

O putaljskim freskama

Godine 1940. u Hrvatskoj je reviji objavljena vijest da u British Museum u Londonu postoji srednjovjekovni kodeks u kojem se spominje kralj Trpimir i freske u crkvi sv. Jurja na Putalju. Sve do danas nije završen prijem o postojanju kodeksa, fresaka pa, štoviše, i autora te vijesti. Arheološkim istraživanjima na Putalju je pronađeno tristotinjak sitnih ulomaka fresaka. U radu se donose podaci o donositelju vijesti o kodeksu, a potom se donosi pregled svih pronađenih ulomaka na osnovi kojeg je ustanovljeno da među njima ima i onih koji pripadaju ranosrednjovjekovnim freskama.

Ključne riječi: Putalj, ranosrednjovjekovne freske, hrvatski vladari, Arens, kodeks.

On frescoes from Putalj

In 1940, the Hrvatska revija journal announced that the British Museum in London kept a mediaeval codex mentioning King Trpimir and frescoes in the church of St. George at Putalj. To this day, the controversy over the existence of the codex, frescoes and, moreover, the author of this piece of news has not ended. About three hundred small fragments of frescoes have been found during the archaeological research at Putalj. This paper presents information on the bearer of news about the codex. After reviewing all the discovered fragments, it was established that some of them were from early mediaeval frescoes.

Keywords: Putalj, early mediaeval frescoes, Croatian rulers, Arens, codex.

Najzagonetnija priča o freskama na našim prostorima svakako je ona o pet portreta hrvatskih vladara dinastije Trpimirovića u crkvi sv. Jurja na brdu Putalju iznad Kaštel Sućurca. Sve započinje 1940. godine objavom članka u *Hrvatskoj reviji* koji donosi tekst kodeksa na latinskom jeziku iz 11. - 12. stoljeća, u kojem se spominju freske hrvatskih vladara u crkvi sv. Jurja na Putalju.¹ Prijepor je li postojao taj kodeks, a time i freske vladara, nije pretao do danas.

Na Putalju su od 1988. do 1995. godine provedena sustavna arheološka iskopavanja kojih su rezultati objavljeni 2001. godine u monografiji *Sv. Juraj od Putalja*.²

The most enigmatic story about frescoes in our area is certainly the one about five portraits of Croatian rulers of the Trpimirović dynasty in the church of St. George on the Putalj hill above Kaštel Sućurac. It all began in 1940 with the publication of an article in the *Hrvatska revija* journal, presenting the Latin text of a codex from the 11th to the 12th century, which mentioned frescoes of Croatian rulers in the church of St. George at Putalj.¹ The controversy sparked over whether this codex existed, and the very frescoes of the rulers, has not ceased to this day.

¹ Autor teksta je Franz Christian Arens. Židovski biografski leksikon o njemu piše: "Franz Arens (Abeles), povjesničar i publicist (Beč, 20. XII. 1880. - ? logor Đakovo, 1942. ili Krndija, 3. I. 1946.). Doktor znanosti. Rođak Z. Vinskoga. Prezime je 1892. promijenio u Arens. Od 1909. živio i djelovao u Münchenu na Südost-Institutu (1930-34). U Zagreb je došao 1938. kao izbjeglica iz Austrije te surađivao pri Hrvatskom izdavačkom (bibliografskom) zavodu. Prije toga kraće je boravio u Bežicama. Autor je članka 'Važan prilog starohrvatskoj povijesti. Novi podatak iz British Museuma u kojem se spominje hrvatski kralj Trpimir' (Hrvatska revija, 1940, 11). Po uspostavi NDH Ministarstvu narodnog gospodarstva, Uredu za obnovu privrede, 30. VI. 1941., prijavio je posjedovanje dragocijenosti (zlatni sat) i gotovine u iznosu od 6100din. Prema nekim izvorima umro je od tifusa u logoru u Đakovu, a prema drugima u logoru Krndija." (<https://zbl.lzmk.hr?p=3532>) Ivan Mužić o njemu, između ostalog, piše: "Franz Christian Arens, rođen 21. prosinca 1880. u Beču, bio je ozbiljan znanstvenik, koji nije mogao izmisliti prilog objavljen u Hrvatskoj reviji 1940. Franz Arens objavljuje između dva svjetska rata rasprave, posebno iz povijesti umjetnosti, u raznim stručnim časopisima. U časopisima je počeo u međuratnom razdoblju navoditi, uz Franz Arens, i ime Christian koje se ne nalazi u bibliotečnim katalozima. On je savršeno poznao engleski jezik i prevodio je mnogo s engleskog na njemački jezik. Arens po učvršćenju Hitlerove vladavine već od 1934. biva onemogućen u Njemačkoj i tražeći više godina zemlju utočišta od progona završava u Zagrebu gdje potvrđeno prebiva od 1940. Znanstvenik dr. Franz Arens bio je tretiran kao njemački Židov, preživio je rat u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj a poslije rata završio je smrću u komunističkom logoru Krndija 3. siječnja 1946. godine. Na njegovom grobu piše: 'Dr. Franz Arens /geb. 21. 12. 1880. / ges. 3. 1. 1946.'" Mužić 2016, str. 28-29. Na stranici VIAF-a prije popisa njegovih radova stoji: Franz Christian Arens, Beč 1880 – 1946, povjesničar i prevoditelj, <http://viaf.org/viaf/62297284>. Podaci o njegovu radu mogu se naći i na stranicama <http://kalliope-verbund.info/de/eac?eac.id=116320346> i WBIS-a.

² Istraživanja je vodio arheolog Tonči Burić iz Muzeja

¹ The author of the text is Franz Christian Arens. The following is written about him in the Jewish Biographical Lexicon: "Franz Arens (Abeles), historian and publicist (Vienna, 20 December 1880 – the Đakovo camp, 1942, or Krndija, 3 January 1946). Doctor of Science. A relative of Z. Vinski. In 1892 he changed his last name to Arens. From 1909 he lived and worked in Munich at the Südost-Institut (1930–34). Arrived in Zagreb in 1938 as a refugee from Austria and collaborated with the Croatian Publishing (Bibliographic) Institute. Prior to that, he had spent a short time in Bežice. He is the author of the article 'An important contribution to early Croatian history. A new piece of information from the British Museum, mentioning Croatian King Trpimir' (Hrvatska revija, 1940, 11). After the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia, on 30 June 1941, he reported possession of valuables (a gold watch) and cash in the amount of 6100 dinars to the Ministry of National Economy, Office for Economic Reconstruction. According to some sources, he died of typhus in the camp at Đakovo, while others claimed he had perished in the camp at Krndija." <https://zbl.lzmk.hr?p=3532>. Ivan Mužić wrote the following about him, inter alia: "Franz Christian Arens, born 21 December 1880 in Vienna, was a serious scientist, who could not have invented the article published in Hrvatska revija in 1940... Franz Arens published treatises in various professional journals between the two world wars, in particular on art history. In the interwar period, he began to use the name Christian along with Franz Arens, but it is not recorded in library catalogues. He spoke English perfectly and translated a lot from English to German. When Hitler consolidated his power, Arens was prevented from working in Germany as early as 1934 and, seeking refuge from persecution for several years, ended up in Zagreb. It is confirmed he resided there since 1940... The scientist Dr. Franz Arens was treated as a German Jew, and survived the war in the Independent State of Croatia. After the war, he died in the communist camp at Krndija on 3 January 1946. The inscription on his grave reads: 'Dr. Franz Arens /geb. 21. 12. 1880. / ges. 3. 1. 1946.'" Mužić 2016, pp. 28–29. The VIAF website indicates the following before the list of his works: Franz Christian Arens, Vienna 1880–1946, historian and translator, <http://viaf.org/viaf/62297284>. Information about his work can also be found on the <http://kalliope-verbund.info/de/eac?eac.id=116320346> and WBIS websites.

Godine 2012. izlazi u *Starohrvatskoj prosvjeti* zanimljiv tekst, „Potpuna vjerodostojnost vrela o hrvatskim vladarima u prilogu Franza Arensa“, koji temeljito objašnjava vrijednost teksta objavljenog sedamdesetak godina ranije.³

Ova dva rada bit će nam sada okosnica raspre o vjerodostojnosti postojanja kodeksa, a time i fresaka hrvatskih vladara na Putalju.

Podimo redom:

“U časopisu *Hrvatska revija* u broju 11 za 1940. godinu objavljen je tekst pod naslovom *Važan prilog starohrvatskoj povijesti. Novi podatak iz British Museuma u kojem se spominje hrvatski kralj Trpimir*.

Tekst započinje: „*Pred neko vrijeme saznao sam, da se u nekom codexu XI. ili XII. st., koji navodno potječe iz Italije, a sad se čuva u British Museumu (London), nalaze neki dodaci, od kojih se jedan mora bez ikakve sumnje odnositi na Dalmaciju, jer se u njemu spominje ecclesia Salonitana... U ovom novom prinosu spominje se naime kralj Trpimir.*”⁴ Autor teksta Franz Christian Arens na kraju donosi tekst kodeksa.

U hrvatskom prijevodu Ive Guberine latinski tekst glasi:

Pomozi svemoguću Bože.

Nadbiskupu solinske crkve.

Za crkvu blaženog Ga(b)riela na brdu Pasulju (Pasulio, Putalj).

Naime za srušeni zid crkve bl. Jurja na istočnoj strani 12 mjera žita po volji.

Slikaru za obnovu slike kralja (i) utemeljitelja na stari ravenski način, u crkvi na brdu, jedan solid.

Slikaru za obnovu slike kralja Trpimira na stari ravenski način u istoj crkvi, jedan solid.

Slikaru za sliku nedavno umrlog kralja sa sinom Petrom i mladim Tomislavom (Tumithao), koje se cijena ima utanačiti u kući upravitelja velike crkve i bez majstora na zboru natjecatelj.

Za utvrdu posjeda izpod spomenutog brda, troškom velike crkve i nagradom od dva solida i po.

A nad svim ovim jednoga slugu imenom Svaraju ili koga drugoga tjelesno jaka i zdrava, a bez obitelji.

hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, koji je uz Slobodana Čaču i Ivu Fadića i autor monografije *Sv. Juraj od Putalja*.

³ Ivan Mužić, Potpuna vjerodostojnost vrela o hrvatskim kraljevima u prilogu Franza Arensa, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, III. serija – svezak 39, Split 2012.

⁴ Mužić 2012, str. 46.

From 1988 to 1995, systematic archaeological excavations were carried out at Putalj. The results were published in 2001 in the monograph *Sv. Juraj od Putalja* (St. George of Putalj).²

In 2012, an interesting text was published in *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, „Potpuna vjerodostojnost vrela o hrvatskim vladarima u prilogu Franza Arensa” (“Full credibility of the source on Croatian kings in Franz Arens’s article”), thoroughly elaborating the value of the text published seventy years earlier.³

These two works will now be our backbone of the discussion about the credibility of the existence of the codex, and the very frescoes of Croatian rulers at Putalj.

Let us start from the beginning:

“In issue 11 for the year 1940 of the *Hrvatska revija* journal, an article was published entitled *Važan prilog starohrvatskoj povijesti. Novi podatak iz British Museuma u kojem se spominje hrvatski kralj Trpimir (An important contribution to early Croatian history. A new piece of information from the British Museum, mentioning Croatian King Trpimir)*.

The text begins as follows: “*Some time ago I learned that some codex from the 11th or 12th century, allegedly originating from Italy, and now kept in the British Museum (London), contained some appendices, one of which undoubtedly referring to Dalmatia, due to a mention of ecclesia Salonitana... In this new article, King Trpimir is mentioned.*”⁴

The author of the text, Franz Christian Arens, also presented the transcript of the codex.

In the Croatian translation by Ivo Guberina, the Latin text reads as follows:

Help, almighty God.

To the Archbishop of the Church of Solin.

For the church of St. Ga(b)riel on the hill of Pasulio (Pasulio, Putalj).

Namely, for the demolished wall of the church of St. George on the east side, 12 measures of grain at convenience.

² The research was led by archaeologist Tonči Burić from the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments. Together with Slobodan Čače and Ivo Fadić, he also authored the monograph entitled *Sv. Juraj od Putalja*.

³ Ivan Mužić, Potpuna vjerodostojnost vrela o hrvatskim kraljevima u prilogu Franza Arensa, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, III. serija – svezak 39, Split 2012.

⁴ Mužić 2012, p. 46.

Članak koji je Ivo Guberina objavio na ovu temu 1943. godine pod naslovom *O postanku hrvatske krune donosi*: „Ovaj obračun pokazuje račune splitskom nadbiskupu o trošku za obnovu slike kralja utemeljitelja i Trpimira. To pretpostavlja da se slike tada nijesu originalno pravile, već samo popravljale ili obnavljale... Kad se spominje Mislava i Trpimirova slika, određuje se dapače i način, kako se je pravila (na stari ravenski način, t.j. vjerojatno mozaik).“⁵

„Ljubo Karaman, u jednom radu o starohrvatskoj umjetnosti objavljenom (također) 1943. godine nije posumnjao u vjerodostojnost Arensovog priloga, ali on sadržaj vrela shvaća ovako: ‘Viest o drugima, vrlo važnim slikarijama donio nam je u najnovije vrijeme čudan slučaj i sretan nalaz. U nekom kodeksu u Britanskom muzeju u Londonu, navodno iz 11. ili 12. stoljeća, dodan je zapis o nekim računima, koje prokurator splitske crkve prikazuje svojem nadbiskupu u pogledu troškova za popravak crkve sv. Jurja u Putalju... U računu se spominje, da je bio izplaćen slikaru jedan zlatni novac za popravak slike kneza (Mislava), koji je crkvu utemeljio, jedan zlatni novac za popravak slike Trpimira... a osim toga plaćen je slikar za portrete (imagines) nedavno umrlog hrvatskog vladara, po svoj prilici Mutimira, sa sinovima Petrom i Tomislavom. Tako je u maloj crkvi sv. Jurja u Putalju, koja se, višekrat pregrađena, i danas diže iznad Sućurca, jednom bilo pet portreta članova hrvatske dinastije Trpimirovića. To su najstarije slike vladara kod Slavena, za koje znamo. One nam dokazuju, da su se Hrvati i u ovom povodili za običajima Bizanta i Zapada. U zapisu se još veli, da su slike popravljene na stari ravenatski način.’“⁶

Ivo Guberina prvi se ozbiljnije pozabavio kodeksom, a zanimljiv je bio i Ljubi Karamanu. Dominik Mandić proučavao je dokument i pokušao mu je ući u trag.⁷ Podatak o kodeksu jedni su izrugivali, drugi prihvaćali i s različitom dozom opreza spominjali. Tako Cvito Fisković kaže sljedeće: „Dukljanski kralj je jedini dosad poznati svjetovni

To the painter for the restoration of the painting of the king (and) the founder in the old style of Ravenna, in the church on the hill, one solidus.

To the painter for the restoration of the painting of King Trpimir in the old style of Ravenna in the same church, one solidus.

To the painter for a painting of the recently deceased king with his son Peter and young Tomislav (Tumithao), the payment for which shall be arranged in the house of the warden of the large church, and with no masters bidding.

For the fortification of the estate below said hill, at the expense of the large church, and a fee of two and a half solidi.

And in addition to all this, one servant named Svaraja, or someone else, physically strong and healthy, and without a family.

Ivo Guberina published an article on this topic in 1943 under the title *On the origin of the Croatian crown*, and wrote the following: “This bill of quantities contains the accounts for the Archbishop of Split concerning the expenditures for the restoration of a painting of the founder-king and Trpimir. This assumes that the paintings were not originally made at the time, but merely repaired or restored... When referring to the painting of Mislav and Trpimir, even the style in which it had been made is specified (viz. the old style of Ravenna, i.e. probably a mosaic).”⁵

“In one of his works on early Croatian art, (also) published in 1943, Ljubo Karaman did not doubt the authenticity of Arens’s information, but his understanding of the content of the source was as follows: ‘Recently, an unusual coincidence and fortunate find have brought us news on other, quite important paintings. A codex in the British Museum in London, allegedly from the 11th or 12th century, contains an added record of some bills of account, presented by the procurator of the church of Split to his archbishop regarding the costs of repairing the church of St. George in Putalj... The bill of account mentions that the painter was paid one gold coin to repair the painting of the prince (Mislav) who had founded the church, one gold coin to repair the painting of Trpimir ... and that the painter was also paid for portraits (imagines) of the recently deceased Croatian ruler, probably Mutimir, with his sons Peter and Tomislav. Thus, the small church of St. George in Putalj, repeatedly rebuilt and still

⁵ Mužić 2012, str. 46-48; Guberina 1944, str. 64-68.

⁶ Mužić 2012, str. 49; Karaman 1943, str. 75.

⁷ „Mi smo god.1957. pismeno tražili od uprave odjeljenja za rukopise Britanskog muzeja, da nađe i da nam pošalje fotografski snimak Arensova troškovnika. I dobili smo odgovor od ravnatelja pismohrane, da mu nije moguće pronaći traženi dokumenat, jer srednjovjekovni kodeksi u Britanskom muzeju još nijesu svestran proučeni ni opisani.“ Mužić 2012, str. 50.

⁵ Mužić 2012, pp. 46-48; Guberina 1944, pp. 64-68.

lik na dalmatinskim freskama. Da li su na predromaničkoj crkvi sv. Jurja u Putalju iznad Kaštel-Sučurca pod Kozjakom bili doista naslikani hrvatski knezovi, članovi kraljevskog roda Trpimirovića, nije još utvrđeno, jer treba provjeriti tu zasad sumnjivu vijest, koja se ušuljala i u povijest dalmatinske umjetnosti, preuzeta iz tobožnje bilješke nekog starog rukopisa koji je dospio u Englesku.⁸

Duško Kečkemet u knjizi o Kaštel Sućurcu donosi uz svoja zapažanja o izgledu unutrašnjosti crkve kad ju je on obašao, i Karamanov osvrt na tekst kodeksa: „Cijela je crkva danas iznutra jednolično obojena bojom miješanom s vapnom, ali se pod bojom u samoj apsi nazire stara boja tehnike fresaka, s jednostavnim zidnim ukrasom polja i pojaseva, koja potječe iz vremena crkvice s današnjom apsidom, vjerojatno iz kraja XV ili početka XVI stoljeća. Uz starohrvatsku crkvicu sv. Jurja na Putalju povezani su podatci o najstarijem našem zidnom slikarstvu. Lj. Karaman navodi da se u nekom kodeksu u British Museumu u Londonu, navodno iz XI ili XII stoljeća, nalazi naknadno dodan zapis računa koje je prokurator splitske crkve podnio nadbiskupu o troškovima za popravak crkve sv. Jurja u Putalju. U tome se računu navodi isplata od jednog zlatnog novca nekom slikaru za popravak slike kneza koji je crkvu utemeljio (Mislava), jedan zlatni novac za popravak slike Trpimira, koji je crkvu darovao splitskom nadbiskupu, a plaćen je slikar i za portrete (images) nedavno umrlog hrvatskog vladara, po svoj prilici Muncimira, sa sinovima Petrom i Tomislavom. Tako se u toj crkvi nekada nalazilo pet portreta vladara hrvatske dinastije Trpimirovića. Slike su, veli zapis, popravljene na stari 'ravenatski' način. To bi, dakle, bile najstarije dokumentirane slike vladara u Slavenu uopće. Zbog rušenja crkve u turskim ratovima, nažalost, nisu sačuvane kao one u crkvi Sv. Mihajla u Stonu iz XI st. ili brojne kasnije u srpskim i makedonskim vladarskim zadužbinama.“⁹

Na kraju rada *Potpuna vjerodostojnost vrela o hrvatskim kraljevima u prilogu Franza Arensa* jezična je analiza kodeksa koju je, nakon poznavateljica srednjovjekovnog latinskog jezika Ive Guberine, Dominika Mandića, Ive Omrčanina i Milana Ivaniševića, napravio vrhunski autoritet za latinski jezik antičkog i srednjovjekovnog doba Jozo Marević. Nitko od njih ne sumnja u autentičnost kodeksa, a Marević pojašnjava:

*standing above Sućurac, once had five portraits of members of the Croatian Trpimirović dynasty. These are the earliest paintings of rulers among the Slavs known to us. They prove that the Croats followed the customs of Byzantium and the West in this aspect as well. The record also indicates that the paintings were repaired in the old style of Ravenna.*⁶

Ivo Guberina was the first to address the code in earnest, while Ljubo Karaman also found it interesting. Dominik Mandić was studying the document and attempted to trace it.⁷ The information about the code was mocked by some, accepted by others, and in general mentioned with varying degrees of caution. Thus Cvito Fisković noted the following: “*The King of Duklja is the only secular figure known to date on the Dalmatian frescoes. It has not yet been determined whether Croatian dukes, members of the royal family of Trpimirović were painted in the pre-Romanesque church of St. George in Putalj above Kaštel-Sučurac. This dubious piece of information, which has crept into the history of Dalmatian art, taken from a supposed note out of an old manuscript brought to England, needs to be verified.*”⁸

In his book about Kaštel Sućurac, Duško Kečkemet presented his observations about the appearance of the interior of the church during his visit, as well as Karaman's review of the text of the codex: “*Today, the whole church is uniformly painted with a colour mixed with lime. However, old paint of the fresco technique can be seen under the paint layer in the apse itself, with a simple wall decoration of fields and sections, dating from the time of the church with today's apse, probably the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century. The information on our earliest wall painting is associated with the early Croatian church of St. George at Putalj. Lj. Karaman noted that a codex in the British Museum in London, allegedly from the 11th or 12th century, contains a subsequently added record*

⁶ Mužić 2012, p. 49; Karaman 1943, p. 75.

⁷ “*In 1957, wrote to the management of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, asking them to find and send us a photographic print of Arens's bill of quantities. We did receive an answer from the manager of the archives. He replied it was not possible to find the requested document, since the mediaeval codices in the British Museum were not yet comprehensively studied and described.*” Mužić 2012, p. 50.

⁸ Fisković 1965, p. 12.

⁸ Fisković 1965, str. 12.

⁹ Kečkemet 1978, str.62.

„Gotovo svaki povijesni dokument može kriti u sebi neku zamku, podvalu ili čak laži... i gramatičke pogreške su ovdje tipične za prepisivače notare.“¹⁰

Nakon temeljitih arheoloških istraživanja i sveobuhvatne stručne obrade materijala, o freskama je objavljeno sljedeće: „O postojanju objekta znatnijih dimenzija posebno svjedoče ulomci žbuke sa ostaci-ma slikarija (freske). Ulomci su odreda veoma usitnjeni, ali se mogu razabrati neke važne pojedinosti, kako s obzirom na objekt u kojem su stajale freske, tako i s obzirom na slikarije. Ponajprije o rasprostiranju nalaza. Kako se vidi na šematskom prikazu, najgušći raspored nalaza javlja se južno od crkve. Praznina zapadno od crkve (kv. VII i XII) zasigurno je posljedica prekopavanja i gradnje kosturnice 1926. godine, te bi se južni pojas nalaza tako mogao povezati s onim u kv. XVII sjeverozapadno od crkve i u kv. C2 na zapadnom rubu završni. No veći broj nalaza u cisterni nedvojbeno valja povezati s tamošnjim nalazima komada koji potječu od ukrasnih arhitektonskih elemenata ranijeg rimskog doba, kao i s raznim drugim nalazima koji pokazuju da je u ispuni cisterne materijal prebačen s obližnjih mjesta. S druge strane, nedostatak nalaza pod crkvom znači da je tu, već u starokršćansko doba, prostor temeljito raskrčen i očišćen. Među ulomcima (sl. 15) sačuvani su oni koji pripadaju kutovima ožbukane prostorije F-1, kao i oni s bridova na uglovi-ma F-2. Radi se očividno o većoj ožbukanoj stijeni s nišom ili raščlanjenoj lezenama. Pravokutne su plohe imale tamniju crvenu boju i posebnu široku crnu borduru koja je vjerojatno zatvarala pravokutni okvir F-3. Nejasno je na koji način se s ovim slažu brojni ulomci iz kojih se razabire da je na zidu bila razmjerno velika kompozicija. Osobito je dobro sačuvan ulomak s dijelom glave (kosa, čelo, oči; F-4). Naslućuje se živ pokret. Ima više ulomaka na kojima se naziru obrisi golih tijela i draperija. Nijanse zelene nedvojbeno pripadaju prikazu otvorenoga krajolika i raslinja; ulomci s plavom bojom ostaci su prikaza neba F-5. Razmjerno prikazu dijela ljudske glave F-4, čini se da je ljudska figura mjerila 40 cm. U svemu se smije zaključiti da je riječ o lijepo izrađenoj zidnoj slikariji, zacijelo s kakvom mitološkom temom. Pretpostavljamo da će naknadna proučavanja pobliže odrediti stilsku i užu vremensku pripadnost, no za sad se može kazati da je riječ o radu iznenađujuće kakvoće.“¹¹

U tumačenju kodeksa navedena je mogućnost da

of a bill of account submitted by the procurator of the church in Split to the archbishop regarding the costs of repairing the church of St. George in Putalj. This bill of account indicates the payment of one gold coin to a painter for the repair of the painting of the duke who founded the church (Mislav), one gold coin for the repair of the painting of Trpimir, who donated the church to the Archbishop of Split, and a fee for the painter of portraits (images) of the recently deceased Croatian ruler, presumably Muncimir, with his sons Peter and Tomislav. Thus, there used to be five portraits of the rulers from the Croatian dynasty of Trpimirović in this church. The paintings were, according to the record, repaired in the old style of 'Ravenna'. Therefore, these would be the earliest documented paintings of rulers among the Slavs in general. Unfortunately, since the church was demolished in the Turkish wars, they are not preserved as those in the church of St. Michael in Ston from the 11th century, or numerous later ones in Serbian and Macedonian rulers' endowments.”⁹

At the end of the paper *Potpuna vjerodostojnost vrela o hrvatskim kraljevima u prilogu Franza Arensa* (Full credibility of the source on Croatian kings in Franz Arens's article) there is a linguistic analysis of the codex made by Jozo Marević, a leading authority on the Latin language of antique and medieval times, following in the footsteps of Ivo Guberina, Dominik Mandić, Ivo Omrčanin, and Milan Ivanišević, all connoisseurs of mediaeval Latin. None of them doubted the authenticity of the codex, while Marević elaborated as follows:

“Almost every historical document can conceal a trap, a hoax or even lies ... whereas here the grammatical errors are typical of notary scribes.”¹⁰

After thorough archaeological research and comprehensive professional treatment of the material, the following was published regarding the frescoes: “Fragments of plaster with the remains of paintings (frescoes) testify to the existence of a building of considerable dimensions. All fragments are rather small, but some important details can be discerned, both with regard to the building in which the frescoes were made, as well as the paintings. Let us first consider the distribution of finds. The schematic shows that the distribution of finds is densest south of the church. The gap to the west of the church (Q

¹⁰ Mužić 2012, str. 53-54.

¹¹ Čače 2001, str. 84-85.

⁹ Kečkemet 1978, p. 62.

¹⁰ Mužić 2012, pp. 53-54.

su slike vladara rađene u mozaiku. O mozaiku pronađenom na Putalju napisano je: „Na cijelom istraženom prostoru nađene su i pojedinačne mozaičke tesserae istih boja kao što su i one na fragmentu sačuvanog mozaičnog poda. Iznimku čini nekoliko staklenih kockica s pozlatom. (Kockice s pozlatom izrađene su od žučkastosmeđeg stakla. Na staklenu površinu nanijeta je pozlata, a preko nje je ponovno nanesen sloj staklene smjese.). U prvom trenutku se pomišljalo da su one bile postavljene na nekom zidnom mozaiku, jer su se takve kockice sa pozlatom gotovo u pravilu nalazile na zidnim ploham. Međutim, s obzirom da ih nije pronađena veća količina, logičnije je pretpostaviti da su se i one nalazile na ovom istom mozaičkom podu, te da je pomoću njih bio ispisivan neki kraći tekst. Od staklene paste su, osim one s pozlatom, izrađene i kobaltno modra, mliječna, maslinasto zelena, te zelena i poneka smeđa kockica. Sve u svemu, na 27 istraženih kvadranta pronađeno je 1734 mozaičkih kockica različitih boja: nekoliko nijansi zelenih, plavih i crvenih, zatim crna, bijela, mliječno prozirna, žučkasta, siva, dva tona smeđe.“¹²

Karaman je u svojoj zabilješci s istraživanja 1926. zapisao da su s Putalja i kocka mozaika od kamena i stakla.¹³

Sad bismo se mogli zadržati na navedenom.

Crkvu koja se spominje u Trpimirovoj darovnici, knez Mislav gradio je na ostacima ranije starokršćanske građevine. Je li ju Mislav gradio ili je staru samo obnovio i vremenu prilagodio?¹⁴ Jesu li postojali u ranokršćanskom zdanju zidni mozaici?¹⁵ Je li ih Mislav kod obnove crkve ostavio, možda dao obnoviti i doraditi ili sasvim nove uraditi? Tada bi

¹² Fadić 2001, str. 122.

¹³ Burić 2001, str. 15.

¹⁴ „Obnova starokršćanskih crkava u srednjem vijeku veoma je česta, pa se s te strane putaljski primjer sasvim uklapa u već poznatu sliku na našoj obali.“ Burić, 2001, str. 166.

Moguće je da je ranokršćanski objekt bio u dovoljno dobrom stanju kad je predromanička crkva zadržala iste gabarite.

¹⁵ Ranokršćanski mozaici koji se na početku 4. stoljeća javljaju isključivo kao ukras poda, polagano i postupno, zbog Teodozijevega edikta, ali i novog tehnološkog i arhitektonskog izazova u ukrašavanju crkvenih apsida i svodova, doživljavaju korjenite promjene. Nova podloga nije nužno trebala biti onako čvrsta kao podna, tako da se otvarala veća sloboda pri stvaranju djela i postizala se ekspresivnost s naglaskom na duhovnost i transcendentnost. Paralelno s tim povećavala se i upotreba zlatnih tesera. Garčević 2006, str. 113.

VII and Q XII) is certainly a consequence of the digging and construction of the ossuary in 1926, and the southern section of finds could thus be connected with that in Q XVII, northwest of the church and in Q C2 on the western edge of the table-land. However, a large number of finds in the cistern should undoubtedly be associated with the local finds of pieces originating from decorative architectural elements from the early Roman era, as well as with various other finds showing that the cistern material was transferred from nearby locations. On the other hand, the lack of finds under the church means that the area was already thoroughly cleared and cleaned in the early Christian era. Among the fragments (Fig. 15), those from the corners of the plastered room F-1, as well as those from the edges at the corners F-2 are preserved. Obviously, the wall was large and plastered, with a niche or divided by lesenes. Rectangular surfaces were of a dark red colour and had a separate wide black border that probably enclosed rectangular frame F-3. The correlation with numerous fragments revealing that there was a relatively large composition on the wall is unclear. One fragment showing a part of a head (hair, forehead, eyes; F-4) is particularly well preserved. There is an impression of a lively movement. Outlines of naked bodies and draperies can be discerned on a number of fragments. Shades of green undoubtedly belong to a depiction of open landscape and vegetation, while blue fragments are remnants of a representation of the sky F-5. Judging by the dimensions of the depiction of a part of the human head F-4, the human figure appears to have measured 40 cm. Consequently, it can be concluded that this is a beautifully made wall painting, most likely with a mythological theme. We assume that subsequent studies will determine its stylistic and precise temporal affiliation, but for now it can be said that this is a work of surprising quality.”¹¹

The interpretation of the codex states the possibility that the paintings of the rulers were made in a mosaic. The following was written about the mosaic found on Putalj: “Respective mosaic tesserae of the same colours as those on the fragment of the preserved mosaic floor were found in the entire investigated area. The exception is a few small square pieces of glass with gilding. (The small square pieces are made of yellowish brown glass. Gilding was applied to the glass surface, with a layer of glass

¹¹ Čače 2001, pp. 84–85.

tu mogli biti i prikazi vladara koje spominje kodeks kad kaže da su obnovljeni na stari ravenski način, što može podrazumijevati da je to mozaik. U navedenoj monografiji voditelj istraživanja o ovoj temi zaključuje: „U proučavanju umjetničkih spomenika ranosrednjovjekovne crkve sv. Juraj na Putalju neizbježno se nameće i pitanje fresaka s likovima Trpimirovića, o čemu je bilo više puta govora u literaturi. Iskopavanja nisu potvrdila njihovo postojanje, pa taj podatak ne bi trebalo ubuduće uzimati u obzir. Sumnju u vjerodostojnost toga podatka zadržavam i danas, nakon završenih istraživanja. Naime, sustavna iskopavanja na Putalju iznijela su na vidjelo ostatke kasnoantičkog mozaika i sitne ulomke višebojnih figuralnih fresaka, iz ranorimskog razdoblja, a nema ni najmanjeg traga postojanju nekih srednjovjekovnih fresaka ili mozaika. I stratigrafija nalaza, unatoč poremećenosti slojeva, ukazuje na to da otkrivene ulomke valja datirati ranije.“¹⁶

„Josip Stošić (1935. – 2009.), poznati hrvatski povjesničar umjetnosti, vjerovao je u Arensove podatke kao istinite i držao je da su pronađeni ostaci fresaka predromanički.“¹⁷

Na kraju svog rada u *Starohrvatskoj prosvjeti* Ivan Mužić zaključuje: „Mislav je, prema Trpimirovoj darovnici, sagradio, obnovio crkvu sv. Jurja na Putalju i taj podatak je dokumentiran ostacima predromaničkog namještaja iz tog vremena. Sasvim je moguće i svojedobno stvarno postojanje predromaničkih fresaka (slika) s likovima hrvatskih vladara u crkvi sv. Jurja u Putalju, koje se vjerojatno već za mongolskih i posebno turskih pustošenja moglo posve zatrti.“¹⁸

O uređenju Mislavove crkve napisano je ovo:

„Na osnovi svega iznesenog, smatram da su predromanički namještaj crkve sv. Jurja na Putalju radili majstori iz Italije, i to iz jednog od gore navedenih središta venecijansko-friulanskog područja, najvjerojatnije iz Akvileje. Sve analogije u Italiji datirane su pretežno u drugu pol. 8. i prvu pol. 9. st., a ni jedna ne prelazi 9. st., pa će i putaljska skulptura pripadati tom vremenu, ali u njezinu slučaju prva pol. 9. st. predstavlja najrealniji okvir, koji je moguće, zahvaljujući pisanim izvorima, i pobliže odrediti. U Trpimirovoj darovnici sačuvan je podatak da je hrvatski knez Mislav dao podići crkvu sv. Jurja na Putalju. Mislavovo kneževanje približ-

mixture re-applied over it.) At first it was thought that they had been placed on a wall mosaic, because such small square pieces with gilding had almost exclusively been mounted on wall surfaces. However, since no larger quantity was found, it is more logical to assume that they were also set on this same mosaic floor, used to inscribe a short text. Apart from the one with gilding, cobalt blue, milky, olive green, as well as a green and some brown small square pieces were made of glass paste. All told, 1,734 tesserae of different colours were found in 27 investigated quadrants: several in shades of green, blue and red, as well as black, white, transparent milky, yellowish, grey, two tones of brown.“¹²

In his note from the 1926 research, Karaman wrote that a tessera made of stone and another glass one were also from Putalj.¹³

Now we could discuss this at length.

The church mentioned in Trpimir's charter was built by Duke Mislav on the remains of an early Christian building. Did Mislav build it or did he just renovate the earlier one to adapt it to the times?¹⁴ Were there wall mosaics in the early Christian building?¹⁵ Did Mislav leave them during the renovation of the church, or maybe had them restored and finished, or commissioned completely new ones? In this case, there could have been depictions of the ruler mentioned in the codex with an indication that they had been restored in the old style of Ravenna, which may imply a mosaic.

In the mentioned monograph, the investigation director concluded the following on this topic: “The

¹² Fadić 2001, p. 122.

¹³ Burić 2001, p. 15.

¹⁴ “Early Christian churches were quite frequently restored in the Middle Ages, so from that point of view the Putalj example fits perfectly into the already known situation on our coast.”

Burić, 2001, p. 166.

It is possible that the early Christian building had been in good enough condition since the pre-Romanesque church retained the same dimensions.

¹⁵ *Early Christian mosaics, which appeared from the beginning of the fourth century as floor decorations only, slowly and gradually, due to Theodosius's edict, as well as new technological and architectural challenges in decorating church apses and vaults, were exposed to radical changes. New bases did not necessarily have to be as solid as the floors, so that greater freedom was allowed in the creation of works, and expressiveness was achieved with an emphasis on spirituality and transcendentality. At the same time, the use of gold tesserae was on the rise.* Garčević 2006, p. 113.

¹⁶ Burić 2001, str. 193.

¹⁷ Mužić 2012, str. 53.

¹⁸ Mužić 2012, str. 52-53.

no je datirano od 835-845 g. i ono je dosad služilo i za datiranje skulpture iz Sv. Jurja bez provedbe stilsko-kronološke analize. Sada je i ta analiza dala isti kronološki rezultat i potvrdila vjerodostojnost podatka iz darovnice. Sukladnost oba historijska izvora, arheološkog i diplomatičkog, omogućuje da se gradnja predromaničke crkve sv. Jurja na Putalju i izrada njezina kamenog namještaja približno datiraju oko 840. g. za vladavine kneza Mislava...

Vjerojatno se radi o poblize nepoznatim vezama i događajima iz prve pol. 9. st. koji su se odvijali na relaciji Split - Italija, a koje bi trebalo poblize ispitati, premda rana predromanička skulptura iz bizantskih gradova u Dalmaciji općenito, a koja se može datirati do sredine 9. st., pokazuje dosta sličnosti i stilskih i tipoloških, s istodobnom skulpturom iz Italije. To je dosta turbulentno vrijeme kad se upravo na tom području sudaraju Bizant i Franačka, pa su dalmatinski gradovi, odvojeni od svojega prirodnog zaleđa, samim tim upućeni na pomorske kontakte s gradovima u Italiji. Tek od sredine 9. st. otpočinju intenzivniji kontakti s mladom hrvatskom kneževinom. Tada i dalmatinski majstori kreću samostalnim putem u razvitku skulpture i šire je na teritorij susjedne kneževine Hrvatske.¹⁹

Za uređenje crkve dovedeni su klesari iz sjeverne Italije. Nesumnjivo su i zidove lijepo ukrasili jednako kvalitetni majstori poput onih koji su radili na klesanju oltarne ograde. A jesu li i slikari koji su oslikavali crkvu iz istog kraja ili su to bili bizantski majstori fresko-slikari, koji su ujedno bili i vješti mozaičari?²⁰

Tko je bio i kakvim je slikama oslikavao predromaničku crkvu na Putalju nije nam poznato, kao ni to koliko dugo su se one održale. U kodeksu se spominje obnova slika, dok s druge strane: „Ana-

study of artistic monuments of the early mediaeval church of St. George at Putalj inevitably raises the question of frescoes depicting the Trpimirovićs, which has been discussed a number of times in the literature. The excavations have not confirmed their existence, so this information should not be taken into account in the future. I still have doubts about the credibility of this information, after the completion of the research. Namely, systematic excavations at Putalj brought to light the remains of a late antique mosaic and small fragments of multicoloured figural frescoes from the early Roman period, but without the slightest trace of the existence of any mediaeval frescoes or mosaics. Even the stratigraphy of the finds, despite the disturbance of the layers, indicates that the discovered fragments should be dated to an earlier period.”¹⁶

“Josip Stošić (1935–2009), a renowned Croatian art historian, believed Arens’s information was genuine and thought that the unearthed remains of the frescoes were pre-Romanesque.”¹⁷

Ivan Mužić concluded the following at the end of his work in Starohrvatska prosvjeta: “According to Trpimir’s charter, Mislav built and renovated the church of St. George at Putalj, and this information is recorded by way of the remains of pre-Romanesque furniture from that time. It is quite possible that pre-Romanesque frescoes (paintings) depicting the figures of Croatian rulers actually existed in the church of St. George at Putalj, and that they could probably have been completely obliterated during the Mongol and especially Turkish ravages.”¹⁸

The following was written about the furnishing of Mislav’s church:

“Based on all of the above, I believe that the pre-Romanesque furniture of the church of St. George at Putalj was made by masters from Italy, from one of the above-mentioned centres of the Venetian-Friulian area, most probably from Aquileia. All analogies in Italy are dated mainly to the second half of the eighth and the first half of the ninth century, none of them beyond the ninth century, so the Putalj sculpture also belongs to that time. Notwithstanding, in its case, the first half of the ninth century represents the most realistic framework, which can also be determined more precisely, thanks to written sources. Trpimir’s charter indi-

¹⁹ Burić 1983, str. 158-159.

²⁰ Za okosnicu zaključivanja o fenomenu pojave majstora slikarstva koje u programski sažetome ciklusu prepleće predznake bizantskog podrijetla i južnotalijanske prakse, dakle, odlučne su sukladnosti stanja u zemljama koje dotiču susjedne obale Jadrana. Makar i ne znamo točno odakle svaki izvođač pojedinog djela dolazi, neće biti slučajno da su ih u prošlosti nazivali »grčkim majstorima«, što potvrđuje koliko su niti poveznice s istočnim Sredozemljem bile korjenite i žilave. No s obzirom na to da se slično zbiva i u svoj Italiji, ne bi bilo umjesno odricati njihovo prolaženje kroz tamošnja duhovna i estetska rešeta, pa u istoj perspektivi tumačimo i u dubrovačkom prostoru istovjetno osvjedočene slikare. Fisković 2009, str. 26.

Više o „bizantiz(a)ma“ u romaničkom slikarstvu istočnoga Jadarana, Maraković 2018. str. 99-109.

¹⁶ Burić 2001, p. 193.

¹⁷ Mužić 2012, p. 53.

¹⁸ Mužić 2012, pp. 52–53.

*liza dekora na crkvenom namještaju u Sv. Jurju će pokazati da je taj namještaj rezultat jednokratne intervencije tijekom obnove ranokršćanske crkve i da niti jedan ulomak ne upućuje na još jednu fazu predromaničke skulpture u toj crkvi.*²¹

*„Ornamentalni repertoar namještaja iz Mislavove zadužbine na Putalju sadrži sve osobine razvijene predromaničke skulpture.*²²

*„Prestanak upotrebe starokršćanske crkve obnovljene u predromanici, najvjerojatnije se može pripisati statičkoj dotrajalosti objekta, jer je u povijesnom kontekstu 12.-13. stoljeća teško zamisliti rušenje objekta u nekom ratnom sukobu. ... No, kako se bez crkvenog zdanja nije moglo, moralo se prići ponovnoj izgradnji crkve, koja je sagrađena u znatno skromnijim dimenzijama.*²³

U vremenskom rasponu od gradnje predromaničke crkve do njezina urušavanja i gradnje manje, romaničke, prošlo je dovoljno vremena da je bila moguća potreba za obnovom zidnih slika početkom 10. stoljeća, kako piše u kodeksu. Jedna faza kamenih spomenika ne isključuje mogućnost potrebe obnove zidnih slika koje su propadljivije od kamena.

*„Na istom mjestu sagrađena je koncem 14. stoljeća nova crkva u gotičkom graditeljskom slogu i približno istih dimenzija... ostaci romaničke apside nisu sačuvani, vjerojatno se radilo o obloj (bačvastoj) apside kakva je uobičajena kod romaničkih crkava u distriktima Splita i Trogira.*²⁴

Nakon urušavanja predromaničke crkve nova, romanička, je puno manja.²⁵ Rušenjem zidova većeg objekta nestale su i freske, a njihova sadašnja sačuvanost nije ni mogla biti bolja uz sudbinu karkava je pratila putaljske crkve.²⁶

* * *

Nakon arheoloških istraživanja saznali smo da su freske na Putalju mogle biti u manjem objektu iz rimskog doba, većem ranokršćanskom i jedna-

cates that the Croatian Duke Mislav had the church of St. George erected at Putalj. Mislav's dukeship is approximately dated to the period from 835 to 845, which has also been used to date the sculpture from St. George, without a stylistic-chronological analysis. Now, this analysis has yielded the same chronological result and confirmed the authenticity of the information from the charter. The correspondence of both historical sources, archaeological and diplomatic, allows the dating of the construction of the pre-Romanesque church of St. George at Putalj and the making of its stone furniture to around 840, during the reign of Duke Mislav...

*Probably there existed unknown connections and events from the first half of the ninth century, which took place on the route between Split and Italy, and which should be examined in more detail, although the early pre-Romanesque sculpture from Byzantine cities in Dalmatia, which can be dated up to the mid-ninth century, in general possesses many similarities, both stylistic and typological, with the contemporary sculpture from Italy. This was quite a turbulent time, when Byzantium and Francia collided in this area, and the Dalmatian towns, separated from their natural hinterland, were therefore compelled to maritime contacts with towns in Italy. It was not until the mid-ninth century that more intensive contacts with the young Croatian principality began. This is when Dalmatian masters set out their own paths in the development of sculpture, and spread it to the territory of the neighbouring principality of Croatia.*¹⁹

Stonemasons from northern Italy were brought to work on the church. Undoubtedly, the walls were beautifully decorated by masters of the same calibre as those who carved the altar screen. But, were the painters who decorated the church also from the same area, or were they Byzantine master fresco painters, also skilled mosaicists?²⁰

²¹ Burić 2001, str. 183.

²² Burić 2001, str. 186.

²³ Burić 2001, str. 194.

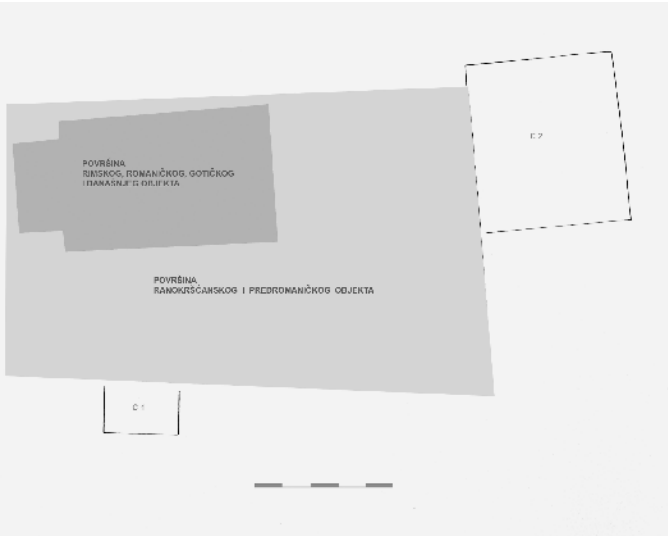
²⁴ Burić 2001, str. 195.

²⁵ Graditelji romaničke crkve pronašli su i iskoristili temelje rimskog objekta, stoga se pretpostavlja da je predromanička bila do temelja srušena.

²⁶ Tijekom prvih stoljeća novog vijeka crkva na Putalju porušena je u čestim turskim provalama. Obnovljena je tijekom 17. stoljeća. Detalje svih tih rušenja i obnova, tj. raznih faza izgradnje nije više moguće utvrditi zbog radikalne Buličeve obnove u betonu 1926. godine. Burić 2001, str. 197.

¹⁹ Burić 1983, pp. 158–159.

²⁰ *The decisive elements of the conclusion about the phenomenon of the appearance of master painters, intertwining signs of Byzantine origin and southern Italian practice in a programmatically summarised cycle, are therefore the conformities of the situations in the countries on the neighbouring Adriatic coasts. Although we do not know exactly whence each creator of respective works came from, it was not a coincidence that in the past they were called "Greek masters", which confirms how ingrained and tenacious the links with the eastern Mediterranean were. However, considering that the experiences were similar in all of Italy, it*



Sl. 1. Suodnos građevina na Putalju
Fig. 1 Comparison of structures on Putalj

ko velikom predromaničkom. Na tlocrtu je vidljivo da u vrijeme gradnje ranokršćanskog objekta onaj rimski više nije mogao postojati. Je li on porušen neposredno prije gradnje ranokršćanskog ili u neko još ranije vrijeme nije nam poznato. Zajedno s njim uništene su i njegove freske (sl. 1).

Ranokršćanski objekt bio je ukrašen, na podu je imao višebojni mozaik, a je li ga imao na zidovima?²⁷ Da bi imao mozaik na zidovima, morao bi to biti objekt od velike važnosti. Uvijek je to bio skup i zahtjevan način ukrašavanja prostora.²⁸ Na Putalju su pronađene kockice mozaika kakvima su se radili zidni mozaici, ali se njima mogao napisati i neki tekst na podu.²⁹

²⁷ Mozaik je pojavom kršćanstva postao važan umjetnički medij... Mozaička umjetnost je u savršenom skladu sa svjetonazorom vremena u kojem je osnova Plotinov neoplatonizam. U kršćanskim crkvama, izvana jednostavnim i siromašnim detaljima, dobro je uklopljeno unutarnje blještavilo i sjaj mozaičkih dekoracija, duboke simbolike i religiozne poruke. Garčević 2006, str. 119.

²⁸ Statusno značenje i financijske povlastice koje su imali slikari-mozaičari mudro su iskorišteni u diplomaciji. Garčević 2006, str. 163.

²⁹ U prvom trenutku se pomišljalo da su one bile postavljene na nekom zidnom mozaiku, jer su se takve kockice sa pozlatom gotovo u pravilu nalazile na zidnim ploham. Međutim, s obzirom da ih nije pronađena veća količina, logičnije je pretpostaviti da su se i one nalazile na ovom istom mozaičkom podu, te da je pomoću njih bio ispisivan neki kraći tekst. Ivo Fadić: Putalj u kasnoj antici, Sv. Juraj od Putalja, Split 2001, str. 122.

We know not who they were and what paintings they made in the pre-Romanesque church at Putalj, or how long they lasted. The codex mentions the restoration of paintings, while on the other hand: “Analysis of the decorations on the church furniture in St. George will show that this furniture is the result of a one-off intervention during the restoration of this early Christian church and that no fragment indicates yet another phase of pre-Romanesque sculpture in the church.”²¹

“The ornamental repertoire of furniture from Mislav’s endowment at Putalj contains all the traits of developed pre-Romanesque sculpture.”²²

“The cessation of the use of the early Christian church, restored in the pre-Romanesque period, can most probably be attributed to the structural dilapidation of the building, because it is difficult to imagine buildings being demolished in a war in the historical context of the 12th–13th century. ... However, since a church building was requisite, it was necessary to rebuild the church, which was built in much more modest dimensions.”²³

In the time span from the construction of the pre-Romanesque church to its collapse and the construction of a smaller, Romanesque one, enough time passed that there was possibly a need to restore the wall paintings at the beginning of the tenth century, as noted in the codex. One phase of stone monuments does not exclude the possibility of the need to restore wall paintings, which are more perishable than stone.

“A new church was built at the same place at the end of the 14th century, in Gothic style and approximately the same dimensions ... the remains of the Romanesque apse have not been preserved. It was probably a round (barrel) apse as was common in Romanesque churches in the districts of Split and Trogir.”²⁴

After the collapse of the pre-Romanesque church, the new Romanesque one was much small-

would not be appropriate to deny their own spiritual and aesthetic challenges over there, and therefore we interpret equally genuine painters from the Dubrovnik area from the same perspective. Fisković 2009, p. 26. For more information on the study of “Byzantinism(s)” in the Romanesque painting of the eastern Adriatic, see Maraković 2018, pp. 99–109.

²¹ Burić 2001, p. 183.

²² Burić 2001, p. 186.

²³ Burić 2001, p. 194.

²⁴ Burić 2001, p. 195.

Druga mogućnost ukrašavanja zidova su freske – dobro poznati, provjereni način duge tradicije, a i majstora je bilo dovoljno.

Nekoliko stoljeća nakon gradnje knez Mislav je ranokršćanski objekt dao obnoviti i u istim gabaritima podigao predromaničku crkvu. Ona je, kao i sve onodobne crkve, bila oslikanih zidova. Jesu li i freske, kao i građevina, obnovljene ili su sve sasvim nove rađene, nije nam poznato, ali moguće je da su rađene u bizantskom stilu ili pod njegovim utjecajem i da na to misli pisac kodeksa kad spominje ravenski stil.³⁰

* * *

Prikazat ćemo sve ulomke fresaka, koji su pronađeni zahvaljujući višegodišnjim sustavnim arheološkim istraživanjima.³¹ Na Putalju je pronađeno tristotinjak malih ulomaka zidnog oslika. Najveći je 7 x 6,5 cm, a ima ih od samo jednog centimetra. Po načinu izrade možemo ih podijeliti u tri osnovne skupine.³² Prve dvije čine ulomci na kojima su sačuvana dva sloja žbuke, *intonaco* i *arriciato*, a treću čine ulomci kod kojih je sačuvan samo sloj nositelj slike, *intonaco*.³³

U prvoj skupini grublji sloj žbuke, *arriciato*, sastoji se od vapna, finog i grubog pijeska i vrlo

er.²⁵ With the demolition of the walls of the larger building, the frescoes perished, too, and their present state of preservation simply cannot be better, given the fate of the Putalj churches.²⁶

* * *

Following the archaeological research, we learned that the frescoes at Putalj could have been in the small building from the Roman era, the larger early Christian one, and the pre-Romanesque structure equal in size. The ground plan shows that the Roman building could not have existed at the time of the construction of the early Christian one. We do not know whether it was demolished just before the construction of the early Christian structure or at some even earlier time. Its frescoes were destroyed along with it (Fig. 1).

The early Christian building was decorated, had a multicoloured mosaic on the floor, but did it have it on its walls?²⁷ In order to have a mosaic on the walls, it would have to be a structure of great importance. It has always been an expensive and demanding method of decoration.²⁸ Tesserae were found at Putalj, of the kind used to make wall mosaics, but could also have been applied to write some text on the floor.

Another possible method of decorating the walls were frescoes – a well-known, proven technique with a long tradition, and there were enough masters.

Several centuries after its construction, Duke Mislav had the early Christian building restored and

³⁰ U povijesnim komešanjima istok-zapad, u ranom srednjem vijeku, utjecaj bizantskih umjetnika u cijelom jadranskom području bio je neizbježan.

„...benediktinci su se kao ključni provoditelji reforme uvelike koristili ostavštinom Bizanta, koji je odavno napajao likovnu kulturu prostora.“ Fisković 2009, str. 18.

³¹ Na tablama od I. do VII. prikazani su svi do sada pronađeni ulomci; nalaze se u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu, osim ulomaka na T. I koji su u Muzeju grada Kaštela.

³² Kod klasificiranja ulomaka pozornost nije bila usmjerena na mjesto njihova pronalaska, jer to u ovom slučaju nema nikakvog značenja. („I stratigrafija nalaza, unatoč poremećenosti slojeva...“ Burić 2001, str. 193). Važnost smo dali načinu izrade i sastavu žbuke te, kao što je uobičajeno, izgledu freske. Svrstavanje samo po izgledu često vodi u krivom smjeru. Za grupiranje pojedinih ulomaka pouzdanija je procjena po izgledu i sastavu žbuke.

³³ Tehnika izrade fresaka je, manje-više, ista u svim vremenskim razdobljima: na zid se nanosi žbuka u nekoliko slojeva te se na njoj slika dok je žbuka još svježja. Najprije se na zid ugrubo nabaci sloj žbuke s najgrubljom strukturom, a sljedeći slojevi sve su finije strukture. Zadnji sloj koji se nanosi, nositelj slike (*intonaco*), je najfiniji. Vezivo je vapno, a osnovno punilo je pijesak različite granulacije.

²⁵ The builders of the Romanesque church discovered and used the foundations of the Roman building, so it is assumed that the pre-Romanesque church had been completely reduced to ruins.

²⁶ *During the first centuries of the modern era, the church at Putalj was destroyed in frequent Turkish incursions. It was rebuilt during the 17th century. It is no longer possible to verify the details of all the obliterations and renovations, i.e. to identify various phases of construction, due to Burić's radical 1926 reconstruction in concrete.* Burić 2001, p. 197.

²⁷ *With the advent of Christianity, mosaics became important artistic media... Mosaic art is in perfect harmony with the worldview of the time based on the Neoplatonism of Plotinus. In Christian churches, simple and with few details on the outside, the interior glitter and splendour of mosaic decorations, with deep symbolism and religious messages, were finely incorporated.* Garčević 2006, p. 119.

²⁸ *The status significance and financial benefits that the painters-mosaicists had were prudently used in diplomacy.* Garčević 2006, p. 163.

malo mljevene cigle, prosječne debljine oko 2 cm.³⁴ Omjer sastava u ovakvom sloju uglavnom je jedan dio vapna i 2 - 3 dijela pijeska, i nanosi se više puta.³⁵

Finiji sloj na kojem se slika, *intonaco*, sastavljen je od puno vapna i finog pijeska debljine od 0,3 do 0,5 cm; kompaktniji je i nabijeniji od grubog sloja. Na nekim ulomcima je vidljivo da je nanošen u dva navrata. Površina mu je ravna i glatka. Ulomci prve skupine pripadaju, bez sumnje, najranijoj građevini, onoj iz rimskog vremena.

U drugoj skupini su ulomci koji imaju sloj grube žbuke, ali im *intonaco* nije tako jasan i fin kao onima iz prve skupine. Ovu skupinu može se podijeliti u dvije podskupine.

U prvoj su ulomci I, K i N. Sastav grubljeg sloja im je sličan kao ulomcima prve skupine, ali je nešto rahliji. *Intonaco*, nositelj slike, grubljeg je sastava i nije čvrst, kompaktno, kao onaj prve skupine. Ima više pijeska, a i granulacija mu je grublja, tako da mu površina nije glatka i nema sjaja.

U drugoj podskupini su ulomci J, L, M, O i P. Njihov *arricciato*, što je atipično, ima puno vapna, poput *intonaca*, ali s dodatkom malo grubog pijeska. Porozne su strukture, rupičaste i neravne površine.³⁶ Ovi ulomci vidno se razlikuju od ulomaka prve podskupine. Oni ili ne pripadaju istom objektu ili je druga podskupina možda ostatak stropne freske.³⁷ Moguće je da pripadaju ranokršćanskom objektu, a možda i nekoj ranokršćanskoj grobnici na svod.³⁸

built a pre-Romanesque church of the same dimensions. It had painted walls, like all churches at the time. We do not know whether the frescoes, as well as the building, had been restored or made anew, but it is possible that they had been done in the Byzantine style or under its influence and that the writer of the codex referred to this when he mentioned the style of Ravenna.²⁹

* * *

We will show all the fragments of frescoes, discovered thanks to many years of systematic archaeological research.³⁰ About three hundred small fragments of wall paintings were found at Putalj. The largest is 7 x 6.5 cm, while some of them measure only one centimetre. They can be divided into three basic groups, based on the method of making.³¹ The first two are fragments with two preserved layers of plaster, the *intonaco* and *arricciato*, and the third consists of fragments in which only the final layer survived, viz. the *intonaco*.³²

In the first group, the *arricciato*, the coarser layer of plaster, consists of lime, fine and coarse sand and very small quantities of crushed brick, with an average thickness of about two centimetres.³³ This

²⁹ In historical turmoils between the east and west, in the early Middle Ages, the influence of Byzantine artists throughout the Adriatic area was inevitable.

“... the Benedictines, as key implementers of the reform, made extensive use of the legacy of Byzantium, which had long been a stimulus for the visual arts in the area.” Fisković 2009, p. 18.

³⁰ Plates I through VII show all fragments discovered to date. They are in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split, except for fragments on Pl. I, kept in the Museum of the Town of Kaštela.

³¹ When classifying the fragments, attention was not focused on their find-spots, because it has no relevance in this case. (“Even the stratigraphy of the finds, despite the disturbance of the layers...” Burić 2001, 193). We deemed it more important to focus on the way the plaster was made and composed and, as usual, the appearance of respective frescoes. Classification by appearance alone often leads in the wrong direction. While grouping individual fragments, it is more reliable to estimate the appearance and composition of plaster.

³² The technique of making frescoes has more or less been the same in all time periods: plaster is applied to the wall in several layers and painted upon while it is still fresh. First, a layer of coarse plaster is applied to the wall, while each next layer is finer. The final coating (the *intonaco*) is the finest. Lime is used as the binder is lime, while sand of different granulations serves as filler.

³³ The coarser layer is generally thicker, and this is the

³⁴ Debljina grubljeg sloja uglavnom je veća, ovo je sačuvana debljina. Ovdje se pod pojmom grubi pijesak podrazumijeva mješavina onog granulacije od 1 do 2 mm s dodatkom još grubljeg (sitni šljunak), 3 - 8 mm.

³⁵ Vapno bi bez pijeska zbog sušenja ispucalo, a smjesa ne bi imala dovoljnu čvrstoću. Pijesak čini žbuku poroznom za zrak koji je potreban za sušenje i vezivanje žbuke.

³⁶ “...ostavi nekoliko dana da se odmara, tako da vapno ugasne; jer će se, ako je živo, *intonaco* koji njime budeš radio raspuknuti.” Cennini 2007, str. 69.

Pukotine nastaju i ako je žbuka suviše mokra, zbog velikog isparavanja vode, a mogu nastati i od nečistog pijeska ili ako se žbuka nanosi u jednom debelom sloju.

³⁷ Ovakva freska je zbog sastava i načina nanošenja žbuke lakša od uobičajenih.

³⁸ Među freskama s nekih drugih ranokršćanskih lokaliteta (npr. Podgrađe nedaleko od Omiša) uočeni su slični ulomci. Po dosadašnjim zapažanjima u ranokršćansko doba nisu se strogo poštivali postupci pripreme i nanošenja žbuke kod izrade fresaka. Varirao je broj, debljina i sastav slojeva. Ponekad je zbog lošije



Sl. 2. Zidarskim čekićem natuče se žbuka stare freske da bi bolje prijanjala nova žbuka; zid se zatim premaže vapnenim mlijekom ili nekim drugim vezivom i onda se nabacuje intonaco za novu fresku koji se dobro nabije i izravna

Fig. 2 The plaster of the earlier fresco is hacked with a hammer so that new plaster can adhere better; the wall is then coated with lime wash or some other binder, and then intonaco is laid for a new fresco, well compacted and levelled

U trećoj, ujedno i najzanimljivijoj skupini su ulomci koji imaju sačuvan samo *intonaco*.³⁹

Na većini ulomaka vidljivo je da je sloj žbuke nanesen u dva navrata, ali je dobro nabijen i poravnat pa čini čvrstu cjelinu.⁴⁰ Debljina sloja je od 3 do 13 mm. Ova dva nanosa nisu iste debljine, prvi nanos je uvijek nešto deblji, a drugi je debljine oko 3 mm. Poleđina ulomaka treće skupine je ravna, s malim izbočinama žbuke. Izbočine su otisak udubljenja načinjenog zidarskim čekićem ili nekim sličnim alatom. Kad se na postojeću staru žbuku nanosi nova, zidarskim se čekićem cijela ploha

izvedbe zidova i nemarnosti kod nanošenja žbuke ona na nekim mjestima debela samo nekoliko milimetara. Na takvoj se žbuci ne može izvoditi klasična *al fresco* tehnika.

³⁹ Ovoj skupini pripadaju i ulomci koji su u monografiji već objavljeni i sad se nalaze u Muzeju grada Kašte-la. Opisani su u poglavlju Putalj u ranijem rimskom razdoblju, premda autor izrijekom ne kaže kojem razdoblju pripadaju. Opis završava: „Pretpostavljamo da će naknadna proučavanja pobliže odrediti stilsku i užu vremensku pripadnost, no za sad se može kazati da je riječ o radu iznenađujuće kakvoće.“ Čače 2001, str. 85.

⁴⁰ Sloj žbuke napravljen je od finog pijeska i puno vapna, u drugom nanosu je negdje vidljivo malo više vapna.

layer is generally composed of one part lime and two to three parts sand, and is applied in several coatings.³⁴

The finer layer for the painting, the *intonaco*, is composed of a lot of lime and fine sand 0.3 to 0.5 cm thick, and is more compact and packed than the coarse layer. On some fragments, it was applied in two coatings. Its surface is flat and smooth. The fragments of the first group undoubtedly belong to the earliest building from Roman times.

The second group consists of fragments with a layer of coarse plaster, while the *intonaco* is not as distinct and fine as that in the first group. This group can be divided into two subgroups.

The first consists of fragments I, K, and N. The composition of their coarser layer is similar to that on the fragments of the first group, but is somewhat looser. The *intonaco*, viz. the final coating, is of coarser composition and is not as solid and compact as that of the first group. It has more sand, and its grain size is coarser, so its surface is not smooth and has no shine.

The second subgroup comprises fragments J, L, M, O, and P. Their *arricciato*, atypically, has a lot of lime, like the *intonaco*, but with a little coarse sand added. Their structure is porous, and the surface perforated and uneven.³⁵ These fragments are visibly different from the fragments of the first subgroup. They either do not belong to the same building or the second subgroup may consist of the remnants of a ceiling fresco.³⁶ It is possible that they were parts of the early Christian building, perhaps an early Christian vaulted tomb.³⁷

preserved thickness. Here the term coarse sand means a mixture of granulation from one to two millimetres with the addition of even coarser (fine gravel) of three to eight millimetres.

³⁴ Lime would crack without sand due to drying, and the mixture would not have sufficient strength. Sand makes the plaster porous to the air required to dry and bond the plaster.

³⁵ “... Leave it to rest for a few days, so that the lime can slake; because, if it turns into quicklime, the *intonaco* you will attempt to make with it will crack.” Cennini 2007, p. 69.

Cracks also occur if the plaster is too wet, due to high evaporation of water, and can also be caused by impure sand or when the plaster is applied in a thick layer.

³⁶ Due to the composition and method of applying the plaster, such fresco plasters are lighter than the usual ones.

³⁷ Similar fragments have been identified among frescoes from some other early Christian sites (e.g. Pod-



Sl. 3. Izbočine na poleđini ulomaka otisak su udubljenja načinjenog zidarskim čekićem, na svakom je vidljiv otisak boje prethodne freske
 Fig. 3 The protrusions on the back of the fragments are the result of hammering. Each one has visible imprints of the earlier fresco

izrupiča kako bi nova žbuka bolje prijanjala. Na poleđini su vidljivi i ostaci sivog premaza kojim je stara freska, nakon što je natučena, prekrivena prije nego je nanosena nova žbuka. Konačna potvrda da je sloj nanesen preko starije freske je otisak boje na poleđini nekih ulomaka ove skupine (sl. 2 i 3). Što se, pak, prikaza na ulomcima tiče, izdvojiti ćemo iz ove skupine samo ulomke A, C i G, na kojima su učestalo korišteni ukrasni detalji, točkice (biseri), karakteristične kod prikaza svetaca ili vladara na rano srednjovjekovnim freskama, te ulomci D i E, na kojima se razaznaju dijelovi draperije, tj. ukrasa na odjeći.⁴¹ Ima tu još zanimljivih ulomaka (B, L, M, R) i premda se radi o malim ostacima nekih većih kompozicija, mogu se pripisati sloju adriobizantskih zidnih slika. Ovi su nam ulomci dokaz da su se freske u predromaničkoj crkvi na Putalju obnavljale i možda su ostatak slika koje spominje kodeks.

Slikaru za obnovu slike kralja (i) utemeljitelja na stari ravenski način, u crkvi na brdu, jedan solid.

Slikaru za obnovu slike kralja Trpimira na stari ravenski način u istoj crkvi, jedan solid. (sl. 4, i 5)

⁴¹ Ovim ulomcima mogu se pribrojiti i oni koji se nalaze u srednjem redu fotografije na T. 1. Fotografije na T. 1 snimio je Zoran Alajbeg i ovim putem mu još jednom zahvaljujem.

The third, also the most interesting group, consists of fragments on which the *intonaco* is the only surviving part.³⁸

On most fragments it can be seen that plaster was applied in two coatings, well compacted and levelled, forming a solid whole.³⁹ The layer thickness ranges from 3 to 13 mm. The two coatings are not of the same thickness: the first one is always slightly thicker, and the second about 3 mm thick. The back of the fragments of the third group is flat, with small protrusions of plaster. The protrusions are the result of dressing with a hammer or some other similar tool. When new plaster is applied over the existing old layer, the whole surface is textured with a hammer so that the new coating can adhere better. On the back there are visible remains of a grey coat applied on the earlier fresco after its preparation, and before the new plaster was applied. The final confirmation that the layer was applied over the earlier fresco is a colour imprint on the back of some fragments of this group (Fig. 2, Fig. 3).

As for the representation on the fragments from this group, we will single out only fragments A, C, and G, frequently with decorative details, dots (pearls), characteristic in depictions of saints or rulers on early mediaeval frescoes, and fragments D, and E, on which parts of draperies can be discerned.⁴⁰ There are other interesting fragments (B, L, M, R), and although they are small remnants of

grade near Omiš). According to observations to date, the procedures of making and applying plaster for frescoes were not strictly observed in the early Christian era. The number, thickness and composition of layers varied. Sometimes, due to the poor quality of walls and negligence in applying the plaster, in some places it is only a few millimetres thick. The classical *al fresco* technique is not possible on such a plaster.

³⁸ This group also includes fragments which have already been published in the monograph and are now kept in the Museum of the Town of Kaštela. They are described in the chapter on Putalj in the earlier Roman period, although the author does not explicitly indicate the period they belong to. The description ends as follows: "We assume that subsequent studies will determine the stylistic and narrow temporal affiliation, but for now it can be said that this is a work of surprising quality." Čače 2001, p. 85.

³⁹ The layer of plaster is made of fine sand and a lot of lime. A bit more lime is visible occasionally in the second coat.

⁴⁰ The fragments in the middle row of the photograph on Pl. 1 can be added to these. The photographs on Pl. 1 were taken by Zoran Alajbeg, whom I would like to thank once again.



Sl. 4. Ulomci C, A i G, s točkicama (biserjem), i ulomci E i D, s ukrasima na odjeći, tj. draperiji
Fig. 4 Fragments C, A, and G, with dots (pearls), and fragments E and D, with ornaments on the clothing – drapery

Podatak da „niti jedan ulomak ne upućuje na još jednu fazu predromaničke skulpture u toj crkvi“⁴² samo nam je sugerirao da se predromanička crkva nije obnavljala. Kameni ukrasi su samostalni i od čvrstog su materijala pa su mogli izdržati njezino višestoljetno postojanje, no freske ovise o sudbini zida (koji oslikavaju), pa time imaju puno više „neprijatelja“. Tako su, u neko doba, zahtijevale popravak. Popravljene su u ravenskom (adriobizantskom) stilu, što ne znači da su i prethodne morale biti tako rađene, nego da je u vrijeme popravka takav stil bio u modi.

Sad, na kraju, zahvaljujući malim ulomcima koji su pronađeni brižljivim arheološkim istraživanjem, dobili smo potvrdu da su na Putalju bile predromaničke freske koje su mogle prikazivati i nekog vladara.

some larger compositions, they can be attributed to the layer of Adrio-Byzantine wall paintings. These fragments prove that the frescoes in the pre-Romanesque church on Putalj were restored, and are perhaps the remnants of the paintings mentioned in the codex.

To the painter for the restoration of the painting of the king (and) the founder in the old style of Ravenna, in the church on the hill, one solidus.

To the painter for the restoration of the painting of King Trpimir in the old style of Ravenna in the same church, one solidus. (Fig. 4, Fig. 5)

The information that “not a single fragment indicates another phase of pre-Romanesque sculpture in the church”⁴¹ was merely a suggestion to us that the pre-Romanesque church had not been restored. The ornaments made of stone are free and solid, so they could have withstood its centuries-long existence, but the frescoes depend on the fate of the wall (on which they are painted), so they have many more “enemies”. Therefore, they required repair at some point. They were restored in the style of Ravenna (Adrio-Byzantine), which does not mean that the earlier ones had had to be done in the same manner, but that such a style was in vogue at the time of the repair.

Now, thanks to small fragments discovered through careful archaeological research, we finally have a confirmation that there were pre-Romanesque frescoes at Putalj, possibly depicting a ruler.

(D. G.)

⁴² Burić 2001, str. 183.

⁴¹ Burić 2001, p. 183.



Sl. 5. Detalji fresaka iz Srime, Šipana i Stona
Fig. 5 Details of frescoes from Srime, Šipana and Ston

Skupina 1

A



B



C



D



E



F



G



708 |

H



Skupina 2

I



J



K



L



M



N



O

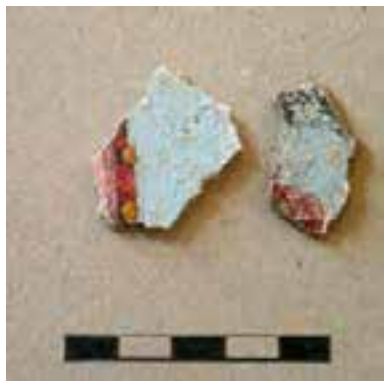


P



Skupina 3

A



B



C



D



E



F



G



H



I



J



K



714 |

L



M



715

N



O



P



R



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Tabla 1



Tabla 2



Tabla 3



Tabla 4



Tabla 5



Tabla 6



Tabla 7



