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## Gospa Srimaska i „početci hrvatske umjetnosti“

*U izuzetnoj knjizi Naša stara vjera Radoslav Katičić je ukazao na pojave vjerskog dvojevjerja među Slavenima. Pluralizam u vjerskoj tradiciji implicira i pripadanje nekim kulturnim krugovima. U novoj domovini Hrvati su susreli konglomerat lokalnih antičkih tradicija, ali i ostatke urbane kulture antike, čemu su dodali vlastitu tradiciju izvangradskog svijeta. Na temelju toga umjetnost hrvatskog prostora formirala se u razdoblju predromanike i traje do danas. Sjajni su primjeri graditeljstvo i klesarstvo predromanike, umjetnost srednjodalmatinskih komuna i Panonije Savije 13. st., umjetnost Dubrovačke Republike 15. i 16. st., sjevernohrvatski ladanjski barok, urbanistička obnova Zagreba u 19. i 20. st. te hrvatska naiva. U tom kontekstu autor razmatra detalj orača na romaničkom osliku Naše Gospe u Srimi kao vrijedan doprinos domaće sredine i uspoređuje ga s nekim sličnim urdacima na sjevernom Jadranu, podvlačeći važnost analogija u dijakronom, a ne samo u sinkronom smislu.*

**Ključne riječi:** Hrvatska, Hrvatska umjetnost, Srima, romanika, romaničko slikarstvo, istarske freske.

## Our Lady of Srima and “the beginnings of Croatian art”

*In his exceptional book Naša stara vjera (Our Old Religion), Radoslav Katičić pointed out the phenomena of religious dual faith among Slavs. Pluralism in religious tradition implies belonging to several culture circles. In their new homeland, the Croats found a conglomerate of local antique traditions, as well as remnants of the antique urban culture, to which they added their own tradition of the non-urban world. This was the basis for the development of art in Croatian territories during the pre-Romanesque period, which has continued to this day. We have a number of splendid examples: pre-Romanesque architecture and masonry, the art of communes in Central Dalmatia and Pannonia Savia in the 13th century, the art of the Dubrovnik Republic in the 15th and 16th centuries, the rural Baroque in northern Croatia, the urban renewal of Zagreb in the 19th and 20th centuries, and Croatian naive art. In this context, this paper reflects on a detail of the ploughman on the Romanesque wall painting of Our Lady in Srima as a valuable contribution of the local community, and compares it with some similar works in the northern Adriatic, while underscoring the importance of analogies in the diachronic, and not only the synchronic sense.*

**Keywords:** Croatia, Croatian art, Srima, Romanesque, Romanesque painting, Istrian frescoes.

U izvanrednoj knjizi *Naša stara vjera* akademik Katičić je ukazao na fenomen dvojevjerja u slavenskih naroda, koji se u razmjerno ograničenom ali ipak primjetljivom obliku javlja i kod Hrvata, najranije pokrštenih Slavena. Pripadanje dvama vjerskim krugovima naravno implicira i pripadanje dvjema kulturnim sferama. Dakle, dvojevjerje se odražava u dvokulturju ili višekulturju.<sup>1</sup>

Hrvati su iz stare domovine donijeli izvjesnu tradiciju kompatibilnu s onom predrimskog Ilirika i djelimično rimske provincijalne kulture. Sve je to umjetnički izraz koji se formalno zasniva na stilizaciji i apstrakciji, a sadržajno na prikazu pojma ili ideje kao u svetom pjesništvu molitava i himana, pa čak i kad se javljaju nagovještaji naracije. Ta se pretpovijesna tradicija Hrvata polako ali sigurno dokumentira.<sup>2</sup>

Pokrštenjem, Hrvati postaju braća u Kristu dalmatinskim Romanima, no to pokrštenje dolazi primarno iz sfere Karolinga koja je isto tako kršćanska kao i barbarska, iako s mjestimično solidnim pre-mazom romanizacije. No Hrvati su zatekli i njima novu i nepoznatu pojavu antičkoga grada, doduše u visokom stadiju degeneracije. Ipak, taj čimbenik rimskog grada ne može se zaobići. „I u rudimentarnom obliku rimska Dalmacija ostaje repozitorij u kojem se zrcali i kontinuitet i propadanje antike kulture...“. Situacija je u najmanju ruku kompleksna, no može se ipak svesti na dva bitna pola – grad i ladanje, *urbs* i *rus*. Za područje prvenstveno jezika i književnih spomenika to je izvanredno pokazao u monumentalnim *Litterarum studia* akademik Katičić, a kao opće načelo naglasio u knjizi navedenoj na početku.<sup>3</sup>

Oslikavanjem naše stare vjere kao legitimnog paralelnog fenomena novoj, kao nečega što kao dvojevjerje (bilo živo, bilo latentno) postoji u duhovnosti slavenskih naroda do danas, otvara se mogućnost novih pogleda i na druge duhovne i kulturne fenomene, pa tako i na likovne umjetnosti. Umjetnost u hrvatskom prostoru, kao jedan od vidova takvog dvokulturja, formirala se u razdoblju prije romanike, od otprilike 600. do 1100. godine, i postoji kao konstanta u tom prostoru do danas. Razapeti između sela i grada, Istoka i Zapada, slaven-

In his extraordinary book *Naša stara vjera (Our Old Religion)*, academician Katičić pointed out the phenomenon of dual faith in Slavic peoples, which had also been common, in a relatively limited but still noticeable form, among the Croats, the earliest to convert to Christianity. Belonging to two religious circles naturally implies belonging to two cultural spheres. Consequently, dual faith is reflected in biculturalism or multiculturalism<sup>1</sup>.

From their old country, the Croats brought a certain tradition compatible with that of pre-Roman Illyricum, and party with Roman provincial culture. The aggregate was an artistic expression formally based on stylization and abstraction, and content-wise on depictions of concepts or ideas like in the holy poetry of prayers and hymns, even when intimations of narrative appeared. This prehistoric tradition of the Croats has been slowly but surely documented<sup>2</sup>.

By their conversion to Christianity, the Croats became the Dalmatian Romans' fellow-Christians, but this conversion had primarily come from the Carolingian sphere, also both Christian and barbarian, admittedly with an occasional solid coat of Romanization. However, the Croats also found a phenomenon new and unknown to them, viz. the antique city, albeit in a late stage of degeneration. Notwithstanding, this factor of the Roman city cannot be circumvented. "Even in its rudimentary form, Roman Dalmatia remained a repository reflecting both continuity and decline of the antique culture..." At the very least, the situation was complex, but can still be reduced to two major poles: the town and the country, i.e. the *urbs* and the *rus*. Academician Katičić elaborated this brilliantly, primarily with regard to the fields of language and literary monuments, in his monumental *Litterarum studia*, and emphasised it as a general principle in the book mentioned above<sup>3</sup>.

Painting our old religion as a legitimate phenomenon parallel to the new one, as something which has continued in being as dual faith (whether existing or latent) in the Slavic peoples' spirituality to this day, opened the doors to new insights into

<sup>1</sup> Katičić 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Opširno sam se pozabavio ovom problematikom u svojoj knjizi *Počeci hrvatske umjetnosti* (Goss 2020, str. 1-41); Ježić 2015, str. 5-20; Ježić 2016, str. 19-62.

<sup>3</sup> Katičić 2007, str. 189, 229, 230-231, 288, Goss. 2020, str. 158.

<sup>1</sup> Katičić 2017.

<sup>2</sup> I discussed this in great detail in my book *Počeci hrvatske umjetnosti (The Beginnings of Croatian Art)* (Goss 2020, pp. 1-41); Ježić 2015, pp. 5-20; Ježić 2016, pp. 19-62.

<sup>3</sup> Katičić 2007, pp. 189, 229, 230-231, 288; Goss 2020, p. 158.

stva i romanstva, tuđe i vlastite tradicije, određeni prostorom malih, odvojenih jedinica, stvaratelji u hrvatskom kulturnom prostoru formiraju izraz koji u svojim najboljim ostvarenjima izvanredno balansira između dva bitna suprotstavljena pola, *urbsa* i *rusa*. Takva međuprožimanja događaju se diljem zapadne Europe, no lirika prostora i postojanja u prostoru stvarni je specifikum „hrvatske umjetnosti“. Sjajni kasniji primjeri sinteza unutar hrvatskog prostora su Dubrovačka Republika 15. i 16. st., Zagorje 17. i 18. st. te dijelovi Zagreba 19. i 20. st. Tu se ostvaruju ideali Ebenezer Howarda s početka 20. st. o „trajnoj bračnoj vezi između grada i sela“, što se može iščitati u hrvatskoj kulturi od doseljenja do danas.<sup>4</sup>

Naravno nikako se ne radi o pokušaju da se „velikoj“, „dvorskoj“, „gradskoj“, „zapadnoj“, „prosvjetljenoj“ umjetnosti dodijeli neko posebno uzvišeno mjesto. Naprotiv, ta *Machtkunst* države i crkve, protiv koje je već dizao glas Jozef Strzygowski, u rukama političkih, društvenih i gospodarskih drmatora, već je samim time osuđena na političku korektnost i strogu kontrolu od strane „vrhova društva“. S druge strane, pretpovijesna, izvanvremenska, umjetnost postoji u ogromnom rasponu, od „početaka“ pa do suvremenih nastavljača, npr. u Australiji. Jacques-André Mauduit jasno je prepoznao kontinuitet pretpovijesnih oblika u umjetnosti suvremenog sela i univerzalnu prisutnost „simboličke umjetnosti“ shema i znakova kao intuitivnih prikaza ideja. Sve to doživljava kao bifurkaciju koja postoji i danas. Zaključuje: „Došli smo do točke stvaranja velikih političkih tvorevina i početka povijesti. Naša je zadaća ispunjena. Odsada umjetnost se odvaja od ljudskih bića. Postaje vlasništvo vladajuće klase, dok narodna umjetnost, bliska životu i magiji prirodnih oblika drži na životu stvaralačko uzbuđenje.“ Hrvatska po biti svog prostora, ali i duha stanovništva naginje ladanjskom izrazu, no, kao što smo već rekli, najbolja i najizvornija ostvarenja nastaju kad dolazi do sretne ravnoteže obaju izraza. Ima itekako radova u ladanjskoj tradiciji koji dosežu vrhunac svjetske umjetnosti – od pletera Benediktinske radionice kneza Branimira, preko Buvine i ladanjskog baroka do čudesne umjetnosti hrvatske naive. No ipak nije svaki naivac Generalić, Kovačić, Lacković, Rabuzin, Skurjeni ili Večenaj.

other spiritual and cultural phenomena, including fine arts. Art in Croatian territories, being one of the strands of such biculturalism, was forming in the pre-Romanesque era, approximately from 600 to 1100 AD, and has existed as a constant in this area until today. Torn between town and country, East and West, Slavism and Romanism, foreign and own traditions, defined spatially by small and separate units, the creators within the Croatian cultural area formed an expression whose best output remarkably balanced between two significant opposing poles, the *urbs* and the *rus*. Such interweavings were happening throughout western Europe, but the lyricism of space and existing in space is a feature specific to “Croatian art”. There are some excellent later examples of syntheses in Croatian territories, such as the Dubrovnik Republic in the 15th and 16th centuries, Zagorje in the 17th and 18th centuries, and sections of Zagreb in the 19th and 20th centuries. They represent the fulfilment of Ebenezer Howard’s early 20th-century ideals of “marriage of town and country”, as has been demonstrated in Croatian culture from the arrival of the Croats to this day<sup>4</sup>.

Naturally, this is certainly not an attempt to assign a special exalted place to “great”, “courtly”, “urban”, “Western”, or “enlightened” art. Quite the contrary, this *Machtkunst* of state and church, opposed by Josef Strzygowski, in the hands of political, social and economic powers that be, is inherently condemned to political correctness and rigorous control by “elites”. On the other hand, prehistoric, timeless art has existed within a huge stretch, from the “beginnings” to contemporary successors, e.g. in Australia. Jacques-André Mauduit clearly recognised the continuity of prehistoric forms in contemporary rural art and the universal presence of “symbolic art” of schemes and signs as intuitive representations of ideas. He perceived all this as a bifurcation, which still exists today. He concluded as follows: “We have reached the point of formation of large political groupings and of the beginning of history. Our task has been fulfilled. Henceforth, art shall be separate from human beings. It shall become the property of the ruling classes, while folk art, close to life and magic of natural forms, shall keep creative excitement alive.” In the essence of her space, as well as of the spirit of her population,

<sup>4</sup> Goss 2016, str. 20, 21, 104; Goss 2020, str. 207–209, 395–396, 404–406; Mumford 1961, str. 575; Howard 1902.

<sup>4</sup> Goss 2016, pp. 20, 21, 104; Goss 2020, pp. 207–209, 395–396, 404–406; Mumford 1961, p. 575; Howard 1902.



Sl. 1. Srma, Sv. Marija  
(foto: Art Restauero/Josip Marić)  
*Fig. 1 Srma, St. Mary*  
(photo: Art Restauero/Josip Marić)



Sl. 2. Srma, Sv. Marija, oslik apside, 12. st.  
(foto: Art Restauero/J. Marić)  
*Fig. 2 Srma, St. Mary, painting of the apse, 12th century*  
(photo: Art Restauero/J. Marić)

564 |

U jednom i drugom nizu ima vrhunaca i promašaja. Fascinantno je da se oni mogu pojaviti unutar jednog te istog umjetničkog sklopa.<sup>5</sup>

U svezi s gore navedenim želio bih se ukratko osvrnuti na zaista jedinstveni spomenik hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja 12. stoljeća – freske u svetištu crkvice Gospe od Srime pokraj Šibenika (sl. 1, sl. 2, sl. 3). Ovdje, u luku iznad oltara, u atmosferi žućkastog svjetla stoji Bogorodica s Djetetom, sestra, možda tek malčice slobodnija, likova kakove poznajemo iz sklopa romaničke umjetnosti na istočnom Jadranu, npr. iz Sv. Agate u Kanfanaru s početka 12. st. (sl. 4); do nje, s lijeve strane, je sv. Vid nad razbuktalim krijesom, desno je sv. Juraj, a pod njim orač s volovima. I ovi sveci su nešto ublažene verzije likova izvanvremenske umjetnosti, baš kao i Djevice, s tračkom prigušenog bizantinizma. Sv. Vid ima 123 crkve u Hrvatskoj, što i ne čudi jer je u slavenskom svijetu naslijedio Sventvida, a taj je pak epikleza Peruna. Ona vatra mogla bi biti podsjetnik da je Perun bog munje, dakle i vatre. Vid, uz mnoge druge poslove, štiti polja i pomaže poljodjelicima. Njegov je god 15. lipnja. To je malo prije Ivanja, koje je 24. lipnja. Juraj-Jarilo, bog plodnosti, prešao je na solsticij vodu i postao Ivan te zapalio ivanjske kresove, poput onakvoga kakav, možda, gori pod Vidovim nogama (Katičić 2010). Ovaj moj kratki ekskurs u kulturnu antropologiju sigurno može dopuniti stručnjak.<sup>6</sup>

Croatia is partial to rural expression. Notwithstanding, as we have already noted, the best and the most original creations are made when a happy balance between both expressions is found. Quite a number of works in the rural tradition have reached the top of international art – from the interlace motif made in Duke Branimir's Benedictine workshop to Buvina, rural Baroque, and the wonderful naive art. However, not every naive artist is Generalić, Kovačić, Lacković, Rabuzin, Skurjeni or Večenaj. Hits and misses can be expected in both. It is fascinating to note that they can appear within one and the same artistic cluster<sup>5</sup>.

With reference to the above, I would like to briefly discuss a truly unique monument of mediaeval Croatia from the 12th century – the fresco in the sanctuary of the small church of Our Lady of Srma near Šibenik (Fig. 1, Fig. 2, Fig. 3). There, in the arch above the altar, in an atmosphere of yellowish light, stands Our Lady with Child, as a sister, perhaps a bit less rigid, of characters we know from Romanesque artworks in the eastern Adriatic, for instance from St. Agatha in Kanfanar from the early 12th century (Fig. 4); next to her, on the left, is St. Vitus over a blazing fire, with St. George on the right, and a ploughman with oxen below him. These saints are also somewhat toned-down versions of characters from timeless art, just like the Virgin, with a glimmer of muted Byzantinism. There are 123 churches dedicated to St. Vitus in Croatia, which is not surprising, considering that in the Slavic world he was successor to Sventvid, who is in turn the epiclesis

<sup>5</sup> Strzygowski 1941; Mauduit 1960, str. 117, 121, 142, 152, 188, 251.

<sup>6</sup> Fisković 1965, str. 24; Fisković 1987, str. 64-66; Katičić 2010, str. 190-203. Za informaciju s područja kulturne antropologije zahvaljujem Lidiji Bajuk.

<sup>5</sup> Strzygowski 1941; Mauduit 1960, pp. 117, 121, 142, 152, 188, 251.



Sl. 3. Srima, Sv. Marija, oslik apside, Orač  
(foto: Art Restauro/J. Marić)

Fig. 3 Srima, St. Mary, painting of the apse, The Ploughman (photo: Art Restauro/J. Marić)

Taj pean zaštitnicima zemlje i njezinih plodova izvanredno podvlači pojava malog orača, koji je jedinstven lik u hrvatskom srednjovjekovlju (sl. 3). Majstor koji ne baš uvjerljivo slika suhe kvazibizantske likove u gornjim registrima (sl. 2), unosi u taj zlatom sunca obasjani svijet svakodnevne marljivosti, po izravnom opažanju, vedutu primatelja Božje milosti, ali i provoditelja svetog procesa, oranja i sjetve, bez kojih nema ubiranja Božjim blagoslovom danih plodova. Taj lik nam se može učiniti naivnim, no ta naiva je ustvari realističan izraz ljubavi prema radu i sudionicima u tom pothvatu. U lijepo zamišljenom poluprofilu, s ramenima i tijelom koji prepoznaju *prostor*, upravlja on svoje volove gornjim rubom dekorativne trake, pod okriljem poljodjelca Jurja. Uz pasku Višnjih oračev će rad biti nagrađen. Svježina, prisnost i intima zrače iz svakog djelića ovog prikaza. To je ista svježina, *si licet parva componere magnis*, koja resi one proljetne skulpture *Île-de-France* iz sredine 12. stoljeća, Kraljevskog portala u Chartersu i plejada vedrih, svježih likova, smirenih i sretnih u svojoj samodostatnosti. Umjetnost čistog postojanja u najboljem smislu riječi, stvaralaštvo koje „manifestira čudo življenja“ jer je u njemu istinski smisao postojanja. Ovdje se *rus*, duh i ruka ruralnog stvaratelja, uzdižu do vrhunca stvaralačke vjerodostojnosti.<sup>7</sup>

Poljodjelska stvarnost freske u Srimi nije nametnuta niti izmišljena. Gospina crkvice stoji na uzvisini koja nadgleda polja i vrtače okolice Šibenika i svojom suhom paletom i mršavom formom rekreira



Sl. 4. Kanfanar, Sv. Agata, svetački lik, poč. 12. st.  
(foto: Ž. Bistровić)

Fig. 4 Kanfanar, St. Agatha, The Sainly Figure, early 12th century (photo: Ž. Bistровić)

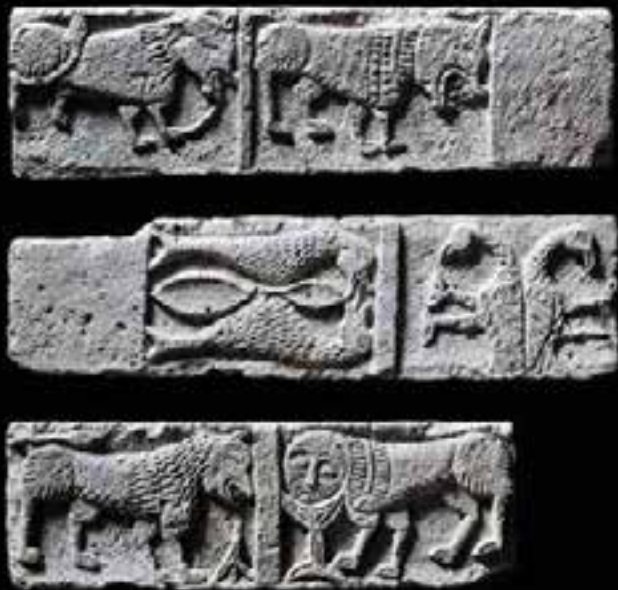
of Perun. The fire mentioned above may act as a reminder that Perun is the god of thunder, and hence of fire. Among his many tasks, Vítus protects fields and aids farmers. His day is celebrated on 15 June, shortly before Midsummer's Day, i.e. 24 June. Juraj-Jarilo, the god of fertility, crossed a water on the solstice and became Ivan (John). He lit the Midsummer's Night bonfire, perhaps like the one that burns under Vítus's feet (Katičić 2010). This brief excursus on cultural anthropology can surely be supplemented by an expert<sup>6</sup>.

This *pæan* to the patron saints of land and its fruits is exquisitely underlined by the appearance of the little ploughman, as a unique character in Croatian Middle Ages (Fig. 3). The master who painted the arguably unconvincing dry pseudo-Byzantine characters in the upper registers (Fig. 2), introduced into this world of everyday diligence, washed with the gold of the sun, as per direct observation, a view of a receiver of the grace of God, simultaneously an agent of a holy process – ploughing and sow-

<sup>6</sup> Fisković 1965, p. 24; Fisković 1987, pp. 64–66; Katičić 2010, pp. 190–203. I am grateful to Lidija Bajuk for the information from the domain of cultural anthropology.

<sup>7</sup> Goss 2020, str.281-282; Fisković 1965, str. 24, Vicelja-Matijašić 2018; Crnković 2018, str. 59.





Sl. 5. Mutvoran, Mutvoranski bestijarij, detalj, oko 1100. (foto M. Vicelja-Matijašić)

Fig. 5 Mutvoran, the Mutvoran Bestiary, detail, around 1100 (photo: M. Vicelja-Matijašić)

taj okoliš zemlje crljenice i hrapavih vrtača. Lijepo zaključuje Cvito Fisković: “Umjetnički domet ovog majstora nije velik... ipak je neukost pomogla ... da bude izražajniiji i dekorativniji, ali se njegovo realistično gledanje otkriva u stavu orača, u njegovoj seljačkoj nošnji, ralu i ostanu... Život drevnog dalmatinskog sela je, dakle, unesen u ovaj crtež prvi a i gotovo jedini put kod nas bojom na zidnu plohu.“ Imamo ovdje i Bizant, i njegovo romaničko ukrucenje, ali i stvaratelja koji gledajući oko sebe, izlazi iz šablone i daje nam autentičnu sliku svog kulturnog pejzaža. Igor Fisković dobro pogađa bit prikaza: „Ta se dva smjera (to jest, Bizanta i romanike, opaska autora) nisu nadmetala niti suprotstavljala, nego su se dugo prožimala u prisnome suživljavanju, što hrvatskom slikarstvu srednjeg vijeka i daje suštinske osobitosti”.<sup>8</sup>

Svratimo na čas ponovno na sjeverni Jadran, gdje se afirmira na prijelazu 11. u 12. stoljeće i hrvatski oblik glagoljice, “uglata glagoljica”, fenomen jasno vezan uz praksu natpisa na kamenu (Bašćanska ploča, Valunska ploča, Grdoselski ulomak, Humski grafit). Dodajmo još lik evanđelista Mateja sa zvonika Sv. Marije u Jurandvoru (Fučić), koji u

ing – without which there can be no harvesting of fruits given by the Lord’s blessing. We may find this character seemingly naive, but this naivety is in fact a realistic expression of the love of his work and of the participants in the undertaking. In well-thought-out semi-profile, with his shoulders and body aware of *space*, he drives his oxen in the upper section of the decorative band, under the auspices of George the farmer. Under the supervision of the Most High, the ploughman’s labour shall be rewarded. Every single detail of this depiction radiates with freshness, familiarity and intimacy. This is the very same freshness, *si licet parva componere magnis*, that graces those sculptures in Île-de-France from the mid-12th century, the Royal Portal at Chartres, and the hosts of cheerful, fresh characters, calm and happy in their self-sufficiency. An art of pure existence in the best sense of the term, a creation “manifesting the miracle of life”, because it possesses a genuine *raison d’être*. This is where the *rus*, the spirit and the hand of the rural creator, reach the peak of creative authenticity<sup>7</sup>.

The farming reality of the Srma fresco is neither imposed nor fabricated. The small church of Our Lady stands on a rise with a view of fields and sinkholes around Šibenik, recreating the surrounding terra rossa and rugged sinkholes with its dry and lean form. Cvito Fisković’s fine conclusion reads as follows: “The master’s artistic skill is not high ... nevertheless, the ignorance helped ... him to be more expressive and more decorative, whereas his realistic view is revealed in the ploughman’s posture, his peasant attire, the ploughshare and the mattock... This drawing is thus imbued with life in the ancient Dalmatian villages, executed in colour on a wall – for the first and almost only time in Croatia.” What we have here is not only Byzantium, and its Romanesque rigidity, but also a maker who, looking about himself, goes beyond canons and provides us with an authentic image of his cultural landscape. Igor Fisković found the essence of the depiction: “The two styles (that is, Byzantine and Romanesque, author’s comment) were neither competing nor conflicting, but were rather permeating each other for a long time in close cohabitation, which makes Croatian mediaeval painting substantially specific.”<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 281–282; Fisković 1965, p. 24; Vicelja-Matijašić 2018; Crnković 2018, p. 59.

<sup>8</sup> Fisković 1965, p. 24; Fisković 1987, p. 82.

<sup>8</sup> Fisković 1965 str. 24; Fisković 1987, str. 82.



Sl. 6. Peroj, Sv. Foška, Krist u slavi, oko 1100.  
(foto Institut za Povijest umjetnosti)

Fig. 6 Peroj, St. Foška, Christ in Majesty, around 1100  
(photo: Institute of Art History)

romaničko doba odražava izvanvremensku tipologiju glave Vaćanskog troglavca te likova s predromaničkih i ranoromaničkih reljefa Hrvatske i Dalmacije, i dirljivi ranoromanički Mutvoranski bestijarij (oko 1100.) s parovima koji ujedinjuju po jednu divlju s po jednom pripitomljenom (sl. 5); reklo bi se, “Peaceable Kingdom” prema proroku Isaiji, koji u svojoj ležernoj naivnosti stećka podsjećaju na pretpovijesne, odnosno izvanpovijesne prikaze iz Nine Mile Canyon (Utah, SAD, nedatirano), ili Drakensberga (Južna Afrika, nedatirano), tek prevedene u zakonitosti romaničkog kadriranja.<sup>9</sup>

Najraniji oslici u Istri javljaju se u karolinško doba, u kupoli i na zidu Sv. Andrije na Otoku ispred Rovinja te u apsidiolama Sv. Sofije u Dvigradu. Ako je suditi po ostacima, tu se pokazuje poznavanje dvorske umjetnosti (Otok) ali i antikarolinških fantazija Naturnsa i Malsa (Dvigrad). Iz 11. stoljeća su vrlo kompetentne kasnootonske slikarije u Sv. Mihovilu na Limu, te sa samog kraja stoljeća remek-djelo rane romanike, oslik u Sv. Foški kod Peroja, gdje se bizantinska shema odlučno romanizira u gotovo pirinejsku geometrijsku dramatiku (sl. 6).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Fučić 1982, str. 7, 44, 61, 168-169, 354-355, 529; Bahn 1998, str. XXI, 219, 227.

<sup>10</sup> Fučić 1963, str. 12-16; Goss 1981, str. 18-2; Goss 2010, str. 99; Goss 2020, str. 160-174; Maraković 2016.

Let us return for a while to the northern Adriatic, where, at the turn of the 12th century, the Croatian form of the Glagolitic script was established – “Angular Glagolitic” – a phenomenon clearly related to the practice of inscriptions on stone (the Baška tablet, the Valun tablet, the Grdoselo fragment, the Hum graffito). We can also add the figure of Matthew the Evangelist from the bell-tower of St. Mary in Jurandvor (Fučić), reflecting in the Romanesque age the timeless typology of the three-header from Vaćani and the figures from pre-Romanesque and Romanesque reliefs in Croatia and Dalmatia, as well as the stirring early Romanesque Mutvoran Bestiary (ca. 1100) with pairs of one wild and one domesticated animal (Fig. 5), seemingly “the Peaceable Kingdom” of Isaiah the prophet, which in their casual naivety of a *stećak* resemble prehistoric, that is, beyond-historic depictions from Nine Mile Canyon (Utah, the USA, undated), or Drakensberg (South Africa, undated), merely conveyed into the principles of Romanesque composition<sup>9</sup>.

The earliest wall paintings in Istria date from the Carolingian period, viz. in the dome and on a wall of St. Andrew at Otok off Rovinj, and in the apsidioles of St. Sofia in Dvigrad. Judging by the remains, they demonstrate knowledge of courtly art (Otok), as well as of anti-Carolingian fantasies at Naturns and Mals (Dvigrad). From the 11th century, we have the quite competent late Ottonian paintings in St Michael at Lim, and, from the very end of the century, a masterpiece of the early Romanesque style, the wall painting in St. Foška near Peroj, where the Byzantine scheme was decisively Romanised into an almost Iberian geometric drama (Fig. 6)<sup>10</sup>.

In St. Agatha near Kanfanar, the visionary linearism and geometrization from Peroj are codified in a distinctly hard rustic style, with clearly defined monochrome surfaces (Fig. 4). It could be said that Peroj is a highly intellectual country style (which the Romanesque is to a large extent), while Kanfanar is geometrized naive art, a *stećak* on a wall surface. The physiognomies of the saints in St. Agatha, e.g. of St. Bartholomew (Fučić 1963, p. 3 in the book), are highly reminiscent of the above mentioned “prehistoric” figure of St. Matthew from

<sup>9</sup> Fučić 1982, pp. 7, 44, 61, 168-169, 354-355, 529; Bahn 1998, pp. XXI, 219, 227.

<sup>10</sup> Fučić 1963, pp. 12-16, Goss 1981, pp. 18-22; Goss 2010, p. 99; Goss 2020, pp. 160, 174. Maraković 2016.



Sl. 7. Hum, Sv. Jerolim, oslik svetišta, kraj 12. st. (foto: Ž. Bistović)  
 Fig. 7 Hum, St. Jerome, painting of the sanctuary, end of 12th century (photo: Ž. Bistović)

U Sv. Agati kod Kanfanara perojski se vizionarski linearizam i geometrizacija kodificiraju u izrazito tvrdom rustičnom stilu, jasno određenih jednobojnih površina (sl. 4). Ako se može reći, Peroj je viskointelektualni stil ladanja (što romanika u velikoj mjeri i jest), a Kanfanar geometrizirana naiva, stećak na površini zida. Fizionomije svetaca u Sv. Agati, npr. sv. Bartolomej (Fučić 1963, sl. 3 u knjizi), jako podsjećaju na netom spomenuti „pret-povijesni“ lik sv. Mateja iz Sv. Lucije u Jurandvoru. Izduženo lice, koje se uklapa u kružnicu aureole, velike „urezane“ oči, dugi uzani nos, male, lagano napućene usne. U punom smislu u stvaralačkom krugu izvanvremenskog *rusa*.<sup>11</sup>

U Sv. Jerolimu u Humu iz druge polovice 12. stoljeća stvari međutim stoje drugačije (sl. 7). Ovdje je bizantinski obrazac u rukama vrsnog majstora iz aulijskog okruženja Akvileje zaodjenut u zavidnu „gravitas“ oblika, što nadalje podvlači uska gama tonaliteta, ponajviše tamnih zagasitih smeđe-crvenih boja no ne bez bljeskova svjetlijih, pa čak i bijelih poteza i površina. Kako lijepo piše Igor Fisković, „bizantsko je slikarstvo u djelima poput

St. Lucy in Jurandvor. The face is elongated, fitting into the circle of the nimbus, the eyes are large and “incised”, the nose is long and thin, the lips are small and slightly pursed. This is within the creative circle of a timeless *rus*<sup>11</sup> in its fullest sense.

Notwithstanding, the situation is different with St. Jerome in Hum from the second half of the 12th century (Fig. 7). Therein, in the hands of a master with Aulian background from Aquileia, the Byzantine template is endowed with an admirable “gravitas” of forms, further underscored by a narrow range of tones, mainly dark deep brown-red colours, but not without flashes of lighter, even white strokes and surfaces. As Igor Fisković nicely put it, “in works like this one, Byzantine painting was proving its life-giving presence in the Western world... Thus ... one can truly speak of the creation of heritage in a particular territory and based on a particular tradition, which also jointly marked the inseparability of qualities of the East and the West”. And yet, this idiosyncratic transformation was taking place in the secluded wooded Glagolitic wilderness of central Istria! Fučić counted 39 Glagolitic graffiti on the

<sup>11</sup> Fučić 1963, str. 15; Fučić 1982, str.58.

<sup>11</sup> Fučić 1963, p. 15; Fučić 1982, p. 58.





Sl. 8. Svetvinčenat, Konjanik (Mjesec Svibanj), kraj 13. st. (foto: D. Pervan)

Fig. 8 Svetvinčenat, *The Horseman (The Month of May)*, end of 13th century (photo: D. Pervan)

ovoga dokazivalo svoju životvornu prisutnost na zapadnjačkim prostorima... Tako se... uistinu može govoriti o stvaranju baštine na određenom tlu i na određenoj tradiciji, koji su ujedno obilježili neodvojivost tekovina Istoka i Zapada”. A takva se, ipak, idiosinkratička transformacija, događa u zabitnoj šumskoj glagoljaškoj pustoši središnje Istre! Fučić je na osliku pobrojao 39 glagoljaških grafito od 12. stoljeća nadalje uključivo znamenti „Humski grafit“ – *Kovača Martina je sve 30; je vzeta ino ošće jedna* – koji Fučić datira u formativno razdoblje hrvatske uglaste glagoljice u njezinu razvijenijem stupnju. Dakle, približno u vrijeme nastanka oslika. A taj je nezamisliv bez izravne feudalne podločnosti Huma akvilejskom patrijarhu. Prašumski su glagoljaši prepoznali vrijednost humskog oslika, a dvorski je majstor bez problema uspio zadovoljiti i sebe i aristokratskog naručitelja i glagoljaške potrošače. Freske Sv. Jerolima u Humu jedno su od najsjajnijih stvaralačkih postignuća 12. stoljeća u vidu te šumsko-aulijske sinteze. *Rus* prepoznaje vrijednost dvora i bez kompleksa šara po njegovim uradcima.<sup>12</sup>

U Istri se uvijek naveliko oslikavalo zidove u rasponu od 12. do 16. stoljeća. Uz izuzetak već opisanog ciklusa u Humu, radi se o pučkom izrazu od romanike do ruralne renesanse. Veliki ciklus (Posljednji sud, Deisis) u Svetvinčentu (jednobrodna troapsidalna crkva s ravnim završetkom) krajem 13.

wall painting, made from the 12th century onwards, including the famous “Hum graffito” – *For Martin the Blacksmith are all 30; yet one more is for him* – which Fučić dated to the formative period of the Croatian angular Glagolitic script in its more developed stage. This roughly coincides with the date of the painting. It is unthinkable without direct feudal subjection of Hum to the Aquileian patriarch. The virgin-forest Glagolitic people recognised the value of the Hum painting, and the courtly master effortlessly managed to please both himself and the aristocratic client, as well as the Glagolitic public. The frescoes from St. Jerome in Hum are among the greatest creative accomplishments of the 12th century in the form of this woody-Aulian synthesis. The *rus* recognized the value of the court, and unreservedly re-decorated its creations<sup>12</sup>.

Istria is known for constant widespread wall paintings from the 12th to the 16th century. With the exception of the already described Hum cycle, they represent folk expression from the Romanesque to the rural Renaissance. The great cycle (the Last Judgement, the Deësis) in Svetvinčenat (a single-nave, three-apse church with a flat end) was made in the late 13th century by master Ognobenus from Treviso in the manner of somewhat ruffled Byzantinism with powerful Romanesque red and yellow surfaces and pronounced linearism. It is not that extraordinary or exciting, and yet his horseman representing the month of May somewhat resembles the freshness and originality of the Srma ploughman, though regularized by complying with the established canon (Fig. 8)<sup>13</sup>!

While the rural community of Hum recognised the values of “high art” and managed to integrate it, in Srma, on the other hand, in a rustic depiction with distant echoes of ossified Byzantinism, such high art appears in the form of a rural, but also very authentic vision which is timeless, not in terms of an artistic pattern, but rather in the sense of an experience of own time and space. It is hard to conceive of it outside of mid-day plough-land of central Dalmatia in June, as I personally experienced her during my visit a long time ago, sometime in the mid-1960s. However, the depiction is impossible to experience if regarded in the context of synchronous phenomena only; its true essence, as we

<sup>12</sup> Goss 2010, str. 98; Fučić 1963, str. 15-16, 191-199; Fučić 1982, str. 192, Fisković 1987, str. 62, 64.

<sup>12</sup> Goss 2010, p. 98; Fučić 1963, pp. 15-16, 191-199; Fučić 1982, p. 192; Fisković 1987, pp. 62, 64.

<sup>13</sup> Fučić 1963, p. 16.

stoljeća izradio je majstor Ognobenus iz Trevisa u maniri pomalo razbarušenog bizantinizma s jakim romaničkim crvenim i žutim površinama i izrazitim linearizmom. Ništa osobito ili uzbudljivo, pa ipak njegov konjanik koji predstavlja mjesec svibanj ponešto podsjeća na svježinu i izvornost srimskog orača, iako regulariziran poštivanjem ustaljene sheme (sl. 8)!<sup>13</sup>

Dok u Humu jedna ruralna sredina prepoznaje vrijednosti i može integrirati rad “visoke umjetnosti”, u Srimi, unutar rustičnog prikaza s dalekim odjecima okoštalog bizantinizma, visoka se umjetnost pojavljuje u vidu jedne ruralne ali i izuzetno autentične vizije koja je svevremenska, no ne u smislu neke likovne šablone, već doživljava vlastitog vremena i prostora. Teško ju je zamisliti izvan podnevnih oranica lipanjske srednje Dalmacije, kakvom sam je osobno doživio pri davnoj posjeti negdje sredinom šezdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća. No prikaz je nemoguće doživjeti ako ga se gleda samo u kontekstu sinkronih pojava; već njegova prava bit, kako smo pokušali pokazati, leži u pripadnosti velikom segmentu umjetnosti hrvatskog prostora koja afirmira u naizvornijem obliku njezin ladanjski aspekt. Uostalom, ništa novo, jer već je Cvito Fisković sjajno osjetio “stvaralačko uzbuđenje” našeg nadvremenskog srimskoga orača. Ponavljam: “Život drevnog dalmatinskog sela je, dakle, unesen u ovaj crtež prvi a i gotovo jedini put kod nas bojom na zidnu plohu”.<sup>14</sup>

have tried to elaborate, lies in belonging to a large segment of art in Croatian territories that affirms its rural aspect in its most original form. After all, this is nothing new, since Cvito Fisković already splendidly felt the “creative excitement” of our timeless ploughman from Srma. I reiterate: “This drawing is thus imbued with life in the ancient Dalmatian villages, executed in colour on a wall – for the first and almost only time in Croatia.”<sup>14</sup>

(D. G.)

<sup>13</sup> Fučić 1963, str. 16.

<sup>14</sup> Fisković 1962, str. 24; Goss 2020, 281–283.

<sup>14</sup> Fisković 1962, p. 24; Goss 2020, pp. 281–283.

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