezivanjem znanja o tome s iznimno dostojanstvenom figuralnom predstavom na reljefu iz krunidbene crkve, iznašlo se opravdanje promjenama koje su na njega unesene načelom «zabrane spomena», a znače izravno pobijanje digniteta znanog i proslavljenoga svjetovnog vladara. Čak su se neka njegova ostvarenja pod pritiskom romantičnih legendi pripisivala drugima.

Podudarno neutraliziranje izvornih političkih poruka je razvidno u Splitu i na pojedinim kasnijim skulpturama. Za istaknuti je ono koje je zadesilo romanički reljef na ulazu u katedralu, pod zvonikom pored Peristila (Jelić 1896). U skupini simboličnih likova koji, nastali u drugoj polovici 13. st., podsjećaju na uobičajene *telamone* iznad simboličnih lavova, dvije su s južne strane zamijenjene dekorativnim motivom antikizirajuće maske *Oceana* u bezličnoj izvedbi kipara iz ranobaroknog doba.³³ Međutim, davno zabilježena predaja govori da tu bijahu prikazani članovi obitelji kralja Bele IV. iz loze ugarskih Arpadovića koji je nosio hrvatsku krunu pa je pobudio netrpeljivosti. Ako ta legenda i nije točna, naime, u nju je osluškujući puk zacijelo vjerovala mletačka uprava uspostavljena u Dalmaciji od 15. st. Nastojeći zatrijeti svaki trag prijašnje komunalne autonomije pokorenih gradova, zapovjedila je ukloniti središnje figure koje su to na skulpturi isticale, a po svoj prilici i ostalima odrubiti glave kojih stvarno više nema. Ta je simbolična gesta posve istoznačna ponašanju prema malom sarkofagu dviju kćeri istoga kralja, preminulih u obližnjem Klisu pri bijegu pred Tatarima. No Splitsani su im 1242. god. iz odatnosti prenijeli posmrtno ostatke u kamenu raku izloženu visoko u niši nad vratima katedrale,³⁴ posvećene ranokršćanskim prvacima sv. Dujmu i sv. Stašu. Sa spomenom na nasrtaje ljutih neprijatelja časteći grobnicu kneginja poput svetinja, tu su im namijenili i natpis u stihovima kako ih ne bi izbrisali iz svijesti i pamćenja. No stoljeće i po kasnije uspostavljena vlast Venecije, naravno, ne mogavši sprije-

and he achieved great merit in development of architecture and sculpture. Apart from having made the time of his reign more successful than any other ancient sovereign of ours, he also strengthened the basis for superior artistic achievements, such as this relief represents on European scale. However, all this hindered the political breakthrough of belligerent pope Gregory VI, who imposed the centralistic system of the church state everywhere,³⁰ and who struggled for the establishment of his totalitarian rule in the Adriatic following the withdrawal of Byzantium. The strengthened Croatian ruler opposed him considerably or at least hindered his plans, so the Holy Father – in the account of the contemporary written sources – sent a fleet with the Norman army against him.³¹ In the 1072 confrontation the king was captured in the vicinity of Nin and nothing was heard about him since. Dmitar Zvonimir, until then the *ban* of Slavonia, was appointed as his successor from Rome. Having imprisoned his legal successor Stjepan, together with the heads of the local church he accepted the conditions that to a large degree diminished Krešimir's achievements in the field of sovereignty.³² By coupling knowledge about this with the exceptionally dignified figural representation on the relief from the coronation church, the justification was found for the changes introduced into it by the principle of "damnatio memoriae", and which imply direct negation of dignity of a renowned and glorious secular ruler. Even some of his achievements were attributed to others under pressure of romantic legends.

A corresponding neutralization of original political messages is visible in Split also on some later sculptures. One should single out the one that befell a Romanesque relief in the entrance to the cathedral, below the belfry next to the Peristyle (Jelić 1896). In the group of symbolic figures, created in the second half of the 13th century, which remind one of the usual *telamons* above the symbolic lions, the two on the southern side were replaced by a decorative motif of an antiquity-reminiscent mask of *Ocean* in a featureless rendering of an early Baroque sculptor.³³ However, a tradition recorded long ago tells that members were represented there of the family of king Bela IV from the line of Hungarian Arpadians, who wore the Croatian crown and thus stirred antagonism. Even if that legend is not true, the Venetian administration, established in Dalmatia from the 15th century, believed in it by listening to the common people. Determined to eradicate every trace of the former communal autonomy of the conquered cities, it ordered that the central figures that accentuated that on the sculpture be removed, and in all likelihood that the heads – which are indeed now missing – of the others be severed. This symbolic act is entirely equivalent to the behaviour toward the small sarcophagus of two daughters of the same king, who died in nearby Klis in their flight from the Tatars. However, in 1242 as an act of loyalty, the people of Split transported their mortal remains into a stone grave placed high in the niche above the cathedral door,³⁴ dedicated to early Christian principals, St. Doimus and St. Anastasius. With the mention of the attacks by a bitter enemy, honouring the tomb of the princesses as a holy thing, here they dedicated to them an inscription in verse lest they should be erased from

30. Isto – uz pozivanje na temeljna djela crkvene povjesnice.

31. O tome opširno: Margetić 1980.

32. Učinkovitim i tu smatram pozvati se na svoju knjigu iz 2002. g. s razrađenim prijašnjim mišljenjima – gl. II.

33. Usp. Belamarić 1996.

34. O tome: Karaman 1939.

30. The same – with a reference to the basic works of the church chronicles.

31. Extensively about this: Margetić 1980.

32. I also find it functional to refer here to my book from 2002. with analyzed previous considerations – ch. II.

33. Comp. Belamarić 1996.

34. About this: Karaman 1939.

čiti takva poklonstva, gledala je skromni spomenik krivim okom kao prizivanje samostalnosti pokrajine, te je pred njime istaknula jamstva svoje upravne nazočnosti. Utoliko skrivanje malog sarkofaga okrenuto prikriivanju, ako ne i brisanju povijesne stvarnosti, u cjelini nije nego jedan oblik «damnatio memoriae».

Njemu su izravnije potpali brojni u kamenu klesani signumi iste mletačke vlasti i to u nekoliko valova koji diljem istočnog Jadrana prate njezine dolaske i odlaske. Iako nema pouzdanih svjedočanstava, embleme s likom krilatog lava sv. Marka već su u 14. st. uništavali poklonici Anžuvina, ³⁵ kad su se oni iz Napulja domogli hrvatskih gradova na obali. Ponovo, pak, od 1420. god. u poznatim okolnostima osvajanja istog prostora od Presvijetle Republike, gušće na istaknutim mjestima postavljane kamene skulpture istog tipa počelo se skidati nakon 1797. god. kad je ona konačno propala. ³⁶ Najčešće su, baš kao i diljem teritorija *Stato del Mar*, ali i *Stato del Terra* izvan naših granica, razlamane bez vađenja s izvornih položaja te oštećeni reljefi do danas rječito iskazuju stoljetni otpor svih regionalnih pa i nacionalnih otpora prema stegama moćne države. ³⁷ S vremenom su se naredala i bacanja u more ili zakopavanja u zemlju čitavih iz kamena klesanih lavova, čime se ponavljahu navade iz prošlosti na štetu baštine svog prostora. ³⁸ Shvaćajući ih dokazima trajnog talijanskog posezanja na Hrvatsko primorje, posvuda su ih najviše uništile lokalne samouprave nastupajući 1920. ili 1941., pa odlučnije od 1945. god., tako da novovjekni taj «damnatio memoriae» i nema ideološku isključivost. O njoj su, naime, na drugoj strani napisani nebrojeni tekstovi pod zajedničkim motom kako je jednom svladana politička sila Venecije na ovome primorju «ostala zauvijek živa poput neke religije». ³⁹ Ipak je povijesna zbilja govorila bitno drukčije, a što stoji iza njezina prikriivanja kazuje podatak da je Italija pitanje uništavanja mletačkih lavova prije sredine prošlog stoljeća istaknula na političkom forumu Društva naroda u Ženevi. ⁴⁰ Ništa manje za krivotvorenja nije znakovito ni zgodimično pisanje da su posve uništeni u Dubrovniku, gdje ih stvarno nije moglo biti u sretnoj ravnoteži znamenja neovisne države i njezinih domaćih upravitelja. ⁴¹

35. Tome navodi sam nedostatak tih biljega iz Trečenta, kao i zauzvratni nestanak Anžuvinskih. Znade se da su u Šibeniku mornari s galija gađali kraljevski grb na zidinama, a u Zadru ista vlast uništavala tragove Matafara, vrlo izloženih u protumletačkoj politici.

36. Otpočela je to francuska, nastavila austrijska soldateska, ali zahvati ne bihaju brojni jer su se, za razliku od kasnijih, mahom zadržali na utverdama. Primjerno je u tvrđi Sv. Nikole na otočiću pred Šibenikom teklo trokrotno skidanje i obnavljanje iznimno monumentalnog reljefa kojeg je 1543. god. izradio Dujam iz Splita.

37. Gotovo zadivljujuće dokumentirano ih prati dvotomna knjiga A. Rizzi (2001), ne uspijevajući prikriti političku pozadinu nakladničkog pothvata.

38. Među prvima se bilježe slučajevi na srednjodalmatinskim i kvarnerskim otocima, drugi pamte u Ninu.

39. Može se računati da ih je poništeno ukupno do 30-ak, a pomnu inventarizaciju preostalih je proveo A. Rizzi, n.dj. uz spretno skovani naslovom uvodnog poglavlja «Leontoclastia Adriatica» – vol. I. pag. 97 – 111. te iscrpnim popisom i opisom dostupnih u vol. II.

40. Navod u istoj knjizi pag. 99.

41. Vidjeti: Fisković I., 1989, uz dodatnu opasku da nijedan politički režim dosad nije namjerno oskvrnuo trovrsni dekor grada - isto u: «Reljef renesansnog Dubrovnika».

their mind and memory. However, a century and a half later, the established Venetian authority, unable to prevent such adorations, looked askance upon the modest monument as a call towards independence of the province, and exhibited in front of it the guarantees of its administrative presence. In that way the concealment of a small sarcophagus, with the aim of disguising if not also erasing the historical reality, in the whole is nothing but a form of «damnatio memoriae».

More direct application of this act befell numerous symbols of the same Venetian authority carved in stone, in several waves, that followed its arrivals and departures throughout the eastern Adriatic. Even though there are no reliable testimonies, the emblems with the figure of the winged lion of St. Mark were destroyed by the followers of the Angevin dynasty already in the 14th century, ³⁵ when they took hold of the Croatian cities on the coast from Naples. Again, following the known context of the 1420 conquest of the same territory by The Most Serene Republic, when stone sculptures of the same type were placed densely on prominent positions, they started to be removed starting with 1797 when the Republic finally collapsed. ³⁶ Just like throughout the territory of the *Stato del Mar*, but also *Stato del Terra* outside our borders, they were most frequently broken without removing them from their original positions, so the damaged reliefs to this day eloquently speak of a century-long resistance of all regional and even national resistances against the bonds of the powerful state. ³⁷ As time passed, there were numerous instances when entire lions carved from stone blocks were thrown into the sea or buried into the ground, which meant a reprise of the customs from the past to the damage of the legacy of their own land. ³⁸ Looking upon them as proofs of perennial Italian encroachment upon the Croatian coast, they were everywhere mostly destroyed by local self-governments upon their establishment in 1920 or 1941, and more decisively from 1945, so that this modern-age «damnatio memoriae» does not in fact imply ideological exclusiveness. Countless texts were written about it on the other side, with the common motto that the once conquered political power of Venice in this coast «remained alive forever like some religion». ³⁹ However, the historical reality spoke in substantially different terms, and as to what lies behind its concealment is revealed by the fact that Italy raised the question of the destruction of the Venetian lions before the middle of the past century at the political forum of the League of Nations in Geneva. ⁴⁰ No less significant for the forgeries are the occasional remarks that they were entirely destroyed in Dubrovnik, where in reality they could not have

35. The very lack of those stamps from Trecento speaks in favour of this, same as the disappearance of the Angevin ones in return.

36. This was started by the French army and followed by the Austrian one, but interventions were not numerous, as they, in contrast to the later ones, were restricted to the fortifications. An example is the fortress of St. Nikola on the small island in front of Šibenik when the exceptionally monumental relief made in 1543 by Domnio from Split was disassembled and renovated on three occasions.

37. They are followed by an almost impressive documentation by a two-volume book by A. Rizzi (2001), which does not succeed in concealing the political background of the publishing enterprise.

38. Among the first documented cases are those on the islands of central Dalmatia and the Kvarner Gulf, and the others are remembered from Nin.

39. It can be considered that up to 30 of them were obliterated, and a thorough inventarization of the remaining ones was carried out by A. Rizzi, op.c., with a fittingly coined title of the introductory chapter «Leontoclastia Adriatica» – vol. I. pag. 97–111, and a detailed list and description available in vol. II.

40. A remark in the same book, p. 99.

Zato umjesto nabiranja ili raspravljanja upravo nesa-gledive «igre s lavovima», nijekanja i preuveličavanja njihova značaja ili značenja, vrijedi spomenuti neke gotovo filmski ilustrativne akcije oko tih spomenika. Valjda najzanimljivija se odvila u Korčuli, na Kuli gradskih vrata, gdje od 15. st. do danas stoji i ne baš likovno jako uspjeti reljef mletačkog lava.⁴² U tisućitom jubileju hrvatskog kraljevstva, pak, pod njime se godine 1925. ugradila spomen-ploča kralju Tomislavu, ali je nju 1942. god. demonstrativno razlomila i skinula okupaciona vojska. Obnovljena tek 1971., najposlije je svečano podignuta na isti položaj, tako da se na gradskom pročelju s dva idejno protivna znamenata izuzetno plastički oslikava i nadvladavanje običaja o kojem govorimo. Naglasak je na činjenici da se sa strane ovdašnje službe zaštite kulturnih dobara nije dopustilo u oba maha traženo uklanjanje kamenog lava kao vidljivog preostatka davne strane uprave. Njih je naposljetku posvuda ostalo više negoli ih je uništeno, pa i to govori koliko se strana vlast u svoje vrijeme trudila name-tati pečate svoje nazočnosti, koje je u većem broju dovo-zila kao gotove izrađevine. Mahom proizišle iz državnih kamenarskih radionica koje za to nisu upošljavale vrsnije umjetnike, razumljivo zbog likovne svoje osrednjosti ni-su privukle znatniju pozornost domaćih analitičara kipar-skog naslijeđa, ali su susjedi s druge strane Jadrana ne-davno potaknuli katalogizaciju iste građe na zamjernoj znanstvenoj razini.

Inače, pravilom «damnatio memoriae» u proširenoj prizmi najizražajnije se poslužila sama Serenissima kad je potkraj 17. st. naložila brisanje imena i oznaka pojedinih svojih dužnosnika na zaposjednutim teritorijima. Naime, oni su razne pothvate izvršene po službi slavili kao osobne uspjehe na kamenim pločama koje, tragom humanističkih običaja, nisu imale smisao nekog možebitnog zavjeta nego pukog upisivanja svjetovnih prinosa povijesti. Kad su se takve, pak, pretjerano namnožile i zaprijetile utajivanju ako ne čak nijekanju uloge države, središnja ih je vlast strogo zabranila i poduzela korake suzbijanja takva sljubljanja svojih patricija s dalmatinskim sredi-nama. Iako se u tome zrcale odnosi unutar samih vrhova Republike Sv. Marka, zacijelo se nastojalo suzbiti svaku težnju za obnavljanjem ovlasti moćne aristokracije, iz čijih redova su neki u povremenom posjedu već prije držali istočnojadranske gradove. Uglavnom su u njima svrhom prikraćivanja privatnih interesa i održanja ugleda vrhovne vlasti radirani mnogi natpisi i obiteljski grbovi mletač-kih upravitelja ugrađeni u fortifikacijska, ali i druga javna zdanja. Dapače, s istaknutih položaja uklonjeni su čak trijumfalni kipovi providura proslavljenih u obrani južne

42. Naravno, umjetničke vrsnoće brojnih reljefa nameću posebna pitanja i priznati valja da se u našim pregledima starog kiparstva nisu obrađivali niti onoliko koliko pojedini bezuvjetno zaslužuju. Izuzetak je kao djelo Nikole Firentinca iz 1471. god. lijepi reljef iz Općinske lođe u Trogiru, uništen 1932. god., ali poznat sa starijih fotografija, a ovaj u Korčuli se doima likovno čak primitivniji od mnogih drugih. Neovisno o tome, estetsku valorizaciju skulptura koju je obavio A. Rizzi preostaje neu-mitno uključiti u našu znanost.

been present in a fortunate balance of the symbols of the in-dependent small state and its local administrators.⁴¹

Therefore, instead enumeration or discussion of a truly fa-tal "play with the lions", negation and exaggeration of their importance or meaning, one should mention certain actions around these monuments that have an almost film-like illus-trative quality. Perhaps the most interesting one took place in Korčula, on the Tower of the Town Gate, where an artistically not entirely successful relief of a Venetian lion has stood from the 15th century to this day.⁴² In the millennial jubilee of the Croatian kingdom, a tablet in the memory of king Tomislav was placed below it in 1925, but in 1942 it was demonstrative-ly broken and removed by the occupational army. Renovated only in 1971, it was eventually solemnly elevated to the same position, so that the overcoming of the custom that we speak of here is plastically illustrated on the city façade in an excep-tional way with two symbols of contrasting concepts. The em-phasis lies on the fact that the local office for the protection of cultural heritage turned down on both occasions the re-quest for a removal of the stone lion as a visible remainder of a long-gone foreign administration. In the end, more of them have remained everywhere than were destroyed, so even this speaks about how much the foreign authority strived to im-pose the seals of its presence, which were in large numbers shipped as finished products. They were by and large made in state stone workshops, which did not employ skilled artists for this, and therefore understandably on account of their artistic mediocrity they did not attract substantial attention of local analysts of sculptural heritage, but the neighbours from the opposite side of the Adriatic recently started to catalogue the same material on a commendable scholarly level.

Otherwise, the most expressive use of the "damnatio me-moriae" principle in a widened prism was the one made by The Serenissima itself, when towards the end of the 17th century it ordered that the names and marks of some of their officers in the occupied territories be erased. They celebrated various enterprises conducted as part of their service as personal suc-cesses on stone slabs that, in the trace of the humanistic cus-toms, did not have any votive meaning but only that of sheer record of secular contributions to the history. When such instances became too numerous and threatened to ignore or even to negate the role of the state, the central authority strictly forbade them and took steps to curb such sliding into friendship of their patricians with the Dalmatian centres. Even though this mirrors the relationships within the very peaks of the Republic of St. Mark, there was certainly a wish to suppress any aspiration for the renewal of the authority of powerful ar-istocracy, whose ranks included some who previously already held sway temporarily over the eastern Adriatic cities. In them, generally with the purpose of curtailing private interests and safeguarding reputation of the supreme power, numerous in-scriptions were eradicated as well as family coats of arms of Venetian governors built into the fortifications, but also into

41. See: Fisković I., 1989), with additional remark that no political regimes have so far deliberately profanated the three-fold decor of the city – the same in: "Reljef renesansnog Dubrovnik" (*The Reliefs of the Renais-sance Dubrovnik*).

42. Naturally, the artistic qualities of numerous reliefs impose separate questions and one has to admit that in our reviews of old sculpture they were not analyzed as much as some of them indisputably deserve. An exception is that of a 1471 work by Nikola Firentinac (Nicholas of Florence), a nice relief from the Municipal Loggia in Trogir, destroyed in 1932, but known from older photographs, while the one in Korčula appears artistically even more primitive than many others. Irrespective of this, the esthetical evaluation of the sculptures carried out by A. Rizzi should undeniably be included into our discipline.

Hrvatske od Osmanlija, jer se Senat s lagune pribojavao uzdizanja ili komemoriranja pojedinaca na granicama pokorenog teritorija. Tadašnje se presuđivanje zaborava, dakle, provodilo iz opreza a ne nekog neprijateljstva, individualne osude ili mržnje. Iako naredba kao obično u provinciji nije posvuda redovno izvršavana niti strogo ispunjena,⁴³ uglavnom su preživjeli barem spomenici državotvornih zalaganja.

Tako su u Zadru na tornju gradskog sata pored općinskog trga ostala samo jedna od para bista prokuratora gradnje, a imena u bazama otklesana. Očito se vodilo računa o dekorativnom učinku skulptura u estetskom dojamu urbanističkog okružja, a potiralo prinose pojedinaca pri uzdizanju časti aristokratske državne središnjica. Primjerno je i u Šibeniku pored glavnog ulaza u grad izbrisani natpis na podanku u zidu kneževе palače preživjele kamene figure kneza N. Marcella svečano odjevenog iz 1611.g.⁴⁴ Na trgu oko katedrale – pišu V. Miagostović i J. Stošić - više je mletačkih časnika po drevnom antičkom običaju bilo podiglo stupove u svoju slavu, ali su odviše upadni odreda uklonjeni, za razliku od spomen-obilježja zakonodavcu F. Grimaniju pred franjevačkom crkvom kojemu je u duhu «damnatio memoriae» samo radiran grb i natpis (Belamarić 1999). U Splitu – kako izgleda iz arhivskih spisa – slijedom sukladnih povoda poskidani su grbovi knezova namjesnika, a pošteđeni duždevi.⁴⁵ S drukčije oblikovanim djelima istovjetne namjene je obilovala Korčula gdje su se, cijeneći stratešku izloženost gradića na putu prema Levantu pod izlikom čuvanja državnih granica, mletački upravitelji gotovo natjecali u podizanju osobnih spomen-obilježja. Počevši od dvaju pokraj zapadnog ulaza u grad očuvanih stupova,⁴⁶ pretežali su grbovi kao i na reljefnoj ploči nad istim vratima s posve otklesanim natpisom. Međutim, znameniti vojskovođe Leonardo Foscolo dičio se s dva svoja kipa: jedan je oblikovan u drvu privatno zadržala moćna patricijska obitelj Arnerija, a drugi je kameni uklonjen s pompozno slavoluka, dok netaknuti natpis u njegovu počast zajedno s jedinstvenom cjelinom tvori plastički vrlo dojmljiv dio južnih gradskih vrata.⁴⁷ Inače su poznata izvješća da su se spomenici istog providura, zaslužnog pobjednika nad islamskim snagama u kopненоj pozadini, svojedobno unakažavali u Šibeniku te u Hvaru, gdje na Gradskoj

other public buildings. What is more, even triumphal arches of the *providurs* that made names for themselves in defense of southern Croatia from the Ottomans were removed from prominent positions, because the Senate from the lagoon was afraid of promotion or commemoration of individuals on the borders of the subjugated territory. The sentence to oblivion at the time was therefore passed out of caution and not out of any enmity, individual condemnation or hatred. Even though, as usual in a province, the order was not everywhere regularly obeyed or strictly followed,⁴³ mostly at least monuments of nation-building endeavours have survived.

Thus in Zadar only busts of the procurators of the construction have remained on the tower of the city clock next to the municipal square, while the names in the bases were carved off. Obviously care was taken for the decorative effect of the sculptures in the esthetic impression of the urban planning environment, while individual contributions in the elevation of the honour of the aristocratic state centre were suppressed. For example in Šibenik, next to the main entrance into the city, an inscription was erased from the pedestal of a stone figure of a solemnly dressed officer that survived on the wall of the princely palace.⁴⁴ In the square around the cathedral – my colleague Joško Belamarić drew my attention to this – there were several persons who erected columns in their own honour, in accordance with ancient custom. However, those overly conspicuous were by and large removed, in contrast to the memorial monument to legislator F. Grimani in front of the Franciscan church, on which in the spirit of “damnatio memoriae” only the coat of arms and the inscription were erased (Belamarić 1999). In Split – as it appears from the archival documents – as a result of corresponding motives coats of arms of princes governors were removed while those of the doges were spared.⁴⁵ Works with the same function but of different form were abundant in Korčula, where the Venetian governors, appreciating the strategic exposure of the town on the way to the Levant with the pretext of guarding the state borders, almost competed in the erection of personal memorial monuments. Starting with the two preserved columns⁴⁶ next to the western entrance to the town, coats of arms were dominant just as on a relief slab above the same gate with an inscription that was chiseled off completely. However, the renowned military leader Leonardo Foscolo took pride in two of his statues: one, shaped in wood, has been privately kept by the mighty patrician family of the Arneri, while the other, made of stone, was removed from the pompous triumphal arch, while the untouched inscription in his honour together with the integrated whole makes up the plastically very impressive portion of the southern city gate.⁴⁷ Otherwise, reports are known mentioning that monuments of

43. Zato je i ponavljana 1678., pa 1691. i 1694. god. (Fisković C., 1972). Vidjeti i u nav. dj. u bilj. 23.

44. Kao i kod većine ostalih netom nabrojanih spomenika nije mi poznato da je fenomen drugdje istaknut. To je i jedini čitavi lik neke svjetovne ličnosti iz doba Mletaka, gdje su uporno zabranjivali srodne, dok je u Splitu s nesigurne lokacije zaostao istovrsni kameni kip vojnog zapovjednika u kojem se opravdano prepoznaje L. Foscola pa je kao takav i izložen u Muzeju grada.

45. C. Fisković (1954) u bilj. 23. str. 87-89. upozorava na tome zavisne odluke Gradskog vijeća.

46. C. Fisković (1974) daje širi pregled nastajanja srodnih spomenika iz razdoblja 15.-17. st.

47. Fisković I., 1972 – Na trgu pred njim stoji općinski stup iz 1572. god., rad domaćeg kipara Vicka Lujevog, vrh kojeg bijaše kip mletačkog lava, vidljiv na starim fotografijama. Međutim, slijedno navadama, nasilno su ga uklonili pomoću eksploziva u euforiji 1923. god. kad je talijanska okupacijska vojska napuštala otok.

43. This is why it was repeated in 1678, as well as in 1691 and in 1694 (Fisković C., 1972). See also in the mentioned work, note 23.

44. Same as in the case of most of the other monuments listed here I do not know of any other instance where the phenomenon was mentioned. This is at the same time the only complete figure of a secular person from the Venetian period, when they persistently forbade similar ones, while in Split from an unknown location there has remained a stone figure of the same type, depicting a military commander in which one justifiably recognizes L. Foscolo, and as such it is on display in the City Museum.

45. C. Fisković (1954) draws attention in note 23 on pages 87-89 to the decisions by the Municipal council that refer to that.

46. C. Fisković (1974) offers a wider review of the appearance of similar monuments from the period of the 15th-17th cent.

47. Fisković I., 1972 – In the square in front of it stands the municipal column from 1572, a work of a local sculptor Vicko Lujev, topped by a statue of the Lion of Venice, visible on old photographs. However, in accordance with the habits, it was violently removed with the help of explosive in the 1923 euphoria when the Italian occupational army was leaving the island.

lođi još stoji rijetka inačica sučeljenog para krilatih lavova koji drže kneževske grbove, umješno otučene bez skrivnjaljenja skladne kompozicije (Fisković C., 1974a, 58-59).

Primjera bi se zastalno našlo mnogo, a svaki je zaseban slučaj, ovisan o objektivnim stanjima u kojima je zatečen i okolnostima iz kojih je proizišao. Posebice s razloga, što uglavnom nemaju visoke likovne vrijednosti, nabrojani spomenici su nadasve zanimljivi prema mjeri ponavljanja i variranja tradicionalnih ponašanja, a ne nose obvezno negativni prizvuk. Zapravo, u lancu tijekom stoljeća suštinski jednoznačnih pojava «damnatio memoriae» mogao se spoznati kontinuitet jednog drevnog običaja pa i pomodnog, ne samo kulturnog izražavanja. Taj je zametnut u antici s predznakom univerzalnosti, ali je u srednjem vijeku na jadranskoj obali s dinamičnijim povijesnim zbivanjima dobio različite vidove, više-manje opstajuće i kasnije. Njihovim se zbrajanjem ne može zacrtati stroga tipološka podjela, a ostaje šteta u cjelini načinjena mozaiku koji bi bez tih posredovanja bio kompaktniji i osebujniji. Uglavnom su njegovu sakaćenju izričiti pridonosili moćniji čimbenici društva, pa i to ostaje pokazateljem općih odnosa u raznim etapama regionalnog razvoja. Pri potezima brisanja mjesnih stečevina i tradicija, možda su strani počinitelji gdjekad bili odlučniji i uvjerljiviji, dok su domaći jednakim moralom mjerljive radnje izvodili neposrednije. Kad su već posezali u naslijeđe hoteci mu mijenjati fizička lica i idejna naličja, nisu redovito provodili potpuna poništenja spomenika, a nalazili su načine očuvanju njihovih sadržaja barem u živim predajama. Takva je «ekonomija» u biti odgovarala psihologiji provincijalnih sredina, obazrivijih prema vlastitoj baštini od stranih upravljača, slabije zainteresiranih za dobra područne tradicije, ali ništa manje osjetljivih na opće ideje koje zadirahu u pore prostora i struje vremena. U tom smislu neće biti pogrešno ustvrditi da su metodom brisanja spomena ili nametanja zaborava u segmentima prošlosti svi njezini sudionici na izvjestan način također gradili kulturni identiteti istočnojadranskog podneblja.

the same *providur*, a meritable victor over the Islamic forces in the hinterland, were at one time mutilated in Šibenik and in Hvar, where a rare variant of an antithetic pair of winged lions holding princely coats of arms is still standing on the City Loggia, skillfully chiseled off without desecrating the harmonious composition (Fisković C., 1974a, 58-59).

One could certainly find many other examples, each a different case, dependant on objective situations in which it is found and from which it stemmed. Particularly on account of the fact that they mostly lack any great artistic value, the mentioned monuments are above all interesting with respect to the degree of reiteration and variation of the traditional behaviour, and they do not necessarily carry a negative undertone. In fact, in the chain of what are during centuries essentially analogous manifestations of "damnatio memoriae" one could ascertain the continuity of an ancient custom of not only cultural but also trendy expression. It originated in antiquity with the prefix of universality, but in the Middle Ages on the Adriatic coast, with more dynamic historical events it acquired various aspects, that more or less continued to live later as well. By adding them together one can not trace a strict typological classification, and the damage remains to the mosaic that would be more compact and idiosyncratic without these mediations. By and large the more powerful social factors were those who more expressively contributed to their mutilation, so this also remains an indicator of general relations in various phases of regional development. In the interventions of deletion of local acquisitions and traditions, perhaps foreign perpetrators were occasionally more decisive and persuasive, while the local ones performed the acts measurable by equal standard in a more direct fashion. When they reached out into the legacy with the wish to change its physical faces and conceptual backs, they did not regularly carried out total negations of the monuments, and they found ways to preserve their contents at least in the living traditions. Such "economy" essentially suited the psychology of provincial milieus, more considerate towards their own heritage than were foreign governors, less interested in the goods of the local tradition, but no less sensitive to the general ideas that impinged upon the pores of space and the currents of time. In that sense it will not be wrong to assert that by the method of the deletion of mention or imposition of oblivion in segments of the past all its participants in a way also contributed to the cultural identity of the eastern Adriatic environment.

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