

# CROATIAN ART IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINTH CENTURY

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*In Croatia there are a great number of precisely dated sculptures and architectural monuments from the second half of the ninth century. It was a time following the delimitation of spheres of interest on the eastern Adriatic between the Carolingians and Byzantium, and when the Croatian dukedom (kneževina) developed into a state under the rule of Dukes Trpimir, Branimir and Muntimir. Their names were carved in some reliefs on church furniture, which makes it possible to precisely follow the development in architecture and sculpture from the middle to the end of the ninth century.*

*Pre-Romanesque buildings in the second half of the ninth century, indirectly dated by sculptured inscriptions, belong to two types: the hexaconchal oratory under the influence of the older Mediterranean architectural heritage, and longitudinal structures with a triapsidal or triconchal sanctuary, external buttresses and a westwork, as the most important characteristic. All the buildings were vaulted, with cross vaults or barrel vaults and domes.*

*Members of the ruling class possessed goldwork of a high level of craftsmanship. Some of it was dated by a Lothar I coin, which indirectly allowed another group of similar very valuable objects to be dated to the second half of the ninth century. We refer to the well-known gold jewelry from Trilj, gilded royal spurs and a like set of child's spurs from Crkvina in Biskupija near Knin, and other similar contemporary objects found in richly-equipped royal graves that also had Byzantine gold coins of Constantine IV and Leo V.*

The pre-Romanesque period was a great and important chapter in the development of Croatian art, especially in architecture and sculpture. After the 820s the Byzantine and Carolingian spheres of interest were finally delimited on the east Adriatic coast. This led to political stability and allowed the unimpaired growth of the Croatian state which developed in the hinterland of the coastal Dalmatian cities, that were part of the Byzantine Theme of Dalmatia. During the Middle Ages the Mediterranean, late-Roman, and immanently Christian civilization continued to live in those cities. In their hinterland, on the outskirts of the Carolingian world and on the border with the Byzantine Christendom, a new political organism developed in the first half of the ninth century. It was headed by the Croats as *ducatus Chroatorum*, i.e. as *ducatus Chroatae*. By the middle of the ninth century they had completed their process of organization and achieved a degree of emancipation within the sphere of Carolingian Europe, under the influence of the Germanic and Roman concept of canon and civil law. The new state was now in a position to emerge as an independent entity and play a part in the political and ecclesiastical changes of the time. Churches built from the middle to the end of the ninth century have a lot of epigraphic material documenting the Croats' active role as a partner in general political and ecclesiastical changes, and they give a chronologically very precise picture. An important series of inscriptions on chancel screens of the second half of the ninth century, which records the names of Croatian rulers and gives precise chronological determinants, provides information about the relatively considerable wealth of monuments, especially the liturgical furniture of church interiors. It was archaeologists who discov-

ered these valuable monuments in the nineteenth century, which indicates their character. They are in a state of fragmentary preservation and most of them were discovered in the ruins of the churches of which they were originally a part. In spite of being fragments, these carvings show the sculptural characteristics of the liturgical furniture of each church, and are a relatively good foundation for studying the architecture and sculpture of long ruined churches built in the second half of the ninth century.

The first in the sequence of fragments that can be dated with relative certainty is that of the gable from the former

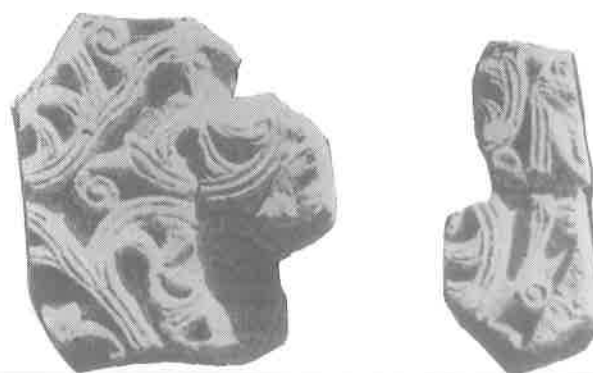


Fig 1. Rižinice, Altar screen gable, middle of the 9th c.  
Pro duce Trepim...

a) Rižinice



b) Vrpolje



church in Rižinice near the ruins of Roman Salona. It records the name of Trpimir with his title (Fig. 1), and refers to the ruler mentioned in mid-ninth century Croatian diplomatic material and indirectly substantiated in the papers of the Frankish Benedictine Gottschalk.<sup>1</sup> A document from 852 confirms that he was a vassal of Lothar.<sup>2</sup> The fragment with the inscription mentioning Trpimir, and other fragments of the inscription, are part of the chancel-screen trabecation. Together with fragments of pilasters and slabs, they clearly show specific stylistic elements. The craftsmanship is excellent with various combinations of elegantly profiled volutes and cymas, birds' tails in a herringbone pattern, and rosettes within interlaced plait-work of three-stranded circles and three-stranded vines. Fragments of sculptural elements with almost identical characteristics were found on several sites in Croatia (Fig. 2), especially in Žažvić, Kašić, Biskupija (Lopuška glavica), Vrpolje, Plavno and Biograd.<sup>3</sup> With a degree of caution we might include the sculptures from Mijovilovac in Pridraga near Zadar, which is also kindred. Sculptures from these sites repeat the same ornaments carved in a similar way, and also characteristic motifs of the trefoil, lily and a type of capital with pronounced corner volutes. The carving in all these sites indicates a single workshop of a high level of craftsmanship but with a somewhat restricted repertoire of ornamental patterns. It testifies to active work on the establishment of church organization in Trpimir's Croatia and the need to equip church interiors with the necessary furnishings.

There are especially many reliefs dating from the 880s and the rule of Branimir (879-889), whose name was carved

c) Plavno



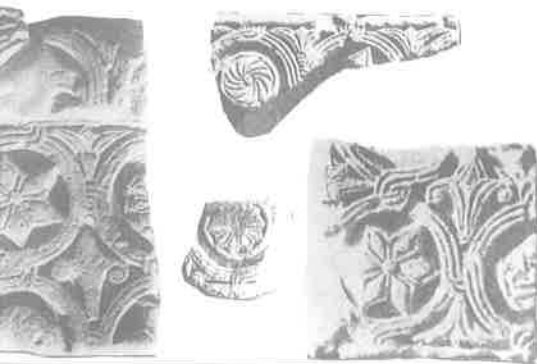
d) Lopuska glavica



e) Kašić



Đ Zažvič



g) Biograd

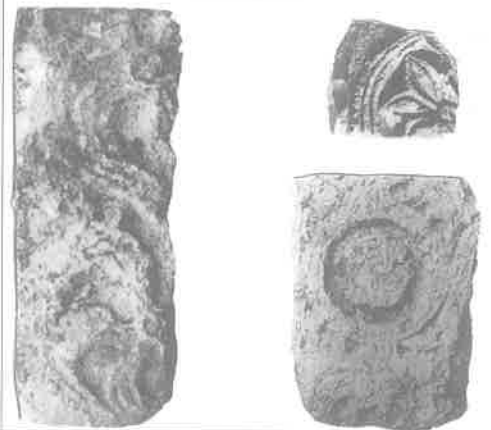
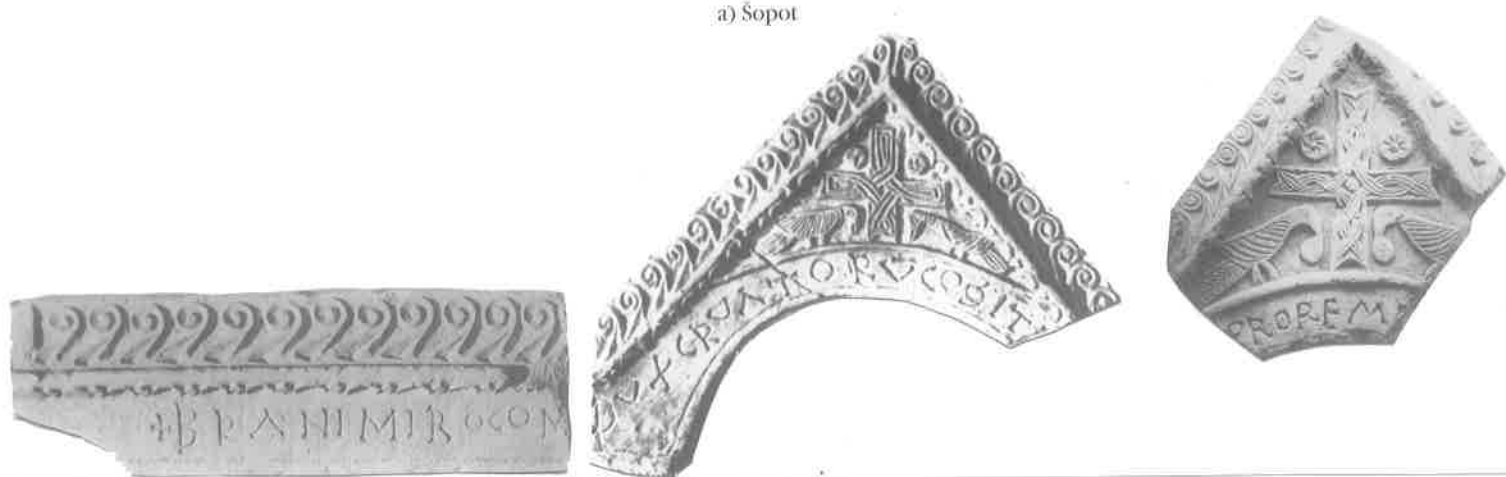


Fig. 2. Workshop from the reign of Trpimir, mid 9th c.

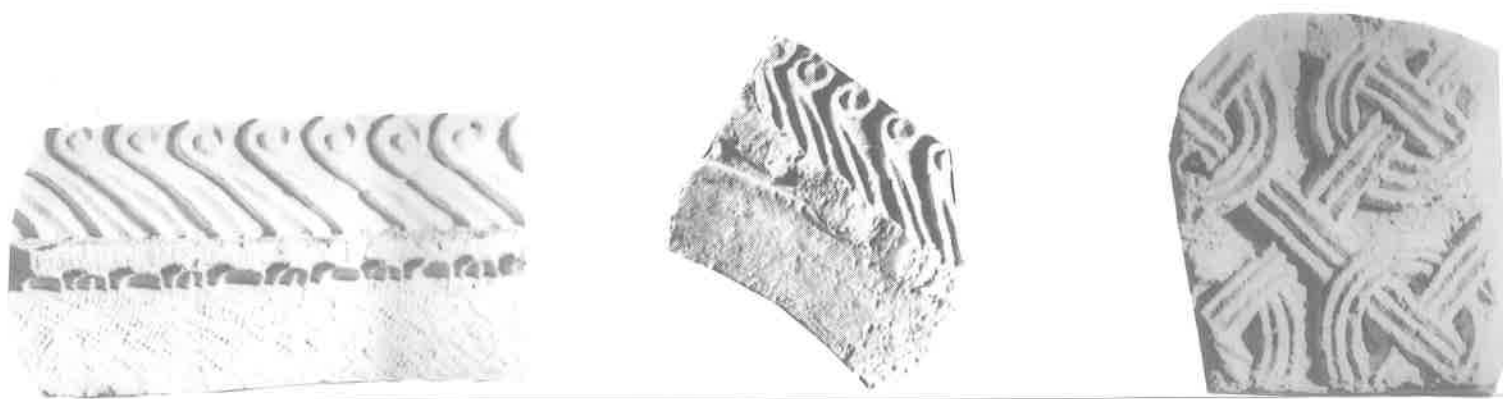
a) Šopot



b) Zdrapanj



c) Bukorovića Podvornica



d) Crkvina - Biskupija

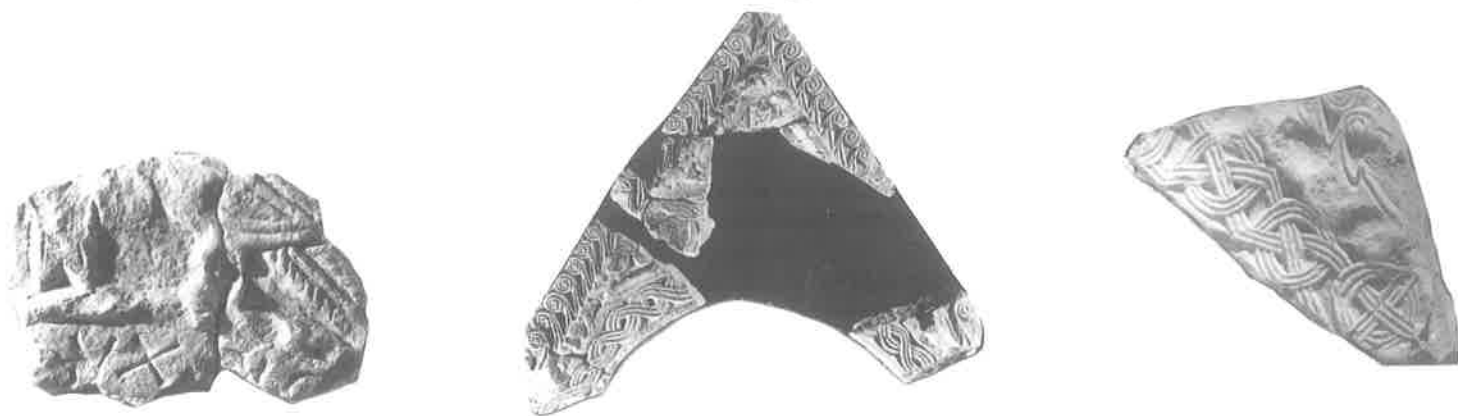
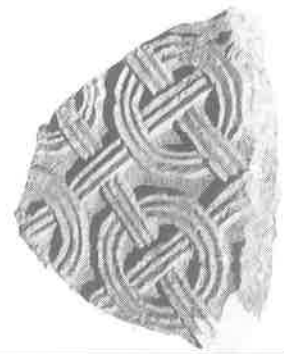


Fig. 3. Workshop from the reign of Branimir, sec. half of the 9th c.

e) Sv. Spas na Vrelu Cetine



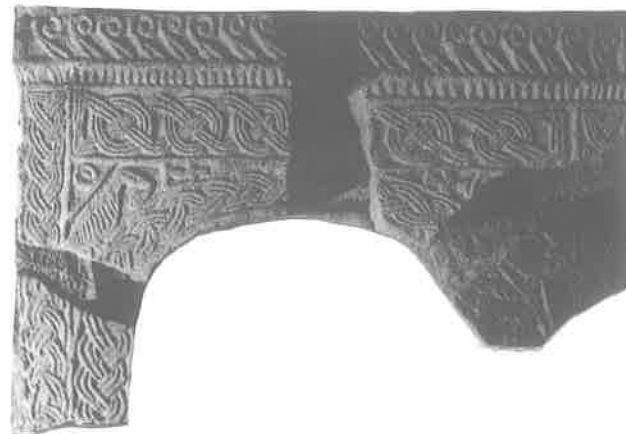
f) Rapovine - Livno



g) Plavno

h) Solin ?

i) Solin



on chancel screen architraves found in Benkovac, Nin and Muć, and perhaps also in Žažvić and Otres near Bribir.<sup>4</sup> These inscriptions show the existence of two different workshops in Croatia during Branimir's rule. The carving in Nin, Muć and perhaps Otres continued the tradition of the reign of Prince Trpimir, which was on a high level. The other reliefs, however, for example those in Benkovac and Ždrapanj, are very naive in style. The group of reliefs stylistically close to the well-known Branimir inscription from Benkovac, which has Branimir's name and the formulation *dux Cruatorum*, is especially interesting (Fig. 3). They are carved in a very naive style in the upper zone, with characteristic volutes and stunted cymas, and with very rustic doves that we do not see only in Benkovac, but also in Ždrapanj, Biskupija (Crkvina and Bukorovića podvornica), the Church of the Saviour at the mouth of the Cetina, in

Rapovine near Livno, in Plavno and in Solin.<sup>5</sup> The slabs of the chancel screen have very simple plait-work, three-stranded circles crossed with three-stranded diagonal bands that are not knotted. This whole group of reliefs is firmly dated to the 880s and its quality is far inferior to all the other pre-Romanesque carving in Croatia before and after Branimir's time.<sup>6</sup> Its appearance can be explained by the fact that during Branimir's reign there was a struggle for ascendancy in Dalmatian church organization, when Branimir and the Croatian Bishop Teodosius tried to impose themselves on the Dalmatian cities. This led to a break of artistic links between Croatia and Dalmatia from 879 to 886.<sup>7</sup> In 886 the Croatian Bishop Teodosius became Bishop of Split with the help of the pope, and Dalmatian stone-carvers began to come to Croatia again.<sup>8</sup> This was reflected in the very high quality of other carvings that record Bra-



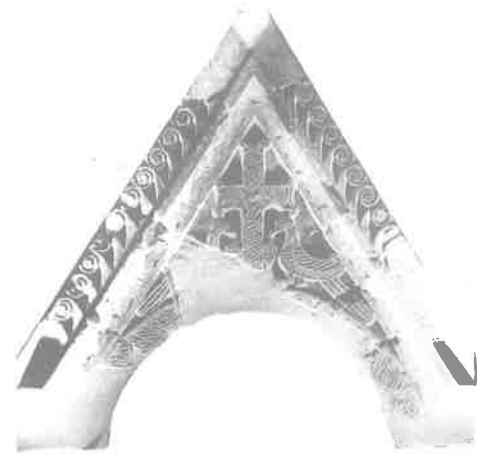
a) Muć



b) Nin



c) Otres



d) Stupovi - Biskupija

Fig. 4. Second workshop from the reign of Branimir, sec. half of the 9th c.

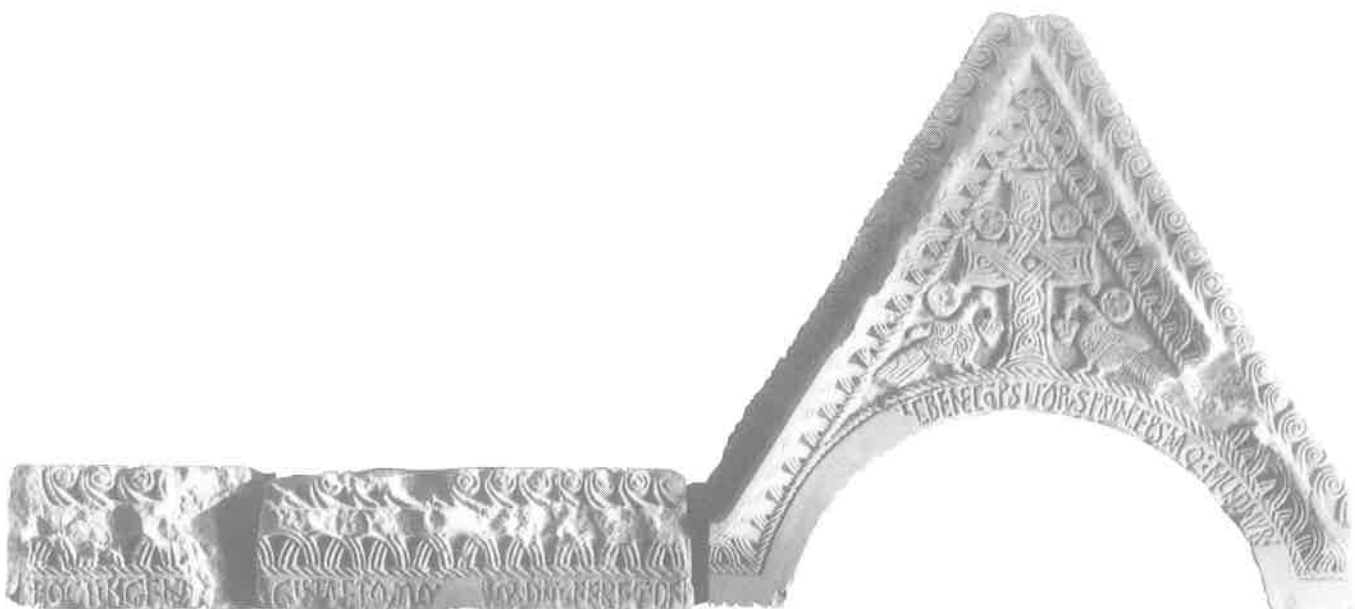


Fig. 5. Uzdojce, altar screen, 895. (photo: Z. Bačić)

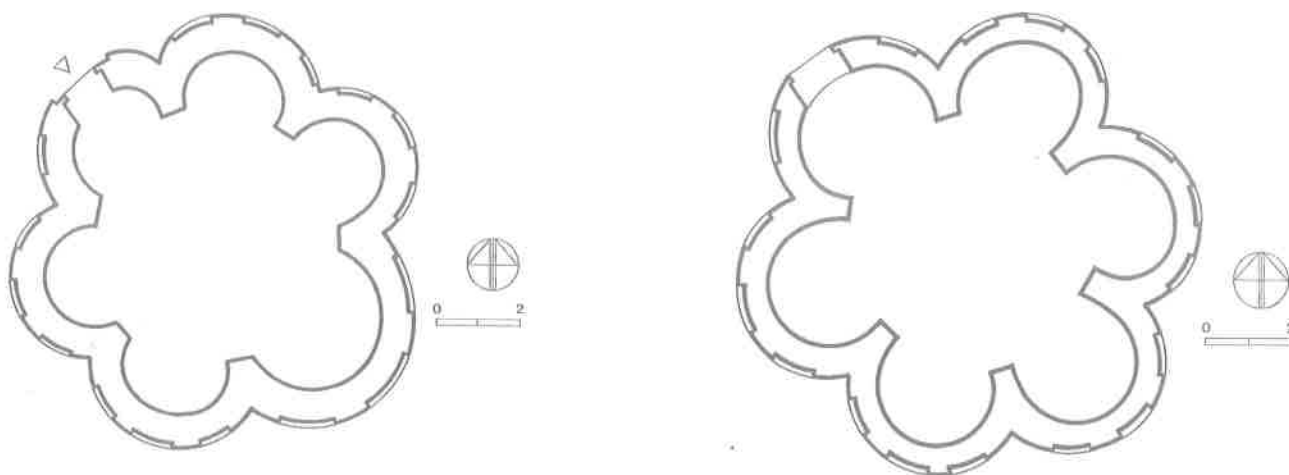


Fig. 6.: a) Kašić; b) Pridraga, St. Michael, ground plans (I. Tenšek)

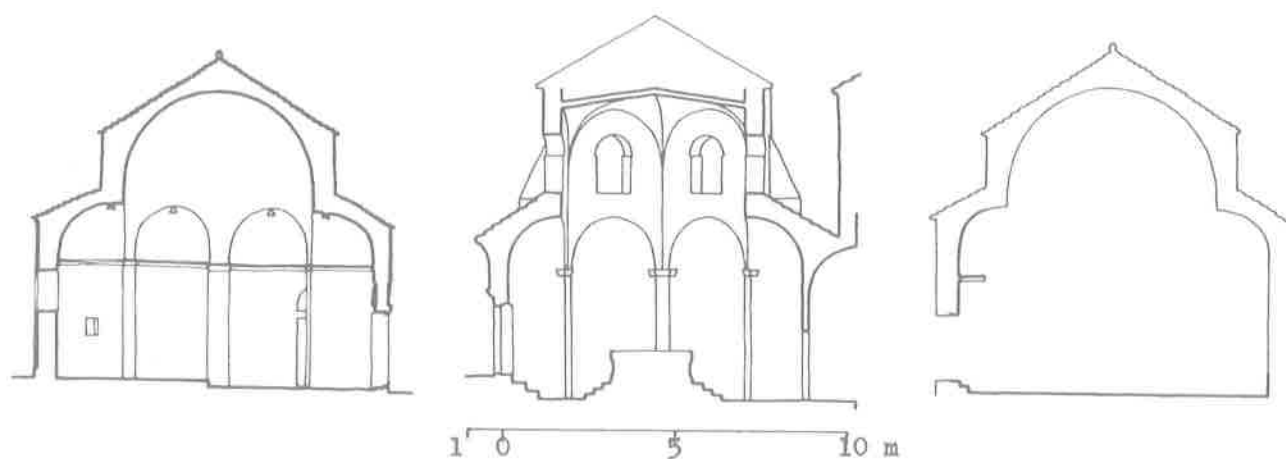


Fig. 8. Split, The Holy Trinity; Zadar, Baptistry; Trogir, St. Mary, sections (after P. Vežić)

nimir's name, and in the introduction of a novelty, the plait-work knot (pretzel) on the architrave instead of the cyma (Nin, Muć, Otres, Biskupija-Stupovi) (Fig. 4). The standard pre-Romanesque ornaments of knotted circles appeared again on chancel screens.<sup>9</sup>

The last in the sequence of firmly dated ninth-century monuments is the architrave of the chancel screen from Uzdojce, made in 895 with the name of Prince Muncimir on the gable (Fig. 5). Croatian pre-Romanesque art seems to have reached its peak there, based on centuries of carving tradition and the elaboration of all the ornamental systems that appeared on liturgical furniture during the ninth century. It is systematically expressed and skillfully presented in the *horror vacui* with an advanced feeling for detail and with sophisticated designs displayed not only in the ornaments but also in the figures of doves on Muncimir's gable.

A lot of sculpture was made in medieval Croatia in the second half of the ninth century with the type of carving described here. It reflects the thriving architectural activities of those days and helps in the study and dating of the structures in which it was placed. Unfortunately, for many reasons we do not have much information about the original architecture of which these sculptures were a part. Many of them were found in sites the architecture of which has not been excavated or is not well enough known

(Rapovine, Ždrapanj, Benkovac, Otres, Nin, Muć). Some of the carving was made as new church furniture to be placed in older structures (Rižinice, Žažvić, Muć). Luckily, we do know the basic shape of some of the buildings from which these sculptures came, and they are a valuable foundation for understanding the architecture of the second half of the ninth century. These are in the first place the remains of ground plans of the churches in Kašić and Pridraga near Zadar, on Lopuška glavica and Stupovi in Biskupija, and the very well preserved church of the Saviour at the source of the Cetina. They show the basic architectural shapes, and can be divided into two groups: centrally planned buildings of the hexaconchal type, like the churches in Kašić and Pridraga, and longitudinal churches with just a nave or with a nave and two aisles, and with buttresses along the longitudinal walls.

The remains of the ground plans in Kašić and Pridraga (Fig. 6) near Zadar can with a great degree of certainty be dated to the middle of the ninth century on the basis of fragments of carving made in the same workshop as the gable from Rižinice near Solin, with the name of Prince Trpimir.<sup>10</sup> These churches were hexaconchal in form with the entrance in the west conch and the presbytery in the east, separated from the western part with a chancel screen down the middle. The external walls were adorned with shallow lesenes. This type of church was rather widespread in medieval Croatia, and similar structures have been found

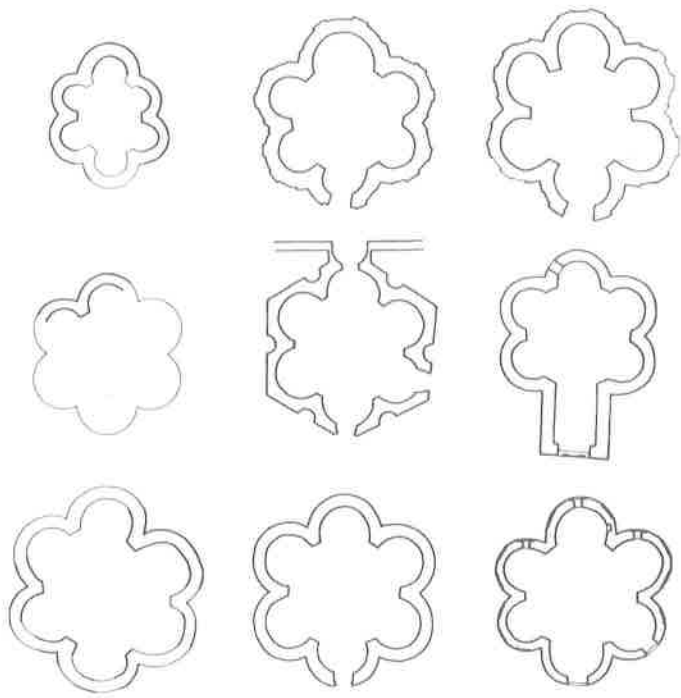


Fig. 7. Ground plans of Croatian pre-Romanesque hexaconchs (Škabrnja, Pridraga - St. Michael, Kašić, Bribir, Zadar - St. Mary, Brnaze - St. Michael, Trogir - St. Mary, Split - The Holy Trinity) and the early Christian Zadar Baptistery (after P. Vežić)

in Brnaze near Sinj, and in the Dalmatian cities Zadar, Trogir and Split.<sup>11</sup> The Trogir church of St Mary *de Platea* and the Split church of the Holy Trinity in Poljud are so well preserved that better insight into the basic architectural features is possible. They had half-domes above the conchs and a central dome resting on a cylindrical drum supported by the front arches of the conchs.<sup>12</sup> The churches in Kašić and Pridraga near Zadar were of this type, part of the same wider group. Their sculptures made in the workshop from Trpimir's reign are clear chronological benchmarks that allow us to date them, although the question remains how long this type of church was "fashionable".

Recently Croatian historiographers have pointed to the close links between these pre-Romanesque hexaconchal churches and the fifth-century hexagonal baptistery built beside the south wall of Zadar Cathedral.<sup>13</sup> The links are obvious in the ground plan of the interior of the building (fig. 7), but differences from that potential prototype must also be pointed out. Externally the baptistery of Zadar Cathedral is hexagonal, not hexaconchal, and its drum is another hexagon whose sides rest on the front arches of the conchs. This is the basic difference between the two groups. The hexagonal drum required a completely different vault construction, which had six sections, unlike the dome resting on a round drum (Fig. 8). The two well-preserved buildings, the Holy Trinity in Poljud in Split and the Zadar baptistery, are externally very different, and internally there are great differences in the zone of the drum



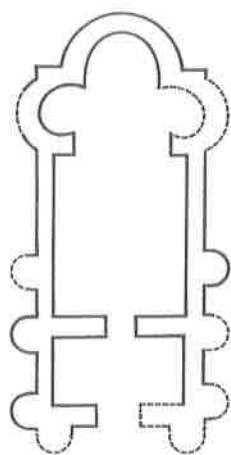
Fig. 10. The Holy Saviour at the source of the Cetina, longitudinal section (after J. Stošić and I. Tenšek)



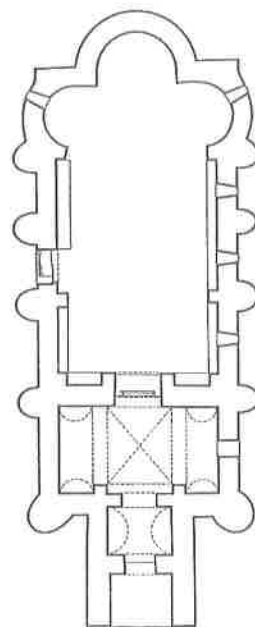
and the vault. The shape and architecture of the Early Christian prototype were thus certainly transformed, and adapted in the spirit and architectural customs of the new time, in hexaconchal churches of Zadar, Trogir, Split, Pridraga, Kašić, Brnaze and a few other examples.

Reliefs with the same characteristics as those firmly dated to the middle of the ninth century were found during excavation of the aisle-less church in Lopuska glavica in Biskupija near Knin.<sup>14</sup> The basic features of this longitudinal type of church are the triconchal sanctuary, the west-

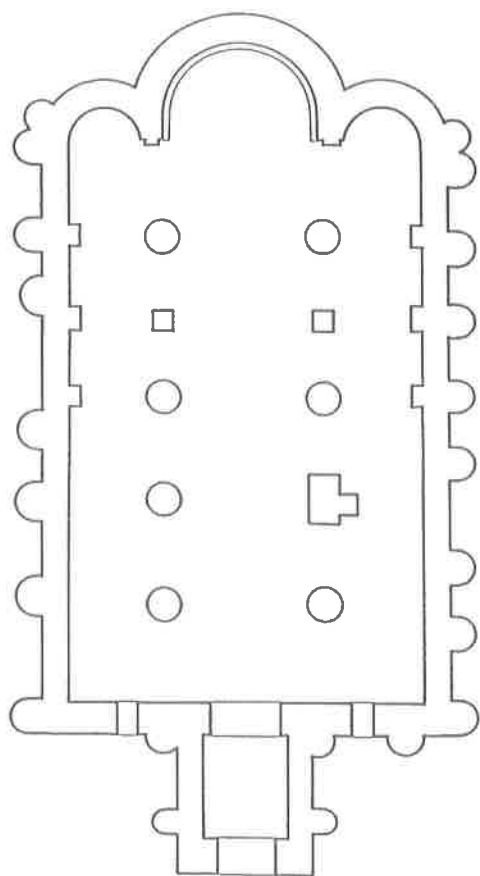
work, and semicircular buttresses (Fig. 9). Although only the foundations are preserved, which leaves open the interpretation of the building's elevation, this small church is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of ninth-century architecture, especially because of its similarity with the nearby well-preserved church of the Holy Saviour at the source of the Cetina. The triconchal sanctuary, the westwork with the bell tower on the facade, and the semicircular buttresses along its longitudinal walls, closely link it with the remains in Lopuska glavica.<sup>15</sup> The Holy Saviour luckily had sculptures



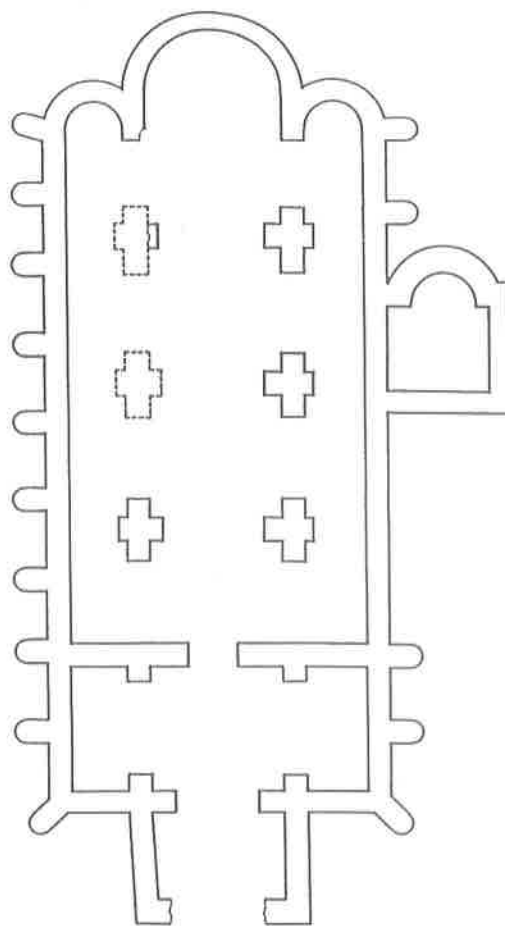
a) Lopuska glavica



b) The Holy Saviour at the source of the Cetina



c) Biograd, cathedral



d) Biskupija - Stupovi

Fig. 9. Churches with round buttresses, 9th c. (after M. Jurković, drawing I. Tenšek)



Fig. 11. Nin - Ždrijac: a) Lothar's silver coin; b) Earrings; c) glass chalices and recipient

of the naive type from Branimir's time, so it can be precisely dated to the 880s.<sup>16</sup> What is more, its state of preservation indicates the remains of vaults in the vestibule that supported a gallery linked with the bell tower on the facade, and which served for vertical communication (Fig. 10). There are grounds to interpret this west facade of the Holy Saviour as a westwork, which explains the importance of a similar vestibule in the ruins of the church on Lopuška glavica.<sup>17</sup> It is interesting that a much larger church with a nave and two aisles, whose remains were discovered in the Stupovi site in Biskupija near Knin, has many similar features. The triapsidal sanctuary, the westwork with the bell tower on the facade, and semicircular buttresses along the longitudinal walls, closely link it with the aisle-less churches mentioned earlier. The cross-shaped piers testify to the existence of vaults, indicated in the Holy Saviour by remains in the vestibule. The relief ornaments, especially the three-stranded knot (*pretzel*), indicate the workshop from Branimir's reign that carved the inscriptions with his name in Nin and Muć at the end of the 880s.<sup>18</sup> The remains of Biograd Cathedral have relatively similar architectural features, so it should also be dated to the second half of the ninth century.<sup>19</sup>

It is important to stress that precise inscriptions helped date only these two forms of churches to the second half of the ninth century, the hexaconchal oratory and the longitudinal vaulted church with a westwork and semicircular buttresses along the longitudinal walls. This indicates a clear art programme as part of the drive to establish tighter church organization in the second half of the ninth century, with a strong Carolingian influence on the architectural tradition especially of Dalmatian cities. Parallels can be drawn between architectural elements on the Zadar rotunda of St Donat's built at the turn of the eighth century,



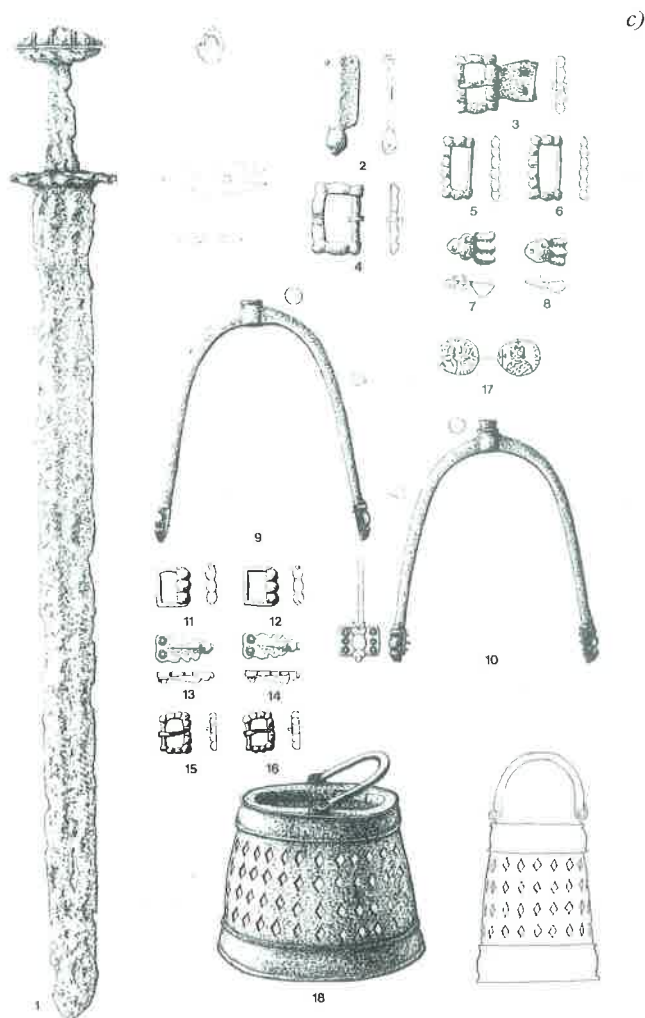
Fig. 12. Trilj, golden jewelry from a grave with a gold coin issued by Constantine V and Leo IV.



Fig. 13. Biskupija - Crkvina: a) gilded spurs from a sarcophagus with a coin issued by Constantine V and Leo IV (751-775); b) gilded child spurs; c) find from a royal grave.

and the Holy Saviour at the source of the Cetina. They have the same type of openings with a "mushroom arch", hood moulds, and were constructed using scaffolding.<sup>20</sup>

The Croatian art heritage in the second half of the ninth-century can be observed in other forms of art and craft activities, especially jewelry and warriors' gear. Trpimir recognized Lothar's supreme power, and a Lothar coin was used to date silver cluster earrings from a grave in the Ždrijac necropolis near Nin (Fig. 11).<sup>21</sup> Their dating to the middle or the second half of the ninth century is supported by the grave from Zalavár in Hungary, and by stratigraphic analysis of sites in Magna Moravia carried out by Czech archaeologists, especially Dostal, who even extend the dating of similar earrings into the tenth century.<sup>22</sup> This important chronological confirmation also shows that the well-known find in Trilj near Sinj, which contains identical gold earrings and other jewelry (Fig. 12.), dates from the middle or the end of the ninth century,<sup>23</sup> and that an older Byzantine gold coin (8th c.) from the Syracusan mint was placed in the Trilj grave. What is more, the same type of Byzantine gold coin issued by Constantine V and Leo IV was found in other important grave finds, which also contained gilded spurs of the Carolingian type and Carolingian swords. About a hundred of these gold coins were found in Croatia, which is a surprising amount.<sup>24</sup> Some of them were found in graves beside churches that were undoubtedly mausoleums of Croatian princes, for example the remains of the church in Crkvina-Biskupija near Knin (Fig. 13.). There is no doubt that they are part of the family treasure of Croatian rulers, and in themselves, as gold coins, have no value for precisely dating the graves.<sup>25</sup> The fact that they were found in graves from the



second half of the ninth century indicates that this is the time when they came to Croatia. The appearance of these gold coins issued by Constantine V and Leo IV in the Croatian principality is explained by the writings of Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, saying that in the reign of Basil the Great, Dalmatian towns paid tribute to the Croatian prince in Byzantine solidi.<sup>26</sup> This means that they paid tribute to Prince Branimir, and this tribute paid in Byzantine gold coins was found in archaeologically researched graves in the form of Constantine V and Leo IV solidi. These coins were the last strikes of the Syracuse mint in the second half of the eighth century and remained in the Adriatic area, especially on its east shore.<sup>27</sup> From the reign of Basil the Great onward, they were paid as tribute to the Croatian prince instead of to the Stratege in Zadar as they had been earlier. Although Constantine Porphyrogenitus assigns the merit for the arranging of this tribute to his grandfather Basil the Great, it is not certain that this tribute has not been paid even earlier, that is, in the third, fourth and fifth decade of the ninth century.<sup>28</sup>

The Croatian princes probably used this money to buy efficient Carolingian weapons, in the first place double-edged swords and spears, which are often found in archaeological sites in the region.<sup>29</sup> They also ordered extravagant

cavalry gear, especially spurs, both for themselves and for their young heirs. This can be seen by the finds of rich spurs for children. They could also afford gold Byzantine jewelry, like that found in the grave in Trilj. They spent the gold coins on other luxury items, such as the glass chalices found in the Ždrijac graveyard in Nin, where Lothar's silver coin was found, such a precious marker in the chronological dating of interesting finds.<sup>30</sup>

In the second half of the ninth century the relatively strong principality of Croatia used military pressure to exhaust the economic reserves of the Dalmatian Byzantine cities, and invested the money partly in architecture and art to promote and strengthen church organization, and partly in personal promotion. Modelling themselves on the late-Roman and Byzantine tradition of the Dalmatian cities, and on the Carolingian experience of their powerful protector, on this rather eclectic foundation the Croats created a specific cultural image, which we rightly call *Early Croatian Art*. Its glittering moments were in the second half of the ninth century, as can clearly be seen in the material we have just presented, so happily dated with the use of precious epigraphic material.

Translation: N. Jovanović

<sup>1</sup> Ž. RAPANIĆ, "Solinska epizoda europske povijesti" (The Solin Episode of European History), in: *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 85, *Disputationes Salonitanae IV*, Split 1993, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> J. STIPIŠIĆ - M. ŠAMŠALOVIĆ, *Codex Diplomaticus I.*, Zagreb 1967, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Treated more completely in: N. JAKŠIĆ, *Kiparsko-klesarske radionice od 9—12 stoljeća u Dalmaciji* (Sculpturing and Stone-Carving Workshops in 9-12th c. Dalmatia), Zadar 1986 (dissertation-manuscript). The chapter about this stone-carving workshop is ready for printing. Individual comparisons have already been made in: I. PETRICIOLI, "Oko datiranja umjetničkih spomenika ranog srednjeg vijeka" (On Dating Art Monuments from the Early Middle Ages), in: *Gunjačin zbornik*, Zagreb 1980, 114, from where they were taken over by Ž. RAPANIĆ, *Predromaničko doba u Dalmaciji* (The Pre-Romanesque Age in Dalmatia), Split 1987. See also T. BURIĆ, "Kameni namještaj bazilike u Žažviću" (The Stone Furniture of the Basilica in Žažvić), *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III/15, Zagreb 1985.

<sup>4</sup> Ž. RAPANIĆ, "Bilješka o četiri Branimirova natpisa" (A Note About four Branimir's Inscriptions), *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III/11, Split 1981, p.179.

<sup>5</sup> I. PETRICIOLI, "Prilog diskusiji o starohrvatskim crkvama o oblim kontraforima" (A Contribution to Discussion on Early Croatian Churches with Round Buttresses), in: *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, Split 1984, p. 221; N. JAKŠIĆ, "Klesarska radionica iz vremena kneza Branimira" (Stone-Carving Workshop from the Reign of Prince Branimir), *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III/22, Split 1995, p. 141-150.

<sup>6</sup> N. JAKŠIĆ, *Klesarska radionica*, passim.

<sup>7</sup> For the political background in the time of Branimir and Theodosius cf. N. KLAJČIĆ, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku* (History of the Croats in the Early Middle Ages), Zagreb 1971, p. 250.

<sup>8</sup> N. JAKŠIĆ, *Klesarska radionica*, passim.

<sup>9</sup> I. PETRICIOLI, *Prilog diskusiji*, p. 222.

<sup>10</sup> N. JAKŠIĆ, (manuscript), and V. DELONGA, "Starohrvatska crkva na 'Manastirinama' u Kašiću kod Zadra" (Early Croatian Church in 'Manastirine' in Kašić near Zadar), in: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III/18, Split 1990, who rather decided on the second half than the very middle of the century.

<sup>11</sup> J., M. and T. MARASOVIĆ, *Sveta Trojica — Split* (Holy Trinity — Split), Split 1971; N. KLAJČIĆ - I. PETRICIOLI, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409.* (Zadar in the Middle Ages Before 1409), *Prošlost Zadra II*, Zadar 1976.

<sup>12</sup> T. MARASOVIĆ, "Iskapanje ranosrednjovjekovne crkve sv. Marije u Trogiru" (Excavation of the Early Medieval Church of St Mary in Trogir), *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III/8-9, Split 1963; J., M. and T. MARASOVIĆ, *Sveta Trojica — Split* (The Holy Trinity — Split), Split 1971.

<sup>13</sup> P. VEŽIĆ, "Krstionica u Zadru" (The Baptistery in Zadar), in: *Peristil 34*, Zagreb 1991, p. 13. See also notes 10 and 11.

<sup>14</sup> I. PETRICIOLI, "Oko datiranja umjetničkih spomenika ranog srednjeg vijeka" (On Dating Art Monuments of the Early Middle Ages), in: *Gunjačin zbornik*, Zagreb 1980, p. 114.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*; N. JAKŠIĆ, *Klesarska radionica*.

<sup>17</sup> T. MARASOVIĆ, "Carolingian Influence in the Early medieval Architecture in Dalmatia", in: *Actes du XIX Congrès international d'histoire de l'art*, Paris 1959; V. GOSS (GVOZDANOVIĆ), "Značaj starohrvatske arhitekture za opću povijest europske predromanike" (The Importance of Early Croatian Architecture for the General History of Pre-Romanesque Europe), in: *Prilozi istraživanju starohrvatske arhitekture*, Split 1978, p. 133-148; M. JURKOVIĆ, "Crkve s westwerkom na istočnom Jadranu" (Churches with Westwork on the East Adriatic), in: *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 26, Split 1987, p. 61-85.

<sup>18</sup> I. PETRICIOLI, "Oko datiranja umjetničkih spomenika ranog srednjeg vijeka" (On dating Art Monuments from the Early Middle Ages), *Gunjačin zbornik*, Zagreb 1980, p. 114.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, "O pojavi elemenata kasnoantičke graditeljske tradicije na nekim ranosrednjevjekovnim sakralnim objektima" (On the Appearance of Elements of late Antique Architectural Tradition in Some Early Medieval Religious Buildings), in: *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, Split 1984, p. 253-262.

<sup>21</sup> J. BELOŠEVIĆ, *Materijalna kultura Hrvata od 7. do 9. stoljeća* (The Material Culture of Croats from the Seventh to the Ninth Century), Zagreb 1980, p. 90.

<sup>22</sup> A. SÓS — S. BÖKÖNYI, *Die Ausgrabungen Géza Fehérs in Zalavár*, Budapest 1963, T. XLVII; B. DOSTAL, *Das Vordringen der grossmährischen materiellen Kultur in der Nachbarländer, Magna Moravia*, Prague 1965, p. 365.

<sup>23</sup> P. KOROŠEC, "Kronološka i kulturna ocjena triljskog nalaza" (Chronological and Cultural Evaluation of the Trilj Find), in: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III/21, Split 1995, pp. 85-93.

<sup>24</sup> Those from the collection of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments were studied by V. DELONGA, "Bizantski novac u zbirci Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika" (Byzantine Coins in the Collection of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments), in: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III/11, Split 1981. Most of the find has not yet been published.

<sup>25</sup> Similarly V. DELONGA, *op.cit.*, and P. KOROŠEC, *op.cit.*

<sup>26</sup> G. MORAVCHIK — H. JENKINS, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio*, Washington 1967, cap. 31.

<sup>27</sup> Syracusan solidi of the emperors after Constantine V are extremely rare. Only from Theophilus (829-840) onward they restart to spread, but in Croatia these emissions have not been proved. Cfr. P. GRIERSON, DOC II, p. 314-426; ID, *Monete bizantine in Italia*, p. 39-42.

<sup>28</sup> It was observed a long time ago, that Constantine Porphyrogenitus gave his grandfather Basile the Great credit for the political events in the ninth century. As for the political situation on the East Adriatic in the first half of that century, it can be assumed, that the dalmatian cities had paid this tribute even earlier. Constantine Porphyrogenitus himself proves the fact, that the dalmatian cities were not under the Byzantine reign any more in the third decade of that century. What is more, it was in the ninth century that Venice was forced to pay the peace tribute to the Croatian ruler for the freedom of sailing along the Adriatic Coast. Constantine Porphyrogenitus must have only renewed the peace treaties. Therefore it is possible that some of the gold coins of Constantine V were laid into the Croatian graves even before the second half of the ninth century. However, this assumption has to be proven by a detailed analysis of other burial finds. It should be avoided to rely on that gold coin as starting point in the dating.

<sup>29</sup> For an overview of Carolingian finds in Medieval Croatia Cfr: Z. VINSKI, *O nalazima karolinških mačeva u Jugoslaviji* (About the finds of Carolingian swords in Yugoslavia), in *SHP* III/11, Split 1981, p. 9; D. JELOVINA, *Mačevi i ostruge karolinškog obilježja u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika* (Carolingian Swords and Spurs in the Museum of Croatian archaeological Monuments), Split 1986; M. ZEKAN, *Karolinški i poslijekarolinški nalazi iz Bosne i Hercegovine* (Carolingian and postcarolingian finds in Bosnia and Herzegovina), in *Livanjski kraj u povijesti*, Split-Livno 1994, p. 55.

<sup>30</sup> Cfr. note 21.

## HRVATSKA UMJETNOST U DRUGOJ POLOVICI IX. STOLJEĆA

### SAŽETAK

Predromanička umjetnost u Hrvatskoj čini se da doživljava svoj vrhunac u drugoj polovici IX. stoljeća. Jačanje mlade kneževine u razdoblju od Trpimira, preko Branimira do Muncimira sagledava se jednako u arhitekturi i skulpturi, a onda i kroz različite grobne nalaze, osobito oružja i konjaničke opreme karolinškog i postkarolinškog razdoblja. Najsustavnije je za sada moguće pratiti razvoj u klesarstvu jer je iz druge polovice IX. stoljeća sačuvan čitav niz reljefa precizno datiranih vremenom vladavine kneževa Trpimira, Branimira i Mucimira.

Jedna skupina reljefa iz Lopuške glavice u Biskupiji kod Knina, Plavna, Biograda, Žažvića, Vrpolja kod Knina te Kašića i Pridrage kod Zadra vezuje se radionički uz poznati reljef iz Rižinica kod Solina na kome je ubilježeno ime kneza Trpimira. Utoliko je cijelu grupu reljefa koju karakteriziraju arhitravi s kukama i natpisom, pluteji s raznoraznim rozetama i ljiljanima, kapiteli zatvorene forme, zabati s plastičnim kimationom i golubicama čiji je rep obrađen na riblju kost, uz zanatski vješto klesanje, ali ponešto skućeni *reper-toire* moguće datirati u sredinu IX. stoljeća.

Drugu zanimljivu skupinu reljefa moguće je izlučiti na temelju njezinih vrlo naivnih klesarskih svojstava koji se ogledaju u svakom izvedbenom detalju. Potječu sa slijedećih lokaliteta: Žažvić kod Bribira, Plavno, Biskupija kod Knina (Crkvina i Bukorovića podvornica), Rapovine kod Livna, Solin-Split i Šopot kod Benkovca. Datirani su u vrijeme kneza

Branimira, natpisom iz Šopota kod Benkovca na kojem je uklesano njegovo ime uz formulaciju *dux crvatorum*.

Ostaci arhitekture toga doba također su brojni, a među njima se ističu dvije izrazite skupine objekata. U Kašiću i Pridrazi kod Zadra, pronađeni su spomenuti reljefi iz vremena kneza Trpimira u ruševinama objekata heksakonalne osnove. Utoliko je ovaj graditeljski tip koji je sačuvan na širem prostoru, u Zadru, Trogiru, Splitu, Brnaziću relativno precizno datiran reljefima iz doba kneza Trpimira. Prator mu se nazire u zadarskoj krstionici uz katedralu iz V. stoljeća.

Druga skupina arhitektonskih spomenika obilježena je trikonhalnim ili troapsidalnim svetištem u jednobrodnom ili pak trobrodnom objektima s predvorjem na zapadu i zvonikom na pročelju, a polukružnim kontraforima uz uzdužne zidove. To su Stupovi i Lopuška glavica u Biskupiji kod Knina, katedrala u Biogradu i Sv. Spas na vrelu Cetine. U njima su pronađeni reljefi druge polovice IX. stoljeća, u Lopuškoj glavici oni koji odgovaraju skupini iz vremena kneza Trpimira, a na Sv. Spasu oni naivnih osobina iz vremena kneza Branimira. Jednako reljefi sa Stupova u Biskupiji kod Knina artikulacijom arhitrava na kome je motiv pereca odgovaraju arhitravima s ubilježenim imenom kneza Branimira iz Nina i Muća. Vrhunac klesarske obrade predstavlja zabat s imenom kneza Muncimira klesan 895. godine kako to svjedoči sam natpis.

Pojava vrlo kvalitetnih reljefa na jednoj strani i onih naivnih svojstava na drugoj u vrijeme kneza Branimira tumači se kao rezultat različitih odnosa s razvijenim dalmatinskim središtima u doba Branimira. Oni naivni nastali su u prvoj fazi njegove vladavine kada su odnosi bili zaoštreni, a oni kasniji pokazuju svojim kvalitetom ponovni dodir s klesarskom tradicijom dalmatinskih gradova, što se moglo dogoditi iza 886/887. kada ninski biskup Teodozije zasjeda na splitsku katedru.

Grobni nalazi druge polovice IX. stoljeća fiksirani su numizmatičkim materijalom. S jedne strane je to Lotarov (840) novčić iz Nina, a s druge brojni primjerci bizantskog solidusa Konstantina V. i sina mu Lava IV. (751-775). No potonji su zlatnici dospjeli u grobove tek u vrijeme Branimira kojemu su dalmatinski stratezi plaćali poznati tribut o čemu svjedoči Konstantin Porfirogenet. Utoliko se i grozdolike naušnice pronađene u Trilju s bizantskim spome-

nutim zlatnikom i slične pronađene u Ninu s novčićem Lotara posve približavaju u dataciji i dodatno svjedoče o kasnom dospjeću u grob bizantskoga zlatnika. Spomenuti su bizantski zlatnici zabilježeni i u kneževskim grobovima s bogatim ostrugama i mačevima, osobito na Crkvini u Biskupiji kod Knina i svjedoče o socijalnoj diferencijaciji unutar rodovskoga društva u drugoj polovici IX. stoljeća. Valja im pripisati i vrijedne nalaze skupocijenih staklarskih proizvoda iz Nina čija okvirna datacija nije upitna s obzirom na tamo pronađeni novčić cara Lotara.

Umjetnost druge polovice IX. stoljeća u Hrvatskoj pokazuje različite utjecaje, posebno mediteranske u spajanju s karolinškim čime se postiže novi kvalitet, osebujnih svojstava pa utoliko i govorimo s puno opravdanja o starohrvatskoj umjetnosti toga razdoblja koja je svoj vrhunac imala upravo u drugoj polovici IX. stoljeća.