

Ante Jurčević
Arheološki muzej Split
Archaeological Museum Split
Zrinsko-Frankopanska 25,
HR - 21 000 Split
antejurcevic72@gmail.com

UDK: 902.3(497.581Kapitul-Knin)"2011"
7.033.41:27-523.41(497.581Knin)
27-789.2:2-523.6(497.581Knin)
7.033.41:25-526.1

Izvorni znanstveni rad/Original scientific paper

Kapitul – povijest arheoloških istraživanja i preliminarni rezultati najnovijih revizijskih iskopavanja u razdoblju od 2011. do 2017. godine

Lokalitet Kapitul nalazi se oko dva kilometra jugoistočno od kninske tvrđave na jugozapadnoj zaravnjenoj padini brežuljka Gajnjača. Brežuljak se nalazi u neposrednoj blizini željezničkog mosta ispod kojega se rijeka Kosovčica ulijeva u Krku. Na Kapitolu su se pod vodstvom fra Luje Maruna u razdoblju od 1885. do 1937. godine, u više navrata, obavljala arheološka iskopavanja. Najznačajniji rezultati postignuti su tijekom prvih istraživačkih kampanja 1885., 1886. i 1888. godine, odnosno za vrijeme i neposredno nakon probijanja trase za željezničku prugu kroz lokalitet. Do početka revizijskih arheoloških istraživanja 2011. godine položaj na kojem se nalazi bio je nepristupačan, prekriven gustom vegetacijom te se smatralo da ondje više nema nikakvih arheoloških ostataka. Takvom stanju prethodile su brojne devastacije, a najveća se dogodila tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata. Naime, 1942. godine talijanska je vojska, pripremajući teren za izgradnju vojno-stambenog kompleksa na Kapitolu, uklonila ostatke srednjovjekovne arhitekture te je na istome mjestu sagradila vojarnu sa zgradama za stanovanje, visoke betonske bedeme i bunkere. Sljedeća devastacija dogodila se prilikom proširenja kninskoga Željezničkog kolodvora 1955. godine. Najnovijim revizijskim iskopavanjima, kojima je prethodilo uklanjanje ostataka talijanske vojarnе, otkriveni su temeljni ostatci romaničke trobrodne bazilike (kninske katedrale), ostatci struktura (kule, zidovi) bedema koji su štitili kompleks na Kapitolu te pokretni nalazi iz rimskoga i srednjovjekovnog razdoblja. Otkriven je i dio groblja na kojem su se do 1885. godine pokapali stanovnici selâ Kapitul, Potkonje i Ljubač.

Ključne riječi: Knin, Kapitul, benediktinska opatija, kninska katedrala, predromanički i romanički crkveni namještaj.

Kapitul – the History of Archaeological Excavations and Preliminary Results of Recent Revision Excavations in the Period from 2011 to 2017

The site of Kapitul lies about two kilometres south-east of Knin Fort, on the south-west flattened slope of Gajnjača Hill. This hillock lies in the immediate vicinity of a railway bridge beneath which the Kosovčica flows into the Krka River. Archaeological excavations at Kapitul led by Fra Lujo Marun were carried out several times between 1885 and 1937. The most important results were yielded during the first campaigns, in 1885, 1886 and 1888, in other words, at the time of and immediately after the cutting for the railway line through the site was made. Up to the beginning of the revision archaeological excavations in 2011, the position at which it lies was inaccessible and densely overgrown; it was considered that there were no further archaeological remains to be discovered. This state of affairs was preceded by numerous acts of devastation, the most important of which came during World War II; in 1942, the Italian army of occupation, preparing the ground for the building of a military and housing complex at Kapitul, removed the remains of medieval architecture and on the same site built barracks with residential buildings, high concrete defensive walls and bunkers. There was similar devastation when Knin Railway Station was enlarged in 1955. During the recent revision excavations, which were preceded by the demolition and removal of the remains of the Italian barracks, the remains of the foundations of a Romanesque three-nave basilica (Knin Cathedral) were found, with the remains of structures (towers, walls) of the defensive walls that guarded the Kapitul complex. Also discovered were finds from the Roman and medieval periods. Part of the graveyard in which up to 1885 the inhabitants of the villages of Kapitul, Potkonje and Ljubač were interred was also discovered.

Key words: *Knin, Kapitul, Benedictine abbey, Knin Cathedral, pre-Romanesque and Romanesque church furnishing.*

Uvod

Lokalitet Kapitul nalazi se dva kilometra jugoistočno od kninske tvrđave, na južnoj padini brežuljka Gajnjača. Brežuljak je, kao i lokalitet, izgradnjom trase za željezničku prugu razdvojen na dva dijela. Položaj s ostacima arhitekture danas je lako uočljiv jer se nalazi neposredno uz željeznički most ispod kojega se rijeka Kosovčica ulijeva u Krku. Na Kapitolu su se pod vodstvom fra Luje Maruna, u razdoblju od 1885. do 1937. godine, u više navrata, obavljala arheološka iskapanja.¹ Najznačajniji rezultati postignuti su tijekom prvih istraživačkih kampanja, 1885., 1887. i 1888. godine, odnosno za vrijeme i neposredno nakon probijanja trase za željezničku prugu kroz lokalitet. Nakon istraživanja ustanovljeno je da se na Kapitolu nalazio arhitektonski kompleks koji se sastojao od vanjskog, obrambenog dijela i unutrašnjeg, sakralno-stambeno-gospodarskog dijela. Obrambeni dio tvorili su visoki masivni zidovi i istaknute kvadratne kule, a u unutarnjem dijelu nalazila se trobrodna bazilika s klaustrom, prostorije za stanovanje i gospodarske zgrade (vidi sl. 1, 13 i 15). Uz arhitektonske ostatke pronađen je velik broj pokretnih nalaza na temelju kojih se pretpostavlja da je na Kapitolu sredinom 1. stoljeća po. Kr. najprije sagrađena manja utvrda u kojoj su boravili vojnici XX. i XI. legije, potom je u 10. stoljeću sagrađen benediktinski samostan sv. Bartolomeja, a u 13. st. podignuta je trobrodna bazilika i stambeno-gospodarski kompleks. Premda često zastupljen u literaturi uglavnom u raspravama o položaju katedrale hrvatskoga ili kninskog biskupa, Kapitul je kao arheološki lokalitet gotovo zaboravljen. Do početka revizijskih arheoloških istraživanja godine 2011. položaj na kojem se nalazio bio je nepristupačan, prekriven gustom vegetacijom i posve isključen iz uobičajenih obilazaka poznatih arheoloških nalazišta na kninskom području. Takvom stanju prethodile su brojne devastacije, a najveća se dogodila tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata. Talijanska vojska je godine 1942., pripremajući teren za izgradnju vojno-stambenog kompleksa, uklonila ostatke srednjovjekovne arhitekture s Kapitula te je na istome mjestu sagrađila vojarnu sa zgradama za stanovanje, visoke betonske bedeme

Introduction

The site of Kapitul is two kilometres to the south east of Knin Fort, on the southern slope of Gajnjača Hillock. This hillock, like the site itself, was split into two parts when a cutting was made for the railway line. The position with the remains of the architecture is easily visible today, for it is just alongside the railway bridge beneath which the Kosovčica flows into the Krka. Archaeological excavations led by Fra Lujo Marun were conducted several times at Kapitul during the period from 1885 to 1937.¹ The most important results were yielded during the first research campaigns, those of 1885, 1887 and 1888, in other words, during and just after the railway cutting was made through the site. After the excavations it was established that Kapitul was home to an architectural complex consisting of an external defensive part and an inner religious, residential and working part. The defensive part consisted of tall, massive walls and a salient square tower, while in the interior there was a three-nave basilica with cloister, rooms for dwelling in and operational buildings (see Figs 1, 13 and 15). Discovered alongside the remains of architecture were numbers of moveable finds, pursuant to which it was hypothesised that during the 1st century AD, a smallish fort was built at Kapitul, which was garrisoned by soldiers of legions XX and XI. In the 10th century, a Benedictine monastery, St Bartholomew's, was built, with a three-nave basilica and a residential and working complex. Although frequently featured in the scholarly literature, on the whole in discussions about the position of the cathedral of the Croatian or Knin bishop, as archaeological site, Kapitul was almost forgotten. Up to the beginning of the revision archaeological excavations in 2011, the position on which it lay was inaccessible, overgrown with thick vegetation and completely excluded from the usual inspection tours of the known archaeological sites in the Knin area. This kind of state of affairs was preceded by numerous acts of devastation, most of all during World War II. In 1942, the Italian army, preparing the ground for the building of a military and residential complex, removed the remains of medieval architecture from Kapitul and on the

¹ Fra Lujo Marun je godine 1885. na Kapitolu započeo svoju istraživačku karijeru, a 1937. godine na istom je lokalitetu poduzeo svoja posljednja revizijska istraživanja. Doprinosio ih je Stjepan Gunjača. Usp. Gunjača 1949a, str. 279-294; Jurišić 1979, str. 34.

¹ Fra Lujo Marun started his archaeological career in 1885 at Kapitul; in 1937, at the same time, he undertook his last reinvestigation of previous digs. It was completed by Stjepan Gunjača. Cf. Gunjača 1949a, p. 279-294; Jurišić 1979, p. 34.



Sl. 1. Pogled prema zapadu (Kninu). Na fotografiji su prikazani pročelni zid bazilike i ulaz u nju te dio zapadnih i sjeverozapadnih bedema (snimljeno 1931. g. arhiv MHAS-a)

Fig. 1 A view westwards (towards Knin). The photograph shows the front wall of the basilica and the entry into it, and part of the western and north-western defensive walls (taken in 1931, MCAM archives)



Sl. 3. Pogled na oštećeni sarkofag koji se urušio na tračnice novog kolosijeka (arhiv MHAS-a)

Fig. 3 View onto the damaged sarcophagus that collapsed onto the rails of the new track (MCAM archives)

i bunkere.² Nedugo nakon izgradnje vojarne, 1955. godine, prilikom proširenja Željezničkog kolodvora u Kninu, lokalitet je još jednom devastiran. Tijekom navedenih radova pojavili su se značajni arheološki nalazi, koji su sugerirali da se dio kulturnih sloje-

² Gunjača 1949b, str. 39 bilj. 5.



Sl. 2. Pogled na talijansku vojarnu i mjesto s kojeg se urušio sarkofag (snimljeno 1955. g. arhiv MHAS-a)

Fig. 2 View onto the Italian barracks and the place from which a sarcophagus collapsed (taken in 1955, MCAM archives)

same site built barracks with residential buildings, high stone defensive walls and bunkers.² Not long after the development of the army base, in 1955, while Knin Railway Station was being expanded, the site was devastated once again. But during these works, important archaeological finds appeared that suggested that some of the cultural strata beneath the Italian barracks had after all been spared. But at that time, no kinds of research or protective activities were addressed; it was merely established that the remains of medieval architecture and part of the graveyard had been destroyed (Figs. 2 and 3). The only find that was preserved, a sarcophagus with a carved Latin cross on the lid, was subsequently moved to the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in (MCAM) Split (see Fig. 3).³ And after this last act of devastation at Kapitel, building and municipal waste started being dumped there, a dense wood later growing on top of it.

In 2010, while viewing the site, Ante Jurčević and Maja Petrinec observed at several places around the barracks the remains of older walls and assumed that the medieval architecture had not been com-

² Gunjača 1949b, p. 39 n. 5.p

³ The sarcophagus contained the remains of a deceased, but no other finds. Today the sarcophagus is exhibited in the Lapidarium of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split. Information about the circumstances of the find is noted on the back of a photo today in the archives of the MCAM.(fig. 2 and 3).

va ispod talijanske vojarne ipak sačuvao. Međutim tada nisu poduzete nikakve istraživačke ni zaštitne aktivnosti, samo je ustanovljeno da su uništeni ostatci srednjovjekovne arhitekture i dijela groblja (sl. 2 i 3). Jedini nalaz koji se sačuvao, sarkofag s uklesanim latinskim križem na poklopcu, naknadno je prenesen u Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu (vidi sl. 3).³ Nakon posljednje devastacije na Kapitolu se započinje deponirati građevinski i komunalni otpad iznad kojeg će kasnije izrasti gusta šuma.

Obilazeći lokalitet 2010. godine, Ante Jurčević i Maja Petrinc na nekoliko su mjesta oko vojarne uočili ostatke starijih zidova te su pretpostavili da srednjovjekovna arhitektura nije potpuno uništena. Iste godine, posve neovisno, do istih zaključaka došao je i Marko Sinobad, koji je radi preglednosti i boljeg utvrđivanja zatečenog stanja organizirao i prvo čišćenje lokaliteta (sl. 4).

Na temelju uvida A. Jurčević i M. Petrinc, u suradnji s M. Sinobadom pokrenuli su inicijativu za uređenje lokaliteta i provođenje revizijskih istraživanja. Nakon revizijskih istraživanja, provedenih u razdoblju od 2011. do 2019. godine, izgled lokaliteta se potpuno promijenio. Danas je srednjovjekovni kompleks vidljiv, a njegova veličina i kvaliteta gradnje svjedoče da je riječ o jednom od najznačajnijih lokaliteta na kninskom području. Zbog jasnijeg prezentiranja najnovijih rezultata revizijskih istraživanja potrebno se osvrnuti i na ranija arheološka istraživanja te na radove nastale nakon njih.⁴

³ U sarkofagu su pronađeni ostatci jednog pokojnika uz kojeg nije bilo nalaza. Danas je sarkofag izložen u lapidariju Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu. Podatci o okolnostima pronalaska zabilježeni su na poledini fotografija koje se nalaze u arhivu Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (sl. 2. i 3).

⁴ Ovdje treba naglasiti da su istraživanja na Kapitolu imala presudan utjecaj na daljnji razvoj srednjovjekovne i nacionalne arheologije budući da je L. Marun prije samog istraživanja na Kapitolu, uz pomoć S. Zlatovića i F. Bulića, osnovao *Odbor za istraživanje starina u kninskoj okolici*. Odbor je nakon istraživanja Kapitula nastavio s arheološkim djelatnostima, prilikom kojih je prikupljen veliki broj arheoloških nalaza, zbog kojih je na kraju i osnovan *Prvi muzej hrvatskih spomenika u Kninu* (1893. g.). Prema Marunovu mišljenju, u *Prvom muzeju* trebali su se prezentirati isključivo srednjovjekovni spomenici, osobito oni iz razdoblja hrvatskih narodnih vladara. Budući da su nalazi koje je Marun sakupio poslužili kao temeljna građa za razvoj posebne grane unutar arheološke znanosti - srednjovjekovne ar-



Sl. 4. Pogled na Kapitul i talijansku vojarnu nakon uklanjanja raslinja 2011. godine (izvor: Google Earth)
Fig. 4 View of Kapitul and the Italian barracks after the removal of the vegetation in 2011 (courtesy of Google Earth)

pletely destroyed. And in the same year, Marko Sinobad, came to the same conclusion completely independently and, to improve the legibility of the site and to ascertain the as-found state, organised the first clearing of the locality (Fig. 4).

Following up from the insights of Jurčević and Petrinc, in association with Sinobad, an initiative was launched to put the site in better order and to implement revision excavations. After preparatory works and after revision excavations had been conducted in the period from 2011 to 2019, the appearance of the site was completely different. Today the medieval complex is visible, its size and the quality of the construction telling that it was one of the most important sites in the Knin area. For the sake of a clearer presentation of the most recent results of the revision excavations, the earlier archaeological researches and the papers written after them will have to be addressed.⁴

⁴ Cf. Zlatović 1883, pp. 52-55; Bulić 1886, pp. 178-179, 196, no. 141-147, 170-174, Bulić 1888; Ljubić 1890, pp. 30-32; Marun 1890, pp. 60-72; Marun 1891, pp. 123-127; Marun 1892a, pp. 26-32; Marun 1892b, pp. 95 - 96.; Marun 1894, pp. 70-77; Marun 1998, pp. 28, 31, 32, 35, 40-41, 46, 52, 59, 69, 73, 77-78, 89, 183, 189, 294; Radić 1895, pp. 150-156; Iveković 1927; Gunjača, 1949b, pp. 38-86. Here it should be pointed out that the excavations at Kapitul had a crucial impact on the development of medieval and national archaeology, since Marun, before the excavations at Kapitul, with the help of S. Zlatović and F. Bulić, founded the Committee for the Investigation of Antiquities in

Početak istraživanja

Monumentalne ruševine na Kapitolu kod Knina pobuđivale su oduvijek, i prije početka građevinskih radova, odnosno arheoloških istraživanja, zanimanje povjesničara i arheologa, među kojima se posebno ističe Stjepan Zlatović. Zlatović je krajem 19. stoljeća imao važnu ulogu u valorizaciji arheoloških lokaliteta na širem kninskom području. Među brojnom arhivskom građom koju je objavio nalazi se i izvještaj fra Gašpara Vinjalića iz 1746. godine o stanju sakralnih objekata na širem kninskom području.⁵ U izvještaju su detaljno opisani tada još visoko sačuvani ostatci arhitekture na Kapitolu te je navedeno tko je i kada započeo razgradnju obrambenih zidova i bazilike. Osim sačuvane arhitekture i arhivskih podataka i nalazi crkvenog namještaja (pronađeni prije arheoloških istraživanja) dodatno su potvrđivali pretpostavke da je riječ o značajnom srednjovjekovnom lokalitetu. Posebno je zanimljiv kameni ulomak otkriven 1871. godine nedaleko od Kapitula.⁶ Na prednjoj strani ulomaka nalazi se pleterna dekoracija, a na stražnjoj gotički natpis s ime-

heologije, može se smatrati da su arheološka istraživanja na Kapitolu imala inicijalnu ulogu u nastanku nacionalne arheologije u Hrvatskoj, te arheološki lokalitet na Kapitolu treba promatrati i u tom kontekstu. Opširnije vidi u: Marun 1894, Jurišić 1979 i Zekan 2008. Usp. Zlatović 1883, str. 52-55; Bulić 1886, str. 178-179, 196, br. 141-147, 170-174, Bulić 1888; Ljubić 1890, str. 30-32; Marun 1890, str. 60-72; Marun 1891, str. 123-127; Marun 1892a, str. 26-32; Marun 1892b, str. 95-96.; Marun 1894, str. 70-77; Marun 1998, str. 28, 31, 32, 35, 40-41, 46, 52, 59, 69, 73, 77-78, 89, 183, 189, 294; Radić 1895, str. 150-156; Iveković 1927; Gunjača, 1949b, str. 38-86.

⁵ Zlatović 1883, str. 52-53. Kasnije je S. Gunjača u cijelosti objavio Vinjalićevo pismo: ... *Ako se gledaju ruševine starih zdanja iznad rijeke, oko jedne milje udaljenosti od tvrđave, postoji jedna velika zidina imenom Kapitul, gdje se vidi da je bila nastamba redovnika. Crkva je imala svod od sedre, i bila je skoro netaknuta kad su naši preoteli ovu tvrđavu Turcima. Zatim, kako mi je bilo rečeno, naši redovnici bijahu prvi, koji su odnašali materijal onoga mjesta, a po njihovu primjeru svijet je činio isto za zgradu glavnog štaba konjice, jer su zidovi, kako kažu oni koji su spočetka vidjeli to mjesto, svuda uokolo bili skoro netaknuti, a u sredini su se vidjeli tragovi velikog samostana, uništena vatrom...* Usp. Gunjača, 1949b, str. 38.

⁶ Danas se nalazi u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu, opširnije vidi u: Piteša 2012, str. 116.

Beginning of the research

The monumental ruins at Kapitul by Knin have always, even before the beginning of the construction works and the archaeological excavations, aroused the interest of historians and archaeologists. Particularly prominent among them was Stjepan Zlatović. At the end of the century, he had an important role in the valorisation of archaeological sites in the wider area of Knin. He published a great deal of archival records, among which was a report of Fra Gašpar Vinjalić of 1746 about the condition of religious structures in the general area of Knin.⁵ The remains of architecture at Kapitul, still then very well preserved, were described in detail in the report, which also listed when and by whom the defensive walls and the basilica were begun to be pulled down. Not only were still extant architecture, archival records and church furnishing found (discovered before the archaeological excavations), but there was additional confirmation of the hypothesis that this must have been an important place in the Middle Ages. Particularly interesting was a stone fragment discovered in 1871 not far from Kapitul.⁶

the Surroundings of Knin, which, after researches at Kapitul, went on with archaeological activities, during which a large number of finds were collected, because of which, at the end, the First Museum of Croatian Monuments in Knin was founded (1893). Marun thought that the First Museum should present only medieval monuments, particularly those from the period of the Croatian national rulers. Since the finds that Marun had assembled were used as the basic material for the development of a particular branch of archaeological scholarship – medieval archaeology, it can be considered that the archaeological investigations at Kapitul had the initial role in the creation of national archaeology in Croatia and that the site at Kapitul should be seen in this context. For more information, cf. Marun 1894, Jurišić 1979 and Zekan 2008

⁵ Zlatović 1883, pp. 52-53. Later S. Gunjača published the whole of Vinjalić's letter: "If the ruins of the old buildings are looked at, about a mile distant from the fort, there is a big defensive wall named Kapitul, where it can be seen that there was a dwelling of religious. The church had a vault of tufa, and it was almost untouched, when our forces took this fort from the Turks. Then, as I was told, our monks were the first who took away building materials from the place, and following their example the people did the same thing for the building of the main staff of the cavalry, because the walls, as those who saw the place from the beginning say, were all around almost untouched, and in the centre traces of a great monastery destroyed by fire could be seen." Cf. Gunjača, 1949b, p. 38.

⁶ Today in the Archaeological Museum Split, for more cf.: Piteša 2012, p. 116.

nom sv. Bartolomeja, koji je naknadno upisan (vidi ovdje na sl. 6F).

Prva istraživanja i izgradnja željezničke pruge od 1885. do 1887. godine.

Arheološka istraživanja započela su u studenom 1885. godine i bila su povezana s ekshumacijom pokojnika iz recentnih grobova koji su se nalazili unutar trase predviđene za izgradnju željezničke pruge, a nastavila su se u proljeće 1886., paralelno s građevinskim radovima.⁷ Proboj trase kroz Kapitulum trajao je dvije godine i od početka do kraja radova sustavno su uništavani kulturni slojevi (sl. 8). Naime, radovi su započeli razgradnjom i rušenjem ostataka naselja (podgrađa) koje se nalazilo sjeverozapadno od zapadnih bedema, a završili uklanjanjem istočnih bedema i kamenog mosta na rijeci Krki. Ovdje moram napomenuti da se u dosadašnjim radovima o Kapitulumu gotovo ne spominju ostatci arhitekture koja se nalazila ispred zapadnih bedema. Jedini spomen podgrađa, odnosno zidova stambene arhitekture, koji su se prostirali na površini od oko 2500 metara četvornih, a počeli su se pojavljivati oko 60 metara zapadno od zapadnih bedema (ili obgrade), nalazimo u Marunovom izvještaju iz 1861. godine.⁸ Riječ je najvjerojatnije o manjem naselju ili podgrađu izvan bedema na sjeverozapadnoj strani Kapitula. Prema Marunovoj prosudbi ostatci *starinskih zidova* potjecali su iz *hrvatske dobe*.⁹ Na

On the front of the fragment there is interlacing decoration, and on the back a Gothic inscription including the name of St Bartholomew, which had been inscribed at some later date (cf. below Fig. 6F).

The first excavations and the development of the railway line from 1885 to 1887.

Archaeological excavations started in November 1885 and were related with the exhumation of deceased from recent graves that were within the confines of the route for the building of the railway line, and went on in spring 1886, in parallel with the construction works.⁷ It took two years to dig the cutting through Kapitulum and from the beginning to the ending of the works, the cultural strata were systematically destroyed (Fig. 8). The construction works started with the pulling down and destruction of the remains of the settlement (the suburb) that lay to the north west of the western defensive walls and concluded with the removal of the eastern defensive walls and the stone bridge on the Krka River. Here I should mention that in previous papers about Kapitulum, there is hardly any mention of the remains of architecture that were located in front of the western walls. In his report of 1891, Marun describes the remains of the walls that began to emerge about 60 metres to the west of the walls and extended over an area of about 2500 square metres (cf. Fig. 5).⁸ This was most probably a small settlement or suburb outside the walls on the north-west side of Kapitulum, and according to Marun's estimate the remains of the *old walls* derived from the *Croatian period*.⁹ Unfortunately there is very little in-

⁷ Ekshumacija pokojnika odvijala se u razdoblju od 18. do 22. studenoga 1885. godine. Prema crkvenim knjigama na Kapitulumu su se ukapali mještani selâ Kapitulum, Podkonje i Ljubač. Novovjekovno groblje na Kapitulumu počelo se formirati oko 1688. godine, nakon oslobođenja Knina od Osmanlija, a ukapanje prestaje 1888. godine. Groblje je zauzimalo površinu od oko 3000 m². Marun detaljno opisuje lokacije na Kapitulumu koje su pripadale pojedinim selima. Također navodi i gdje se nastavilo s ukapanjem nakon 1888. godine, kada je groblje izmješteno. Usp. Marun 1890, str. 61; Marun, 1892a, str. 30.

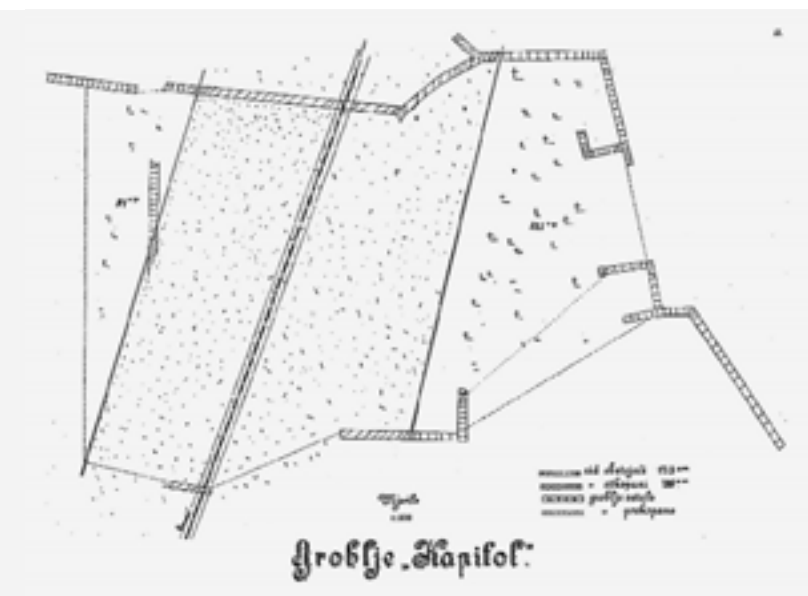
⁸ Marun 1891, str. 127.

⁹ ...Pri opisovih ruševina sliediti ćemo po njihovoj spoljnoj razlici, opisav prije oni prostor, na komu se razom zemlje zidovi naziru, pak drugi koga obuhvaćaju zidovi, koje mi nazivljemo obgradom, koja je zaštićivala baziliku... Istom 15 svibnja 1886 radnici otkriše prvi temeljni zid starinskih zgradja, koji je sukao od sjevera k jugu, dalek od obgrade met. 60. Dne 23 istoga opet otkriše drugi, kasnije treći, četvrti, tako da do 12 kolovoza istim pravcem otkriše šest zidova i nekoliko trakova drugih zidova, koji sa prvašnjim nemadoše veza ni smjera. Prvi spomenuti zidovi bili su

⁷ The exhumation of the deceased went on from November 18 to November 22, 1885. According to the church registers at Kapitulum, the local people from the villages of Kapitulum, Podkonje and Ljubač were buried there. The modern period cemetery at Kapitulum started to be formed around 1688, after Knin was liberated from the Ottomans, and burials ceased in 1888. The graveyard had an area of about 3000 square metres. Marun describes in detail locations at Kapitulum that belonged to the individual villages. He also says where they went on with burials after 1888, when the cemetery was relocated. Cf. Marun 1890, p. 61; Marun, 1892a, p. 30.

⁸ Marun 1891, p. 127.

⁹ "In a description of these ruins we shall act according to their external difference, describing first that space on which at the level of the ground walls are discernible, and second that the walls encompass, walls that we call *the enclosure*, which protected the basilica. ... On May 15, 1886, the workers revealed the first foundation wall of the old buildings, which ran from north to south, some 60 m distant from the enclosure. On



Sl. 5. Tlocrt Kapitula iz 1886. - 1887. godine, s prikazom uništenog dijela lokaliteta unutar trase za željezničku prugu i preostalog (sačuvanog) dijela fortifikacija i groblja (preuzeto iz: Bulić 1888, T. II.)

Fig. 5 Ground plan of Kapitul 1886-1887, with depiction of the ruined part of the site within the route for the railway line and the remaining (extant) part of the fortifications and the graveyard (adopted form Bulić, 1888; Pl. II)

žalost, o istraživanjima podgrađa kao i cijelog kompleksa ima jako malo podataka, jer se većina kamene građe i zemlje izvađene iz iskopa odmah koristila za nasipanje okolnog močvarnog terena.¹⁰ Nakon proboja trase 1887. godine od arhitektonskog kompleksa ostali su sačuvani manji dijelovi s južne i sjeverne strane pruge, dok je središnji, odnosno najveći dio lokaliteta u potpunosti uništen (sl. 5).¹¹ Najvažnije kamene nalaze iz prve istraživačke kampanje s Kapitula objavio je don Frane Bulić. Bulić je, najprije 1886. objavio antičke spomenike,¹² a zatim 1888. godine, u monografskom izdanju, i srednjovjekovne, iz doba hrvatskih narodnih vladara.¹³ Na temelju pronađenih nalaza i arhivskih podataka Bulić je zaključio da je na Kapitulju najprije, u 1. stoljeću, bila sagrađena manja rimska vojna utvrda u kojoj su boravili pripadnici XX. i XI. legije,

čest jedne ili više zgradja za stanove, te su sačinjavali više prostorija... Usp. Marun, 1891, str. 127.

¹⁰ Marun 1891, str. 123-127.

¹¹ Ovo je ujedno i jedini sačuvani dokumentirani podatak o širini iskopa kroz Kapitul. Usp. Bulić 1888, str. 4, T. II.

¹² Bulić 1886, str. 178-179, 196, br. 141-147, 170-174.

¹³ Bulić 1888, str. 1-12, 18-33, T I – IX, XII.

formation about the excavations of the suburbs and of the whole complex indeed, for most of the stone material and earth extracted from the excavations was at once used to fill in the surrounding wetland area.¹⁰ After the completion of the cutting in 1887, little was left of the architectural complex but a few small parts on the south and north of the line, while the central, that is, the biggest part of the site, was totally destroyed.¹¹ The most significant stone finds from the first excavation campaign from Kapitul were described in print by Don Frane Bulić. He first wrote of the ancient monuments in 1886,¹² and then in 1888, in a monographic publication, of the medieval remains from the time of the Croatian national rulers.¹³ On the basis of the finds discovered and of archival records, Bulić concluded that first of all, in the 1st century, a smallish Roman military fort was built on Kapitul, which was garrisoned by members of legions XX and XI; then, in the 9th to 10th century the Church of St Mary was built, later renovated several times, the first time in the mid-11th century, as the cathedral church of the Croatian bishop, and then in 1203 as the cathedral of the bishop of Knin, since when it has also been called St Bartholomew's.¹⁴ This paper started the debate about the precise location of the cathedral of the Croatian bishop, to be discussed below.¹⁵ Bulić drew attention not only to the finds and historical sources but also to the important cartographic representations of Kapitul like a map of 1776 (Fig. 7).¹⁶ The map shows, on the southern edge of Gajnjača Hilltop, a fort marked with a capital A. It is rectangular in shape, with salient defensive walls, which extended from the Krka River in the south-west to the marshes north-east of the hilltop (cf. Fig. 7, outlined in red).¹⁷

the 23rd of the same month, they again revealed a second, later a third, a fourth, and so by August 12 along the same direction they revealed six walls and several traces of other walls, which had no connection or direction in common with the first. The first mentioned walls were part of one or more residential buildings, and comprised several rooms." Cf. Marun, 1891, p. 127.

¹⁰ Marun 1891, pp 123-127.

¹¹ This is also the only surviving item of information about the width of the cutting through Kapitul. Cf. Bulić 1888, p. 4, Pl. II.

¹² Bulić 1886, pp. 178-179, 196, no. 141-147, 170-174.

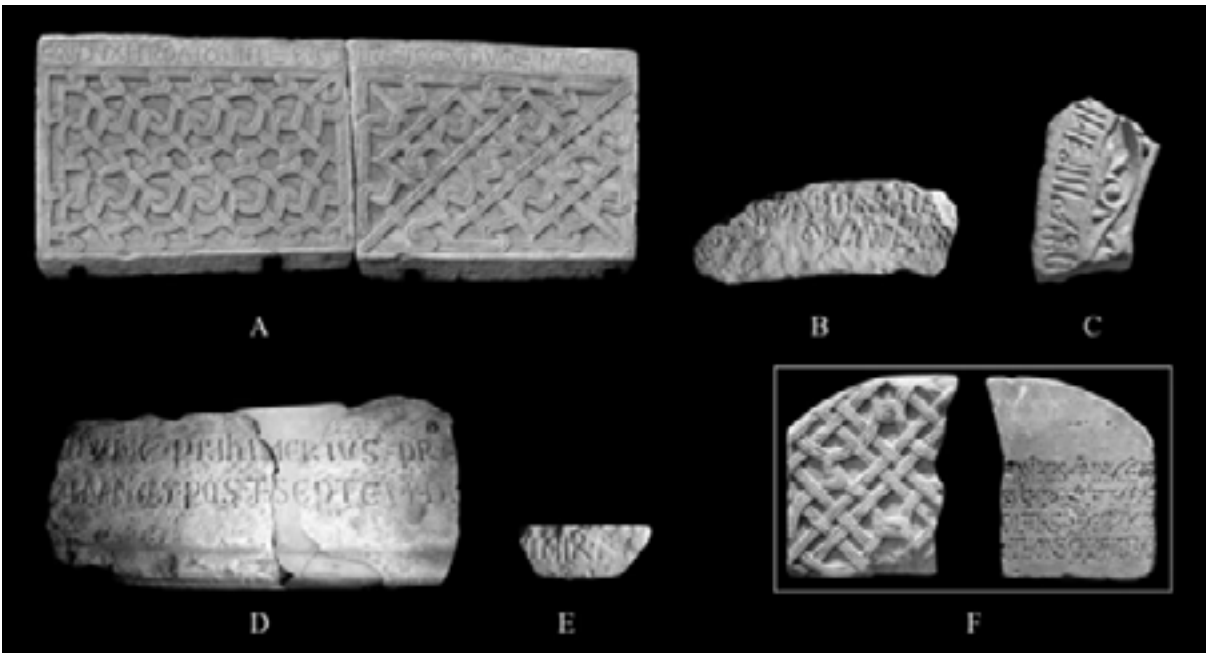
¹³ Bulić 1888, pp. 1-12, 18-33, Pl. I – IX, XII.

¹⁴ Bulić 1888, pp. 6-10.

¹⁵ Bulić 1888, pp. 4-12.

¹⁶ Bulić 1888, p. 4, Pl. I.

¹⁷ The shape of the fortifications on the map of 1776 by

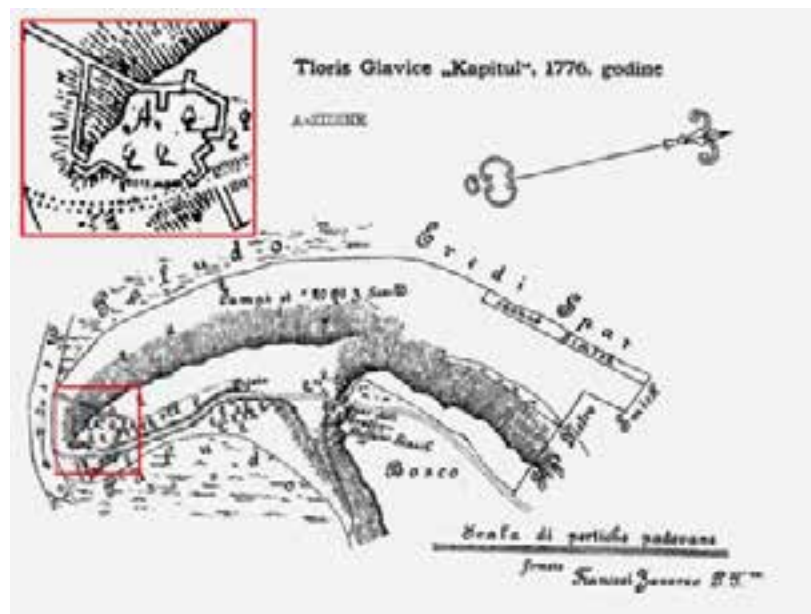


Sl. 6. Epigrafski spomenici s Kapitula: A) ploče s imenima Svetoslava i Držislava, B) ulomak s imenom opata Stjepka, C) ulomak s ćirilsko-glagoljskim natpisom, D) ulomci s imenom bana Pribimira, E) ulomak s imenom Trpimira ili Pribimira i F) ulomak s imenom sv. Bartolomeja (foto: A. Jurčević)

Fig. 6 Epigraphic monuments from Kapitula: A) slabs with the names of Svetoslav and Držislav, B) fragment with the name of Abbot Stjepko, C) fragment with a Cyrillic-Glagolitic epigraph D) fragments with the name of Ban Pribimir, E) fragment including the name of either Pribimir or Trpimir and F) fragment with the name of St Bartholomew (photo: A. Jurčević)

zatim je u 9. – 10.(?) stoljeću sagrađena crkva sv. Marije. Prema Buliću, crkva je obnavljana nekoliko puta; prvi put sredinom 11. stoljeća, kada postaje katedralna crkva hrvatskog biskupa, a zatim i 1203. godine, kao katedrala kninskog biskupa, otkad se naziva i crkvom sv. Bartula.¹⁴ Ovim radom započela je i rasprava o ubikaciji katedrale hrvatskog biskupa, o kojoj će nešto kasnije biti govora.¹⁵ Bulić je, uz nalaze i povijesne izvore, ukazao i na važne kartografske prikaze Kapitula, poput karte iz 1776. godine (sl. 7).¹⁶ Na karti je, na južnom rubu brežuljka Gajnjača, ucrtana utvrda označena velikim slovom A. Utvrda je pravokutnog oblika, s istaknutim obrambenim zidovima, koji su se protezali od rijeke Krke na jugozapadu do močvara sjeveroistočno od glavice (sl. 7, uokvireni crvenom bojom).¹⁷

Sudeći prema položaju utvrde, jasno je da je fortifikacija, osim zaštite objekata u njezinoj unutrašnjosti, imala i funkciju kontrole cestovnog pravca



Sl. 7. Prikaz fortifikacija na Kapitulu iz 1776. godine (preuzeto iz F. Bulić, 1888. T. I)

Fig. 7 Depiction of fortifications at Kapitula of 1776 (adapted from F. Bulić, 1888, Pl. I)

¹⁴ Bulić 1888, str. 6-10.

¹⁵ Bulić 1888, str. 4-12.

¹⁶ Bulić 1888, str. 4, T. 1.

¹⁷ Oblik utvrde na karti iz 1776. godine većim se dijelom podudara s onim na tlocrtu iz 1886. - 1887. godine.



Sl. 8. Fotografija nalaza s Kapitula, vitrina broj XVII (arhiv MHAS-a)
Fig. 8 Photograph of finds from Kapitula, display case no. XVII (Archives of MCAM)

koji je vodio od mosta na rijeci Krki prema Kninu.¹⁸ Cesta i most, najprije pješački, a zatim i željeznički, imali su presudnu ulogu u oblikovanju kulturnog krajolika na ovome dijelu kninskog područja od antike do danas. Nakon Bulića građevinske radove i arheološka istraživanja na Kapitulu od 1885. do 1887. godine opisao je i fra Lujo Marun.¹⁹ Marun je u svojim izvještajima vrlo opširno opisao okolnosti zbog kojih je došlo do istraživanja na Kapitulu te naglasio potporu koju mu je pružila Franjevačka provincija Presvetog Otkupitelja (čiji je bio član) kao i narodni zastupnik Juraj Biankini u Dalmatinskom saboru. Međutim, o samim istraživanjima i radovima na iskopu napisao je tek nekoliko rečenica.²⁰ Također je zabilježio da zbog brzine i nemara izvodača nije načinjena ni osnovna tehnička dokumentacija.²¹ Sukladno tome, ni nalazi koji su pronađeni na ovome dijelu lokaliteta: antički i srednjo-

Judging from the position of the fort, it is obvious that the fortifications were aimed not only at protecting structures in the interior but also at controlling the road that led from the bridge on the Krka off towards Knin.¹⁸ Road and bridge, first pedestrian and then railway, have had a crucial role in the formation of the cultural landscape in this part of the Knin area ever since Antiquity. After Bulić, construction works and archaeological research at Kapitula was also described between 1885 and 1887 by Fra Lujo Marun.¹⁹ In his reports, Marun gave an extensive account of the circumstances that had led to Kapitula being investigated, emphasizing the support that he had received from the Franciscan province of the Most Holy Redeemer (of which he was himself a member) and by representative Juraj Biankini in the Dalmatian parliament; but he wrote merely a few sentences about the actual excavation works and research.²⁰ The report states clearly that he had no kind of control over the workmen, who, during the two years of work, destroyed a large number of graves, residential structures and defensive walls. He also recorded that because of the speed and carelessness of the contractors, not even the basic technical documentation had been produced.²¹ Accordingly, not even the finds made in this part of the site – Antique and medieval stone fragments, Roman, Hungary-Croatia, Dubrovnik and Venetian coins, a pair of spurs and one ornamented set of antlers have no stratigraphic context.

and large coincides with that on the ground plan of 1886-1887.

¹⁸ Opširnije o važnosti rimske ceste koja je išla preko Kapitula vidi u: Cesarik, Glavaš 2018, str. 353- 360.

¹⁹ Marun 1891, str. 127-128; Marun 1892a, str. 29-30.

²⁰ Marun 1890, str. 60-68.

²¹ Prema Marunovim riječima arhitektura koja se nalazila unutar iskopa, ali i južno od njega, bila je dokumentirana, ali se dokumentacija zagubila te mu nikada nije predana: *Kako bi se, po utanačenom ugovoru, otkrivenih zidova nacrt snimio, mahom bi se zidovi rušili, jer tako je zahtijevao plan željezničkih radja. Mi ovu činjenicu žalostno ističemo, jer nam se nije pružala dovoljna prilika, da te zidove temeljitije proučimo, i što se i obnoć za tri mjeseca radilo, te Bog zna koliko je starinarskog postradalo, a dvojiti je da su i nacrti zidova točno snimani. Još žalostnije nam je istaknuti, da su i sami nacrti zidova i odkopanih zgrada krivnjom mjernika postradali, da jim ni danas u trag ući ne možemo.* Opširniji o devastaciji arhitekture i grobova tijekom kopanja trase vidi u: Marun 1891, str. 127-128; Marun 1892a, str. 29-30.

¹⁸ For further information about the importance of the Roman road that went across Kapitula, see: Cesarik, Glavaš 2018, p. 353- 360.

¹⁹ Marun 1891, pp. 127-128; Marun 1892a, pp. 29-30.

²⁰ Marun 1890, pp. 60-68.

²¹ In Marun's words, the architecture in the excavation, and to the south of it was documented, but the documentation was mislaid and never handed to him. "So that a drawing should be made of the walls uncovered, according to the agreement made, the walls would be on the whole knocked down, for that was what was required by the plan of the railway works. We point this fact out sadly, for we were not given chance enough to study the walls any more thoroughly, and since they worked at night too for three months, and who knows how many antiquities were lost, and it is to be doubted that the drawings of the walls were made accurately. We are still sadder to point out that the actual drawings of the walls and the excavated buildings were destroyed, for which the surveyor was to blame, so that not even today we can alight upon a trace of them". For more about the devastation of the architecture and the graves while the railway cutting was being made, cf.: Marun 1891, pp. 127-128; Marun 1892a, pp. 29-30



Sl. 9. Fotografija stranice br. 44. Popisa starinarskih predmeta muzeja Hrvatskoga starinarskoga društva u Kninu
 Fig. 9 Photograph of p. 44, List of antiquarian objects of the Museum of the Croatian Antiquarian Society in Knin.

vjekovni kameni ulomci, rimski, ugarsko-hrvatski, dubrovački i mletački novac, par ostruga i jedan ukrašeni jelenji rog, nemaju stratigrafski kontekst.

Problem je još veći što ni većina navedenih nalaza nije upisana u inventarne knjige Prvog muzeja hrvatskih spomenika.²² Pregledom arhivske dokumentacije Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika pronašao sam fotografiju vitrine s nalazima s Kapitula iz stalnog postava Prvog muzeja hrvatskih spomenika (sl. 8),²³ a zatim u Popisu starinarskih predmeta Hrvatskoga starinarskog društva pod brojem 1102, XV/89, opis ukrašenog jelenjeg roga koji bi mogao potjecati s Kapitula (sl. 9).²⁴

U fondusu Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika nalaze se tri recipijenta izrađena od jelenjih rogova. Premda su do sada objavljeni nekoliko puta, uz njih se često navodi da potječu s nepoznatih lokaliteta ili im se pripisuje pogrešno mjesto nalaza.²⁵ Uvidom u inventarne knjige Hrvatskoga starinarskog društva u Kninu, na str. 44, pod rednim brojevima 1100, XV/87, upisan je recipijent iz Otavice, pod brojem 1101, XV/88 recipijent iz Đevrsaka, a recipijent za koji pretpostavljam da potječe s Kapitula kod Knina, pod brojem 1102, XV/89 (sl.

The problem is the greater in that not even most of the finds adduced are entered into the inventory books of the First Museum of Croatian Monuments.²² Examining the archival documentation of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, I found a photograph of a display case with finds from Kapitel from the permanent display of the First Museum of Croatian Monuments (Fig. 8),²³ and then in the List of Antiquarian Objects of the Croatian Antiquarian Society, no. 1102, XV/09, a description of a decorated antler set that might have come from Kapitel (Fig. 9).²⁴

There are three recipients in the holdings of the MCAM made of deer antler. Although they have been featured in publications several times, it is often mentioned alongside them that they derive from unknown sites, or else a site is falsely assigned to them.²⁵ An examination of the inventory book of the Croats Antiquarian Society in Knin, shows on p. 44, numbers 1100, XV/87, a recipient from Otavice is entered; 1101, XV/88 a recipient from Đevrsak; and a recipient that I assume to have come from Kapitel by Knin, number 1102, XV/89) (Figs. 10-

²² Jedine pouzdane podatke o nalazima iz ove kampanje, kao što sam već naveo, donio je Bulić.

²³ Do sada se uz većinu nalaza s fotografije u inventarnim knjigama MHAS-a navodio podatak da potječu s nepoznatih nalazišta.

²⁴ Ukrašeni (navezeni) jelenji rog Marun spominje u kontekstu grobnih nalaza, ali se ne može sa sigurnošću tvrditi da je pronađen u grobu. Usp. Marun 1891, str. 128.

²⁵ Najcjelovitiji prikaz problematike vezane uz koštane i rožnate predmete dan je u radovima M. Petrince i M. Dragičević (usp. Petrince 2008, str. 91-92, Petrince 2009, str. 186-190, T 95 i T 430; Dragičević 2008, str. 53-70).

²² The only reliable information about finds from this campaign, as I have already remarked, were provided by Bulić.

²³ To date, the information has been quoted alongside most of the finds from the photographs in the inventory books of MCAM that they come from some unknown archaeological sites.

²⁴ A decorated (engraved) deer antler is mentioned by Marun in the context of grave finds, but it is impossible to say with any certainty that it was found in a grave. Cf. Marun 1891, p. 128.

²⁵ The most complete depiction of problems related to objects of bone and horn/antler has been given in the papers of M. Petrince and M. Dragičević (cf. Petrince 2008, pp. 91- 92, Petrince 2009, pp. 186-190, Pl. 95 and Pl. 430; Dragičević 2008, pp. 53-70).



Sl. 10-12. Rožnati recipijenti: A) iz Otavica, B) iz Đevrsaka i C) s Kapitula (?)

Figs. 10-12 Recipients made of deer antler: A) from Otavice, B) from Đevrske and C) from Kapitul (?)

10-12).²⁶ Na žalost, za treći recipijent u inventarnoj knjizi Hrvatskoga starinarskog društva nije navedeno mjesto nalaza, ali budući da se u arhivskoj dokumentaciji spominju samo tri ovakva nalaza te da se u fundusu Muzeja također nalaze tri recipijenta, a za dva znamo gdje su pronađeni, pretpostavljam da bi treći mogao biti s Kapitula.

Arheološka istraživanja 1888. i 1927. godine

Nakon završetka radova na željezničkoj pruzi 1887. godine Marun je sljedeće, 1888. godine započeo sustavna arheološka istraživanja na sjevernoj i sjeveroistočnoj strani glavice, tj. na dijelu lokaliteta koji nije bio devastiran. Zahvaljujući ovim istraživanjima i podacima koji su ostali iza njih, moguće je, u grubim crtama, ustanoviti stratigrafski i kronološki odnos između mlađih i starijih ukopa te njihov odnos prema arhitekturi.²⁷ Kao što je već navedeno, najmlađi kulturni slojevi pripadali su groblju koje se prostiralo preko cijele glavice (sl. 5).²⁸ Grobne rake najčešće su bile zidane u suhozidu, sedrom ili običnim kamenom, ali bilo ih je i zidanih uz pomoć vapna.²⁹ Kao građevinski materijal u grobne kon-

12).²⁶ Unfortunately, in the inventory book, no finding site is given for the third recipient, but since in the archival documentation only three finds of this kind of are listed, and in the holdings of the Museum there are three recipients, and since we know where two of them were found, it can be assumed that the third might come from Kapitul.

Archaeological excavations in 1888 and 1927

The works on the railway line came to an end in 1887, and in the following year, Marun began systematic archaeological excavations at the northern and north-eastern side of the hilltop, that is, at the part of the site that had not been devastated. Thanks to this research and the data that was left after it, it is possible, in rough outlines, to establish the stratigraphic and chronological relation between the earlier and the later cuts, and what relationship they have with the architecture.²⁷ As already mentioned, the latest cultural strata belonged to the cemetery that extended over the whole of the hilltop (cf. Fig. 16).²⁸ The grave pits were most often constructed out of dry stone wall, tufa or ordinary stone, but there were also some built with the use of lime.²⁹

²⁶ Danas je recipijent iz Otavica u inventarnim knjigama MHAS-a uveden pod brojem 3336; opširnije o okolnostima pronalaska vidi u: Marun, 1998, str. 116. Recipijent iz Đevrsaka je pod inv. br. 3856, a s Kapitula kod Knina pod inv. br. 4998.

²⁷ Usp. Marun 1890, str. 60 -72; Marun 1891, str. 123-127; Marun 1892a, str. 26 -32; Marun 1998, str. 29, 40-41, 59, 77, 89; Iveković 1927, str. 262-263.

²⁸ Prijenos i ekshumacija pokojnika odvijali su se u razdoblju od 18. do 22. studenoga 1885. godine. Usp. Marun 1890, str. 61.

²⁹ *Medju ovima zidovima našasto je mnogo prostih, većinom od sedre, a dielom od prostog kamena, neki u klak, a neki u suho, ozidanih grobova. U nekim grobovima našlo se i po više mrtvaca, al većim dielom samo*

²⁶ Today the recipient from Otavice in the inventory books of MCAM is listed under number 3336; for more about the circumstances of its finding, see Marun, 1998, p. 116. The recipient from Đevrske is listed as inv. no. 3856; and from Kapitul by Knin, inv. no. 4998.

²⁷ Cf. Marun 1890, pp. 60 -72; Marun 1891, pp. 123-127; Marun 1892a, pp. 26 -32; Marun 1998, pp. 29, 40-41, 59, 77, 89; Iveković 1927, pp. 262-263.

²⁸ . The transfer and exhumation of the deceased went on from November 18 to November 22, 1885. Cf. Marun 1890, p. 61.

²⁹ Among these walls there were many simple, mostly of



Sl. 13. Snimka sjevernog dijela arhitektonskog kompleksa na Kapitulumu nakon Marunovih istraživanja 1888. (preuzeto iz: Gunjača 1949b)

Fig. 13 Drawing of the northern part of the architectural complex at Kapitulum after Marun's 1888 excavations (adapted from Gunjača, 1949b)

strukcije često su ugrađivani i ulomci predromaničkoga i ranoromaničkoga namještaja. Tako su i ploče s imenima hrvatskih vladara Svetoslava i Držislava, najpoznatiji nalazi s Kapituluma, bile uporabljene kao poklopnice za jedan dječji grob (sl. 6A).³⁰ U grobovima se najčešće nalazio po jedan pokojnik, a od nalaza najbrojniji su bili medaljoni s prikazima svetaca (sv. Marije, sv. Ignacija i dr.), puceta (karakteristična za odjeću kakvu je nosilo lokalno stanovništvo) i metalni okovi potplata cipela (vidi sl. 8, gornji red). Unutar iskopa pronađeno je osam stećaka-sanduka koji su pripadali starijem (sred-

po jedan, a uz mrtce nije se našao nikakav predmet, po komu bi se moglo suditi o dobi grobova i mrtvaca. Naše je skromno mnjenje, da su i grobovi i mrtvaci iz zadnja tri stojeća; svakako iza poniženja opisanih zgrada, po kojima biše grobovi razasuti. Marun 1891, str. 123-127.

³⁰ *Dne 16 kolovoza sa sjeverne strane pruge, za tri metra dalje od pregrade, u dubini od dva metra namjeriše se radnici na jedan grebčić,Dvije skoro jednake četvrtaste pleterovim izvezene ploče, sa izradbom i odnosnim nadpisom na opace, prama mrtcu okrenutim...* Usp. Marun 1892a, str. 29.

Fragments of pre-Romanesque and early-Romanesque furniture were often used as building material in the construction of graves. For example, slabs with the names of the Croatian rulers Svetoslav and Držislav, the best known finds from Kapitulum, were used as coping for a child's grave (cf. fig. 6A).³⁰ The graves mostly contained one deceased each, and the moveable finds were most commonly medallions with depictions of saints (St Mary, St Ignatius), buttons (characteristic for the clothing worn by the local populace) and metal mountings of shoe soles (see Fig 8, top row). In the cuts eight stećaks of the casket type were found; they belonged to an older (middle) stratum of graves. Unfortunately, most of them were destroyed during the excavations. There is no information about what was found in graves underneath the stećaks.³¹ Unlike them, the oldest stratum of graves is described and documented in detail, and some of the finds are still in existence. A pair of spurs that was found in one of the ten graves in front of the front façade of the Romanesque basilica can with a good deal of certainty be dated to the second third of the tenth century (cf. Fig. 13).³²

After the removal of the stratum of recent graves, on the northern elevated part of the site Marun unearthed the remains of a three-nave basilica and residential buildings (cf. Fig. 5 and fig. 14).³³ In 1927, Ćiril Iveković was the first to publish a drawing of the ground plan of the architecture created then (Fig. 14).³⁴

On the basis of this ground plan and his own research, Iveković drew a theoretical (ground plan) reconstruction of the whole complex as well as a

tufa, and some of simple stone, some in dry stone technique, some with lime, built graves. In some graves there were several deceased persons, but in most part there was just one in each, and alongside the corpses, no kind of object was found, from which one might judge of the age of the graves and the dead. Our modest opinion is that the graves and the corpses are from the last three centuries; certainly after the humbling of the buildings described, around which the graves were scattered. Marun 1891, p. 123-127.

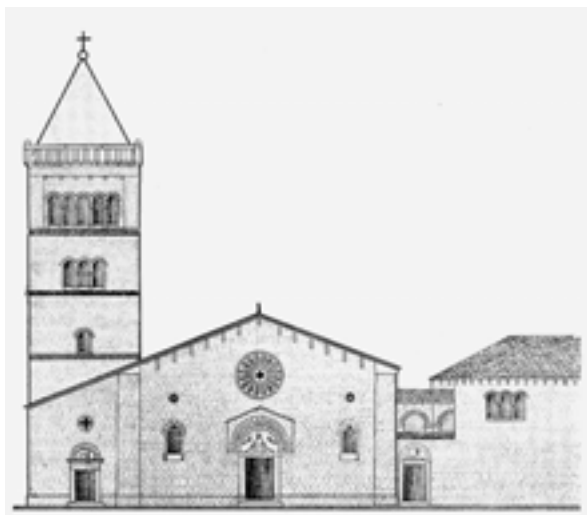
³⁰ *On August 16 on the northern side of the railway line, three metres from the fence, at a depth of two metres, the workers came upon a small grave... Two almost equal square slabs engraved with interlacing, with working and an inscription on the abbot's turned towards the deceased...* Cf. Marun 1892a, p. 29.

³¹ Marun 1998, p. 28.

³² Marun 1998, p. 29, pp. 40-41.

³³ Marun 1998, pp. 28, 35, 40-41; Iveković, 1927, p. 262.

³⁴ Iveković, 1927, p. 257.



Sl. 14. Idejna rekonstrukcija bazilike na Kapitolu prema Ć. Ivekoviću

(preuzeto iz: Iveković 1927, str. 257 i 264)

Fig. 14 Theoretical reconstruction of the basilica at Kapitul after Ć. Iveković (adapted from: Iveković 1927, pp.257 and 264)



Sl. 15. Idejna rekonstrukcija arhitektonskog kompleksa na Kapitolu kod Knina prema Ć. Ivekoviću (preuzeto iz: Iveković 1927, str. 258)

Fig. 15 Theoretical reconstruction of the architectural complex at Kapitul after Ć. Iveković (adapted from: Iveković 1927, pp.258)

njem) sloju grobova. Nažalost, većina ih je uništena tijekom istraživanja. O nalazima u grobovima pod stećcima nema nikakvih podataka.³¹ Za razliku od njih, najstariji sloj grobova detaljno je opisan i dokumentiran, a sačuvao se i dio nalaza. Par ostruga koji je pronađen u jednom od deset grobova ispred pročelja romaničke bazilike, s velikom se vjerojatnošću može datirati u drugu trećinu desetog stoljeća (sl. 13).³²

Nakon uklanjanja recentnog sloja grobova Marun je na sjevernom povišenom dijelu lokaliteta otkrio ostatke trobrodne bazilike i stambenih zgrada (sl. 5 i 14).³³ Tlocrtnu snimku arhitekture koja je tada nastala prvi je objavio Ćiril Iveković 1927. godine (sl. 14).³⁴

Iveković je na temelju navedenog tlocrta i vlastitog istraživanja izradio idejnu (tlocrtnu) rekonstrukciju cijelog kompleksa i potpunu rekonstrukciju trobrodne bazilike (sl. 13 i 15).³⁵

Posebnu pozornost posvetio je analizi i rekonstrukciji dekorativnih elementa na glavnim ulaznim vratima, prozorskim otvorima i pročelnoj rozeti, nakon čega je zaključio da se na bazilici na Kapitu-

complete reconstruction of the three-nave basilica (cf. Fig. 13 and Fig. 15).³⁵

He also paid particular attention to the analysis and a reconstruction of the decorative elements on the main entry door, the window apertures and on the rosette at the front, after which he concluded that the oldest elements of Gothic architecture in this area as a whole appeared in the Kapitul basilica (cf. Fig. 16 and Fig. 17).

According to the data of Marun and Iveković, then, the northern part of the site was dominated by a three-nave and triple-apsed basilica, about 31.3 m long and about 17.4 m wide, oriented east to west. The main entrance was in the west, which let down via three steps into the central nave. There were three apses in the east, semicircular within and polygonal outside. The massive pylons that supported the barrel vaults and divided the basilica into naves, were painted and decorated with inscriptions.³⁶ Along the

³¹ Marun 1998, str. 28.

³² Marun 1998, str. 29, 40-41.

³³ Marun 1998, str. 28, 35, 40-41; Iveković, 1927, str. 262.

³⁴ Iveković, 1927, str. 257.

³⁵ Iveković, 1927, str. 256 -260, 262-270.

³⁵ Iveković, 1927, p. 256 -260, 262-270.

³⁶ ... "Stones of this kind were in various colours and painted with arabesques. On some there were several letters in colours, which confirmed our idea that the



Sl. 16. Ulomci arhitektonske dekoracije (foto: A. Jurčević)
 Fig. 16 Fragments of architectural decoration (photo: A. Jurčević)

lu javljaju najstariji elementi gotičke arhitekture na ovim prostorima (sl. 16 i 17)

Dakle, prema Marunovim i Ivekovićevim podacima, sjevernim dijelom lokaliteta dominirala je trobrodna i troapsidalna bazilika, dužine oko 31,30 m i širine oko 17,40 m, orijentirana u smjeru istok-zapad. Na zapadu se nalazio glavni ulaz, kroz koji se trima stepenicama spuštalo u srednji brod, a na istoku su bile tri apside, polukružne iznutra, a poligonalne izvana. Masivni piloni, koji su nosili bačvaste svodove i dijelili baziliku na brodove, bili su oslikani i ukrašeni natpisima.³⁶ Uz sjeverni zid bazilike nalazili su se zvonik i sakristija (kapela), a uz južni natkriveni trijem i stambene prostorije (vidi sl. 14 i 15). Unutar kompleksa djelomično su se sačuvali ostatci dviju starijih sakralnih građevina; u temeljima središnje apside trobrodne bazilike pronađeni su dijelovi apside starije crkve, najvjerojatnije iz 9. ili 10. stoljeća, a na mjestu sakristije, odnosno prostorije C na Ivekovićevu tlocrtu, nalazila se crkva iz 12. stoljeća (sl. 15).³⁷ Glavni Ivekovićev argument za dataciju trobrodne bazilike i stambenog kompleksa, osim stilskih značajki, bio je natpis koji se do 1690. godine nalazio na pročelju bazilike.³⁸ Prema natpisu, crkvu je dao sagraditi



Sl. 17. Rekonstrukcije pročelne rozete i prozorskog otvora (preuzeto iz: Iveković 1927, str. 265 i 267)
 Fig. 17 Reconstructions of the rosette on the front façade and the window aperture (adapted from Iveković 1927, p. 263)

northern wall of the basilica were a bell tower and a sacristy (a chapel), while along the southern part there were a covered portico and residential rooms (cf. Fig. 14 and Fig 15). Partially preserved inside the complex were the remains of two older religious buildings; in the foundations of the central apse of the three-nave basilica, parts of an apse of an older church were discovered, probably from the 9th or 10th century. On the site of the sacristy or room C on Iveković's ground plan there was a 12th century church (cf. Fig. 15).³⁷ Iveković mainly based his dating for the three-nave basilica and the residential complex not only on stylistic features but also on an inscription that up to 1690 was still on the façade of the basilica.³⁸ According to this inscription, Provost

³⁶ ...Ovakova kamenja biše u razne boje i arabeskami bojadisana. Na nekima našasto je po nekoliko u bojam slova, što nam potvrđuje misao, da su piloni dobrim kamenom bili ozidani, bojadisanim arabeskom i nadpisim izkićeni. Usp. 1892a, str. 32.

³⁷ Iveković, 1927, str. 269.

³⁸ Na žalost, natpis s pročelja nije se sačuvalo u originalu, nego u prijepisu fra Ivana Vidovića. Vidović je bio prvi župnik koji je djelovao u Kninu nakon oslobođenja od Osmanlija. Kasnije je postao trogirski biskup (1716. – 1721.). Prijepis natpisa, koji se do 1690. godine nalazio na pročelju bazilike na Kapitolu, pronašao je S. Zlatović u arhivu

pylons were built with good stone, painted with arabesques and decorated with inscriptions.” Cf. 1892a, p. 32.

³⁷ Iveković, 1927, p. 269.

³⁸ Unluckily, the inscription from the front is not preserved in the original, only in the copy of Fra Ivan Vidović. Vidović was the first parish priest to work in Knin after its liberation from the Ottomans. Later he became bishop of Trogir (1716-1721). The copy of the inscription, which up to 1690 was on the façade of the basilica at Kapitul, was found by S. Zlatović in the

ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DNI NRI IESU CHRISTI 1203 REGNANTE REGE EMERICO AEDIFICATA EST ECCLESIA ISTA A VENERABILI PRAEPOSITO DOBROSLAVO FILIO PRODANCI COMITIS TINIENSIS NEPOTIS PRODASLAVI COMITIS AD HONOREM DOMINI ET SANCTI BARTHOLOMAEI ET SANCTISSIMAE MARIAE ET SANCTI PETRI PRO REDEMPTIONE ANIMAE SUAE ET SUORUM.

Sl. 18. Natpis koji se nalazio na pročelju crkve na Kapitolu do 1690. godine
(preuzeto iz: Iveković 1927. str. 263)

Fig. 18 Epigraph on the front elevation of the church at Kapitul, up to 1690
(adapted from: Iveković 1927, p. 263)

prepošt Dobroslav godine 1203., a posvetio ju je sv. Bartolomeju, sv. Mariji i sv. Petru (sl. 18).

Fortifikacije

Obrambene zidove i kule, premda su bili visoko sačuvani u vrijeme kada su ih istraživali ili obilazili L. Marun, F. Bulić, Č. Iveković i S. Gunjača, nijedan od navedenih istraživača nije detaljnije obradio.³⁹ Najcjelovitiji prikaz fortifikacija koje su okruživale crkvu i okolne zgrade dao je Iveković (sl. 15), ali ni on nije ulazio u detaljnije opise i precizniju dataciju izgradnje, osim što je jedan dio obrambenih zidova datirao u kraj 15. i početak 16. stoljeća.⁴⁰

Pokretni nalazi

Najstariji nalazi s Kapitula su nadgrobnni spomenici vojnika XX. legije (*Valeria Victrix*) i XI. legije (*Claudia Pia Fidelis*), datirani u početak i sredinu 1. stoljeća po. Kr.⁴¹ Uz antičke je natpise na Kapitu-

franjevačkog samostana sv. Lovre u Šibeniku, a objavio ga je 1883. (usp. Zlatović 1883, str. 54-55). Nakon Zlatovića natpis su objavili i komentirali i mnogi drugi autori (Bulić 1888, str. 5, 9; Iveković 1927, str. 263; Gunjača 1949b, str. 47; Delonga 1996, str. 107.

³⁹ F. Bulić u opisu obrambene arhitekture navodi samo visoke zidove i dvije kule okrenute prema Krki te se poziva na kartu iz 1776. godine (sl. 7). Usp. Bulić, 1888, str. 1, 4; L. Marun zidove koji su štitili baziliku i zgrade oko nje naziva *obgradom* i ovaj termin koristi samo kao orijentir do kojeg ili preko kojeg se kopalo. Usp. Marun 1891, str. 123. S. Gunjača ih usputno spominje te smatra da su sagrađeni nakon trobrodne bazilike i da su bili vidljivi do 1942. godine. Usp. Gunjača 1949b, str. 53, bilj. 57.

⁴⁰ Iveković 1927, str. 260-261.

⁴¹ XX. legija boravila je u Dalmaciji do 10. godine po. Kr., kad ju je zamijenila XI., koja je boravila na ovim

Dobroslav had this church built in 1203, dedicating it to SS. Bartholomew, Mary and Peter (cf. Fig. 18).

Fortifications

The defensive walls and tower, although very well preserved at the time when Marun, Bulić, Iveković and Gunjača researched into or at least inspected them, none of these scholars considered them in detail.³⁹ The most complete depiction of the fortifications that surrounded the church and neighbouring buildings was given by Iveković (cf. Fig. 15) but not even he embarked on any very detailed descriptions or a very precise dating of the construction, save that he assigned part of the defensive walls to the end of the 15th and the early 15th century.⁴⁰

Moveable finds

The oldest finds from Kapitul are the funerary monuments of soldiers of Legio XX Valeria Victrix and Legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis, dated to the beginning and middle of the 1st century AD.⁴¹ Also found alongside the Antique inscriptions at Kapitul or in the immediate vicinity were some very valuable epigraphic monuments, such as the slabs already mentioned with the names of Svetoslav and Držislav (Fig. 6A), a fragment on which Abbot Stjepko is mentioned (Fig. 6B), fragments of Cyrillic-Glagolitic inscription (Fig. 6C), a reconstructed epigraph with the name of Ban Pribimir (Fig. 6D) a smallish fragment with the remains of the name

archives of the Franciscan Friary of St Lawrence in Šibenik; he published it in 1883 (cf. Zlatović 1883, p. 54-55). After Zlatović many other writers published and commented on the inscription (Bulić 1888, p. 5, 9; Iveković 1927, p. 263; Gunjača 1949b, p. 47; Delonga 1996, p. 107.

³⁹ In this description of the fortification architecture, Bulić mentions only the high walls and two towers facing onto the Krk and refers to the map of 1776 (cf. Fig. 7). Cf. Bulić, 1888, pp. 1, 4. Marun calls the walls that protected the basilica and buildings around it an *obgrada* [enclosure], and uses this term only as a landmark to which or across which digging went on. Cf. Marun, 1891, p. 123. Gunjača mentions them incidentally and thinks that they were built after the three-nave basilica and that they were visible up to 1942. Cf. Gunjača 1949b, p. 53, n. 57.

⁴⁰ Iveković 1927, pp. 260-261.

⁴¹ Legion XX was in Dalmatia up to AD 10, when it was replaced by Legion XI, which remained in the area up to AD 69. Cf. Bulić, 1888, p. 4.

lu ili u njegovoj neposrednoj blizini pronađeno još nekoliko vrlo vrijednih epigrafskih spomenika, kao što su već spomenute ploče s imenima Svetoslava i Držislava (sl. 6A), ulomak na kojem se spominje opat Stjepko (sl. 6B), ulomci ćirilsko-glagoljskog natpisa (sl. 6C), rekonstruirani natpis s imenom bana Pribimira (sl. 6D), manji ulomak s ostatkom imena Trpimira, Krešimira ili Pribimira (sl. 6E)⁴² te nešto mlađi natpis na kojem se još jednom navodi ime sv. Bartolomeja (sl. 6F).⁴³

Od navedenih natpisa najmanje je poznat ćirilsko-glagoljski s ulomka zabata (?),⁴⁴ on se na temelju paleografske analize i stilskih značajki ornamentalnog motiva datira u kraj 11. i početak 12. stoljeća, dakle u isto vrijeme kao i poznati glagoljski natpisi uklesani na crkvenom namještaju benediktinske opatije sv. Lucije u Baškoj na Krku i na pluteju iz Senja (sl. 19).⁴⁵ Ćirilsko-glagoljski natpis s Kapitula i latinski natpis s imenom opata Stjepka sugeriraju da se na ovome lokalitetu možda nalazila glagoljaška benediktinska opatija, poput Sv. Nikole kod Omišlja, Sv. Lucije u Baškoj na otoku Krku, Sv. Nikole kod Otočca, Sv. Kuzme i Damjana na Pašmanu ili Sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Poveljima na Braču.⁴⁶

Osim epigrafskih spomenika na Kapitulu je pronađen i velik broj ulomaka crkvenog namještaja ukrašenog pletrenom ili biljnom ornamentikom. Prema stilu i načinu obrade ornamenta ulomci se mogu razvrstati u nekoliko stilski definiranih i okvirno datiranih radioničkih cjelina. Kao najstariji, izdvajaju se ulomci namještaja klesarske radionice Majstora koljanskog pluteja, datirani u prvu polovicu 9. stoljeća (sl. 20A), zatim slijede ulomci atribuirani radionicama iz vremena kneza Trpimira

Trpimir, Krešimir or Pribimir (Fig. 6E)⁴² and a somewhat later inscription that once again refers to St Bartholomew (Fig. 6F).⁴³

Least known of these epigraphs is the Cyrillic-Glagolitic from a gable fragment (?),⁴⁴ it has been dated, on the basis of a palaeographic analysis and stylistic features of the ornamental motif to the end of the 11th and early 12th century, to the same time, then, as the well-known Glagolitic inscriptions carved in church furniture of the Benedictine Abbey of St Lucy in Baška on Krk Island and the pluteus from Senj (cf. Fig. 19).⁴⁵ The Cyrillic-Glagolitic inscription from Kapitulum and the Latin inscription with the name of Abbot Stjepko suggest that there was perhaps at this site a Glagolitic Benedictine abbey, like that of St Nicholas in Omišalj, St Lucy on Krk, St Nicholas by Otočac, SS. Cosmas and Damien on Pašman Island or of St John the Baptist in Povelja on Brač.⁴⁶

Apart from the epigraphic monuments, a large number of fragments of church furnishing decorated with interlacing or plant ornamentation have been found at Kapitulum. In terms of style and workmanship of the ornaments, the fragments can be classified into several stylistically defined and approximately dated workshop units. Clearly the oldest are fragments of furnishing of the carving workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus, dated to the first half of the 9th century (Fig. 20A). After that come fragments attributed to workshops from the time of Duke Trpimir (mid 9th century) and Duke Branimir (palatine stone-carving workshops, end of 9th or early 10th century, Fig. 20C). After them there were two more carving workshops that renovated the church furniture: in the second third of the 10th century (the time of King Držislav, Fig. 6A) and in

prostorima do 69. godine. Usp. Bulić, 1888, str. 4.

⁴² Delonga 1996, str. 108-111.

⁴³ Piteša 2012, str. 160..

⁴⁴ Prema Fučiću natpis se čita OCJuIPREMI. Usp. Fučić 1982, str. 214; Fučić 1980, str. 282-284. S Kapitula potječe još nekoliko ulomaka s fragmentarno sačuvanim ćirilsko-glagoljskim natpisima. Ulomak na sl. 6C ima najduži i najbolje sačuvan tekst i prema Fučiću ubraja se među najstarije poznate u Dalmaciji. Prema načinu obrade ornamenta ulomak se može pripisati produkciji Romaničke klesarske radionice iz Knina (usp. Jurčević 2014, str. 148. bilj. 109).

⁴⁵ Fučić 1982, str. 44-60, 315-316.

⁴⁶ Ostojić 1963, str. 154-155. Ostojić ističe benediktince kao promicatelje glagoljice, ali ne spominje izričito samostan sv. Bartolomeja na Kapitulu kao glagoljaški.

⁴² Delonga 1996, pp. 108-111.

⁴³ Piteša 2012, p. 160..

⁴⁴ According to Fučić the inscription goes OCJuIPREMI. Cf. Fučić 1982, p. 214; Fučić 1980, pp. 282-284. There are several other fragments from Kapitulum that have partially extant Cyrillic-Glagolitic epigraphs. The fragment in Fig. 6C has the longest and best preserved text and Fučić claims that it is among the oldest known in Dalmatia. According to the workmanship of the ornamentation, it can be ascribed to the production of a Romanesque stone carving workshop from Knin ((cf. Jurčević 2014, p. 148. n.109).

⁴⁵ Fučić 1982, p. 44-60, 315-316.

⁴⁶ Ostojić 1963, p. 154-155. Ostojić particularly refers to Benedictines for their promotion of Glagolitic script, but does not expressly mention the Monastery of St Bartholomew at Kapitulum as having been Glagolite.



Sl. 19. Glagoljski natpisi: A) Kapitul kod Knina, B) Tvrđava Nehaj u Senju, C) Sv. Lucija Baška – Krk (izradio: A. Jurčević)

Fig. 19 Glagolitic epigraphs: A) Kapitul by Knin; B) Nehaj Fort – Senj; C) St Lucy's, Baška on Krk Island

(sredina 9. st., sl. 20B) i kneza Branimira (Dvorska klesarska radionica, kraj 9. ili početak 10. stoljeća, sl. 20C). Nakon njih još su dvije klesarske radionice, u drugoj trećini 10. stoljeća (u vrijeme kralja Držislava, sl. 6A) i u drugoj trećini 11. stoljeća, najvjerojatnije u vrijeme vladavine kralja Zvonimira, obnovile crkveni namještaj (sl. 20D).⁴⁷

Povijesni izvori i njihove interpretacije

Osim na osnovi arheoloških nalaza o važnosti ovog lokaliteta možemo suditi i prema sačuvanim povijesnim dokumentima, neovisno je li riječ o diplomatskim spisima u kojima se spominju opati benediktinskog samostana sv. Bartolomeja kao potpisnici ili svjedoci različitih događanja u vrijeme hrvatskih kraljeva Petra Krešimira IV. i Dmitra Zvonimira,⁴⁸ ili o kasnijim dokumentima koje je izdao Kninski kaptol.⁴⁹ Od sačuvanih dokumenata koje je izdao Kninski kaptol važno je ukazati na dvije isprave u kojima se jasno navodi da se na Kaptolu ujedno nalazila i kninska katedrala posvećena sv. Bartolomeju. Prva potječe iz 1383. godine, a riječ je o ovjerenom prijepisu isprave kraljice Elizabete, u kojem se, između ostalog, navodi da je izdana: ... *Actum et datum Tenini, in ecclesia nostra cathedrali*

the second third of the 11th century, most probably during the reign of King Zvonimir (Fig. 20D).⁴⁷

Historical sources and their interpretation

As well as on the foundation of the finds, we can judge of the importance of this site according to historical documents, irrespective of whether they are diplomatic documents in which the abbots of the Benedictine priory of St Bartholomew are mentioned as signatories or witnesses of various events during the time of the Croatian kings Petar Krešimir IV and Dmitar Zvonimir,⁴⁸ or of later documents that were issued by the Chapter in Knin.⁴⁹ Of all the extant documents issued by this chapter, it is important to draw attention to two of them in which it clearly says that Kapitul also hosted Knin Cathedral, dedicated to St Bartholomew. The first derives from 1383, an authenticated copy of a document of Queen Elizabeta, in which, among other things, it is stated that it was issued *Actum et datum Tenini, in ecclesia nostra cathedrali Sancti Bartholi...*⁵⁰ and a second, the last that was authenticated by the canons of Knin, of 1514, in which it is written that it was issued “in the cathedral church at the solemn ses-

⁴⁷ Prvu cjelovitu objavu ranosrednjovjekovnih ulomaka skulpture s Kapitula dao je T. Burić (usp. Burić 1988, str. 91-117.) Opširnije o problematici vidi u: Marasović 2009, str. 503-509.

⁴⁸ Opširnije vidi u Gunjača 1949b, str. 46-47.

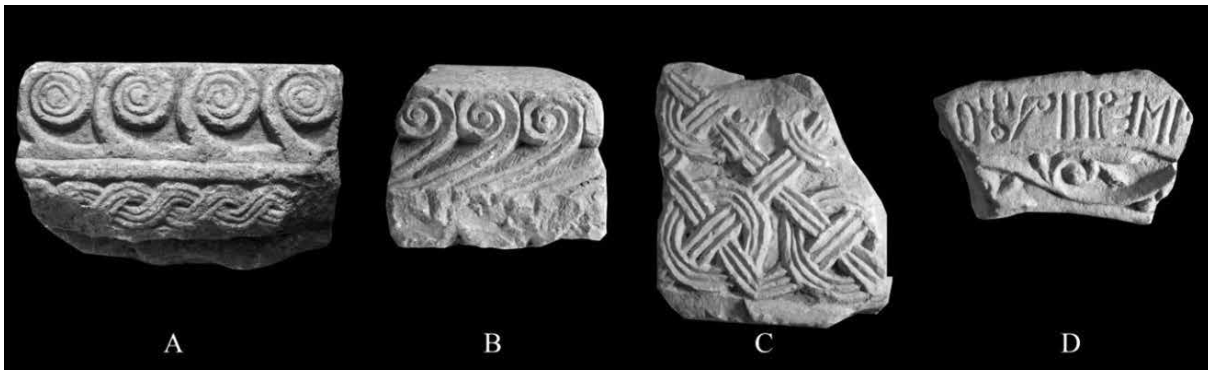
⁴⁹ Opširnije u Gulin 1993, str. 214-240; Matijević Sokol 1994, str. 69-85.

⁴⁷ The first to publish an account of the early medieval fragments of sculpture from Kapitul was T. Burić (cf. Burić 1988, p. 91-117.) For more information: Marasović 2009, pp. 503-509.

⁴⁸ For more information, cf. Gunjača 1949b, pp. 46-47.

⁴⁹ For more information Gulin 1993, pp. 214-240; Matijević Sokol 1994, pp. 69-85.

⁵⁰ Barbarić, Kolanović 1986, p. 99-100.



Sl. 20. Izbor iz repertoara klesarskih radionica koje su djelovale na Kapitolu: A) radionica Majstora koljanskog pluteja, B) radionica koja je djelovala u vrijeme kneza Trpimira, C) Dvorska klesarska radionica iz vremena kneza Branimira, D) Romanička klesarska radionica koja je djelovala u vrijeme kralja Zvonimira (foto: A. Jurčević)

Fig. 20 Selection from the repertoires of stone carving workshops working at Kapitul: A) workshop of the Master of the Kolane Pluteum; B) workshop operating at the time of Trpimir; C) palatine stone carving workshop from the time of Duke Branimir; D) Romanesque stone carving workshop at work at the time of King Zvonimir (photo: A. Jurčević)

*Sancti Bartholi...*⁵⁰, i druga, ujedno i posljednja koju su ovjerali kninski kanonici, iz 1514. godine, u kojoj piše da je izdana u *katedralnoj crkvi na svečanom sastanku Kaptola na dan blagdana sv. Vladislava kralja...*⁵¹ Navedene isprave bitno pridonose razrješenju rasprave oko ubikacije kninske katedrale. Naime, pitanje vezano uz ubikaciju katedrale hrvatskoga i kninskog biskupa te pitanje hrvatske i kninske biskupije dugo je vremena bilo razmatrano kao da je riječ o istoj biskupiji i istom biskupu te jednoj katedralnoj crkvi. Međutim, još su davno F. Radić i F. Šišić pretpostavili da su postojale dvije katedrale; prva (starija) hrvatskog biskupa, koja se nalazila u Biskupiji na lokalitetu Crkvina, i druga (mlađa) kninskog biskupa, koja je sagrađena na Kapitolu, a ovakva interpretacija prevladava nakon objave rada *Episcopus Chroatensis* M. Barade u kojem autor objašnjava razliku između prerogativa hrvatskoga i kninskog biskupa te ukazuje na odluke splitskog crkvenog sabora iz 1185. godine na kojem je ukinuta kanonska institucija hrvatskog biskupa i hrvatske biskupije, a osnovana kninska biskupija.⁵²

sion of the Chapter on the day of the Feast of King St Ladislav".⁵¹ These documents make an essential contribution to the resolution of the debate about the precise location of Knin Cathedral. The matter of the location of the cathedral of the Croatian and the Knin bishop and the issue of the Croatian and Knin diocese was long considered as if it were a matter of the same diocese and the same bishop, and a single cathedral church. But in fact, long ago, F. Radić and F. Šišić hypothesised the existence of two cathedrals: the first (the older) of the Croatian bishop, which was located in Biskupija, at the position of Crkvina; and the second (later), of the bishop of Knin, which was built at Kapitul. This became the prevailing interpretation after the publication of the work *Episcopus Chroatensis* of M. Barada, in which the author explains the difference between the prerogative of the Croatian and that of the Knin bishop, and draws attention to the decisions of the Split church council of 1185 at which the canonical institution of the Croatian bishop and the Croatian diocese was abolished, and the bishopric of Knin was established.⁵²

⁵⁰ Barbarić, Kolanović 1986, str. 99-100.

⁵¹ Gulin 1993, str. 215.

⁵² Radić 1895, str. 150-56, prvi iznosi ovu pretpostavku, koja se ozbiljnije počela razmatrati tek nakon radova F. Šišića (vidi: Šišić 1925, str. 693-695; Barada 1931, str. 161-215; Smiljanić 1987, str. 215-24; Jakšić 1988, str. 115-133; Barbarić 1993, str. 68-95; Gulin 1993, str. 214-240; Jarak, 2000, str. 129-142.). Posebno mišljenje o položaju kninske katedrale zastupao je S. Gunjača, koji je smatrao da je katedrala kninskog biskupa bila u današnjem Kninu, kao i F. Smiljanić (usp.

⁵¹ Gulin 1993, p. 215.

⁵² Radić 1895, pp. 150-56, the first to formulate this hypothesis, which started to be taken into consideration more seriously only after the works of F. Šišić (vidi: Šišić 1925, p. 693-695; Barada 1931, p. 161-215; Smiljanić 1987, pp. 215-24; Jakšić 1988, pp. 115-133; Barbarić 1993, p. 68-95; Gulin 1993, pp. 214-240; Jarak, 2000, pp. 129-142.). A different opinion about the position of Knin Cathedral was argued by Gunjača, who thought that the cathedral of the bishop of Knin

Dakle, prema pronađenim arheološkim nalazima i povijesnim izvorima pretpostavlja se da je na ovome lokalitetu najprije, u 1. stoljeću po. Kr., sagrađena manja rimska vojna utvrda u kojoj su boravili pripadnici XX. i XI. legije, zatim je u 9. stoljeću sagrađena predromanička crkva, uz koju je, najvjerojatnije krajem 10. stoljeća, izgrađen benediktinski samostan; naposljetku je početkom 13. stoljeća podignuta kninska katedrala, posvećena sv. Bartolomeju, Blaženoj Djevici Mariji i sv. Petru, koja je bila u funkciji sve do 1522. godine, kada ovaj prostor osvajaju Osmanlije.

Revizijska istraživanja

Kao što je već navedeno, 2011. godine, prije nego što se započelo s dokumentiranjem zatečenog stanja, uklonjeno je nisko raslinje i šuma koja se nalazila unutar i uokolo talijanske vojarne na lokalitetu (sl. 2). Vojarna se prostirala na površini od oko 700 m², a sastojala se od vanjskoga i unutarnjeg dijela. Vanjski, pravokutni dio, činili su visoki zidovi s okruglim bunkerima na sjevernom i zapadnom uglu, a unutarnji dvije veće pravokutne zgrade za stanovanje i jedna manja na ulazu u vojarnu. Cijeli kompleks izgrađen je lijevanim betonom s kamenim ojačanjima u temeljnoj stopi. Betonska konstrukcija bila je u lošem stanju te se urušavala na svim objektima (sl. 21, 22, 23).

Početkom kampanje 2012. godine s pristupnog su puta uklonjene velike količine građevinskog i komunalnog otpada, čime je omogućen nesmetan pristup lokalitetu te rušenju i uklanjanju obrambenih zidova i zgrada unutar vojarne (sl. 23 i 24).

Nakon što su ostvareni osnovni preduvjeti godine 2013. započela su revizijska arheološka istraživanja.⁵³ Tijekom dvotjedne kampanje pronađeni

Gunjača 1949b, str. 38-86; Smiljanić 1984-1985, str. 126).

⁵³ Istraživanje se odvijalo u razdoblju od 1. srpnja do 15. srpnja 2013. godine. Voditelj je bio dr. sc. Ante Jurčević, viši kustos Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, zamjenica voditelja bila je dr. sc. Maja Petrincec, muzejska savjetnica u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika. U istraživanjima je sudjelovala i dokumentaristica Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika Maja Marković te djelatnici s Odsjeka za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu prof. dr. sc. Mirja Jarak, znanstveni novak Goran Bilogrivić i studentice Tara Pivac, Dijana Žaja i Anamarija Kalaj, u sklopu provođenja terenske nastave. Nadzor nad arheološkim istraživanjem

According to the archaeological finds and the historical sources, then, it can be hypothesised that at this place, first of all in the 1st century AD, a small Roman military fort was built in which members of legions XX and XI dwelt. In the 9th century a pre-Romanesque church was built, alongside which, most likely at the end of the 10th century, a Benedictine monastery was built. Finally, at the beginning of the 13th century, Knin Cathedral was put up, dedicated to St Bartholomew, to the Blessed Virgin Mary and to St Peter, a church that was in operation until 1522, when the area was taken by the Ottomans.

Revision excavations

As already stated, in 2011, before a start was made on the as-found condition, the low vegetation and forest that occupied the space inside and around the Italian barracks at the site (cf Fig 2). The barracks covered an area of about 700 square meters, and consisted of an inner and an outer part. The outer part, which was rectangular, consisted of high walls with circular bunkers on the northern and western corners; the inner consisted of two large rectangular buildings for living in and a smaller one at the entrance into the barracks. The whole complex was made of poured concrete with stone reinforcements in the footing. The concrete was in poor condition and was crumbling in all the structures (see Figs. 1, 22, 23).

At the beginning of the campaign, in 2012, huge quantities of building and municipal refuse were removed from the access road, enabling unhindered approach to the site and also the demolition and removal of the defensive walls and buildings inside the barracks (cf. Figs. 23 and 24).

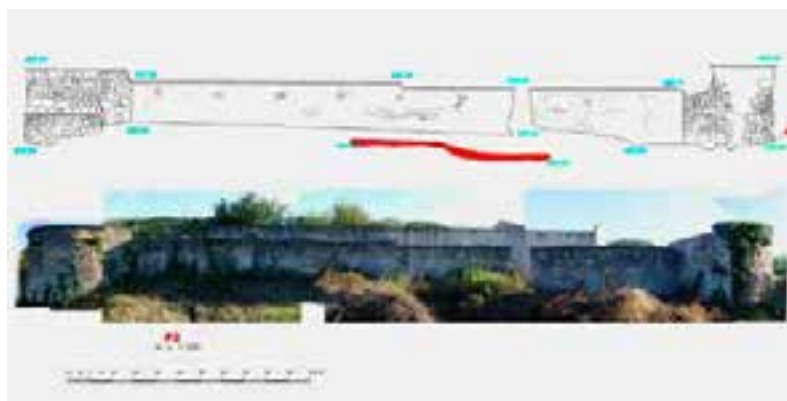
After the basic preconditions had been created, in 2013 the revision archaeological excavations were begun.⁵³ During a two-week campaign, the

was in today's Knin, as did F. Smiljanić (cf. Gunjača 1949b, pp. 38-86; Smiljanić 1984-1985, p. 126).

⁵³ The research unfolded in the period from July 1 to July 15 2013. It was led by Dr Ante Jurčević, senior curator of the MCAM, assisted by Dr Maja Petrincec, museum advisor in the MCAM. Also taking part in the excavations were the documentalist of MCAM Maja Marković and employees of the archaeology section of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb, Professor Mirja Jarak, research fellow Goran Bilogrivić and students Tara Pivac, Dijana Žaja and Anamarija Kalaj, during their field research tuition. Supervision of the archaeological excavations was led



Sl. 21. Pogled na talijansku vojarnu (aksonometrijska snimka: R. Maršić)
 Fig. 21 View of the Italian barracks (axonometric drawing: R. Maršić)



Sl. 22. Pogled na sjeverni i sjeveroistočni dio vojarnje (izradio: R. Maršić)
 Fig. 22 View onto the northern and north-eastern parts of the barracks (by R. Maršić)



Sl. 23. Pogled na unutrašnjost vojarnje za vrijeme uklanjanja objekata (foto: A. Jurčević)
 Fig. 23 View onto the interior of the barracks while the structures were being removed.



Sl. 24. Pogled na lokalitet nakon uklanjanja vojarnje (foto: A. Jurčević)
 Fig. 24 View onto the site after the removal of the barracks (photo: A. Jurčević)

su ostatci jedne pravokutne prostorije, dio sjeveroistočnih bedema i istočna pravokutna kula. Zidovi pravokutne prostorije s istočne, zapadne i južne strane sačuvali su se u visini temeljne stope, dok je sjeverni zid na nekim mjestima ostao sačuvan i do visine jednog metra (sl. 25). Dužina istočnog zida iznosila je 7,5 m, sjevernog 7 m i zapadnog (koji nije u cijelosti istražen) 3 m. Širina sva tri zida iznosila je od 1,10 m do 1,20 m. Usporedbom dimenzija pravokutne prostorije i njezinog odnosa prema sjeveroistočnom bedemu s dokumentacijom i podacima Ć. Ivekovića, zaključili smo da se radi o temeljnim ostacima zvonika kninske katedrale (vidi sl. 29A i 29B).⁵⁴ U zidove su kao građevni materijal

remains were found of a rectangular room, part of the north-east defensive walls and an eastern square tower. The walls of the rectangular room on the eastern, western and southern sides were extant up to the height of the footings, while the northern wall was in existence in some places up to one metre in height (Fig. 25)/ The length of the eastern wall was 7.5 m, of the northern 7 m and of the western (not explored in its entirety) 3 m. The thickness of all three walls was from 1.10 m to 1.20 m. By a comparison of the dimensions of the rectangular room and its relationship with the north-eastern walls with the documentation and data of Iveković, we concludes that we were dealing with the remains of the foundations of the bell tower of Knin Cathedral (cf. Figs. 29A and 29B).⁵⁴ Built into the walls

obavljao je dr. sc. Marko Sinobad, djelatnik nadležnoga konzervatorskog odjela u Šibeniku.

⁵⁴ Usp. Iveković, 1927, str. 258, 264, sl. 5 i 6.

by Dr Marko Sinobad, from the competent conservation department in Šibenik.

⁵⁴ Cf. Iveković, 1927, p. 258, 264, Figs. 5 and 6.



Sl. 25. Pogled na djelomično istraženi zvonik i sjeveroistočne bedeme na padini (foto: A. Jurčević)
Fig. 25 View onto the partially investigated bell tower and north-eastern defensive walls on the slope (photo: A. Jurčević)



Sl. 26. Pogled na ostatke arhitekture sjevernog dijela bazilike i zvonika (foto: A. Jurčević)
Fig. 26 View onto remains of architecture from the northern part of the basilica and the bell tower (photo: A. Jurčević)

418

bili ugrađeni ostatci predromaničkog crkvenog namještaja.

Ostale dijelove arhitekture, pravokutnu kulu na istočnoj padini lokaliteta (na Ivekovićevu tlocrtu ima oznaku O1, vidi sl. 15) i dio sjeveroistočnih bedema zbog nedostataka sredstava istražili smo samo površinski. Nakon dvogodišnje stanke istraživanja su nastavljena 2016. godine. Tada je ustanovljeno da su se osim zidova zvonika sačuvali i ostatci zidova tzv. sakristije (označena slovom C na Ivekovićevu tlocrtu, vidi sl. 15). Utvrđeno je, međutim, i da je sjeverna apsida potpuno uništena te da su se od nje sačuvali samo čvrsti slojevi žbuke na polukružno oblikovanom živcu (sl. 26). Sjeverna apsida porušena je na početku prvih Marunovih istraživanja 1885. godine i kao takva dokumentirana je na tlocrtu iz 1886. godine.⁵⁵

Osim ostataka arhitekture unutar zvonika pronađen je i veliki broj ulomaka arhitektonske dekoracije, predromaničkog namještaja te još jedan legionski natpis (sl. 27 i 28).⁵⁶

U kampanji 2017. godine istraživanja su nastavljena u pravcu zapada te je ustanovljeno da su se uz sjeverni zid bazilike sačuvali i pročelni zid sakristije te dio pročelnog zida bazilike (usp. sl. 29. A i

as construction materials were the remains of the pre-Romanesque church furnishing.

For want of funding, we were able to examine the other parts of the architecture, the rectangular tower on the eastern slope of the site (marked O1 on Iveković's ground plan, cf. Fig. 15) and part of the north-eastern defensive walls only on the surface. After a break of two years, the research went on again in 2016. It was then ascertained that not only were the walls of the bell tower preserved but also the remains of the walls of what was called the sacristy (marked C on Iveković's plan, see Fig. 15). It was established, however, that the northern apse had been completely destroyed, and that all that was left of it were the strong layers of mortar on the semicircular shaped bedrock (Fig. 26). The northern apse was knocked down at the beginning of Marun's first excavations in 1885 and was so documented on the ground plan of 1886.⁵⁵

Apart from the remains of architecture in the bell tower a large number of fragments of architectural decoration were found, of pre-Romanesque furnishing and one more legionary epigraph (cf. Fig. 27 and Fig. 28).⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Prema Ivekovićevim navodima sjeverna apsida bila je u lošem stanju početkom istraživačkih i građevinskih radova te je razgrađena (porušena) 1885. godine i kao takva dokumentirana na Marunovu tlocrtu (usp. Iveković, 1927, str. 262).

⁵⁶ Natpis je objavio D. Demicheli (usp. Demicheli 2018, str. 117-125.).

⁵⁵ According to what Iveković said, the northern apse was in poor condition at the start of the research and building works and was broken down (demolished) in 1885, and so documented in Marun's ground plan. (cf. Iveković, 1927, p. 262).

⁵⁶ The inscription was published by D. Demicheli (cf. Demicheli 2018, pp. 117-125.).



Sl. 27. Ulomci predromaničkoga crkvenog namještaja pronađeni unutar zvonika (foto: A. Jurčević)
 Fig. 27 Fragments of pre-Romanesque church furnishing found inside the bell tower (photo: A. Jurčević)

B).⁵⁷ Osim navedenih zidova otkriveni su i dijelovi arhitekture koji su povezani s južnim zidom sakristije (sl. 29). Stratigrafski odnos južnog zida sakristije (prostorije C) i novootkrivenih zidova nije definiran te se za sada ne može pretpostaviti u kakvom su odnosu navedene prostorije.⁵⁸ No sudeći prema stratigrafskim, odnosno konstrukcijskim odnosima sjevernog zida zvonika i sjeveroistočnog bedema, postoji velika vjerojatnost da su zidani istodobno, jer su u temeljnoj stopi konstrukcijski povezani.

Ovaj podatak treba ozbiljnije razmotriti, jer se ne slaže s dosadašnjim pretpostavkama o izgradnji fortifikacija na Kapitolu. Kod većine autora prevladava mišljenje da su bedemi sagrađeni neposredno prije osmanlijskih prodora.⁵⁹ No sudeći prema najnovijim rezultatima, čini se da je cijeli fortifikacijski kompleks s bazilikom i klaustrom projektiran kao jedna cjelina i zidan istodobno (sl. 30). Osim arhitekture i crkvenog namještaja pronađen je i velik broj rasutih ljudskih kostiju. Kostii su se nalazile unutar svih slojeva i svih prostorija. Najvjerojatnije je riječ o posmrtnim ostacima pokojnika koji su se sahranjivali na Kapitolu od 1688. do 1886. godine, a njihove su grobnice devastirane prilikom izgradnje talijanske vojarne. Prema dosadašnjim rezultatima revizijskih istraživanja može se zaključiti da se arhitektura na sjevernoj strani katedralnog kompleksa na Kapitolu, unatoč sustavnim devastacijama, dosta dobro sačuvala i da se rezultati podudaraju s podacima koje su nam ostavili L. Marun i Ć. Iveković.



Sl. 28. Ulomci nadgrobnog spomenika vojnika XI. legije (foto: A. Jurčević)
 Fig. 28 Fragments of the funerary monument of a soldier of Legion XI (photo: A. Jurčević)

Excavations were continued in the 2017 campaign in the westerly direction and it was found out that alongside the northern wall of the basilica the front wall of the sacristy had been preserved as well as part of the front wall of the basilica (cf. Figs. 29 A and B).⁵⁷ Apart from these walls, parts of the architecture connected with the southern wall of the sacristy were also discovered (cf. Fig. 29). The stratigraphic relation of the southern wall of the sacristy (room C) and the newly discovered walls is not defined and for the moment there is no way of hypothesising the possible relations of these rooms.⁵⁸ But judging from the stratigraphic or construction relations of the northern wall of the bell tower and the north eastern defensive wall, it is very

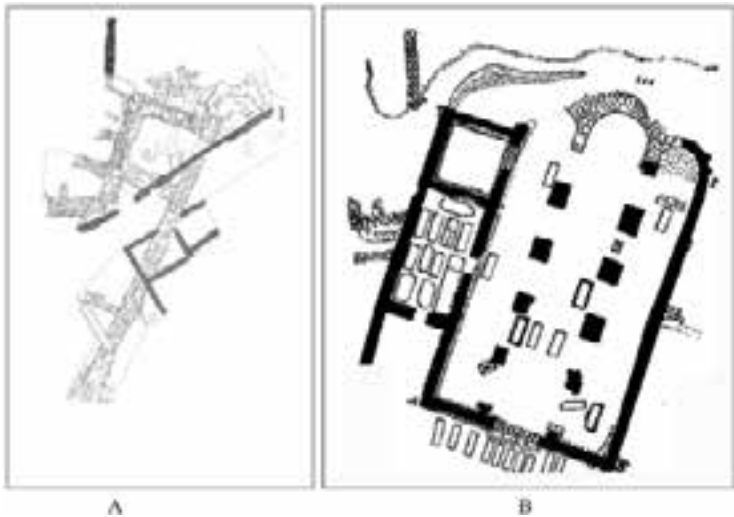
⁵⁷ Istraživanja su se odvijala u razdoblju od 24. 7. do 18. 8. 2017. Voditelj istraživanja bio je dr. sc. Ante Jurčević, a zamjenica dr. sc. Maja Petrinc. Uz njih, u istraživanju su sudjelovala i dva stručna suradnika, dr. sc. Goran Bilogrivić i mr. arh. Miloš Biserko, dokumentaristica Maja Marković i fotograf Zoran Alajbeg.

⁵⁸ Navedena arhitektura ucrtana je na Marunovu tlocrtu iz 1886. godine, ali je nema na Ivekovićevoj rekonstrukciji (usp. sl. 5 i sl. 13).

⁵⁹ Smiljanić 1987, str. 223.

⁵⁷ The excavations went on from July 24 to August 18, 2017. Head of the excavations was Dr Ante Jurčević and Dr Maja Petrinc was deputy leader. Alongside them, two professional associates took part in the investigation, Dr Goran Bilogrivić and Miloš Biserko, MA, the documentalist Maja Marković and photographer Zoran Alajbeg

⁵⁸ This architectural feature was drawn in on Marun's ground plan of 1886, but does not exist in Iveković's reconstruction (cf. Fig. 5 and Fig. 13)



Sl. 29. Usporedni prikaz istraženog dijela lokaliteta 2017. godine (A) i tlocrta nastalog nakon Marunova istraživanja 1886. godine (B)

Fig. 29 Comparative depictions of the excavated part of the site in 2017 (A) and the ground plan created after Marun's research in 1886 (B)



Sl. 31. Pogled na Kapitul nakon istraživanja 2017. godine (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 31 View onto Kapitul after the excavations in 2017 (photo: Z. Alajbeg)



Sl. 30. Pogled na spoj sjevernog zida zvonika i sjeveroistočnog bedema

(izradili: M. Marković i A. Jurčević)

Fig. 30 View of the joining of the northern wall of the bell tower and the north eastern defensive wall (by M. Marković and A. Jurčević)

probable that they were built concurrently, for they are structurally connected in the footings.

This information should be considered very carefully, for it does not cohere with previous assumptions about the building of the fortifications at Kapitul. In most authors the prevailing assumption is that the walls were built just before the Ottoman inroads⁵⁹. But judging from the latest results, it seems that the whole fortification complex with basilica and cloister was designed as a single whole and all built at the same time (cf. Fig. 30). Apart from the architecture and the church furnishing, a large number of scattered human bones were found as well. They were inside all the strata, all the rooms. Probably these are the mortal remains of deceased that were interred at Kapitul between 1688 and 1886, their graves being devastated during the building of the Italian barracks. According to the results of the revision excavations yielded so far it can be concluded that the architecture on the northern side of the cathedral complex at Kapitul, notwithstanding the systematic devastation, is fairly well preserved, and that the results are consistent with the data left by Marun and Iveković.

(G. M.)

⁵⁹ Smiljanić 1987, p. 223.

Literatura / Bibliography

Barada 1931

M. Barada, Episcopus Chroatensis, *Croatia Sacra, Arkiv za crkvenu povijest Hrvata*, god. 1, Zagreb 1931, 161-215

Barbarić 1993

J. Barbarić, Kninski biskupi i njihova biskupija (o. 1050-1490) u svjetlu novih arhivskih istraživanja, u/in: S. Antoljak, T. Macan, D. Pavličević (ur./eds.), *Kninski zbornik*, Zagreb 1993, 68-95

Barbarić, Kolanović 1986

J. Barbarić i J. Kolanović, *Šibenski diplomatarij*, Šibenik 1986.

Bulić 1886

F. Bulić, Iscrizioni Inedite, *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata* 9, Split 1886, str. 178-179, 196, br. 141-147, 170 -174

Bulić 1888

F. Bulić, *Hrvatski spomenici u kninskoj okolici uz ostale suvremene dalmatinske iz dobe narodne hrvatske dinastije*, Djela Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, knj. VIII, Zagreb 1888.

Burić 1988

T. Burić, Ranosrednjovjekovna skulptura s Kapitula kod Knina, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 18, Split 1988 (1990), 91-117

Cesarik, Glavaš 2018

N. Cesarik, I. Glavaš, Novoootkrivena trasa rimske komunikacije od Burna do Kapitula i problem ceste Ad imum montem Ditionum Ulcirum, u/in: *Stoljeće hrabrih, rimsko osvajanje i otpor starosjedilaca za vrijeme Augusta i njegovih nasljednika*, Zagreb 2018, 353-360

Delonga 1996

V. Delonga, *Latinski epigrafički spomenici u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj*, Monumenta medii aevi Croatiae, vol. 1, Split 1996.

Demicheli 2018

D. Demicheli, A soldier of the legion XI Claudia pia Fidelis from Forum Iulii on the inscription from Kapitul near Knin, *Stoljeće hrabrih, rimsko osvajanje i otpor starosjedilaca za vrijeme Augusta i njegovih nasljednika*, Zagreb 2018, 117-125

Dragičević 2008

M. Dragičević, Simbolika ukrasnih motiva na roži-

nama iz grobova nekropole Nin - Ždrijac, u/in: A. Ribičić-Županić (ur./ed.), *Imaginarni svijet zagonetnih predmeta od bjelokosti, kosti i rožina* (katalog izložbe) Zagreb, Muzej Mimara 2008, str. 53-70

Fučić 1980

B. Fučić, Glagoljica i dalmatinski spomenici, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 21, Split 1980 (Fiskovićev zbornik I), 282-284

Fučić 1982

B. Fučić, *Glagoljski natpisi*, Zagreb 1982.

Gulin 1993

A. Gulin, Srednjovjekovni kninski kaptol i njegovi pečati, u/in: S. Antoljak, T. Macan, D. Pavličević (ur./eds.), *Kninski zbornik*, Zagreb 1993, 214-240

Gunjača 1949a

S. Gunjača, Kratak osvrt na prilike i rad muzeja u Kninu, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 1, Zagreb 1949, 279-294

Gunjača 1949b

S. Gunjača, O položaju kninske katedrale, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 1, Zagreb 1949, 38-86

Iveković 1927

Ć. Iveković, Kapitul kod Knina, Rekonstrukcija, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, Nova serija I, 3 - 4, Zagreb 1927, 252-272

Jakšić 1988

N. Jakšić, O katedralama hrvatske i kninske biskupije, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Razdio povijesnih znanosti*, sv. 27, (14), Zadar 1988, 115-13

Jarak 2000

M. Jarak, Katedrala hrvatskog biskupa, Iuxta castrum Tiniensie, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Razdio povijesnih znanosti*, sv. 38, (25), Zadar 2000, 129-142

Jurčević 2014

A. Jurčević, O klesarskim radionicama koje su djelovale na Crkvini u Biskupiji kod Knina, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 41, Split 2014, 127-163

Jurišić 1979

K. Jurišić, *Fra Lujo Marun osnivač starohrvatske arheologije*, Split 1979.

Ljubić 1890

Š. Ljubić, Glasnik starinarskog društva u Kninu, Zagreb, *Viestnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva*, god. XII. br. 1, 1890, 30-32

Marasović 2009

T. Marasović, Sv. Bartol na Kapitolu, crkva i samostan, u/in: *Dalmatia Praeromanica 2*, Split-Zagreb 2009, 503-509

Marun 1890

L. Marun, Bilješke kroz starinske iskopine u Kninskoj okolici od god. 1885.-1890., Glasnik starinarskog društva u Kninu, *Viestnik hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, vol. 12, Zagreb 1890, 45-72

Marun 1891

L. Marun, Bilješke kroz starinske iskopine u Kninskoj okolici od god. 1885.-1890., Glasnik starinarskog društva u Kninu, *Viestnik hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, vol. 13, Zagreb 1891, 123-128

Marun 1892a

L. Marun, Bilješke kroz starinske iskopine u Kninskoj okolici od god. 1885.-1890., Glasnik starinarskog društva u Kninu, *Viestnik hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, vol. 14, Zagreb 1892, 26-32

Marun 1892b

L. Marun, Glasnik starinarskoga društva u Kninu, Redovito tromjesečno izvješće Kninskoga starinarskoga društva, *Viestnik hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva*, vol. 14, Zagreb 1892, 86-96

Marun 1894

L. Marun, Ruševine bazilike sv. Bartula na Kapitolu kod Knina, u/in: *Spomen - knjiga otvora Prvog muzeja hrvatskih spomenika uz izvješće šeste glavne skupštine Hrvatskog starinarskog društva održane u Kninu 24. kolovoza 1893*, Zagreb 1894, 70-77

Marun 1998

L. Marun, *Starinarski dnevници* (prepisala i za tisak pripremila M. Petrincec), Split 1998.

Matijević Sokol 1994

M. Matijević Sokol, Struktura i diplomatska analiza isprava kninskog kaptola, *Rad Zavoda povij. Znan. HAZU Zadru*, 36, Zadar 1994, 69-85

Ostojić 1963

I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj*, sv. 1, Benediktinski priorat Tkon kod Zadra, Split 1963.

Petrincec 2008

M. Petrincec, Koštani i rožnati recipijenti, u/in: A. Ribičić-Županić (ur./ed.) *Imaginarni svijet zagonetnih predmeta od bjelokosti, kosti i rožina* (katalog izložbe) Zagreb, Muzej Mimara 2008, 91-92

Petrincec 2009

M. Petrincec, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća na području ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države*, Monumenta medii aevi Croatiae, vol. 3, Split 2009.

Piteša 2012

A. Piteša, *Ranosrednjovjekovni kameni spomenici u arheološkome muzeju u Splitu*, Split 2012.

Radić 1895

F. Radić, Hrvatska biskupska crkva sv. Marije u Biskupiji i kaptolska crkva sv. Bartula na sadašnjem Kapitolu kod Knina, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, ser. I, god. I, sv. III, Knin 1895, 150-156

Smiljanić 1984-1985

F. Smiljanić, Nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnog Knina, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Razdio povijesnih znanosti*, sv. 24, (11), Zadar 1984/ 85, 119-132

Smiljanić 1987

F. Smiljanić, Kapitul kod Knina, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Razdio povijesnih znanosti*, sv. 26, (13), Zadar 1987, 215-22

Šišić 1925

F. Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata u vrijeme narodnih vladara*, Zagreb 1925.

Zekan 2008

M. Zekan, *Vizionarova misija*, Split 2008.

Zlatović 1883

S. Zlatović, Stare narodne zadužbine hrvatskih kralja u Dalmaciji, *Viestnik hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, vol. 5, Zagreb 1883, 52-55