

## Kamena ikona iz Crkvine u Biskupiji kod Knina

*Prikaz Bogorodice na zabatu oltarne pregrade iz Crkvine u Biskupiji (B) bio je obojen. Plitkim urezima na plošnoj kamenoj površini naznačene su linije plašta (maforiona) koji je puni oblik dobio tek nakon bojenja. Ranije stilske analize pokazale su da je uz ovaj zabat bio još jedan, sa sličnim, naknadno radiranim prikazom (C). Istoj skupini pripadao je jedan vrh zabata (A). Sudeći po oštrom kutu pod kojim se spuštao prema oltarnoj gredi, on je bio najveći. Na njemu se najvjerojatnije nalazio lik Krista smješten iznad središnjih vrata. Na trećem zabatu (C) najvjerojatnije je bio prikazan Ivan Krstitelj ili neki drugi svetac. Zabati oltarne pregrade iz druge polovine 11. stoljeća u Crkvini na Biskupiji imali su tri plošno prikazana lika čija je raščlanjena kompozicija prikazivala Deïsis. Bogorodica iz Biskupije nema šire paralele u našoj srednjovjekovnoj umjetnosti. Iznjedrena je kroz spoj klesarstva i slikarstva, možda šireg projekta obnove crkve sv. Marije u drugoj polovini 11. stoljeća, kada je ugrađena nova oltarna pregrada, a interijer je oslikan freskama.*

**Ključne riječi:** Biskupija, crkva sv. Marije, zabat oltarne ograde, Bogorodica, ikona.

## Stone icon from Crkvina in Biskupija near Knin

*The representation of the Madonna on the gable of the altar screen from Crkvina in Biskupija (B) was coloured. Shallow carvings on the flat stone surface form the lines of the robe (maphorion), fully shaped only after its colouring. Previous stylistic analyses indicated that another gable existed along with this one, with a similar, subsequently erased depiction (C). The top of the gable (A) belonged to the same group. Judging by its steep angle of descent towards the altar screen, it was the largest. It probably bore the figure of Christ above the central doors. The third gable (C) most likely had a depiction of John the Baptist or some other saint. The altar screen gables from the second half of the 11th century in Crkvina at Biskupija had three flatly depicted figures whose articulated composition represented the Deïsis. The Madonna of Biskupija has no broader parallels in our mediaeval art. It was produced in a combination of sculpting and painting, perhaps under a more extensive project of restoration of the church of St. Mary in the second half of the 11th century, when a new altar screen was installed and the interior painted with frescoes.*

**Key words:** Biskupija, church of St. Mary, altar screen gable, Madonna, icon.

Jedan od najstarijih prikaza Bogorodice u Hrvatskoj nađen je na lokalitetu Crkvina u Biskupiji kod Knina krajem 19. stoljeća. Ovaj važan arheološki nalaz obrađivan je u brojnim znanstvenim radovima, a u javnosti je prihvaćen kao „Gospin pralik“, osobito nakon velikog povijesnog jubileja, trinaest stoljeća kršćanstva u Hrvata, koji je obilježen u Solinu 1976. godine. Snažna simbolika Bogorodice *orans*, Moliteljice, iz vremena kralja Zvonimira, bila je nezaobilazan motiv u proslavi obljetnice kršćanske civilizacije i kulture u hrvatskom narodu.<sup>1</sup> Nađena je kao spolij u jednom novovjekovnom grobu. U Marunovu *Starinarskom dnevniku s nadnevkom* 14. 5. 1892. kratko je zabilježen kontekst njezina nalaza: *Bio sam u Biskupiji pregledati radju. Našao se jedan ulomak ciboria u grobu ko gradivo uložen predstavlja Bogorodicu. Suviše našao se jedan sapon sa natrškom odnosne tkanice. Deset komada naušnica i jedan sičušni novac sve u grobovima.*<sup>2</sup> *Sapon s natrškom nađen suviše*, tj. iznad ili pokraj groba s ulomcima zabata, otkriva da se najvjerojatnije radilo o novovjekovnom grobu. Najviše grobova bilo je iz kasnoga srednjeg vijeka.<sup>3</sup>

Crkva sv. Marije u Biskupiji izgrađena je u prvoj polovini 9. stoljeća. Služila je kao mauzolej hrvatskih vladara i katedrala hrvatskoga dvorskog biskupa.<sup>4</sup> Brojni nalazi crkvene kamene plastike pokazuju da se u razdoblju od 9. do 11. stoljeća crkva preuređivala barem četiri puta.<sup>5</sup> Oltarna pregrada kojoj je pripadao zabat s likom Bogorodice postavljena je oko 1076. - 1078. godine.<sup>6</sup>

Nalaz zabata oltarne pregrade s likom Bogorodice iz Crkvine u Biskupiji objavio je Frano Radić u prvom broju *Starohrvatske prosvjete* iz godine 1895. Lik Bogorodice usporedio je s onim na mozaiku u crkvi Aja Sofija u Carigradu.<sup>7</sup> Ikoničnost je istaknuta odmah na početku; Ljubo Karaman piše: *Na zabatu ikonostasa u sv. Marije u Biskupiji lik je Gospin plosnato izrađen ili - gotovo bih rekao - plitkim crtama urezan u plohu; on podsjeća na bizantske Gospine ikone.*<sup>8</sup> Korak dalje učinio je Kruno Prijatelj pedesetih godina prošloga stoljeća ukazavši na problem boje, tj. obojenosti lika Bogorodice:

One of the earliest depictions of the Madonna in Croatia was discovered at the site of Crkvina in Biskupija near Knin at the end of the 19th century. This important archaeological find has been the topic of numerous scientific papers, and publicly accepted as the “proto-figure of Our Lady”, especially after the great historic jubilee – thirteen centuries of Christianity among the Croats, marked in Solin in 1976. The vigorous symbolism of the Madonna *orans*, the Prayer, from the era of King Zvonimir, was an essential motif in the celebration of the anniversary of Christian civilisation and culture among the Croatian people.<sup>1</sup> It was discovered as a spoliun in a modern period grave. In Marun’s diary, *Starinarski dnevnik*, there is a brief record describing the context of the find, dated 14 May 1892: *I went to Biskupija to inspect the works. A fragment of a ciborium was found built into a grave. It depicts the Madonna. A buckle with strap-end was unearthed above it. Ten ear-rings and one tiny coin, all in graves.*<sup>2</sup> *The buckle with strap-end discovered above*, i.e. atop or next to the grave with fragments of the gable, reveals that it was most likely a modern age grave. Most of the graves were from the late Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup>

The church of St. Mary in Biskupija was built in the first half of the ninth century. It served as the mausoleum of Croatian rulers and the cathedral of the Croatian court bishop.<sup>4</sup> Numerous finds of church stone sculpture reveal that the church was renovated at least four times in the period from the ninth to the 11th century.<sup>5</sup> The altar screen to which the gable with the figure of the Madonna belonged was installed around 1076–1078.<sup>6</sup>

The discovery of the altar screen gable with the image of the Madonna from Crkvina in Biskupija was published by Frano Radić in the first issue of *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* from the year 1895. He compared the figure of the Madonna to the one on the mosaic in the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.<sup>7</sup> Its iconicity was highlighted from the very beginning; Ljubo Karaman wrote the following: *On the gable of the iconostasis in St. Mary’s in Biskupija, the figure of the Madonna is flatly composed or –*

<sup>1</sup> Šimundža 2019, str. 445.

<sup>2</sup> Marun 1998, str. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Petrinc 2009, str. 184.

<sup>4</sup> Jakšić 1988, str. 115–133.

<sup>5</sup> Jakšić 1980, str. 108.

<sup>6</sup> Jakšić 1981, str. 32–33.

<sup>7</sup> Radić 1895, str. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Karaman 1930, str. 113.

<sup>1</sup> Šimundža 2019, p. 445.

<sup>2</sup> Marun 1998, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Petrinc 2009, p. 184.

<sup>4</sup> Jakšić 1988, pp. 115–133.

<sup>5</sup> Jakšić 1980, p. 108.

<sup>6</sup> Jakšić 1981, pp. 32–33.

<sup>7</sup> Radić 1895, p. 9.

*Jedino je polihromija bila sposobna da daje života i plastičnosti takvom tretiranju, te pretpostavljam, kao vrlo vjerojatnu mogućnost, da je reljef bio polihromiran.*<sup>9</sup> S time se složio i Ivo Petricioli,<sup>10</sup> čiji je komparativni pristup proučavanju stilskih skupina i radionica pridonio boljem kronološkom određivanju srednjovjekovne kamene plastike. Biskupijsku Bogorodicu smjestio je u zadarsko-kninsku radionicu. Pročitao je i natpis na luku zabata: SAL VE (RE) G (INA) S (AL VE) V (I) R GO.<sup>11</sup> Nikola Jakšić nastavio je Petriciolijevim stopama, bitno produbljujući problematiku klesarskih radionica, posebno onih vezanih za kninski kraj. Lik Bogorodice iz Biskupije stavlja u ranoromaničku klesarsku radionicu iz Knina, a u istoj skupini je i kamena plastika nađena na kninskoj tvrđavi.<sup>12</sup>

Ulomci kamene plastike nalazili su se i u kasnijim arheološkim istraživanjima na Crkvini u Biskupiji. Pedesetih godina prošloga stoljeća Stjepan Gunjača pokrenuo je revizijska istraživanja objavivši potpuniju arhitektonsku dokumentaciju, izostalu u ranijim radovima. Na karti nazvanoj *Topografski pregled nalaza prigodom revizije na Crkvini u Biskupiji g. 1950.* prikazao je raširenost kamenih nalaza na terenu, koje je klasificirao i općenito opisao.<sup>13</sup> U osvrtu na ta istraživanja Ljubo Karaman je istaknuo nalaze više od petsto kamenih fragmenata koji će pomoći potpunijoj i točnijoj rekonstrukciji crkvenog namještaja bazilike. Kamenu plastiku okvirno je podijelio na stariju, iz doba osnutka crkve, i mlađu, iz doba njezina preuređenja.<sup>14</sup>

Od Marunovih istraživanja Crkvine u Biskupiji s kraja 19. stoljeća do Gunjačine revizije pedesetih godina prošloga stoljeća i novijih istraživanja od 2008. do 2017. godine lokalitet je prošao fazu od sakupljačkog entuzijazma, preko konačne izrade arhitektonske snimke nalazišta s distribucijom nalaza, do najnovijih istraživanja, tijekom kojih su arheolozi iz Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika otkrili nove grobne nalaze i pojedine dijelove arhitekture.

*I daresay – shallowly engraved on the surface; it is reminiscent of Byzantine icons of Our Lady.*<sup>8</sup> Kruno Prijatelj took a step further in the 1950s, pointing out the matter of colour, i.e. the colouring of the figure of the Madonna: *Only polychromy was able to give life and vivacity to such treatment, and I assume that the relief was quite probably polychromatic.*<sup>9</sup> Ivo Petricioli, whose comparative approach to the study of stylistic groups and workshops contributed to better chronological identification of mediaeval stone sculpture, agreed.<sup>10</sup> He attributed the Madonna of Biskupija to the Zadar-Knin workshop. He also read the inscription on the gable arch: SAL VE (RE) G (INA) S (AL VE) V (I) R GO.<sup>11</sup> Nikola Jakšić continued in Petricioli's footsteps, significantly widening the matter of stonemasonry workshops, especially those related to the region of Knin. He ascribed the figure of the Madonna of Biskupija to an early Romanesque stonemasonry workshop from Knin. The stone sculpture discovered at Fort Knin is in the same group.<sup>12</sup>

Fragments of stone sculptures were also discovered in later archaeological excavations at Crkvina in Biskupija. In the 1950s, Stjepan Gunjača initiated reinvestigations by publishing more complete architectural documentation, which had been missing in earlier works. On the map called *Topographic Plan of the Finds on the Occasion of the Reinvestigations at Crkvina in Biskupija in 1950* he presented the distribution of stone finds in the field, which he classified and described in general.<sup>13</sup> In a review of these investigations, Ljubo Karaman pointed out the finds of more than five hundred stone fragments that would facilitate a more complete and accurate reconstruction of the church furniture in the basilica. He tentatively divided the stone sculpture into earlier, from the time the church had been founded, and later, from the period of its renovation.<sup>14</sup>

From Marun's research of Crkvina in Biskupija at the tail end of the 19th century to Gunjača's reinvestigation in the 1950s and more recent research

<sup>9</sup> Prijatelj 1954, str. 76.

<sup>10</sup> Petricioli 1960, str. 50-53.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.; o natpisu: Delonga 1980, str. 158-161.

<sup>12</sup> Jakšić 2015, str. 519-531. Za Jakšićeve ranije tekstove neophodno je koristiti i citiranu knjigu jer sadrži bitne nadupune i komentare.

<sup>13</sup> Gunjača 1953, str. 36-39.

<sup>14</sup> Karaman 1955, str. 210, 215.

<sup>8</sup> Karaman 1930, p. 113.

<sup>9</sup> Prijatelj 1954, p. 76.

<sup>10</sup> Petricioli 1960, pp. 50-53.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.; for the inscription, see Delonga 1980, pp. 158-161.

<sup>12</sup> Jakšić 2015, pp. 519-531. For Jakšić's earlier texts, it is also necessary to use the cited book because it contains important additions and comments.

<sup>13</sup> Gunjača 1953, pp. 36-39.

<sup>14</sup> Karaman 1955, pp. 210, 215.

U novije vrijeme veća je pozornost posvećena obradi neobjavljenih grobnih nalaza s Crkvine.<sup>15</sup> Istraživanja koja je Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika proveo 2000. godine južno od bazilike i u narteksu<sup>16</sup> pokazala su da je prije izgradnje crkve na Crkvini postojalo groblje kojemu je pripadalo deset ranijih grobova i četiri zidane nadstvođene grobnice.<sup>17</sup> U pet istraživačkih kampanja od 2013. do 2017. godine istražen je veći broj prostorija sjeverne dogradnje uz baziliku sv. Marije, dio prostorija na Velikoj Crkvini i dio površine ispod uklonjenog asfalta na seoskoj prometnici.<sup>18</sup>

U Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika čuvaju se 1133 kamena ulomka s ovoga nalazišta,<sup>19</sup> a njihovo opisivanje, objedinjavanje i obrada traje do danas. Ante Jurčević napisao je doktorski rad o arhitekturi i skulpturi Crkvine u Biskupiji.<sup>20</sup> Širi prikaz grobnih nalaza, kamene plastike i arhitekture objavljen je nedavno.<sup>21</sup> Naslanjajući se na rezultate ranijih studija, pokušat ću ukazati na izvorni izgled lika Bogorodice iz Biskupije. Njezin obojen lik otvara neka pitanja vezana za uređenje ranoromaničkog interijera crkve sv. Marije u Biskupiji.

Kako su raniji istraživači istaknuli, lik Bogorodice *orans* u trokutastom zabatu oltarne pregrade izrađen je po uzoru na bizantske ikone.<sup>22</sup> Zabat je rekonstruiran iz pet kamenih ulomaka. Nedostaje srednji donji dio, tj. mjesto gdje se nalazila Bogorodičina desna ruka. Na površini kamena naziru se tek vrhovi prstiju i donji dio orukavlja, što nam je pomoglo pri rekonstrukciji izgleda Bogorodičina lika.<sup>23</sup> Oštećenja na mjestu desnog dlana ukazuju na razbijanje zabata, vjerojatno u novom vijeku, kada su kameni ulomci upotrijebljeni za izgradnju groba. Mještani Biskupije kod Knina na ruševinama crkve nalazili su dovoljno materijala za izgradnju svojih grobova, često koristeći ukrašene komade.

from 2008 to 2017, the site went through a phase of collecting enthusiasm, followed by the final architectural survey of the site with a distribution of finds, to the most recent research, during which archaeologists from the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments discovered new grave finds and parts of architecture.

More recently, greater attention has been paid to analyses of unpublished grave finds from Crkvina.<sup>15</sup> The 2000 research, conducted by the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments south of the basilica and in the narthex,<sup>16</sup> revealed that there had existed a cemetery before the construction of the church at Crkvina, comprising ten earlier graves and four walled vaulted tombs.<sup>17</sup> In five research campaigns from 2013 to 2017, a number of rooms of the northern extension next to the Basilica of St. Mary, a section of the premises at Velika Crkvina, and a part of the area under the removed asphalt of the country road were investigated.<sup>18</sup>

The Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments keeps 1133 stone fragments from this site.<sup>19</sup> Their interpretations, syntheses and analyses continue to this day. Ante Jurčević wrote his doctoral dissertation on the architecture and sculpture of Crkvina in Biskupija.<sup>20</sup> A broader survey of grave finds, stone sculptures and architecture has been published recently.<sup>21</sup> I will try to describe the original appearance of the figure of the Madonna of Biskupija, based on the results of earlier studies. Her coloured figure raises some questions related to the restoration of the early Romanesque interior of the church of St. Mary in Biskupija.

As earlier researchers have pointed out, the figure of the Madonna *orans* in the triangular gable of the altar screen had been modelled on Byzantine icons.<sup>22</sup> The gable was reconstructed from five stone fragments. The central lower part is missing, where the right hand of the Madonna was located. Only the tips of the fingers and the lower part of the cuffs can be seen on the surface of the stone, which helped us to reconstruct the appearance of the figure

<sup>15</sup> Petrinc 2009, str. 163-197.

<sup>16</sup> Istraživanja je vodio Ljubo Gudelj.

<sup>17</sup> Petrinc 2006, str. 21.

<sup>18</sup> Petrinc 2018, str. 290.

<sup>19</sup> Jurčević 2014, str. 128; Petrinc, Jurčević 2015, str. 341.

<sup>20</sup> Jurčević 2016.

<sup>21</sup> Petrinc, Jurčević 2015, str. 335-372.

<sup>22</sup> Karaman 1930, str. 113; Prijatelj 1954, str. 77; Petricioli 1960, str. 52.

<sup>23</sup> Rekonstrukciju ruke koja je nedostajala izradio je restaurator Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika Zoran Boban. Pri rekonstrukciji obojena Bogorodičina izgleda pomogla je Višnja Rickijević.

<sup>15</sup> Petrinc 2009, pp. 163-197.

<sup>16</sup> The research was led by Ljubo Gudelj.

<sup>17</sup> Petrinc 2006, p. 21.

<sup>18</sup> Petrinc 2018, p. 290.

<sup>19</sup> Jurčević 2014, p. 128; Petrinc, Jurčević 2015, p. 341.

<sup>20</sup> Jurčević 2016.

<sup>21</sup> Petrinc, Jurčević 2015, pp. 335-372.

<sup>22</sup> Karaman 1930, p. 113; Prijatelj 1954, p. 77; Petricioli 1960, p. 52.

Sastavni je dio zabata natpis na luku koji glasi: *Salve/ re /g /ina S/alve v/ir /go*. Vedrana Delonga smatra da se radi o stilizaciji anafore popularnih marijanskih antifona gregorijanskog koralnog pjevanja 11. - 12. stoljeća.<sup>24</sup> U ranijim su se radovima redovito s ovim zabatom povezivali i „pripadajući“ ulomci grede oltarne pregrade s dijelovima natpisa: ... *virtutis spes mundi; ... acens Christo ...*, iz čega se može prepoznati da se uz Bogorodicu slavilo Krista Gospodara i Spasitelja svijeta.<sup>25</sup> Koliko god ove grede tipološki, tj. načinom ukrašavanja, pripadaju istom „radioničkom“ stilu, postoji tehnički problem njihova povezivanja sa zabatom na kojem je Bogorodičin lik. Naime, grede s natpisima masivnije su i desetak centimetara više od greda koje bi se ukrasom i veličinom lakše spojile sa zabatom. Proučavanje kamene plastike iz Biskupije bilo je fokusirano uglavnom na određivanje radionica i stilova, odnosno vremena u kojem su one djelovale. Na tom polju odmaklo se dosta, no kada se pokuša napraviti rekonstrukcija oltarne ograde koja bi trebala „sjesti“ u interijer crkve, dolazi do niza problema, kojima se ovdje nećemo baviti.

U svakom slučaju, izdvojeni su ulomci tri slično ukrašena zabata s trakom palmeta i rubnim kukama čiji su volutni vrhovi okrenuti prema gore. Pripadali su oltarnoj pregradi iz druge polovine 11. stoljeća. Od najvećeg je ostao samo vrh (A), sačuvane visine 24 cm, širine 25 cm i debljine 9,5 cm. Stranice se od vrha pod oštrijim kutom spuštaju prema horizontalnim gredama oltarne pregrade, stoga je taj zabat morao biti viši od druga dva zabata. Na vrhu je zaravnjen u širini 8,5 cm, vjerojatno zbog postavljanja križa. Budući da je najveći, ovaj se ulomak nalazio iznad glavnih vrata i upravo je on najlošije očuvan.

Treći zabat rekonstruiran je iz pet ulomaka (C) koji se međusobno ne spajaju i zato je njegova visina nepouzdana. Središnji dio, gdje se trebao nalaziti prikaz sveca, naknadno je radiran. Nikola Jakšić osamdesetih ga je godina dao rekonstruirati utvrdivši da je na njemu bila *kompozicija srodnih stilskih osobina* kao kod zabata s Bogorodicom.<sup>26</sup> Radirani dio zabata jasno se uočava po smjeru obrade površine kamena dljetom. Otučeni prikaz skidan

of the Madonna.<sup>23</sup> The damaged parts of the right palm indicate that the gable was broken, probably in the modern period, when stone fragments were used to build the grave. The locals of Biskupija near Knin were able to found enough material in the ruins of the church to build their graves, and often used decorated pieces.

An integral part of the gable is the inscription on the arch that reads: *Salve/ re /g /ina S/alve v/ir /go*. Vedrana Delonga believed that this was a stylistic form of the anaphora of the popular Marian antiphons in the Gregorian chant repertory from the 11th–12th centuries.<sup>24</sup> In earlier works, this gable has regularly been associated with the “appurtenant” fragments of the altar screen beam with sections of the following inscription: ... *virtutis spes mundi; ... acens Christo...*, from which it can be inferred that Christ the Lord and Saviour of the World was celebrated along with the Madonna.<sup>25</sup> As much as such beams belong to the same “workshop” style in terms of typology, i.e. the manner of decoration, there is a technical issue of their affiliation with the gable with the figure of the Madonna. Namely, beams with inscriptions are more massive and about ten centimetres higher than the beams that could be more readily associated with the gable in terms of decoration and size. The study of stone sculpture from Biskupija has been focused mainly on identifying the workshops and styles, that is, the period in which they operated. There has been a lot of progress in this field, but when an attempt is made to reconstruct the altar screen, which should fit in the interior of the church, there arises a number of issues, which we will not deal with here.

In any case, we will look into the fragments of three similarly decorated gables with a palmette band and border hooks, with upward-facing volute tips. They belonged to an altar screen from the second half of the 11th century. As to the largest one, only its top (A) is preserved. It is 24 cm high, 25 cm wide, and 9.5 cm thick. The sides descend from the

<sup>24</sup> Delonga 1990, str. 82; Delonga 1996, str. 176-179.

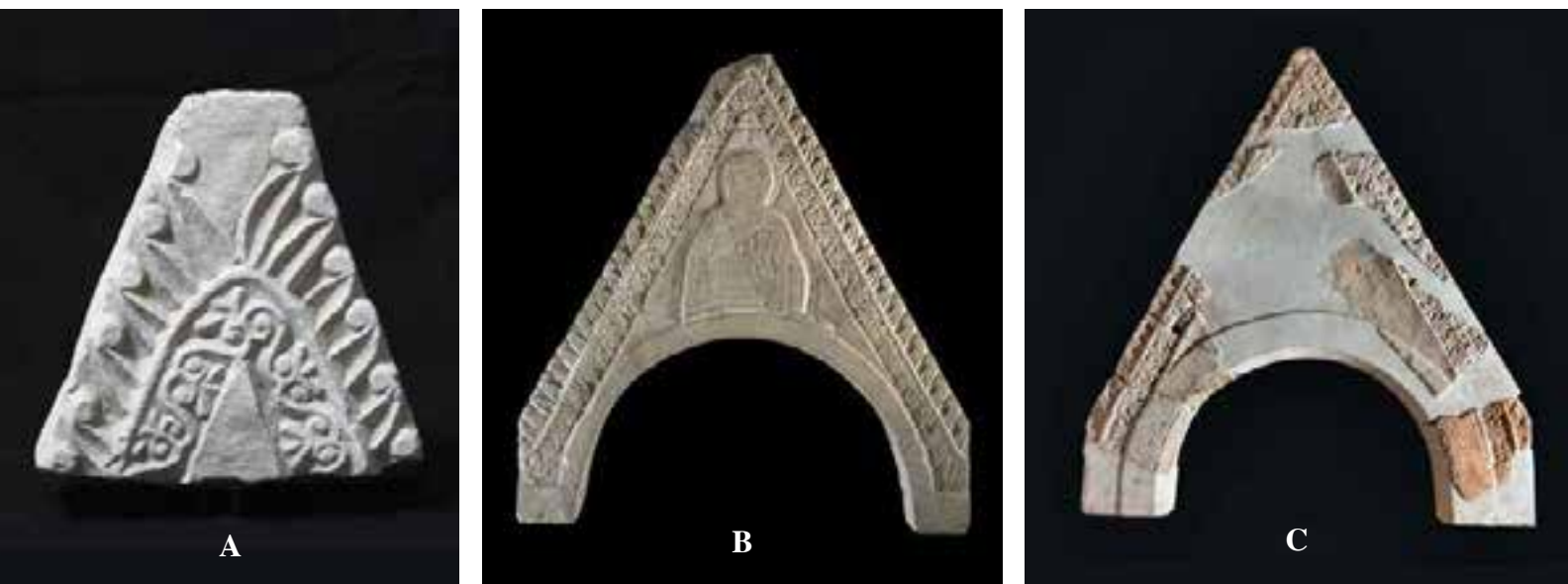
<sup>25</sup> Delonga 1990, str. 83. Problem s ovim gredama koje nose natpis je u tome što su preširoke u odnosu na grede koje bi se veličinom i rasporedom ukrasa mogle lakše uklopiti sa zabatom na kojem je prikaz Bogorodice. Upitno je pripadaju li istoj oltarnoj pregradi.

<sup>26</sup> Jakšić 1980, str. 100-102.

<sup>23</sup> The missing hand was reconstructed by Zoran Boban, the restorer of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments. Višnja Rickijević helped with the reconstruction of the coloured figure of the Madonna.

<sup>24</sup> Delonga 1990, p. 82; Delonga 1996, p. 176-179.

<sup>25</sup> Delonga 1990, p. 83. The problem with these beams that bear the inscription is that they are too wide in relation to the beams that could easily fit in with the gable displaying the image of the Madonna in terms of size and layout of decorations. It is questionable whether they belong to the same altar screen.



Ulomci zabata iz crkvine u Biskupiji – druga polovina 11. st. (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

*Fragments of gables from Crkvina in Biskupija – the second half of the 11th century (photo: Z. Alajbeg)*

je preciznijim udarcima dljetja, drugačijeg je smjera od ostale grublje obrađene površine oko samog prikaza. Slijedeći granicu između dvaju različitih načina obrade kamene površine, dobivamo konture radiranog lika. Ovaj detalj pokazuje da lik Bogorodice nije stajao samostalno u crkvi, nego se radilo o složenijoj, povezanoj kompoziciji, s prikazom više svetaca. Zabati oltarne pregrade bili su najpovoljniji za njihovo isticanje.

Dvodimenzionalan prikaz Bogorodice, izdignut 1,5 cm u odnosu na pročelje zabata (B), pokazuje da se nastojalo istaknuti njezin lik urezan na meku podlogu vapnenca. Plošna površina bila je fino zaglačana zbog nanošenja boja. Dublji i plići urezi kojima je izveden maforion jako slične na fazu izrade ikone na dasci, kada se konture lika ili likova urezuju na meku bijelu podlogu. Potom se taj prostor popunjavao bojom. Bogorodičino lice bilo je detaljnije prikazano. Oči su precizno naznačene kružnicama, a takve „prazne“ oči bez zjenica upozoravaju na nedostatak boje. Naime, ikonopisci su izvedbi očiju posvećivali veliku pozornost, nastojeći stvoriti dojam, bar kod ovakvih tipova, da ikona gleda u promatrača. Obrve i nos detaljno su izvedeni plićim urezivanjem. Izraz lica bio je osobni pečat svakog ikonopisca. Današnja izrada ikone po ikonografskom kanonu ne razlikuje se od one prije jednog tisućljeća. Zato sam na oslikavanju lika Bogorodice iz Biskupije angažirao ikonopisca jeromonaha Panteleimona (Viličić). U muzeju

top at a sharp angle towards the horizontal beams of the altar screen. Therefore, this gable must have been higher than the other two. The top is flattened over a width of 8.5 cm, probably for the placement of the cross. Being the largest, this fragment was placed above the main door and is in fact the worst preserved.

The third gable is reconstructed from five fragments (C) which are not adjacent, and therefore its height is open to doubt. The central part, where the depiction of a saint is supposed to be located, was subsequently erased. Nikola Jakšić had it reconstructed in the 1980s, and argued that it had had *a composition of related stylistic features* like the gable with the Virgin.<sup>26</sup> The erased part of the gable is clearly visible in the direction the surface was chiselled. The struck off depiction was removed with more precise chisel strokes, and is in a different direction from the rest of the roughly worked surface around the representation. By following the boundary between the two differently worked stone surfaces, the outline of the erased figure can be discerned. This detail shows that the figure of the Madonna was not alone in the church, but a part of a more complex, coherent composition depicting a number of saints. The altar screen gables were the most suitable for their representation.

The two-dimensional depiction of the Madonna, elevated 1.5 cm in relation to the front of the gable

<sup>26</sup> Jakšić 1980, pp. 100–102.

smo pokušavali putem kompjutorskih programa dočarati njezin izvorni lik, od rekonstrukcije desne ruke koju je uspješno napravio muzejski restaurator Zoran Boban, do bojenja koje je u kompjutorskoj obradi uvijek ispadalo nedorečeno. Tek pod kistom jeromonaha Panteleimona ikona je oživjela u neakvom čudnom susretu ikonopisca iz 11. st. koji je ostavio skicu na kamenu, s ikonopiscem iz 21. st. koji ju je obojio.

Posebnu pozornost srednjovjekovni je klesar posvetio Bogorodičinim rukama. One su podignute u razini grudi, dlanova okrenutih prema van. Često se u literaturi isticala njihova predimenzioniranost, premda ruke nakon bojenja dobivaju drugačiji izgled. Cilj autora ikone bio je što više istaknuti Bogorodičinu molitvenu gestu. Ruke na ikonama određuju osobnost svetaca koji njima blagoslivljaju, pokazuju ili ih drže na grudima; vrlo su važan ikonografski element, što je očito i u primjeru Bogorodice iz Biskupije.

Glava pokrivena maforionom i izbačena prema van oko 1,5 cm posebno se istaknula u zlatnoj pozadini. Dublje izvedena kružnica aureole, pokrivena žuto-zlatnom bojom, snažno je naznačivala glavu, dijeleći je od ostalog ravnog prostora zabata, koji je vjerojatno bio pokriven žutom ili plavom bojom. Zlatna boja odražavala je božansku svjetlost, Novi Jeruzalem, opisan u Otkrivenju sv. Ivana Evanđelista, i uvijek je okruživala lik Bogorodice i drugih svetaca na ikonama. Kako smatram da su se likovi sa zabata u Biskupiji nadovezivali na freske, ipak sam u rekonstrukciji podloge odabrao plavu boju.

Maforion je bio crven, a to je boja zemlje, krvi i žrtve, te ujedno i carska boja. Na čelu je imala križ s četiri kružića na krajevima. Gornji je kružić oštećen, linije križa slabo se naziru jer su bile plitko urezane. Još dva križa su se trebala nalaziti na ramenima, ali oni nedostaju. Moguće je da su bili nacrtani bojom te su s vremenom nestali. Na orukavlju (*epimani-kion*) Marijine lijeve ruke vidljiv je Andrijin križ, s četiri kružića između krakova. Takav je bio prikazan i na oštećenoj desnoj ruci od koje je ostao samo manji dio, sa sačuvanim početkom epimanikija. Sličan primjer nalazimo na reljefnoj kamenoj ikoni iz Soluna.<sup>27</sup> Križevi su bili žuto obojeni i dio su ikonografije koja je isticala Marijino djevičanstvo prije, za vrijeme i poslije poroda.<sup>28</sup> Rukavi ispod orukavlja dio su hitona koji je bio plave boje, a ona

(B), reveals that an attempt was made to accentuate her figure carved on the soft limestone base. The flat surface was finely polished for the application of colours. The deep and shallow incisions with which the maphorion was made are very similar to the making of icons on wooden panels, when the outlines of figures are incised on a soft white base. The fragments would then be filled with colours. The face of the Madonna was depicted in greater detail. Her eyes are precisely marked with circles, and such “empty” eyes without pupils suggest a lack of colour. Namely, the icon painters paid great attention to the eyes, and attempted to create an impression of icons looking at the observers, at least with such types. The eyebrows and nose are made in detail by shallow incisions. The expression of the face was the personal mark of each icon painter. Today’s icon-painting according to the iconographic canon is not different from that of a millennium ago. That is why I commissioned the hieromonach Panteleimon (Viličić), the icon painter, to paint the figure of the Madonna of Biskupija. In the museum, we tried to render her original appearance by means of computer programs, from the reconstruction of the right hand, successfully completed by the museum restorer Zoran Boban, to the colouring, which always turned out to be incomplete in computer processing. It was only under the hieromonach Panteleimon’s brush that the icon came to life in a strange encounter of an 11th-century icon painter who left his sketch on the stone and a 21st-century icon painter who coloured it.

The mediaeval stonemason paid special attention to the hands of the Madonna. They are raised at chest level, with palms facing outward. Their oversize has often been pointed out in the literature, even though the appearance of the hands changes after colouring. The author of the icon wanted to emphasise the Madonna’s gesture of prayer as much as possible. The hands on the icons determine the personalities of the depicted saints, who either give blessings with them, show them, or hold them on their chests. They are very important iconographic elements, as evident in the example of the Madonna of Biskupija.

The head covered with the maphorion and projecting outwards about 1.5 cm particularly came to prominence against a golden background. The deeper circle of the halo, covered with yellow-gold colour, distinctly marked the head, separating it

<sup>27</sup> Antonaras 2016, str. 54, sl. 33.

<sup>28</sup> Demori Staničić 2017, str. 18.



je označavala čistoću, neporočnost i odabranost.<sup>29</sup>

Tek kada se oboje, urezani nabori maforiona, križevi i aureola dobivaju svoj smisao. Bogorodicu iz Biskupije dao je urezati ikonopisac bogatog umjetničkog jezika, s iskustvom slikanja ikona na dasci. On je znao da će velike urezane ruke u kombinaciji s bojom, odnosno crvenom podlogom maforiona, postati mirnije, a njihova veličina skladnija. O drugim detaljima obojenoga Bogorodičina lika možemo nagađati, pogotovo o izrazu lica. Predložena rekonstrukcija služi da nam približi obojeni izvornik, oslobođen od, kako Kruno Prijatelj veli, „pleterne stilizacije“ predromaničkih figura razvijenih iz pleterne ornamentike, podređenih zakonima pletera.<sup>30</sup> Rekonstrukcija izgleda zabata s obojenom kamenom ikonom iz Crkvine u Biskupiji nije cjelovita. Izostavljeni su rubni ornamenti, čiji nam izvorni obojeni izgled nije poznat.

U našoj srednjovjekovnoj umjetnosti ni prije ni kasnije nije se pojavilo nešto poput biskupijske Bogorodice. Riječ je o originalnom rješenju, vjerojatno proizašlom iz šireg projekta uređenja, odnosno ukrašavanja zidova crkve u Biskupiji kod Knina freskama, što se odrazilo i na kamenu plastiku oltarne pregrade. Sama ideja prikazivanja Bogorodice *orans* i drugih likova na kamenoj podlozi oltarne pregrade proizašla je iz pojave bizantskih reljefnih ikona koje su u 11. stoljeću bile rasprostranjene, odnosno ugrađivane u crkve i palače, iznad gradskih vrata i na bedemima.<sup>31</sup> Nastale su na valu razvoja postikonoklastičke bizantske umjetnosti koja će vrhunac doživjeti u 11. stoljeću, bilo da se radi o ikonama, freskama, mozaicima, kamenoj plastici, medaljonima ili bizantskom novcu.<sup>32</sup> Izrađivale su se u mramoru, neke su bile bojene, poput one iz Zadra koja je stigla također iz Bizanta, a krasila je oltar crkve sv. Šimuna u Zadru.<sup>33</sup> Nakon Četvrtog križarskog rata i osvajanja Carigrada godine 1204. brojne umjetnine, a s njima i kamene reljefne ikone, prevezene su u bogate trgovačke talijanske gradove.<sup>34</sup> Lijep broj ih je završio na unutrašnjim i vanjskim licima zidova crkve sv. Marka u Veneciji. Razvoj

from the rest of the flat surface of the gable, which was probably coloured in yellow or blue. The gold colour reflected the divine light, the New Jerusalem, as described in the Revelation of St. John the Evangelist, and always surrounded the figures of the Madonna and other saints on icons. Since I believe that the figures from the gables in Biskupija were building upon frescoes, my choice in the reconstruction of the background was the colour blue.

The maphorion was red, which is the colour of the earth, blood and sacrifice, as well as the imperial colour. On the forehead of the Madonna there was a cross with four circlets at its ends. The upper circlet is damaged, and the lines of the cross are faintly visible because they were shallowly incised. Two more crosses are supposed to be on the shoulders, but they are missing. It is possible that they were painted in colour and disappeared over time. St. Andrew's cross with four circlets between its arms is visible on the cuff (*epimanicion*) of Mary's left hand. Its counterpart was also depicted on the damaged right arm, of which only a small part has been preserved, the edge of the epimanikion. A similar example can be found on the relief stone icon from Thessaloniki.<sup>27</sup> The crosses were painted yellow and are part of an iconography that emphasised Mary's virginity before, during, and after childbirth.<sup>28</sup> The sleeves under the cuffs were part of a chiton that was blue in colour, which signified purity, integrity, and being chosen.<sup>29</sup>

The incised folds of the maphorion, the crosses and the halo fulfil their purpose only when they are coloured. An icon painter with a rich artistic language and an experience in painting icons on wooden panels had the Madonna of Biskupija engraved. He knew that large incised hands, combined with the colour, that is, the red background of the maphorion, would become more relaxed and their size more balanced. We can only speculate about the other details of the coloured figure of the Madonna, especially the expression of her face. The proposed reconstruction serves to present the coloured original, freed from, as Kruno Prijatelj said, the “interlace stylisation” of pre-Romanesque figures developed from interlace ornamentation, subordinated to

<sup>29</sup> Jezikova, Golovkov 2007, str. 16. Tu su objašnjenja i za druge boje.

<sup>30</sup> Prijatelj 1954, str. 76.

<sup>31</sup> Lange 1964, str. 31.

<sup>32</sup> M. Skoblar ističe sličnost biskupijske Bogorodice s istim prikazom na bizantskom novcu (Skoblar 2017, str. 103).

<sup>33</sup> Fisković 2006, str. 114

<sup>34</sup> Davis 2006, str. 3.

<sup>27</sup> Antonaras 2016, p. 54, Fig. 33.

<sup>28</sup> Demori Staničić 2017, p. 18.

<sup>29</sup> Jezikova, Golovkov 2007, str. 16, also with explanations for other colours.





Rekonstrukcija izgleda obojene kamene ikone iz Crkvine u Biskupiji kod Knina  
(crtež: jeromonah Panteleimon (Viličić)) (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

*Reconstruction of the appearance of the coloured stone icon from Crkvina  
in Biskupija near Knin (drawing by the hieromonach Panteleimon [Viličić])  
(photo: Z. Alajbeg)*

umjetnosti na Zapadu nije doživio drastične lomo-ve kao na Istoku. Pojave ikonoklazma razumno su se gušile, što nam lijepo predočava korespondencija pape Grgura I. Velikog (pontifikat 590. - 604.) i biskupa Serena iz Marseillea.<sup>35</sup> Nakon crkvenog koncila u Niceji godine 787. smisao i sadržaj ikona kanonski se određuje: Sveto pismo i ikona uzajamno se “ukazuju” i “objašnjavaju”.<sup>36</sup> Početkom 9.

its canons.<sup>30</sup> The reconstruction of the gable with the coloured stone icon from Crkvina in Biskupija is not complete. The border ornaments have been left out, since their original coloured appearance is unknown.

There was nothing like the Madonna of Biskupija in our mediaeval art. It is an original creation, probably derived from a broader project of restoration and decoration of the church walls in Biskupija near Knin with frescoes, also reflected in the

<sup>35</sup> Uspenski 2009, str. 68. Papa prvo hvali biskupa što se brine o vjernicima, ali mu također naređuje da ikone vrati u crkvu.

<sup>36</sup> Uspenski 2009, str. 94.

<sup>30</sup> Prijatelj 1954, p. 76.

stoljeća ikonoklazam se opet silovito javlja, a tek nakon njegova sloma počela se jasnije formirati ikonografija, posebno ona vezana uz Krista. Pojava Bogorodičina ikoničnog lika u Biskupiji novost je utoliko što je izrađen u kamenu.

Preko luka i gradova u Dalmaciji ikone su se širile po Hrvatskoj. Najstarije sačuvane ikone kod nas su iz 12. - 13. stoljeća.<sup>37</sup> Iako se vezuju za Istok, one su stoljećima bile predmet štovanja u Katoličkoj crkvi, gdje se najčešće vrednuju kao devocijska i likovna forma.<sup>38</sup> Prikaz Bogorodice iz Biskupije zapravo je najstarija sačuvana ikona kod nas. Ostala je čitava zahvaljujući materijalu na kojem je izrađena. Neke su mogle potjecati iz istog razdoblja, a možda su bile i starije, ali nisu sačuvane do naših dana.<sup>39</sup>

U dalmatinskim je crkvama nakon brojnih povijesnih i liturgijskih mijena u javnom štovanju ostalo gotovo stotinjak ikona. U priobalnim gradovima javna se pobožnost prema Bogorodici razvijala upravo preko njih. Pred njima se molilo u nevolji i pogibelji, bolestima, sušama, a bitno su utjecale i na kasniji razvoj crkvene umjetnosti.<sup>40</sup>

Pojaва Bogorodičina lika na kamenom zabatu oltarne pregrade u Biskupiji mogla je biti uzrokovana i duhom crkvenih reformi, kako to sugerira Miljenko Jurković.<sup>41</sup> Inspiracija za prikazivanje Bogorodice *orans* u Biskupiji kod Knina također su mogli biti i manji umjetnički predmeti, poput novca, pečata ili luksuznih predmeta, kako smatra Magdalena Skoblar.<sup>42</sup> Međutim, nije se ovdje radilo samo o prikazu Bogorodice, niti je ona bila nad središnjim ulazom oltarne pregrade. Ukazao sam na još jedan naknadno radiran prikaz na drugom zabatu (C), kako je Nikola Jakšić primijetio osamdesetih godina prošloga stoljeća. Bogorodica na zabatu u crkvi nije stajala samostalno, niti je dominirala nad središnjim ulazom. Zabat nad središnjim ulazom bio je nešto veći od dva bočna, što pokazuje sačuvani vrh (A). Ako su na oltarnoj pregradi bili

stone sculpture of the altar screen. The very idea of depicting the Madonna *orans* and other figures on the stone base of the altar screen arose from the advent of Byzantine relief icons which were widespread in the 11th century, viz. embedded in churches and palaces, above city gates and on ramparts.<sup>31</sup> They emerged on the wave of development of post-iconoclastic Byzantine art, which reached its peak in the 11th century, whether icons, frescoes, mosaics, stone sculptures, medallions or Byzantine coins.<sup>32</sup> They were made of marble, and some were coloured, such as the one from Zadar, which also arrived from Byzantium, and adorned the altar of the church of St. Simon in Zadar.<sup>33</sup> After the Fourth Crusade and the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, numerous works of art, including stone relief icons, were transported to prosperous Italian trading cities.<sup>34</sup> Quite a number ended up on the inner and outer faces of the walls of the church of St. Mark in Venice. The development of art in the West did not sustain shifts as drastic as in the East. Iconoclastic outbreaks were reasonably suppressed, as well illustrated by the correspondence between Pope Gregory I the Great (590–604 pontificate) and Bishop Seren of Marseille.<sup>35</sup> After the Ecumenical Council in Nicea in 787, the meaning and content of the icons were canonically determined: the Holy Scriptures and the icons were of equal value and complementary.<sup>36</sup> Iconoclasm reappeared in a forceful form at the beginning of the ninth century. Only after its collapse did iconography, especially that related to Christ, begin to form in a more coherent manner. The appearance of the iconic figure of the Madonna in Biskupija was a novelty insofar as it was made of stone.

Icons spread throughout Croatia by way of ports and towns in Dalmatia. The earliest preserved icons in our country date from the 12th–13th centuries.<sup>37</sup> Though associated with the East, for centuries they were worshipped in the Western Catholic Church, where they are most often valued as a devotion-

<sup>37</sup> Gamulin 1991, str. 2.

<sup>38</sup> Demori Staničić 2014, str. 173.

<sup>39</sup> Upozorio bih na ikonu Gospe Dridske, koja je s brda Drid kod Marine zbog turske opasnosti bila prenesena na otok Čiovo. Drid je bio kasnoantička i srednjovjekovna utvrda. Na Čiovu se ikona štovala do 1600. godine, kada se raspala od starosti. Nedvojbena je bila srednjovjekovna, a možda i ranija. Vidi: Katić 2016, str. 42-43.

<sup>40</sup> Demori Staničić 2017, str. 43.

<sup>41</sup> Jurković 1998, str. 63-80.

<sup>42</sup> Skoblar 2017, str. 93.

<sup>31</sup> Lange 1964, p. 31.

<sup>32</sup> M. Skoblar pointed out the similarity of the Madonna from Biskupija with the same depiction on Byzantine coins (Skoblar 2017, p. 103).

<sup>33</sup> Fisković 2006, p. 114.

<sup>34</sup> Davis 2006, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> Uspenski 2009, p. 68. The pope first praised the bishop for caring for the faithful, but also ordered him to return the icons to the church.

<sup>36</sup> Uspenski 2009, p. 94.

<sup>37</sup> Gamulin 1991, p. 2.

prikazivani likovi drugih svetaca, onda je na srednjem mogao biti jedino Krist. Konačno, bilo bi neobično da je Bogorodica samostalno prikazana u crkvi u 11. stoljeću. Ona se najvjerojatnije nalazila na zabatu lijevog ulaza u oltarnoj pregradi. Njezin molitveni stav i posredništvo upućeni su Kristu. Na desnom ulazu oltarne pregrade, a lijevo od središnjeg prikaza s Kristom, najvjerojatnije se nalazio sv. Ivan Krstitelj ili neki drugi svetac štovan u Biskupiji. Tako smo dobili simetričnu kompoziciju u kojoj je i svetac koji je bio prikazan na radiranom zabatu (C) mogao biti prikazan u molitvenom stavu poput Bogorodice.

Prema navedenom, na oltarnoj pregradi iz 11. stoljeća u Biskupiji bio je najvjerojatnije prikazan *Deisis*. To je rana pojava ovog bizantskog ikonografskog motiva. On se kod nas javlja kasnije, u 12. stoljeću, na uništenom mozaiku u crkvi sv. Krševana u Zadru,<sup>43</sup> ili u 13. stoljeću, u Donjem Humcu na otoku Braču.<sup>44</sup> Sveto zauzimanje Bogorodice i Ivana Krstitelja pred Kristom vrlo je čest prikaz u bizantskoj umjetnosti. Dakle, na oltarnoj pregradi iz druge polovine 11. stoljeća u Biskupiji bio je prikaz *Deisisa*, ritmički raščlanjenog na tri zabata oltarne pregrade. Valja napomenuti da je mjesto Ivana Krstitelja mogao zauzeti neki od svetaca koji se ovdje štovao.

Svjetovna i crkvena moć sretno su se spojile kod crkve u Biskupiji te su uzrokovale višekratno obnavljanje interijera. Kako sam napomenuo, na našoj plošnoj kamenoj ikoni bojenje je imalo važnu ulogu. Bez njega bi pojedini urezi na ikoni ostali nedorečeni i nerazumljivi. U njezinu osmišljavanju i realizaciji neophodna je bila prisutnost slikara - ikonopisca, koliko i kamenoklesara. Moguće je da je u vrijeme preuređenja oltarne pregrade freskama bio oslikavan i interijer crkve. Ante Milošević uočio je tu činjenicu pa piše: *Na tim su spomenicima ujedno i najraniji prikazi ljudskih likova u hrvatskoj srednjovjekovnoj umjetnosti, a svojim kiparskim dosezima i ikonografskim osobinama odaju činjenicu da su inspirirani ili su nastali, po predlošcima onodobnog monumentalnog (fresko) slikarstva, kako iz šireg mediteranskog prostora tako i iz zapadne Europe.*<sup>45</sup> Zadnja revizijska istraživanja Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika otkrila su prisutnost ulomaka freski.<sup>46</sup> Nađene su u kanalu za vodu koji

al art form.<sup>38</sup> The depiction of the Madonna from Biskupija is actually the earliest preserved icon in our country. It has remained complete thanks to the material on which it was made. Some may have originated from the same period, or were possibly earlier, but they have not been preserved.<sup>39</sup>

After many a historical and liturgical change, almost a hundred icons remained for public worship in Dalmatian churches. In coastal towns, public devotion to the Madonna developed precisely through them. People prayed in front of them in times of trouble and danger, diseases, droughts, and they significantly influenced the later development of church art.<sup>40</sup>

The appearance of the figure of the Madonna on the stone gable of the altar screen in Biskupija could have also been a result of the spirit of church reforms, as suggested by Miljenko Jurković.<sup>41</sup> The inspiration for the depiction of the Madonna *orans* in Biskupija near Knin could also have come from small art objects, such as coins, seals or luxury items, according to Magdalena Skoblar.<sup>42</sup> However, this was not merely a depiction of the Madonna, nor was she placed above the central entrance of the altar screen. I have pointed out one more subsequently erased representation on another gable (C), as Nikola Jakšić had observed in the 1980s. The Madonna was not alone on the gable in the church, nor did she dominate the central entrance. The gable above the central entrance was slightly larger than the two lateral ones, as manifest from the preserved top (A). If there were other saints depicted on the altar screen, then only Christ could have been on the middle one. Finally, a depiction of the Madonna on her own in an 11th-century church would have been unusual. She was most likely represented on the gable of the left entrance in the altar screen. Her intercessory prayer is directed to Christ. The figure depicted at the right entrance of the altar screen, and to the left of the central depiction with Christ, was

<sup>38</sup> Demori Staničić 2014, p. 173.

<sup>39</sup> I would like to point out the icon of the Madonna of Drid, which was transferred to the island of Čiovo from the hill of Drid near Marina due to the Turkish danger. Drid was a late antique and mediaeval fortification. The icon was worshipped on Čiovo until 1600, when it disintegrated with age. Undoubtedly, it was mediaeval, and perhaps even earlier. See Katić 2016, pp. 42–43.

<sup>40</sup> Demori Staničić 2017, p. 43.

<sup>41</sup> Jurković 1998, pp. 63–80.

<sup>42</sup> Skoblar 2017, p. 93.

<sup>43</sup> Babić 1999-2000, str. 319-320.

<sup>44</sup> Domančić 1956, str. 84-89.

<sup>45</sup> Milošević 2002, str. 17.

<sup>46</sup> Petrincec 2018, str. 297. Novija i preciznija arheološka



*Idealna rekonstrukcija oltarne pregrade iz druge polovine 11. stoljeća (autor: Darko Popović)*  
*Ideal reconstruction of the altar screen from the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (author: Darko Popović)*

nije iskopan prilikom ranijih arheoloških istraživanja. U sakupljačkom žaru 19. stoljeća nije se vodilo računa o takvim sitnim nalazima.

Natpis *Salve Regina Salve Virgo*, tipičan za gregorijansko koralno pjevanje, otkriva redovnički duh crkve u Biskupiji. Benediktinci su nedvojbeno dali svoj obol njezinu uređenju. Figuralni prikaz *Deisisa* na zabatima oltarne pregrade likovno ograničen na kamenu plošnu površinu korespondirao je s oslikanim interijerom crkve. Snažan zaokret k jasnijem figuralnom izričaju u kamenoj plastici ovdje se dogodio transformacijom iz slikarstva čija je tradicija bila izravnije naslonjena na bizantske korijene. Transfer iz jednog umjetničkog medija u drugi,

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istraživanja otkrila su ove važne pokazatelje postojanja freski u Biskupiji. U Marunovo vrijeme, pa i u vrijeme Gunjačinih istraživanja pedesetih godina, nije se vodilo računa o ovakvim nalazima. To je razlog njihovu izostanku.

probably St. John the Baptist or some other saint revered in Biskupija. Thus we have a symmetrical composition in which the saint who was depicted on the erased gable (C) could also have been represented in prayer like the Madonna.

According to the above, the representation on the altar screen from the 11th century in Biskupija was most probably the *Deësis*. It is an early instance of this Byzantine iconographic motif. In our country, it appeared later, in the 12th century, on the now destroyed mosaic in the church of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar,<sup>43</sup> or in the 13th century, in Donji Humac on the island of Brač.<sup>44</sup> The holy intercession of the Madonna and John the Baptist before Christ was a very common depiction in Byzantine art. Therefore, the *Deësis* was depicted on the altar screen from the second half of the 11th century in Biskupija, rhyth-

<sup>43</sup> Babić 1999–2000, pp. 319–320.

<sup>44</sup> Domančić 1956, pp. 84–89.

oslobađanje od pleternog „ikonoklazma“, specifična je pojava u 11. stoljeću, što već naznačuje plutej iz zadarske Sv. Nediljice, a biskupijska Bogorodica i drugi spomenuti prikazi koji nam nisu ostali sačuvani predstavljaju korak prema razvijenoj romaničkoj umjetnosti. Ovdje se ne mogu uključiti u rasprave o radionicama jer se ne smatram kompetentnim, ali izvorište ove plastike vidim u Zadru, čije se zidno slikarstvo razvilo u 12. stoljeću.<sup>47</sup> Zvonimirova vladavina, obilježena dobrim odnosima s klerom, bila je poticajna za ovakve projekte i zasigurno je utjecala na razvoj ranoromaničke umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj. Na žalost, izložena povijesnim vjetrovetinama nije ostala sačuvana poput one zakriljene bedemima primorskih gradova. Tako nam je ostalo sakriveno bogatstvo jedne iznimne crkve čiji sam interijer ovdje približno pokušao rekonstruirati.

mically divided into three gables of the altar screen. It should be noted that one of the saints worshipped here could have been depicted instead of John the Baptist.

Secular and ecclesiastical powers readily merged in the church in Biskupija and initiated recurrent interior renovations. As I have noted, colouring had an important role in our flat stone icon. Without it, some of the incisions in the icon would be cursory and indiscernible. Both the (icon) painter and the stonemason were essential for its design and making. It is possible that the interior of the church was also painted with frescoes when the altar screen was being remodelled. Ante Milošević took note of this point and wrote the following: *These monuments also contain the earliest depictions of human figures in Croatian mediaeval art, and their sculptural achievements and iconographic traits reveal the fact that they were inspired by or created based on the templates of the then monumental (fresco) paintings, both from the wider Mediterranean area and from Western Europe.*<sup>45</sup> The most recent reinvestigations by the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments revealed the presence of fragments of frescoes.<sup>46</sup> They were discovered in a water canal which had not been excavated during earlier archaeological researches. Such small finds were not taken into account in the time of the 19th-century collecting zeal.

The inscription *Salve Regina Salve Virgo*, typical of Gregorian chants, reveals the monastic spirit of the church in Biskupija. The Benedictines undoubtedly contributed to its restoration. The figural depiction of the *Deësis* on the gables of the altar screen, creatively limited to their flat stone surfaces, corresponded to the painted interior of the church. A determined turn to more concrete figural expression in stone sculpture occurred here through a transformation from painting whose tradition was more directly embedded in Byzantine roots. Shifts from one art medium to another and liberation from the interlace “iconoclasm” were specific phenomena in the 11th century, as already demonstrated by the pluteus from the church of the Holy Dominica in

<sup>45</sup> Milošević 2002, p. 17.

<sup>46</sup> Petrinec 2018, p. 297. Recent and more precise archaeological researches have revealed these important indicators of the existence of frescoes in Biskupija. In Marun’s time, and even during Gunjača’s research in the 1950s, such finds were not taken into account. That is the reason for their absence.

<sup>47</sup> Klaić, Petricoli 1976, str. 264-267.

Zadar. The Madonna of Biskupija and other mentioned unpreserved depictions represented a step towards developed Romanesque art. I cannot join the discussions about workshops here because I consider myself unqualified, but I believe that the source of this sculpture was in Zadar, whose wall painting developed in the 12th century.<sup>47</sup> Zvonimir's rule, marked by good relations with the clergy, was conducive to projects such as this one and certainly influenced the development of early Romanesque art in Croatia. Unfortunately, exposed to the disturbances of history, it has not been preserved as well as that shielded by the ramparts of coastal towns. Thus we are left with the hidden treasure of an exceptional church whose interior I have tried to reconstruct approximately.

*(D. G.)*

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<sup>47</sup> Klaić, Petricoli 1976, pp. 264–267.



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