

# LIMOŠKO RASPELO IZ GROBA U KRBAVSKOJ KATEDRALI LIMOGES CRUCIFIX FROM A GRAVE IN KRBAVA CATHEDRAL

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*U radu se obrađuje raspelo pronađeno u Katedrali sv. Jakova u Udbini, položeno na prsima pokojnika u grobu 443. Na temelju 14C mjerjenja i stratigrafske analize, ukop pokojnika u grob 443 datiran je u kraj 13. stoljeća. Raspelo je proizvedeno u Limogesu, u prvoj polovini 13. stoljeća. Sudeći prema veličini, do trenutka polaganja u grob moglo je biti korišteno kao oltarski križ. Grob 443 prethodio je vremenu izgradnje krbavske stolnice. Izvorno je bio dijelom starijega groblja formiranog oko manje crkve koja je bila porušena kako bi se na njezinu položaju sagradila katedrala krbavskih biskupa. Možda je i samo raspelo bilo dijelom inventara te starije crkve.*

*This paper analyses a crucifix found in St. Jacob's Cathedral, in Udbina. It was placed on the chest of the deceased person in Grave 443. On the basis of 14C measurements and stratigraphic analysis, the burial has been dated to the late 13<sup>th</sup> century. The crucifix was made in Limoges in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Judging by its size, before being placed in the grave it could have been used as an altar cross. Grave 443 dates from the period preceding the construction of Krbava Cathedral. Originally, it was part of an earlier cemetery formed around a smaller church that had been demolished so that the cathedral of the Krbava Bishops could be built in its place. Perhaps the crucifix itself belonged to the inventory of the earlier church.*

## Ključne riječi:

Krbavska biskupija, Katedrala sv. Jakova, raspelo, Limoges, Christus regnans

## Keywords:

Krbava Diocese, St. Jacob's Cathedral, crucifix, Limoges, Christus regnans

## Okolnosti nalaza

Od 2000. godine Arheološki muzej u Zadru provodi sustavna arheološka istraživanja na položaju Karija u Udbini.<sup>1</sup> Na tom položaju, u sklopu povijesnog naselja Krbave, zatečeni su ostaci katedrale krbavskih biskupa koja je nosila titular sv. Jakova.<sup>2</sup>

Tijekom posljednje kampanje, 9. listopada 2017. godine, u grobu 443, pronađeno je metalno raspelo koje je tema ovog rada (sl. 1). Raspelo je zatečeno okrenuto licem prema gore, na prsima pokojnika, muškarca, koji je u trenutku smrti bio stariji od 45 godina.<sup>3</sup> Grob je velikim dijelom oštećen, istočni dio groba prilikom izrade grobnice 15, a zapadni prilikom izgradnje grobnice 23, u kojoj se nalazio grob 452.

## The circumstances of the find

Since 2000, the Archaeological Museum Zadar has been carrying out systematic archaeological excavations at Karija, in Udbina.<sup>1</sup> At this site, part of the historical settlement of Krbava, remains of the cathedral of the Krbava bishops, dedicated to St. Jacob, have been found.<sup>2</sup>

A metal crucifix (Fig. 1) – the subject of this paper – was found in Grave 443 during the last excavation campaign, carried out on 9 October 2017. The crucifix was found lying face up on the chest of a male individual who was more than 45 years old at the time of death.<sup>3</sup> The grave had sustained substantial damage: its eastern part was damaged when Tomb 15 was created, and its western part when Tomb 23 (containing Grave 452) was dug.

1 O istraživanjima, Cf: Jurić 2009.

1 For these excavations, see Jurić 2009.

2 Prije arheološkog istraživanja smatralo se kako Katedralu treba vidjeti u jasno uočljivim obrisima arhitekture na položaju Karija. Titular je Katedrale potvrđen u više isprava (Bogović 1988, 52, 53; Kruhek, Horvat 1988, 192).

2 Before the excavations, archaeologists were of the opinion that the Cathedral can be identified in the clearly visible outlines of architecture at the Karija site. The Cathedral's patron saint was confirmed in a number of documents (Bogović 1988, 52, 53; Kruhek, Horvat 1988, 192).

3 Na kostima su vidljivi tragovi degenerativnog osteoartritisa. Analiza je provedena u laboratoriju Antropološkog centra Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu.

3 Traces of degenerative osteoarthritis can be seen on the bones. The analysis was carried out in the laboratory of the Anthropological Centre of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, in Zagreb.



**SLIKA 1.** Grob 443 (snimio I. Čondić).

**FIGURE 1.** Grave 443 (photo by I. Čondić).

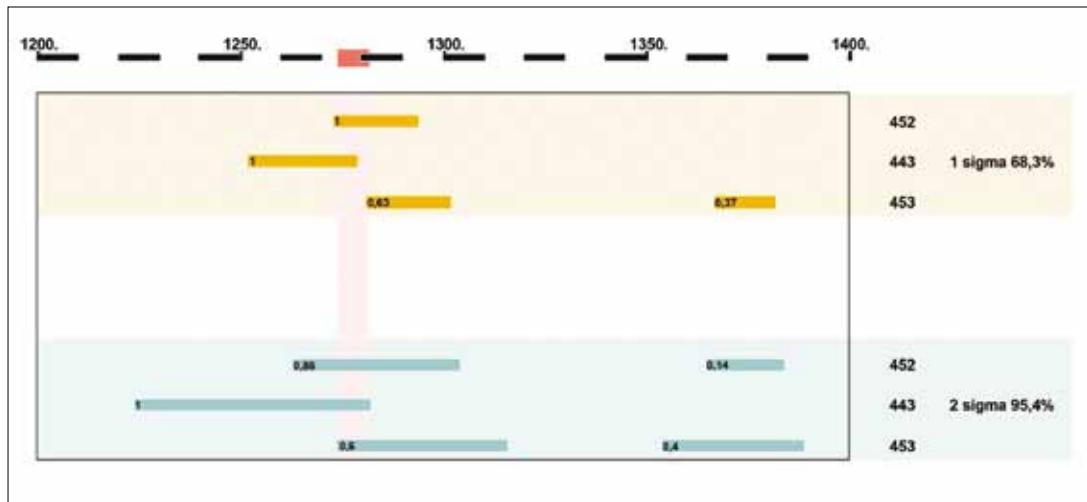


**SLIKA 2.** Grob 453 (snimio I. Čondić).

**FIGURE 2.** Grave 453 (photo by I. Čondić).

**SLIKA 3.** Grafički prikaz rezultata  $^{14}\text{C}$  mjerena (izradio J. Vučić).

**FIGURE 3.** Graph of results of  $^{14}\text{C}$  measurements (by J. Vučić).



#### Radiocarbon Age BP 758 +/- 26 (grob / Grave 443)

Calibration data set: intcal13.14c #

% area enclosed	cal AD age	Reimer et al. 2013
68.3 (1 sigma)	cal AD 1252- 1279	ranges relative area under probability distribution
95.4 (2 sigma)	cal AD 1224- 1282	1.000

#### Radiocarbon Age BP 674 +/- 28 (grob / Grave 453)

Calibration data set: intcal13.14c #

% area enclosed	cal AD age	Reimer et al. 2013
68.3 (1 sigma)	cal AD 1281- 1302	ranges relative area under probability distribution
	1367- 1382	0.629
95.4 (2 sigma)	cal AD 1274- 1316	0.371
	1354- 1389	0.595

#### Radiocarbon Age BP 701 +/- 27 (grob / Grave 452)

Calibration data set: intcal13.14c #

% area enclosed	cal AD age	Reimer et al. 2013
68.3 (1 sigma)	cal AD 1273- 1294	ranges relative area under probability distribution
95.4 (2 sigma)	cal AD 1263- 1304	1.000

1365- 1384 0.864

1365- 1384 0.136

Mjerenje  $^{14}\text{C}$  izotopa, provedeno na kosturu iz groba 443, upućuje na razdoblje između 1224. i 1282. godine kao izgledno vrijeme smrti pokojnika.<sup>4</sup> Dodatne elemente u određivanju datuma nastanka groba 443 mogu pružiti i  $^{14}\text{C}$  datumi kostura iz groba 453 i groba 452, od kojih je prvi stariji, a drugi mlađi od groba 443. Smrt pokojnika iz groba 453 (sl. 2),  $^{14}\text{C}$  mjerenje datira između 1274. – 1316. godine, dok se grob 452 datira između 1263. i 1304. godine.<sup>5</sup> Povežemo li sva tri  $^{14}\text{C}$  datuma u kronološki niz (sl. 3), možemo pretpostaviti kako je pokojnik iz groba 443 preminuo tijekom 8. ili 9. desetljeća 13. stoljeća.

The  $^{14}\text{C}$  measurements on the skeleton from Grave 443 indicate that the deceased probably died between 1224 and 1282.<sup>4</sup> The  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates of the skeletons from Graves 453 and 452 can also be of assistance in dating the period in which Grave 443 was made. Therefore, Grave 453 was made earlier than Grave 443, and Grave 452 was made later than Grave 443. Using  $^{14}\text{C}$  measurements, the death of the individual from Grave 453 (Fig. 2) has been dated to the period between 1274 and 1316. Grave 452 has been dated to the period between 1263 and 1304.<sup>5</sup> If all three  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates are arranged in a chronological sequence (Fig. 3), we can assume that the individual from Grave 443 died in the eighth or ninth decade of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

4 Mjerenje je provedeno u 14CHRONO Centre Queens University u Belfastu.  
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4 The measurements were carried out at the 14CHRONO Centre, Queens University Belfast.

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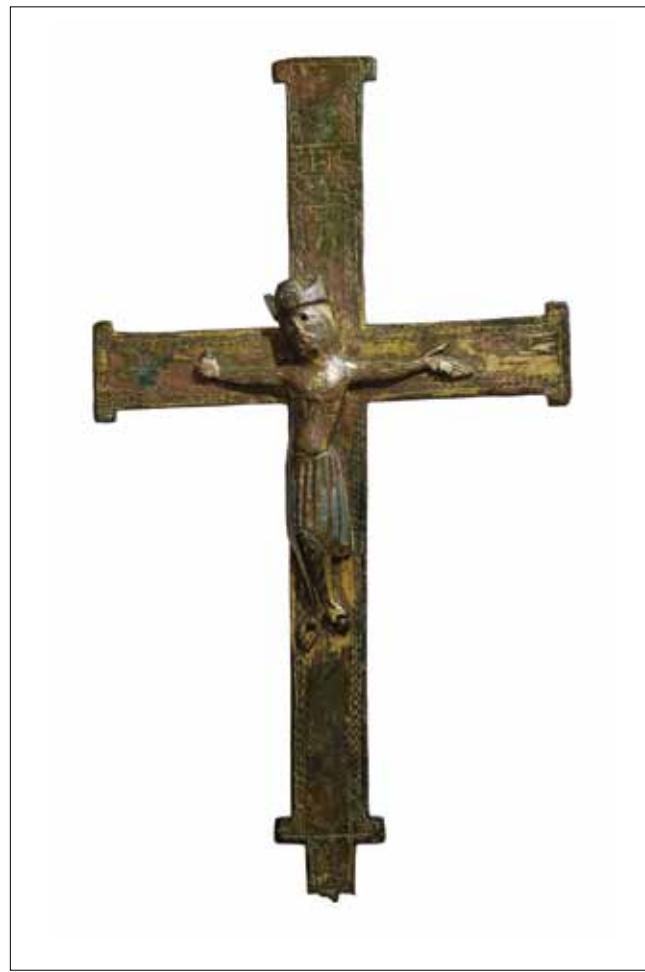
**SLIKA 4.** Raspelo prije čišćenja (snimio I. Čondić).

**FIGURE 4.** Crucifix before cleaning (photo by I. Čondić).

## Opis raspela

Raspelo se sastoji od dva elementa, križa proširenih krajeva i Kristova tijela koje je zakovicama aplicirano na križ (sl. 4). Ukupne je težine 65,99 g.<sup>6</sup> Križ je načinjen od bakrenog lima debljine 2 mm. Nije se sačuvao u cijelosti, odlomljen je dio trna koji je vjerojatno služio za nasad na drveni štap ili neko drugo postolje. Visok je 163 mm i širok 93 mm. Krakovi su široki prosječno 15 mm, a završavaju pravokutnim proširenjima širine do 21 mm. Na donjem kraju, ispod proširenog završetka kraka, malo je postolje širine 10 mm, ispod kojeg je sačuvan korijen trna širine 5 mm. Lice je križa ukrašeno urezanim linijama. Uz rub plohe teče kontinuirana linija, a unutar nje, na horizontalnim krakovima križa, teku tri, dok na vertikalnim dvije paralelne linije načinjene uzastopnim, nepovezanim potezima dlijeta, odnosno graveru. Na gornjem kraku, unutar tri horizontalne linije, urezan je natpis u dva reda. U gornjem redu latinski tekst IHS, a u donjem grčki XPS (sl. 5). Na stražnjoj strani, uz rub krakova, također nalazimo urezану obrubnu liniju, a unutar nje izvijaju se vitice iz kojih izrastaju trolisti.

<sup>6</sup> Konzervatorski je zahvat na raspelu izvela viša restauratorica Josipa Lovrić, voditeljica Restauratorsko-konzervatorskog odjela Arheološkog muzeja Zadar.



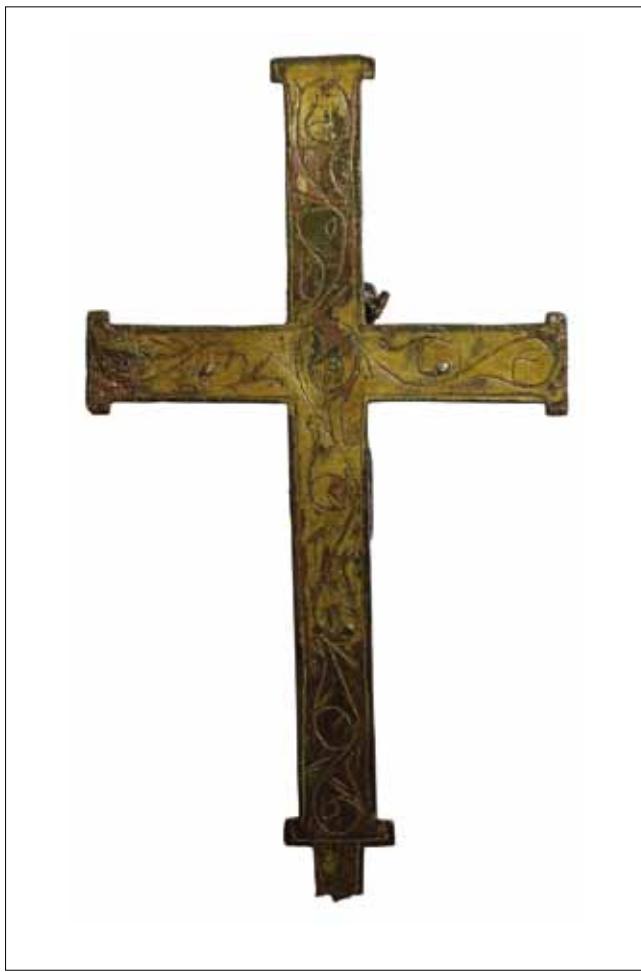
**SLIKA 5.** Prednja strana raspela nakon čišćenja (snimio I. Čondić).

**FIGURE 5.** Front of crucifix after cleaning (photo by I. Čondić).

## The description of the crucifix

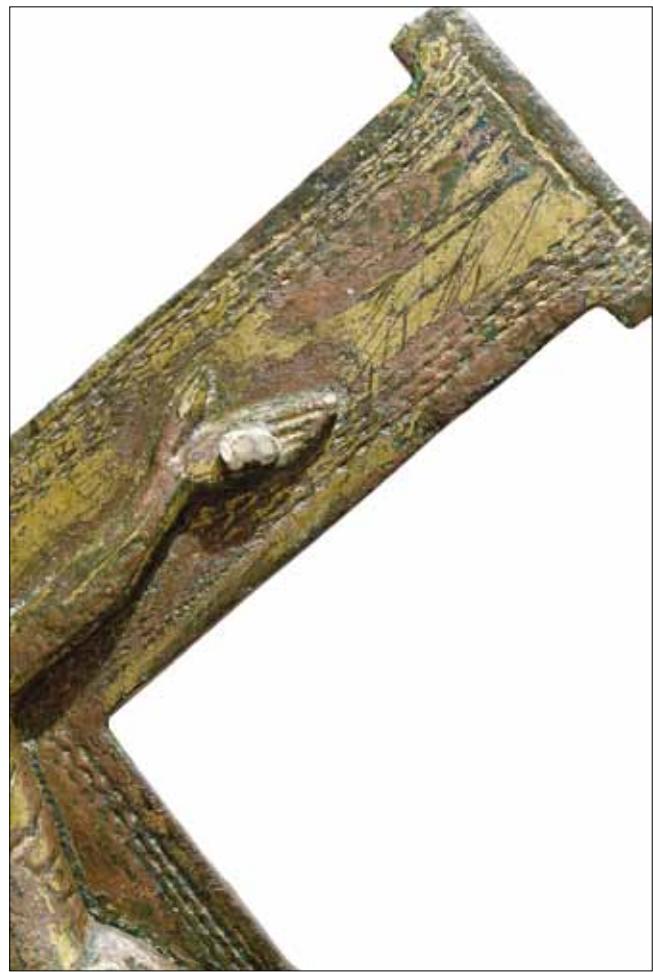
The crucifix is made of two elements: a cross with widened arms, and a figurine of Christ riveted to it (Fig. 4). The overall weight is 65.99 g.<sup>6</sup> The cross is made from 2-mm-thick copper sheet. The cross is not fully preserved: the part of the prong that was probably used for fixing to a wooden pole or some other element is missing. It is 163 mm high and 93 mm wide. The average width of the arms of the cross is 15 mm. The rectangular widened ends of the arms are up to 21 mm wide. Under the widened end on the bottom part, a small 10-mm-wide base can be seen, with a 5-mm-wide root of the prong. The front of the crucifix is decorated with incised lines. An unbroken line stretches along the edge of the surface. Within the area bounded by this line, there are three parallel lines on the cross's horizontal arms and two parallel lines on the cross's vertical arms. The engraver made these parallel lines with successive, intermittent chisel strokes. A two-line inscription is carved on the upper arm within the three horizontal lines. The upper line contains the Latin text *IHS* and the lower one the

<sup>6</sup> The conservation work on the crucifix was carried out by Senior Restorer Josipa Lovrić, Head of the Restoration and Conservation Department of the Archaeological Museum Zadar.



**SLIKA 6.** Stražnja strana raspela nakon čišćenja (snimio I. Čondić).

**FIGURE 6.** Back of crucifix after cleaning (photo by I. Čondić).



**SLIKA 7.** Raspelo detalj (snimio I. Čondić).

**FIGURE 7.** Crucifix detail (photo by I. Čondić).

Na gornjem kraku, otprilike u istoj visini kao i na prednjoj strani, nalaze se urezane dvije horizontalne linije, ali za razliku od prednje strane, unutar njih nije urezan natpis, već ih presijeca prethodno spomenuta vitica (sl. 6).

Na prednju stranu križa, pomoću dvije srebrne zakovice na dlanovima i dvije brončane na stopalima, apliciran je prikaz Krista, pobjednika smrti (*Christus triumphans*), odnosno Krista kralja (*Christus regnans*). Korpus je oblikovan iskucavanjem sa stražnje strane iz bakrenog lima, nakon čega je prednja strana dorađena urezivanjem detalja anatomije i rovašenjem čelija za ulaganje emajla te konačno emajliranjem i pozlatom. Visina iskucanog reljefa iznosi do 5,5 mm. Od vrha krune do palca na desnoj nozi, Krist je visok 73 mm, dok sačuvana širina, od lijevog kažiprsta do desnog dlana, iznosi 53 mm. Nedostaje mu lijevo stopalo i dio desnog dlana. Široko iskucana zakovica na desnom dlanu ukaže na pokušaj saniranja oštećenja, na temelju čega je moguće pretpostaviti kako je do oštećenja došlo prije polaganja raspela u grob. Glava, na kojoj se nalazi trokraka kruna, blago je nagnuta prema desnom ramenu. Kruna je masivna, ukrašena cik-cak uzorkom, izvedenim isprekidanim urezanim linijama. Kosa, pre-

Greek text XPS (Fig. 5). On the back, along the arms' edges, an incised bounding line can also be seen. Within the area bounded by this line there are winding tendrils branching out into trefoils. On the upper arm, at approximately the same height as on the front face, two horizontal lines are incised. Unlike on the front, no carved inscription can be seen between them; instead, the above-mentioned tendril crosses them (Fig. 6).

A figurine of Christ triumphant (*Christus triumphans*), or the Reigning Christ (*Christus regnans*), is applied to the front side of the cross with two silver rivets on the palms and two bronze rivets on the feet. The body of Christ was shaped by embossing a copper sheet from the back and finishing the front by carving anatomical details, making depressions for enamel and, finally, enamelling and gilding. The relief thus embossed is up to 5.5 mm high. The height of the Christ, from the tip of the crown to his right toe, is 73 mm. The preserved width, from the left index finger to the right palm, is 53 mm. The left foot and part of the right palm are missing. As the rivet on the right palm is beaten flat, indicating an attempt to repair the damage, we can assume that the damage occurred before the crucifix was laid in the grave.

dočena nizom plitkih, paralelnih, isprekidanih linija pada preko lijevog i desnog ramena. Na licu se razabiru blago istaknut nos, jagodične kosti, usne, brkovi i brada. Oči su udubljene, s rupicama u kojima su izvorno stajala zrnca staklene paste. Raširene su ruke blago savinute u laktovima. Dlan lijeve ruke ispružen je prema dolje, s rastvorenim i visoko podignutim palcem (sl. 7). Prsti i mišići ruku predočeni su plitkim urezanim linijama. Tijelo je blago savijeno u boku. Trup se ljevkasto sužava od ramena prema bokovima. Stilizirana anatomija, pupak, linija abdomena, rebra i prsa predočeni su plitkim urezanim linijama. Od bokova spušta se dugačka perizoma ispod koje izviruje lijevo koljeno. Perizoma je ukrašena sa sedam ravnih, vertikalnih, rovašenih žlijebova u kojima su jasno vidljivi ostaci tamnoplavog emajla, kojim su izvorno bili u cijelosti ispunjeni. Plitko urezanom linijom naznačeno je kako je lijeva noga savijena u koljenu i prebačena preko desne. Stopala su razdvojena, a prsti stopala prikazani nizom plitko urezanih linija.

Na temelju ostataka pozlate, možemo zaključiti kako je cijelo raspelo, izuzev površina prekrivenih emajlom, bilo pozlaćeno.

## Radioničko podrijetlo raspela iz Udbine

Raspela s prikazom Krista s kraljevskom krunom, tzv. pobjednika smrti, kojem pripada i primjerak iz Udbine, pojavljuju se u zapadnoj umjetnosti od 11. stoljeća.<sup>7</sup> Najpoznatiji primjerak brončanog Krista s kraljevskom krunom u Hrvatskoj pronađen je u rijeci Kupi, a proizведен je vjerojatno u njemačkim ili francuskim radionicama krajem 12. ili početkom 13. stoljeća i čuva se u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu.<sup>8</sup>

Tehnologijom izrade, koja podrazumijeva korištenje bakrenog lima debljine 2 do 5 mm, oblikovanje iskucavanjem te naknadnu doradu urezivanjem detalja, emajliranjem i pozlatom, raspelo iz Udbine upućuje na proizvode izrađene u radionicama u Limogesu u središnjoj Francuskoj.<sup>9</sup> Ikonografijom, oblikovanjem Kristova lika i načinom stilizacije anatomije, korpus s udbinskog raspela iznimno je blizak prikazima Krista na limoškim raspelima.<sup>10</sup> (Sl. 8) Obliku križa, na koji je apliciran korpus, također nalazimo paralele među limoškim proizvodima.<sup>11</sup> Motiv uvijene lozice, kakovim je ukrašena poledina križa, učestalo se pojavljuje na proizvodima limoškog kruga, pa i na križevima.<sup>12</sup>

7 Badurina 1990, 499.

8 O ovom korpusu, Cf. Horvat 1957, 261–269, T. XXXIII; Pavičić 1999, 7, sl. 6.

9 O tehnologiji obrade, Cf. Biron, Dandridge, Wypyski 1996, 48–60.

10 Usporedi: Thoby 1953, br. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 43, 57, 58, 61, 67, 70, 91, Pl. XVI–XXIII, XVII, XVIII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXIV, XLII; Decollongy 1962, 143–148; Favreau, Michaud, Labande 1977, 11, sl. 8; Favreau, Michaud, Labande 1978, sl. 68–72; Arias Sánchez 1995, 78; Nilsén 1998, 1–20; Lewis 2015, sl. 10–12; Japundžić, Ratković Bukovčan, Šeper 2017, 16, 18.

11 Usporedi: Thoby 1953, Pl. XL, XLI, XLII, XLVII.

12 Gauthier 1958, 349–369. Za brojne limoške proizvode, ukrašene ovim motivom, usporedi: Thoby 1953; O’Neil (ed.) 1996. Veliku sličnost pokazuje dekoracija stražnje strane križa iz Conghamama, koji je križu iz Udbine blizak i dimenzija

The head, with a three-pronged crown, is slightly bent towards the right shoulder. The massive crown is decorated with a zig-zag pattern consisting of incised intermittent lines. The hair, represented by a series of shallow parallel intermittent lines, falls over both shoulders. A slightly prominent nose, cheekbones, lips, and a moustache and beard can be seen on the face. The eyes are recessed, each with a tiny perforation that was originally filled with a glass-paste bead. The spread arms are gently bent at the elbows. The extended palm of the left hand is turned downwards, its thumb raised high (Fig. 7). The fingers and muscles on both arms are represented by shallow incised lines. The body is gently bent at the hip. The funnel-shaped torso tapers off from the shoulders to the hips. The stylized anatomy, navel, abdomen line, ribs and chest are represented by shallow incised lines. A long perizoma stretches from the hips downwards. The left knee can be seen just underneath it. Seven straight vertical grooves are carved into the perizoma; traces of dark blue enamel that once filled the grooves are clearly visible. A shallow incised line suggests that the left leg is bent at the knee and put across the right leg. The feet are apart, and the toes are represented by a series of shallow incised lines.

The traces of gilding indicate that the entire crucifix – with the exception of the enamelled areas – was gilded.

## The origin of the Udbina crucifix

The crucifixes depicting Christ with a regal crown – the ‘victor over death’ – that the Udbina specimen belongs to appeared in Western art in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> The best-known Croatian example of a bronze Christ with a regal crown, found in the River Kupa, was probably made in a German or French workshop in the late 12<sup>th</sup> or early 13<sup>th</sup> century. It is kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.<sup>8</sup>

The technique used in the making of the Udbina crucifix – embossing a copper sheet, 2 to 5 mm thick, and then finishing it by incising details and applying enamel and gilding – reminds us of the products of the workshops in Limoges, Central France.<sup>9</sup> By its iconography, shape and stylized anatomy, the body of Christ on the Udbina crucifix is very similar to the depictions of Christ on the Limoges crucifixes<sup>10</sup> (Fig. 8). The shape of the cross on which the body of Christ is applied can also be compared with the Limoges products.<sup>11</sup> The motif of winding vine that decorates the back of the cross is often found on products of the Limoges workshops, including crosses.<sup>12</sup>

7 Badurina 1990, 499.

8 For this body of Christ, Cf. Horvat 1957, 261–269, T. XXXIII; Pavičić 1999, 7, Fig. 6.

9 For the finishing technique, Cf. Biron, Dandridge, Wypyski 1996, 48–60.

10 Cf. Thoby 1953, nos 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 43, 57, 58, 61, 67, 70, 91, Pls XVI–XXIII, XVII, XVIII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXIV, XLII; Decollongy 1962, 143–148; Favreau, Michaud, Labande 1977, 11, Fig. 8; Favreau, Michaud, Labande 1978, Figs 68–72; Arias Sánchez 1995, 78; Nilsén 1998, 1–20; Lewis 2015, Figs 10–12; Japundžić, Ratković Bukovčan, Šeper 2017, 16, 18.

11 Cf. Thoby 1953, Pls. XL, XLI, XLII, XLVII.

12 Gauthier 1958, 349–369. For numerous Limoges products decorated with this motif, compare Thoby 1953; O’Neil (ed.) 1996. Very similar is the decorati-

**SLIKA 8.** Krist na raspelu iz crkve u Chalon-sur-Saôneu (prema: Thoby, 1953).

**FIGURE 8.** Christ on a crucifix from a church in Chalon-sur-Saône (according to Thoby 1953).



Na temelju navedenog, možemo zaključiti kako je raspelo iz Udbine načinjeno u limoškim radionicama tijekom prve polovine 13. stoljeća.<sup>13</sup> Tijekom 12. i 13. stoljeća Limoges je bio jedan od najznačajnijih centara proizvodnje emajliranih predmeta na prostoru Europe.<sup>14</sup> Proizvodi ovih radionica poznati su i pod nazivom *Opus lemovicense*. Limoški proizvodi susreću se na širokom prostoru, od Engleske do Rusije, od Izraela do Skandinavije, što svjedoči o širokoj distribuciji. Uz kvalitetu proizvoda, distribuciji je pomogla činjenica da se Limoges nalazio na hodočasničkoj ruti koja je vodila do Santiago de Compostela, da je bio povezan s obitelji Plantagenet i posebno okolnost da je papa Inocent III. na Lateranskom koncilu 1215. godine, spominjući crkveno posuđe, posebno apostrofirao i limoške proizvode.<sup>15</sup> Raspelo iz Udbine dodatna je potvrda distribuciji limoškog emajla i na ovim prostorima.

All the above leads us to the conclusion that the Udbina crucifix was made in one of the Limoges workshops in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> In the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, Limoges was one of the most important centres of enamelled products in Europe.<sup>14</sup> The products of these workshops are also known as *Opus lemovicense*. The fact that Limoges products are found across a vast space stretching from England to Russia, and from Israel to Scandinavia, indicates that they were widely distributed. Together with their high quality, also contributing to their wide distribution were the facts that Limoges was located on the pilgrims' route to Santiago de Compostela, that it was connected with the Plantagenet family, and – in particular – that Pope Innocent III made special mention of the Limoges products when he discussed church ware at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.<sup>15</sup>

ma. Usporedi web-katalog izložbe: [https://www.wooster.edu/\\_media/files/arts/museum/exhibitions/2018/web-catalogue-saints-relics-images.pdf](https://www.wooster.edu/_media/files/arts/museum/exhibitions/2018/web-catalogue-saints-relics-images.pdf).

<sup>13</sup> Jedan od recenzentata rada ukazao je na mogućnost kako križ, za razliku od Kristova tijela, nije izrađen u limoškim radionicama, već je načinjen po uzoru na limoške proizvode.

<sup>14</sup> O povijesti limoških radionica, vidi: Taburet-Delahaye 1996, 33–39.

<sup>15</sup> Drake Bohem 1996, 40–46.

<sup>16</sup> Osim raspela iz Udbine, u literaturi se spominje nalaz limoškog pastoralca

on used on the back of the Congham cross, which is also of similar size to the Udbina cross. Compare the exhibition web catalogue: [https://www.wooster.edu/\\_media/files/arts/museum/exhibitions/2018/web-catalogue-saints-relics-images.pdf](https://www.wooster.edu/_media/files/arts/museum/exhibitions/2018/web-catalogue-saints-relics-images.pdf).

<sup>13</sup> One of the reviewers pointed to the possibility that the cross, unlike the figurine of Christ, was made in the style of Limoges work, but not in the Limoges workshops.

<sup>14</sup> For the history of Limoges workshops, see Taburet-Dalahaye 1996, 33–39.

<sup>15</sup> Drake Bohem 1996, 40–46.

rima.<sup>16</sup> S obzirom na veličinu, može se prepostaviti kako je bilo u funkciji oltarskog križa.<sup>17</sup>

## Raspelo i stolne crkve u Krbavi

Prije prilaganja uz pokojnika u grob 443, raspelo iz Udbine moglo je pripadati crkvenom inventaru. U tom je kontekstu zanimljiv odnos groba prema ostacima dviju sakralnih građevina koje su na ovom položaju slijedile jedna drugu.

Iako je Krbavska biskupija osnovana zaključkom Splitskoga pokrajinskog koncila 1185. godine<sup>18</sup>, najstariji spomen krbavske katedrale u povijesnim izvorima potječe iz 1389. godine.<sup>19</sup> Taj spomen odnosi se na dobro sačuvane ostatke gotičke katedrale za koju se prepostavlja kako je izgrađena oko 1300. godine.<sup>20</sup> Sukladno kasnijem datiranju ostataka gotičke katedrale, pretpostavljeno je kako je od osnutka biskupije do njene izgradnje, ulogu stolnice privremeno mogla ispunjavati neka druga crkva.<sup>21</sup> Pojedini su autori pretpostavili kako se ta starija crkva, manjih dimenzija i izrađena u stilu predromanike ili rane romanike, mogla nalaziti i na mjestu kasnije izgrađene katedrale.<sup>22</sup> Ovu su pretpostavku potvrdila i arheološka iskopavanja, prilikom kojih su ispod razine temelja gotičke katedrale pronađeni ostaci manje crkve i starijih grobova, koji su se na ovome mjestu nalazili prije njezine izgradnje. Kako na nalazištu imamo ostatke dviju crkava, postavlja se pitanje koja od njih je suvremena ukopu groba 443, u kojem je pronađeno raspelo. Kako je zapadni dio groba 443 presjekla zidana grobnica 23, koja je izgrađena prije gotičke katedrale ili tijekom njezine gradnje, proizlazi kako je grob 443 nastao prije izgradnje gotičke katedrale. Dovođenje groba 443 i Katedrale u ovaj odnos ujedno potvrđuje kako Katedrala nije građena prije početka četvrte četvrtine 13. stoljeća. Prema tomu, grob 443 suvremen je starijoj crkvi, a nalazio se izvan nje, u neposrednoj blizini njezina južnog zida. Slijedom navedenog, oltarski križ, proizведен u limoškim radionicama, mogao je pripadati inventaru manje, romaničke crkve, koja je nakon osnutka Krbavske biskupije, do vremena izgradnje velike katedrale, vjerojatno pre-

pronadenog u grobu u benediktinskoj Crkvi sv. Krševana u Zadru, koji se do Drugog svjetskog rata čuvalo se u Arheološkom muzeju Zadar, zatim raspelo koje je zatećeno u privatnoj zbirci u Žmanu na otoku Ugljanu, a dovodi se u vezu sa zadarškim benediktincima i njihovim posjedom u Telašćici te jedna limoška aplikacija nedavno pronađena kod Vinkovaca, Klaić, Petricioli 1976, 272, tabla 36; Vežić 1993, 197–202; Rapan Papeša 2015, 261–265.

<sup>17</sup> Oltarski križevi spominju se u 12. stoljeću, a običaj njihova postavljanja na oltar za trajanja liturgije širio se zapadom. Vidi: Dix 2005, 411, 412; Hourihane 2012, 223, 224.

<sup>18</sup> Podaci o ovom Koncilu i osnutku Krbavske biskupije sačuvani su u dijelu Tome Arhidakona i u prijepisima akata od kojih su najvažniji trogirske i splitske, Kovačić 1988, 24–30.

<sup>19</sup> Bogović 1988, 52.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Sladović 1856 (2003), 136; Bogović 1988, 53; Kruhek, Horvat 1988, 193, 194; Horvat 1997, 160–162; Horvat 2003, 84–87, 159; Jurić 2009, 507.

<sup>21</sup> Bogović 1988, 53; Horvat 2003, 78.

<sup>22</sup> Kruhek, Horvat 1988, 191, 192; Horvat 1997, 162; Horvat 2003, 87.

The Udbina crucifix can be seen as additional confirmation that Limoges enamel was also distributed in these parts.<sup>16</sup> Given its size, it can be assumed that it was used as an altar cross.<sup>17</sup>

## The crucifix and the Krbava cathedrals

Before it was placed on the individual in Grave 443, the Udbina crucifix could have belonged to the church's inventory. What is interesting in this context is the relationship between the grave and the remains of two sacred structures built successively on this location. Although the Krbava Diocese was established by the decision of the Provincial Council of Split in 1185,<sup>18</sup> the Krbava cathedral was first mentioned in historical sources in 1389.<sup>19</sup> This mention refers to the well-preserved remains of a Gothic structure believed to have been built around 1300.<sup>20</sup> As the remains of the Gothic cathedral were dated to a later period, it is believed that some other church must have served as a temporary cathedral in the period between the founding of the Diocese and the construction of the cathedral.<sup>21</sup> Some authors assumed that an earlier church – a Pre-Romanesque or Early Romanesque structure of a smaller size – could have been built on the site of the later cathedral.<sup>22</sup> This assumption was confirmed by the archaeological excavations that resulted in the discovery of an earlier smaller church and graves under the foundation of the Gothic cathedral. Since there are remains of two churches on the site, the question is which one of them stood there at the time when Grave 443 was made (and in which the crucifix was found). As the western part of Grave 443 was cut by Masonry Tomb 23 (built before or during the construction of the Gothic cathedral), it turns out that Grave 443 had been made before the cathedral's construction. Such a relationship between Grave 443 and the cathedral can be seen as confirmation that the cathedral was not built before the early fourth quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Consequently, Grave 443 was made at the same time as the earlier church. It was located outside the church, immediately next to its southern wall. On the basis of the above, the altar cross manufactured in one of the Limoges workshops could have been an item of the inventory of this smaller, Romanesque church, which, in the pe-

<sup>16</sup> In addition to the Udbina crucifix, the literature also mentions a Limoges pastoral found in a grave in the Benedictine church of St. Chrysogonus, in Zadar (kept at the Archaeological Museum Zadar until World War II), a crucifix from a private collection in Žman on the island of Ugljan (associated with the Zadar Benedictines and their estate in Telašćica) and a Limoges appliqué recently found near Vinkovci: Klaić, Petricioli 1976, 272, table 36; Vežić 1993, 197–202; Rapan Papeša 2015, 261–265.

<sup>17</sup> Altar crosses are mentioned in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The custom of their placement on an altar during a liturgy spread in the West. See Dix 2005, 411, 412; Hourihane 2012, 223, 224.

<sup>18</sup> The information about this council and the establishing of the Krbava Diocese can be found in the work of Thomas the Archdeacon and in the transcripts of documents, of which those from Trogir and Split are the most relevant: Kovačić 1988, 24–30.

<sup>19</sup> Bogović 1988, 52.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Sladović 1856 (2003), 136; Bogović 1988, 53; Kruhek, Horvat 1988, 193, 194; Horvat 1997, 160–162; Horvat 2003, 84–87, 159; Jurić 2009, 507.

<sup>21</sup> Bogović 1988, 53; Horvat 2003, 78.

<sup>22</sup> Kruhek, Horvat 1988, 191, 192; Horvat 1997, 162; Horvat 2003, 87.

uzela funkciju stolne crkve. Pitanja vezana uz status pokojnika iz groba 443, poput moguće pripadnosti višem kleru i slično, ostat će neodgovorena.<sup>23</sup>

riod between the establishment of the Krbava Diocese and the construction of the large cathedral, probably served as a cathedral. The question of the status of the individual buried in Grave 443 – for example, whether he belonged to higher clergy or not – will probably remain unanswered.<sup>23</sup>

## Zaključak

Iz navedenog možemo pretpostaviti kako je prije izgradnje nove katedrale krbavskih biskupa na položaju Karija postojala manja crkva uz koju se nalazilo i groblje. Uz južni zid te crkve krajem 13. stoljeća ukopana je starija muška osoba kojoj je na prsa položeno raspelo. Raspelo je izrađeno tijekom prve polovine 13. stoljeća u limoškim radionicama. Na temelju dimenzija, može se pretpostaviti kako je izvorno imalo funkciju oltarskog križa. Ovo raspelo predstavlja doprinos poznавању disperzije limoških proizvoda na našem prostoru. Na temelju datiranja ovoga groba i njegova vezivanja uz stariju crkvu, moguće je čvršće odrediti i donju granicu početka izgradnje krbavske katedrale u posljednje desetljeće 13. stoljeća.

## Conclusion

On the basis of the above, we can presume that a smaller church with an adjacent cemetery, built at the Karija site, preceded the construction of a new cathedral of the Krbava bishops. An elderly male individual was buried by the southern wall of that church in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, with a crucifix placed on his chest. The crucifix was made in one of the Limoges workshops in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Its dimensions suggest that it was originally used as an altar cross. This crucifix will help us gain deeper insight into the dispersion of Limoges products in these parts. On the basis of the dating of the grave and its association with the earlier church, it is possible to identify the final decade of the 13<sup>th</sup> century as the lower time limit of the beginning of the construction of the Krbava cathedral.

<sup>23</sup> Iz vremena smrti pokojnika pokopanog s limoškim raspelom poznat je krbavski biskup Saracen (Cf. Bogović 2015, 73, 74).

<sup>23</sup> Bishop Saracen was the bishop of Krbava at the time of death of the individual buried with the Limoges crucifix (Cf. Bogović 2015, 73, 74).

# INTERNETSKI IZVORI

# INTERNET SOURCES

[https://www.wooster.edu/\\_media/files/arts/museum/exhibitions/2018/web-catalogue-saints-relics-images.pdf](https://www.wooster.edu/_media/files/arts/museum/exhibitions/2018/web-catalogue-saints-relics-images.pdf). (1 April 2019)

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