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## Razmišljanja o ranokarolinškom Zagrebu

*Na temelju postojeće literature i desetljetne autopsije autor predlaže kratku temeljnu reviziju našeg poznavanja bitnih prostornih i likovnih sadržaja Zagreba iz vremena oko godine 800. Iznose se dokazi o prisutnosti karolinškog i slavenskog/hrvatskog elementa u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj u ranom srednjem vijeku te se posvećuje posebna pažnja važnijim danas poznatim spomenicima likovne kulture, uz sugestije o proširenju i produbljenju njihovih svjedočanstava. Kao posebno važan čimbenik ponovno se vraća u raspravu predromanički kapitel iz zagrebačke katedrale nakon novijih pogleda na karolinške nalaze monumentalne arhitekture i skulpture u Sisku i na Loboru. Ovi posljednji posebno su važni za pokretanje opsežnije (arheološke) revalorizacije Zagreba, što je i glavni cilj ovog rada.*

**Ključne riječi:** *Zagreb, Hrvatska, karolinška umjetnost, predromanika, zagrebačka katedrala, Lobor, Sisak.*

## Reflections on Early Carolingian Zagreb

*Based on the existing literature and a decade-long autopsy, the author proposes a brief thorough review of our knowledge of the essential spatial and artistic elements of Zagreb from the time around AD 800. Evidence is presented for the presence of the Carolingian and Slavic/Croatian elements in early medieval north-western Croatia, with special attention paid to the more important art monuments known today, and suggestions for expanding and deepening their testimonies. The pre-Romanesque capital from the Zagreb Cathedral is reintroduced in the discussion as a particularly important factor, following recent views on the Carolingian finds of monumental architecture and sculpture in Sisak and Lobor. The latter are especially important for initiating a more extensive (archaeological) revaluation of Zagreb, which is the main objective of this paper.*

**Keywords:** *Zagreb, Croatia, Carolingian art, pre-Romanesque, Zagreb Cathedral, Lobor, Sisak.*

Naslov koji nudimo jako je blijed i općenit. Za to postoje razlozi. Među europskim prijestolnicama Zagreb je sigurno najmanje istražen. Njegov ključni spomenik, nacionalna katedrala, ostaje gotovo potpuni misterij prije 13. stoljeća. Sustavna i suvisla istraživanja jednostavno nisu provedena. To nije izuzetak. Malo je koji značajniji spomenik ili kompleks u nas sustavno istražen, bilo kao predmet ili prostor, bilo kao djelo ljudskog duha, stvaralaštva. S vremena na vrijeme pojavi se pokoji senzacionalistički napis, od kojega je obično više štete nego koristi, pa onda natrag u maglene zaborave.<sup>1</sup>

Ovim razmišljanjima, jer se ne radi ni o čemu većem nego što je to, želio bih potaknuti ozbiljan razgovor o višetisućljetnom postojanju Zagreba, posebice onoga o kojem sam najviše razmišljao, a to je razdoblje ranijeg srednjeg vijeka, na temelju, priznajem, malobrojnih materijalnih svjedoka i njihovih isto tako ograničenih tumačenja u smislu duhovne kulture, tj. stvaralaštva. Unutar toga područja želio bih se usredotočiti na vrlo ograničen broj svjedoka u isto tako ograničenom razdoblju ranije karolinške prisutnosti u ovim krajevima, to jest, kraja 8. i ranijeg 9. stoljeća. Želim odmah ustvrditi da mi je svaki kulturni nacionalizam stran. Nedavno me je netko optužio na nekoj društvenoj mreži da negiram postojanje hrvatske umjetnosti, jer sam se u svojoj najnovijoj knjizi usudio ustvrditi da je hrvatski narod, pa tako i njegova materijalna i duhovna kultura, rezultat amalgama slavenskih doseljenika, domaćih Ilira, Kelta, rimskih kolonizatora i dodatno svih onih koji su u zadnja dva tisućljeća prolazili ovim prostorima.<sup>2</sup> Što nas vraća na središnju temu ovog spisa – na *Hrvate i Karolinge*.

Nikako ne želim ustvrditi da u Zagrebu i Hrvatskoj nije bilo izvrsnih istraživačkih pothvata prae-nih isto tako velevrijednim teoretskim zaključcima i prijedlozima. Radi se o tome da ih nije bilo dovoljno, da su ostali nepovezani, pa čak i namjerno potiskivani, kako su hrvatska humanistika i povijesne znanosti provele dva stoljeća uzdižući u nebesa sve što nas veže i vraća u balkanske gudure ili sve ono smeće koje nam kao „modernizam“ nudi prosvijetljeni Zapad. U gotovo šest desetljeća bavljenja ovim materijalima usmjeravao sam se, i svjesno, ali i nesvjesno, na prepoznavanja stvaralačkog akta

The title we offer is rather bland and general. There are reasons for that. Zagreb is certainly the least explored European capital. Its key monument, the national cathedral, remains an almost complete mystery in terms of its features before the 13th century. In essence, no systematic and worthwhile research has been conducted. This is no exception. Few significant monuments or complexes have been systematically explored in our country, either as objects or spaces, or as products of the human spirit and creativity. Once in a while, there surfaces an occasional sensationalist text, usually causing more harm than good, only to sink into misty oblivion.<sup>1</sup>

With these reflections, because they are nothing more than that, I would like to encourage a serious discussion about the multimillennial existence of Zagreb, especially the one I pondered about the most, viz. the period of the early Middle Ages, admittedly based on few material witnesses and their equally limited interpretations in terms of spiritual culture, i.e. creativity. Within this sphere, I would like to focus on a very limited number of witnesses in an equally limited period of earlier Carolingian presence in the area, that is, the late eighth and early ninth centuries. I would like to point out at the very start that any sort of cultural nationalism is foreign to me. Recently, someone on a social network accused me of denying the existence of Croatian art, because in my latest book I had dared to say that the Croatian people, including its material and spiritual culture, are the result of an amalgam of Slavic immigrants, local Illyrians, Celts, Roman colonists and additionally all those who have been passing through these areas in the last two millennia.<sup>2</sup> This brings us back to the central topic of this paper – *the Croats and Carolingians*.

By no means do I want to state that there have been no excellent research works in Zagreb and Croatia, accompanied by equally valuable theoretical conclusions and proposals. The thing is, there have not been enough, and they have remained dissociated, even deliberately suppressed, while Croatian humanities and historical sciences have spent two centuries praising anything that connects and

<sup>1</sup> Ovom se problematikom bavio i nedavni skup „Potisnuta povijest. Zaboravljene teme hrvatske prošlosti“, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 20. - 21. siječnja, 2021., koji su predložili, oblikovali i ostvarili Gordan Ravančić, Božo Skoko i Vladimir P. Goss.

<sup>2</sup> Goss 2020.

<sup>1</sup> This was the topic of the recent conference “Potisnuta povijest. Zaboravljene teme hrvatske prošlosti (Repressed History. Forgotten Topics of the Croatian Past)”, the Croatian Institute of History, 20-21 January 2021, proposed, formulated and implemented by Gordan Ravančić, Božo Skoko and Vladimir P. Goss.

<sup>2</sup> Goss 2020.

unutar zadanog, hrvatskog prostora i njegovih mnogovidnih inačica i zadanih stvaralačkih impulsa koje donose svi duhovni čimbenici u tom prostoru, bez utapljanja u primitivnom nacionalizmu ili isto tako primitivnom globalizmu. Koliko sam u tome uspio, nije na meni da sudim. U tom smislu pišem i ove retke u nadi da neću odviše zabrazditi od zadane teme; što uopće nije lako.<sup>3</sup>

Ovo nije pokušaj da se napiše kratka kulturna povijest Zagrebačkog prigorja od pretpovijesti do zrelog srednjeg vijeka. Za to upućujemo čitatelja na postojeću literaturu, te na vrijedne pojedince koji su tim istraživanjima pridonijeli. Zahvaljujem kolegama arheolozima koji su mi pomogli da priprelim ove retke, posebice profesoru Anti Rendiću-Miočeviću i dr. sc. Vlasti Begović Dvoržak. Opsežni bibliografski podaci mogu se naći u knjizi *Zagreb – Bibliografija arheološke literature* Rajke Makjanić i Zorana Gregla (Odjel za arheologiju, Centar za povijesne znanosti, Zagreb 1982.). U svom radu *Rimljani u Zagrebu* Z. Gregl donosi kratak, ali vrijedan popis osnovne literature za pretpovijest i antiku.<sup>4</sup> Za ono što nas ovdje posebice zanima, razdoblje od dolaska Slavena do uspostavljanja karolinške vlasti u Donjoj Panoniji, kapitalan tekst za Zagreb je rad Zdenka Vinskog iz 1960. s popratnom literaturom u opaskama, zatim niz vrijednih priloga Ane Deanović o zagrebačkoj katedrali napisanih u rasponu od 1960. do 1995., s detaljnom analizom važnih iako šturih arheoloških istraživanja, te Željka Deme iz 2006. o Opatovini.<sup>5</sup> Razmatranja kulturnog pejzaža Zagreba i okolice Vitomira i Jurja Belaja sintetizirana 2014. nezaobilazna su za razumijevanje pretkršćanske slavenske teritorijalne organizacije, uz napomenu da su ta istraživanja još uvijek u tijeku, te opaske istih autora glede groblja ispred katedrale nađenog 1935. Kompleksnost zagrebačke povijesno-prostorne sudbine izvrsno je obrađena u vrijednoj disertaciji Danka Dujmovića iz 2014.<sup>6</sup> Kad je ugarski kralj Ladislav 1094. stavio kopito na *Regnum Slavoniae* osnivanjem zagrebačke biskupije, koji se datum obično slavi kao početak Zagreba, taj je imao možda i više od tisućljeća naseobinske tradicije, nešto manje od pola tog vremena slavenske.

reverts us to the Balkan ravines, along with all the dross offered by the enlightened West as “modernism”. In almost six decades of dealing with such material, I have focused, both consciously and unconsciously, on recognising the creative act within the given, viz. Croatian, space and its multifaceted versions, and the given creative impulses brought by all spiritual factors in the area, without drowning in primitive nationalism or equally primitive globalism. It is not for me to judge how successful I have been. In this light, I am writing these lines in the hope that I will not stray too much from the topic, which is not easy at all.<sup>3</sup>

This is not an attempt to write a short cultural history of the Zagreb Piedmont from prehistory to the high Middle Ages. For this, we refer the reader to the existing literature, and to the valuable individuals who have contributed to the research. I would like to thank my fellow archaeologists who helped me prepare this paper, especially Professor Ante Rendić-Miočević and Vlasta Begović Dvorak, PhD. Extensive bibliographic information can be found in the book *Zagreb – Bibliografija arheološke literature* by Rajka Makjanić and Zoran Gregl (Department of Archaeology, Centre for Historical Sciences, Zagreb 1982). In his work *Rimljani u Zagrebu*, Z. Gregl provides a short but valuable list of basic literature covering prehistory and antiquity.<sup>4</sup> For the topic at hand, viz. the period from the arrival of the Slavs to the establishment of Carolingian rule in Lower Pannonia, the capital work for Zagreb is the 1950 text by Zdenko Vinski from with accompanying bibliography in notes, as well as a series of valuable contributions on the Zagreb Cathedral by Ana Deanović, written from 1960 to 1995, with a detailed analysis of important, albeit scanty, archaeological excavations, and Željko Demo's 2006 text on Opatovina.<sup>5</sup> The reflections on the cultural landscape of Zagreb and its surroundings synthesised by Vitomir and Juraj Belaj in 2014 are indispensable for understanding the pre-Christian Slavic territorial organization. It should be noted that this research is still ongoing. The remarks by the same authors regarding the cemetery in front of the cathedral, discovered in 1935, are also noteworthy. The complexity of Zagreb's historical and spatial fate is excellently covered in Danko Dujmović's valuable

<sup>3</sup> Goss 2016, Goss 2020. Vidi i opasku 1.

<sup>4</sup> Makjanić, Gregl 1982; Gregl 1991, str. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Vinski 1960; Deanović 1960; Deanović 1963; Deanović 1995; Deanović, Čorak 1988; Demo 2006.

<sup>6</sup> Belaj V. Belaj J., 2014; Belaj J., Belaj V., 2014; Dujmović 2014.

<sup>3</sup> Goss 2016, Goss 2020. See also footnote 1.

<sup>4</sup> Makjanić, Gregl 1982; Gregl 1991, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Vinski 1960; Deanović 1960; Deanović 1963; Deanović 1995; Deanović, Čorak 1988; Demo 2006.

Pretkršćanska slavenska prisutnost manifestira se ne odviše brojnim nalazima materijalne kulture kako ih donosi Vinski i u novije vrijeme Demo (Velika Gorica, Kruge, Grič, Kaptolski trg, Opatovina), uz neke komentare Jurja i Vitomira Belaja.<sup>7</sup> Ovi posljednji nekoliko su se puta vraćali na temu slavenskog kulturnog pejzaža Zagreba studijama toponima, individualnih ili povezanih u pejzažne strukture – svete trukute i ledinske crte, u najnovije vrijeme i unutar urbanog sustava Zagreba, a tim se pojavama pozabavio i autor ovih redaka u suradnji s Teom Gudek.<sup>8</sup> Bez obzira na kontroverze koje ovakva interdisciplinarna istraživanja nužno i s pravom potiču, imena i nazivi vezani uz ranoslavensku vjeru i mitologiju potvrđuju prisutnost govornika slavenskog jezika i nositelja slavenske kulture na zagrebačkom području prije godine 800. Belajevi ispravno upozoravaju da su sveti trokuti „nastali nakon doseobe Slavena, a funkcije su počeli gubiti nakon pokršćavanja. Političku (‘državnu’ i ‘varošku’) su morali izgubiti već pokršćavanjem plemenskih vođa, a seljačku su mogli čuvati mnogo dulje jer je stara seljačka pretkršćanska vjera bila novoj kršćanskoj komplementarna, štoviše, dok je prakticiranje kršćanske vjere usmjereno na ‘onostranost’ (ostvarenje Kraljevstva Božjega), obredi seljačke vjere odgovarali su seljakovim egzistencijalnim potrebama (plodnosti i rodosti na njivama, u stajama i u domu). O dugom trajanju ‘dvovjerja’ kod nas svjedoče seljačke tročlane prostorne strukture koje su nastajale mnogo kasnije: trokut kod Lepoglave izgleda tek negdje oko početka 15., a trokuti kod Gotalova u Prekodravlju sigurno tek u prvoj polovini 19. stoljeća!”<sup>9</sup>

U Dujmovićevom doktoratu notira se i niz toponima unutar zagrebačke naseobinske zone koji se mogu povezati s pretkršćanskim razdobljem Slavena u Panoniji (Lisina, Hum, Laz, Kozelin, Plešivica, Igrišće, Croch /Krug, Kruge/). Arheologija i lingvistika potvrđuju, dakle, prisutnost govornika slavenskog jezika na našem području u vremenu franačkog prodora prema jugoistoku krajem 8. stoljeća.<sup>10</sup>

Potvrđuju i franačku prisutnost krajem 8. st. U Podsusedu, ispod Susedgrada koji vjerojatno od pamtivijeka štiti luku na mjestu gdje Sava odlučno grabi u panonske ravni, iskopan je grob s karolinš-

dissertation from 2014.<sup>6</sup> When the Hungarian king Ladislaus sealed his power over *Regnum Slavoniae* in AD 1094 with the founding of the Zagreb diocese, usually celebrated as the emergence of Zagreb, it might have already had more than a millennium of settlement tradition, of which a little less than half was Slavic.

The pre-Christian Slavic presence is manifested by not too many finds of material culture as presented by Vinski and more recently by Demo (Velika Gorica, Kruge, Grič, Kaptolski trg Square, Opatovina), with some comments by Juraj and Vitomir Belaj.<sup>7</sup> The latter returned to the topic of the Slavic cultural landscape of Zagreb several times with their studies of place-names, individual or associated in landscape structures – sacred triangles and ley lines, recently also within the urban system of Zagreb. This author also dealt with such phenomena in collaboration with Tea Gudek.<sup>8</sup> Regardless of the controversies that such interdisciplinary research necessarily and rightly incites, names and titles related to the early Slavic faith and mythology confirm the presence of Slavic speakers and bearers of Slavic culture in the area of Zagreb before AD 800. The Belajs correctly note that the sacred triangles “were formed after the arrival of the Slavs, and began to lose their functions after Christianisation. They must have lost their political purpose (of the ‘state’ and ‘municipality’) by the Christianisation of tribal chiefs, and were able to retain the rustic function for much longer because the old peasant pre-Christian faith was complementary to the new Christian religion. Moreover, while the practice of the Christian faith was aimed at ‘otherworldliness’ (the realisation of the Kingdom of God), the rites of the peasant faith corresponded to the existential needs of the countrymen (fecundity and fertility in the fields and stables and homes). The long duration of ‘dual faith’ in our people is evidenced by rustic three-member spatial structures that were formed much later: the triangle near Lepoglava seemingly appeared only around the beginning of the 15th century, and the triangles near Gotalovo in Prekodravlje definitely as late as the first half of the 19th century!”<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Vidi opaske 5 i 6.

<sup>8</sup> Vidi opasku 6. Također Goss i Gudek 2009.

<sup>9</sup> Belaj J., Belaj V. 2014, str. 21.

<sup>10</sup> Dujmović 2014, str. 83, 87, 91, 104, 105, 110, 137.

<sup>6</sup> Belaj, V., Belaj, J., 2014. Belaj, J., Belaj, V., 2014; Dujmović 2014.

<sup>7</sup> See footnotes 5 and 6.

<sup>8</sup> See footnote 6. See also Goss and Gudek 2009.

<sup>9</sup> Belaj, J., Belaj, V. 2014, p. 21.

kim mačem i okovima iz vremena oko 800., analo-gan istovremenim nalazima s Crkvine u Biskupiji. Vinski ga datira oko 800. Podsused, koji kilometar južnije od utoka Krapine u Savu, točka je poveznica savskog puta u istočne Alpe, te onog koji Krapinom i središnjim Zagorjem ide u najzapadniji ogranak Panonske nizine te dalje do sljedećeg planinskog niza, Karpata. U Podsusedu i danas stoji u besko-načnost obnavljana kapela sv. Martina, tradicional-no karolinškog sveca, iako se ovaj položaj veže uz manjeg Martina, pustinjaka, koji je navodno nastavao podnožje Susedgrada u 9. stoljeću. Sv. Martin u Ščitarjevu kod važnog prijelaza preko Save i danas svjedoči o Karolinzima pri istočnom rubu zagrebačke naseobinske zone, a još dalje na istoku, u Zelinskom prigorju, diže se Sv. Martin u Prozorju iznad Dugog Sela. Sv. Martin se nalazio i u današnjem srcu Donjega grada, na Jelačićevu placu, ispod ure.<sup>11</sup> Indicije za karolinšku prisutnost na krajnjim zapadnim i istočnim granicama zagrebačke zone vjerojatno nisu slučajne. U burnim vremenima ranog 9. st., posebice u vrijeme kneza Ljudevita (810. - 823.) i njegove pobune (819. - 823.), Karolinzi su se, čini se, radije zadržavali u dobro zaklonjenom središnjem Zagorju, kako svjedoči sjajan naseobinsko-religiozno-strateški centar na Loboru u ranijim godinama 9. stoljeća, a koji je vezan sa zagrebačkom stranom Medvednice putem (pješačkim i plov-nim) dolinom Krapine na zapadu te nizom gorskih prijevoja, od kojih je najvažniji onaj kod Kašine, na istočnom rubu zagrebačke zone. Istražuje ga već nekoliko desetljeća Krešimir Filipec. Strateški izvanredni položaj Sv. Marije Gorske sjeverno od Lobora služi kao utvrda od ranog brončanog (1600. – 800. g. pr. n. e.) do mlađeg željeznog doba (300. – 15. g. pr. n. e.). Rim obnavlja utvrdu u drugom stoljeću u ozračju provala Kvada i Markomana. U kasnoj antici, u 5. – 6. stoljeću, podiže se prostrana trobrodna bazilika s krstionicom uz zapadnu fasadu. Taj kanoantički kompleks ruše Slaveni i Avari. Prvi trag kršćanske, zacijelo karolinške, obnove bilježi se početkom devetog stoljeća podizanjem jednobrodne drvene crkve (11 x 6) s pravokutnom apsidom, dakle u obliku poznatom europskom sjeveru, kako u drvu tako i u trajnim materijalima, a nerijetko pripisanom irskoj, odnosno insularnoj dijaspori. Ivan Stopar donosi niz sličnih primjera iz Slovenije i drugih dijelova Carstva. Tradicija jednobrodne crkve s

Dujmović's doctoral thesis also notes a number of place-names within the Zagreb settlement zone that can be associated with the pre-Christian period of the Slavs in Pannonia (Lisina, Hum, Laz, Kozelin, Plešivica, Igrišće, Croch [Krug, Kruge]). Therefore, archaeology and linguistics confirm the presence of Slavic speakers in our area at the time of the Frankish incursion to the south-east in the late eighth century.<sup>10</sup>

They also confirm the Frankish presence at the end of the eighth century. In Podsused, below Susedgrad, which has protected the port probably from time immemorial where the Sava resolutely flows into the Pannonian plains, a tomb with a Carolingian sword and fittings from around AD 800 was excavated, analogous to simultaneous finds from Crkvina in Biskupija. Vinski dates it to around AD 800. Podsused, located a kilometre or so south of the influx of the Krapina into the Sava, is the point connecting the Sava route to the eastern Alps with the one following the Krapina and central Zagorje to the westernmost branch of the Pannonian plain, and further to the next mountain range, the Carpathians. The chapel of St. Martin, a traditional Carolingian saint, renovated ad infinitum, is still standing in Podsused. However, this site is associated with the lesser Martin, a hermit who allegedly lived at the foothills of Susedgrad in the ninth century. St. Martin in Ščitarjevo, near an important crossing over the Sava, still bears witness to the Carolingians at the eastern edge of the Zagreb settlement zone. Further east, in the piedmont of Zelina, there lies St. Martin in Prozorje above Dugo Selo. Another St. Martin used to be located in the present-day heart of Donji Grad, on Jelačić Square, under the clock.<sup>11</sup> Indications of Carolingian presence on the western and eastern borders of the Zagreb zone are probably not accidental. In the turbulent times of the early ninth century, especially at the time of Duke Ljudevit (810–823) and his rebellion (819–823), the Carolingians seemed to prefer staying in the well-sheltered central Zagorje, as evidenced by the great settlement at Lobor, a religious and strategic centre in the early ninth century, linked with the Zagreb side of Medvednica by a footpath and a waterway in the Krapina valley in the west, and a series of mountain passes, the most important being the one near Kašina, on the eastern

<sup>11</sup> Dujmović 2014, str. 197, 115, 134, 141–142; Vinski 1960, str. 53.

<sup>10</sup> Dujmović 2014, pp. 83, 87, 91, 104, 105, 110, 137.

<sup>11</sup> Dujmović 2014, pp. 197, 115, 134, 141–142; Vinski 1960, p. 53.

pravokutnom apsidom, kako u trajnim materijalima tako i u drvu, očuvala se u istočnoj srednjoj Europi, pa i u južnoj Panoniji, duboko u novi vijek.<sup>12</sup> Crkva u Loboru, moguće jezgra jedne od prvih karolinških kršćanskih misija u Donjoj Panoniji, igra veliku ulogu u budućoj povijesti lokalne arhitekture. Do nje se nešto kasnije podiže monumentalna trobrodna crkva s tornjem uz zapadnu fasadu, moguće s ravnim istočnim završetkom, moguće s istaknutom polukružnom apsidom utopljenom u pravokutnu masu.<sup>13</sup> Na vanjskim površinama zidova nalazimo lezene, kojima odgovaraju istaci na unutrašnjim zidovima. Dakle, arhitektonski sustav tijela i prostora dobro je povezan, organizacija prostora odgovara onoj tijela i vanjskih zidnih ploha, što bi moglo ukazivati na presvođivanje zaista velike zgrade od 24 do 26 x 13 metara (ovisno o dužini apside). Filipec predlaže nekoliko faza devetog i ranog desetog stoljeća, čemu bi odgovarao i niz faza bogatog pleternog uresa zgrade. S tim u vezi podsjetimo se da je Jakšić predložio da su pleteri Lobora (odnosno barem neki od njih) nastali pod utjecajem skulpture oko godine 800. na sjevernom Jadranu, a i poznati davno nađeni ulomak „SUMME...“ kao zazivanje Sv. Trojstva ukazuje na ranije karolinško vrijeme. Ulomci pletera iz Siska, odnosno moguće iz Siska, nisu još dovoljno proučeni, no i oni naginju uradcima iz sjevernojadranske zone, te bi se mogli povezati s djelatnošću zidara koje je Fortunat, patrijarh Grada, slao Ljudevitu kao ispomoć tijekom kneževine pobune protiv Karolinga 819. – 823.<sup>14</sup> Karolinšku prisutnost u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj možda potvrđuje i samo ime Lobor, tj. burg (C)lovisa, Lovisa, Lovisbor, Lobor. Clovis-Lovis bio bi vjerojatno Karlov sin Luj Pobožni, a utvrda u Loboru, kako ona vjere tako i karolinških svjetovnih vlasti, čini se logičnom u doba Ljudevitove pobune, odnosno pacifikacije koja slijedi. Tijekom, odnosno nakon te logično će porasti i karolinško zanimanje za Zagreb.<sup>15</sup>

### No zapitajmo se: Što je Zagreb?

Zagreb nije grad, nije selo, niti vijenac sela, niti urbana jezgra okružena selima. Zagreb je sve to! Naseobinska zona! Raznolikosti zagrebačke nase-

edge of the Zagreb zone. It has been researched by Krešimir Filipec for several decades already. The strategically extraordinary location of Sv. Marija Gorska, north of Lobar, served as a fortification from the Early Bronze Age (1600–800 BCE) to the Late Iron Age (300–15 BCE). Rome rebuilt the fortification in the second century in the atmosphere of the Quadi and Marcomanni invasions. In late antiquity, i.e. the 5th–6th century, a spacious three-nave basilica with a baptistery was erected along the western façade. This late antique complex was torn down by the Slavs and Avars. The first trace of a Christian restoration, surely Carolingian, originates from the beginning of the ninth century, viz. a single-nave wooden church (11 x 6) with a rectangular apse, in the form known to the European north, made from wood or durable materials, often attributed to the Irish and/or insular diaspora. Ivan Stopar presents a number of similar examples from Slovenia and other parts of the Empire. The tradition of single-nave churches with a rectangular apse, made of durable materials or wood, was preserved in eastern Central Europe, as well as in southern Pannonia, well into the modern era.<sup>12</sup> The church in Lobar, possibly the core of one of the first Carolingian Christian missions in Lower Pannonia, played a major role in the future history of local architecture. A little while later, a monumental three-nave church with a tower along its western façade was built next to it, possibly with a flat eastern end, or perhaps with a prominent semicircular apse blended into a rectangular wall.<sup>13</sup> The external surfaces of the walls have pilaster strips, which correspond to the projections on the inner walls. Therefore, the architectural system of the shell and space is quite coherent, the organisation of space corresponds to that of the shell and external wall surfaces, which could indicate the vaulting of a really large building measuring 24 to 26 by 13 metres (depending on the length of the apse). Filipec suggests several phases of the ninth and early tenth centuries, which would correspond to a series of phases of the rich interlace decoration of the structure. In this regard, let us recall that Jakšić suggested that the interlaces of Lobor (or at least some of them) had been created under the influence of sculptures around AD 800 in the northern Adriatic, and that the noted fragment “SUMME ...”, invoking the Holy Trinity,

<sup>12</sup> Filipec 2008, str. 67–68; Goss, 2010, str. 68, 71, 85, 87–88; Goss, Šepić 2007; Stopar 1987, str. 11–24.

<sup>13</sup> Filipec 2008, str. 68–73; Goss 2010, str. 71.

<sup>14</sup> Jakšić 1999, str. 269, 277, 283–285.

<sup>15</sup> Goss 2020, str. 199.

<sup>12</sup> Filipec 2008, pp. 67–68; Goss, 2010, pp. 68, 71, 85, 87. 88; Goss, Šepić 2007; Stopar 1987, pp. 11–24.

<sup>13</sup> Filipec 2008, pp. 68–73; Goss 2010, p. 71.



Sl. 1. Zagreb, pogled na Gradec i Kaptol  
(foto: V. Bedenko)

*Fig. 1 Zagreb, view of Gradec and Kaptol  
(photo: V. Bedenko)*



Sl. 2. Zagreb, Mirogojski breg (foto: V. Bedenko)  
*Fig. 2 Zagreb, Mirogojski breg (photo: V. Bedenko)*

obinske zone su beskrajne. No svi ti oblici imaju nešto zajedničko, zapisano u zagrebačkoj prirodnoj ekologiji. Zagrebačku naseobinsku zonu sa sjevera štiti moćno bilo gore. Njen središnji, najviši, masiv nadgleda središte naseobinske zone, one povijesno i urbanistički najvažnije među brojnim izdancima, danas Gornji grad i Kaptol, kojima valja dodati i pomalo otkrivani Mirogojski breg. Deseci drugih izdanaka odvojeni dolinama i potocima spuštaju se u prostranu ravnicu spajajući rijeku i planinu (sl. 1-2). Osvrnimo se ukratko na povijesno i naseobinski najvažnije poteze.<sup>16</sup>

Zagrebačko prigorje bilo je stoljećima temelj opstanaka Zagreba. Hranilo je grad, opskrbljivalo ga čistom vodom, zrakom, građevnim materijalom, ogrjevom. U goru se bježalo kad bi „ponovno došli Tataři“. *Vijenac starih sela* koji je pod tim naslovom lijepo opisala Lelja Dobronić, veza je urbanih i suburbanih zona s prirodom.<sup>17</sup> Tu se razvio prvi naseobinski sloj zagrebačkog prostora, što potvrđuju nalazi materijalne kulture i duhovnosti od pret-povijesti do Rima. Zatim se postupno silazilo gorskim jezičcima i dolinama potoka prema ravnici i močvarama Velike rijeke. Donji grad, koji „visi“ na krajevima ključnih izdanaka, Gornjeg grada, Kaptola i Mirogojskog brega, do sredine 20. stoljeća

indicates an earlier Carolingian time. Fragments of interlaces from Sisak, or possibly from Sisak, have not yet been sufficiently studied, but they also seem to be related to works from the northern Adriatic zone, and could be associated with the masons sent by Fortunatus, the patriarch of Grado, to Ljudevit during the Duke's 819–823 rebellion against Carolingians.<sup>14</sup> The Carolingian presence in north-western Croatia can perhaps also be confirmed by the very name Lobor, i.e. the burg of (C)lovis, Lovis, Lovisbor, Lobor. Clovis-Lovis would probably be Charles's son Louis the Pious, and the fortification in Lobor, serving both the faith and the Carolingian secular authorities, seems logical at the time of Ljudevit's rebellion, and the pacification that followed. This is when the Carolingian interest in Zagreb logically increased.<sup>15</sup>

But let us ask ourselves: What is Zagreb?

Zagreb is not a city, or a village, nor a wreath of villages, or an urban core surrounded by villages. Zagreb is all of the above! A settlement zone! The diversity of Zagreb's settlement zone is endless. However, all these forms have something in common, imprinted in Zagreb's natural ecology. The Zagreb settlement zone is protected from the north by a robust mount. Its central, highest massif overlooks the centre of the settlement zone, the most im-

<sup>16</sup> Nakon potresa objavio sam više od pola tuceta tekstova na temu Zagreba, kako za stručnu, tako i za širu javnost. Za ovu priliku navodim kao najpodesniji tekst Goss 2021.

<sup>17</sup> Dobronić 2013.

<sup>14</sup> Jakšić 1999, pp. 269, 277, 283–285.

<sup>15</sup> Goss 2020, p. 199.



Sl. 3. Sjemenište, zvjezdarnica (foto: V. Bedenko)

Fig. 3 The Seminary. The Observatory.

(photo: V. Bedenko)

jedva preskače željezničku prugu; ipak, i na potezu odmah sjeverno od rijeke, pa i s njezine druge, južne strane, nalazimo toponomastičke i arheološke indicije daleko ranijeg ljudskog postojanja (Siget, Kruga, Sopot, Prečko, Lučko, Jakuševac, Resnik, Knežija, Jarun, Špansko, Županići...)<sup>18</sup>

Tri velike zagrebačke osi, ugrubo u smjeru jug-sjever, pokazuju da se i savski lađar i „močvarac“ smatrao dijelom naseobinske cjeline. Osi povezuju važne točke Prisavlja, riječne prijelaze sa središnjim, kasnije urbanim, prostorima i markantnim točkama na paravanu gore. Prijelazi preko rijeke su vrata u svijet. S jugozapada u zagrebački prostor vodi put s položaja Savskog mosta, usmjeren Savskom cestom na Sv. Marka, pa dalje Gradecom, Cmrokom i Prekrižjem do Šestina, Medvedgrada i prominentnog vrhunca Sv. Jakoba, položaja boga Peruna u staroslavenko doba; središnji put započinje kod današnjeg Mosta slobode i gigantskom prirodnom osi – Most slobode, Avenija Većeslava Holjevca, Trg Stjepana Radića, Zrinjevac, Kaptol, Nova ves, Ksaver, Gračani – završava na vrhu Velikog Sljemena. U oba slučaja imamo izvanrednu kadencu od močvarnog blata kroz urbano središte,

portant among numerous branches in terms of history and urban development, modern Gornji Grad and Kaptol, to which the slowly discovered hill of Mirogojski breg should also be added. Dozens of other branches, separated by valleys and streams, descend into a vast plain connecting the river and the mountain (figs. 1, 2). Let us briefly review the most important sections in terms of history and settlement.<sup>16</sup>

The Zagreb piedmont has been the foundation of Zagreb's survival for centuries. It has fed the city, supplied it with clean water, air, building materials, firewood. People fled to the mountain from “the Tatars”. The *wreath of old villages*, as beautifully described by Lelja Dobronić under this title, is a link between the urban and suburban zones and nature.<sup>17</sup> This is where the first settlement layer of the Zagreb area developed, as confirmed by the finds of material culture and spirituality from prehistory to Roman times. Then it gradually descended the mountain strips and stream valleys towards the plains and swamps of the Big River. Donji Grad, “hanging” at the ends of key branches, Gornji Grad, Kaptol and Mirogojski breg, barely crossed the railway line by the mid-20th century. Notwithstanding, north of the river, and on its other, southern bank, there are toponymic and archaeological indications of far earlier human presence (Siget, Kruga, Sopot, Prečko, Lučko, Jakuševac, Resnik, Knežija, Jarun, Špansko, Županići...)<sup>18</sup>

The three large Zagreb axes, roughly in the south-north direction, demonstrate that both the Sava crossings and swamps were considered parts of the settlement area. The axes connect the important points of Prisavlje, i.e. the river crossings with the central, later urban, spaces and points of interest on the mount. Crossings over rivers are bridges to the world. From the south-west there is a road to the Zagreb area from the Sava Bridge via the Sava Road to St. Mark, and further on through Gradec, Cmrok and Prekrižje to Šestina, Medvedgrad and the prominent peak of St. Jacob, the location of the god Perun from the old Slavic times. The central road starts at today's Most Slobode through the gigantic natural axis – Most Slobode, Većeslav Holje-

<sup>16</sup> After the earthquake, I published more than half a dozen texts on the topic of Zagreb, both for the professional and general public. For this occasion, I would like to single out Goss 2021 as the most appropriate text.

<sup>17</sup> Dobronić 2013.

<sup>18</sup> See footnote 16.

<sup>18</sup> Vidi opasku 16.



pa kroz ruralne zone ponovo do prave divljine.<sup>19</sup>

Malo tko se bavio trećim velikim gorskim izdankom, današnjim Mirogojskim bregom. Od Domovinskog mosta, nekoć važnog pregaza prema Audantoniji i karolinškom Sv. Martinu, današnja se Heinzelova usmjerava na toranj zvjezdarnice u sklopu Sjemeništa, isto kao što Sv. Marko na Griču lebdi nad Savskom ulicom. Potez Mirogojski breg – Šalata – Heinzelova treća je velika poveznica rijeke i planine. Teren se diže od Vlaške i Kvatrića na Šalatu i Laščinu, naselje starih Latina. Na položaju Sjemeništa, na manjem jezičcu bila je sigurno stara sakralna i/ili svjetovna točka; što je sjajno naslutio arhitekt Juraj Neidhardt kad je intuitivno smjestio kulu zvjezdarnice tamo gdje je i danas (sl. 3).

Slijedi visoravan Bijenika do zaštićene enklave Remeta i remetskog džepa. Na mjestu gdje se dvije uzdužne doline praktički spajaju nalazi se Krematorij i sedlo iz kojeg cesta vodi u Remetski džep. S najviše točke hrpta komunikacijski toranj nadzire uski prolaz do sedla, vrlo vjerojatno smješten na položaju neke stare utvrde koja je savršeno blokirala pristup u Remetski džep.<sup>20</sup>

Do pred četvrt stoljeća, prije totalne devastacije okoliša, Remete su bile primjer skladnog prigorškog naselja unutar ograde strmih obronaka i pod budnim okom pretpovijesne i antičke utvrde, Gradišća. Remetski Kamenjak, s kojeg se širi fantastičan pogled na središnju i istočnu Medvednicu, štiti Remete poput bedema sa zapada i sjevera. S Gradišća pak je sjajan pogled na jug, na savsku ravnice, netom uz podnožje remetskog brijega, na pavlinski samostan, zajednicu monaha sv. Pavla Eremita, koja je moguće tu stajala od ranog kršćanstva (sl. 4).

Ispod današnje crkve nalazi se još nekoliko slojeva, do sada nedovoljno istraženih. U srcu Remetskog džepa, u devastiranoj divljini, su Pustoseline, indikacija starog naselja, a put koji vodi prema Remetama od Krematorija, odnosno sam položaj Krematorija, zove se „Kameniti stol“, na keltskom *dolmen* (stol kameni), a dolmen je i oznaka groba, tako da su gradski oci sjajno pogodili postavljajući Krematorij na prastaru svetu točku (sl. 5).

No, kako nas upućuje profesor Andrej Pleterški, „stol“, „štulec“ znači i prijestolje, poput onog slavnog na Sveškom polju u Koruškoj ili manje poznatog u Kaniži (kneževom mjestu, „Knežiji“) kod



Sl. 4. Remete. Pogled prema jugu (foto: V. P. Goss)  
Fig. 4 Remete, view to the south (photo: V. P. Goss)

vac Avenue, Stjepan Radić Square, Zrinjevac, Kapitol, Nova Ves, Ksaver, Gračani – and ends at the top of Veliko Sljeme. In both cases there is an extraordinary cadence of swamp sludge flowing through the urban centre, and back to the real wilderness through the rural zones.<sup>19</sup>

Few people dealt with the third large mountain branch, today's hill of Mirogojski breg. From the Domovinski most bridge, once an important ford to Audantonia and the Carolingian St. Martin, modern Heinzel Street is directed to the tower of the observatory within the Seminary, just like St. Mark is hovering over Savska Road on Grič. The Mirogojski breg – Šalata – Heinzelova section is the third major link between the river and the mountain. The terrain rises from Vlaška and Kvatrić to Šalata and Laščina, a settlement of ancient Latins. On a smaller strip at the location of the Seminary there once must have been an old sacral and/or secular site, which was brilliantly sensed by the architect Juraj Neidhardt when he intuitively placed the observatory tower where it stands today (fig. 3).

There follows the Bijenik plateau to the protected enclave of Remete and its pocket. At the place where two longitudinal valleys practically meet, there stands the Crematory and a col from which the road leads to the Remete pocket. The communication tower overlooks a narrow passage to the col from the highest point of the ridge, most likely the site of an ancient fortification that perfectly controlled access to the Remete pocket.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Goss 2020, str. 395-397.

<sup>20</sup> Goss 2020, str. 395-396.

<sup>19</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 395-397.

<sup>20</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 395-396.



Sl. 5. Zagreb. Krematorij, „Kameniti stol“  
(foto: V. P. Goss)

Fig. 5 Zagreb. The “Kameniti stol” crematory  
(photo: V. P. Goss)

Lepoglave. Nije nemoguće da je u Remetama, na *kamenom štulecu* dijelio pravdu neki pradačni zagrebački župan i da je upravo ondje, ispod Gradišta, bilo najranije središte Zagreba.<sup>21</sup>

Poput ovih položaja na mirogojsko-remetskom bregu, nekoliko točaka na Gradecu i Kaptolu baca dodatno svjetlo na Zagreb prije franačkog ulaska u Panoniju. To je moguće pretkršćansko svetište na Kaptolu, položaji Popovog tornja i Muzeja grada Zagreba i Klovićevi dvori („Castrum Zagrabiense“?). Ovdje ćemo baciti oko, prvenstveno pozitivistički, na njihove materijalne ostatke kao moguću predigru ranoj karolinškoj fazi.

Davno, ranih šezdesetih u jednoj šetnji parkom Ribnjak, profesor Stahuljak nas je odveo do lijepo zaobljenog humka strmo nad Branjugovom ulicom istočno od svetišta katedrale – Gamule (sl. 6). Dobro se sjećam kako nam je rekao da su mnogi, pa tako i on sam, razmišljali o mogućnosti da se radi o arheološkom lokalitetu, mogli, no iskopavanja nisu otkrila ništa ranosrednjovjekovnog.<sup>22</sup>

Until a quarter of a century ago, before the total devastation of the environment, Remete was an example of a harmonious piedmont settlement surrounded by steep slopes and under the watchful eye of the prehistoric and ancient fortification of Gradišće. Remetski Kamenjak offers a fantastic view of central and eastern Medvednica and rampart-like protection of Remete from the west and north. From Gradišće there is a great view to the south, the Sava plain and, by the foot of the Remete hill, the Pauline monastery of the monks of St. Paul the Hermit, which may have stood there since early Christianity (fig. 4).

There are several more layers under today’s church, so far insufficiently explored. In the devastated wilderness in the heart of the Remete pocket there lies Pustoseline, an indication of an ancient settlement. The road to Remete from the Crematorium, i.e. the location of the Crematorium itself, is called “Kameniti stol” – stone table in Croatian, or *dol men* in Celtic. Since the dolmen is also the mark of the tomb, the city fathers had a stroke of genius when they placed the Crematorium on this ancient sacred site (fig. 5).

However, as Professor Andrej Pleterski points out, “stol” or “štulec” also denotes the throne, such as the famous one on Sveško polje in Carinthia, or the less known example in Kaniža (the Duke’s place, viz “Knežija”) near Lepoglava. It is not impossible that an ancient župan of Zagreb administered justice in Remete on a stone štulec, and that it was the very first core of Zagreb, below Gradište.<sup>21</sup>

Like these locations on the Mirogoj-Remete hill, several other sites on Gradec and Kaptol shed additional light on Zagreb from the time before the Franks entered Pannonia. These are a possible pre-Christian sanctuary on Kaptol, the sites of the Popov toranj and the Zagreb City Museum and Klovićevi dvori Gallery (“Castrum Zagrabiense“?). We will cast an eye, primarily positivistically, on their material remains as possible antecedents of the early Carolingian phase.

Long ago, during a walk in the Ribnjak Park in the early sixties, Professor Stahuljak took us to a beautifully rounded mound of Gamula rising steeply above Branjugova Street east of the cathedral sanctuary (fig. 6). I remember well how he told us that quite a few people, including himself, had pon-

<sup>21</sup> Goss 2020, str. 398-399; Goss 2021, str. 364-365; Goss, Gudek 2009, str. 16-18. Za Kanižu zahvaljujem Vesni Pascuttini-Juraga i Ivani Peškan.

<sup>22</sup> Goss 2020, str. 108, 110.

<sup>21</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 398-399; Goss 2021, pp. 364-365; Goss, Gudek 2009, pp. 16-18. I would like to thank Vesna Pascuttini-Juraga and Ivana Peškan for Kaniža.



Sl. 6. Zagreb. Kaptol. Gamula (foto: V. Bedenko)  
 Fig. 6 Zagreb. Kaptol. Gamula. (photo: V. Bedenko)

Zanimljivo je da se gomila javlja na sličnom položaju, istočno od veće sakralne zgrade, najsvetijem položaju rane hrvatske povijesti, Crkvini u Biskupiji. Na starim fotografijama vide se tragovi gomile iznad iskopanih ostataka istočnog završetka crkve, gdje danas stoji Meštrovićeva kapela. Izduženi pravokutni prostor crkve sam po sebi ne znači mnogo, no ipak malo više ako se nad njegovim istočnim krajem nalazi gomila. To nam je poznato uređenje ranoslavenskog multifunkcionalnog trijema (*hall*, *Hof*), npr., u Szczecinu. Nemojmo se zavaravati, to nikako nije potvrđeno rješenje. Ipak, možemo sebi zacrtati sklop vladarsko-religijskog „državnog“ središta na Crkvini, koji se sastoji od vladarske rezidencije, pokopališta vladarske elite, vjersko-političkog okupljališta i gomile, svete gore, na kojoj se teofanički profiliraju vjerski i svjetovni prvaci naroda.<sup>23</sup>

Krajem 11. st. Zagreb postaje sjedištem biskupije. No položaj katedrale na današnjem Kaptolu sasvim je sigurno bio sveta točka sankcionirana ranijom poviješću. Groblje ispred katedrale koje, danas je potvrđeno, postoji već oko 800. godine, ukazuje na prisutnost mogućeg ranoslavenskog svetišnog kompleksa u koji se lijepo uključuje zaobljena Gamula, rukotvorena, ne prirodna, iza istočnog kraja katedrale. Nije ona par Krakovoj ili Vandinoj gomili u Krakovu, no jasan je, iako zaboravljeni, trag nekog svetog pejzaža koji se stvarao namjerno. Tamo je davno kopala Ksenija Vinski Gasparini,

dered about the possibility of it being an archaeological site, a barrow, but the excavations had not revealed anything of early medieval origin.<sup>22</sup>

It is interesting to note that the barrow in Crkvina in Biskupija, the holiest site of early Croatian history, is positioned similarly, east of a large sacral building. Old photographs show traces of the mound above the excavated remains of the eastern end of the church, where Meštrović's chapel stands today. The elongated rectangular layout of the church does not mean much per se, but a mound above its eastern end does add certain weight. We are familiar with this arrangement of the early Slavic multifunctional porch (*halla*, *Hofa*), for instance in Szczecin. Let us not deceive ourselves, for this is by no means a confirmed solution. Nevertheless, it is possible to outline the complex of the ruling-religious “state” centre at Crkvina, consisting of a ruler's residence, a burial ground for the ruling elite, a religious and political gathering place and a tumulus as the holy mount, where the religious and secular leaders of the people emerged at the moments of their theophany.<sup>23</sup>

Zagreb became the seat of the diocese at the end of the 11th century. The location of the cathedral on Kaptol was certainly a sacred site sanctioned by earlier history. The cemetery in front of the cathedral, which, as confirmed today, existed around AD 800 already, indicates the presence of a possible early Slavic sanctuary complex with a nicely fitting rounded Gamula, made by human hand rather than natural, behind the eastern end of the cathedral. It is not equal to Krakus or Wanda Mound in Kraków, but it is an apparent, albeit forgotten, trace of an intentionally created sacred landscape. Ksenija Vinski Gasparini excavated there a long time ago, but as far as I know, nothing was found apart from the traces of palisades which had protected Kaptol before or around the 16th century. The central sanctuary complex in Szczecin consisted of a Hof and a mound, from which Bishop Otto of Bamberg subsequently preached that people should repent. A view to the west from Gamula on Kaptol reveals a modern monumental material sign of the sacredness, and it is not difficult to envision a cult, possibly multifunctional, structure on the site of today's cathedral (fig. 7). Such was the structure at Crkvina in Biskupija in pagan times. Thus, at least hypothetically, we have a trace of a pre-Christian mon-

<sup>23</sup> Jurčević 2016, str.222-224; Slupecki 1994, str. 72-73.

<sup>22</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 108, 110.

<sup>23</sup> Jurčević 2016, pp. 222-224; Slupecki 1994, pp. 72-73.



Sl. 7. Zagreb. Katedrala, s istoka (foto: V. Bedenko)  
 Fig. 7 Zagreb, view of the cathedral from the east  
 (photo: V. Bedenko)

no, koliko je meni poznato, osim tragova palisada koje su prije ili oko 16. stoljeća štitile Kaptol, nije se ništa našlo. Središnji svetišni kompleks u Szczezinu sastojao se od Hofa i gomile s koje je konačno i Biskup Otto iz Bamberga propovijedao Obraćanje. Ako s kaptolske Gamule pogledamo na zapad i suočimo se s današnjim monumentalnim materijalnim znakom te svetosti, nije nam teško zamisliti kulturnu, moguće multifunkcionalnu građevinu na položaju današnje katedrale (sl. 7). A to je u poganskoj fazi bila i zgrada na položaju Crkvine u Biskupiji. Tako, barem hipotetski, imamo trag pretkršćanskog monumentalnog svetog položaja na mjestu koje se do danas obilježava hrvatskom svetinjom nad svetinjama, nacionalnom katedralom.<sup>24</sup>

Notorna je činjenica da se nastanak „Zagreba“ smješta u 1242., kad Bela IV. daje slobode kraljevskoga grada jednoj od naseobinskih zajednica na današnjem Gornjem gradu. U tom času te su imale više od tisućljeća i pol naseobinske tradicije.

Nalaz bedema i bedemske konstrukcije ispod Muzeja grada Zagreba (sl. 8), otkopan 1992. godine, interpretirao se, a i danas se još intepretira, kao položaj kasnog 7. stoljeća kad bi na brdu Gornjeg grada postojala utvrda s bedemom od kazetno složenih oblica između koji se umetalo granje te se sve zatrpavalo nabijenom glinom.



Sl. 8. Zagreb. Muzej grada Zagreba, pogled s istoka  
 (foto: V. Bedenko)  
 Fig. 8 Zagreb. Zagreb City Museum, view from the east  
 (photo: V. Bedenko)

umental sacred site in a place that has been marked as the Croatian most sacred location, the national cathedral.<sup>24</sup>

It is notorious that the origin of “Zagreb” dates back to 1242, when Béla IV proclaimed one of the communities in today’s Upper Town a royal free city. At the time, the local settlement tradition was more than a millennium and a half old.

The ramparts and their appurtenant structures discovered under the Zagreb City Museum (fig. 8) and excavated in 1992 have been interpreted as a site from the late seventh century, when there had been a fortification on the hill of Gornji grad with a rampart of round timber laced with branches inserted between and covered with packed clay.

The rampart was finally covered with branches and the whole structure vitrified. This made the rampart structurally stronger and more resistant to weathering. Dendrochronological analysis of the age of wood from the discovered rampart structure yielded a date of AD 679. Thus, a rather sophisticated fortification was erected on Gradec in the second half of the seventh century. This could indicate that these were the quarters of a local boyar, who had a somewhat significant role in Pannonia Savia (Zagreb City Museum, 2018). Inquiries among

<sup>24</sup> Slupecki 1994, 72 -73; Balen-Letunić 1990, str. 10; Goss 2020, str. 108, 110; Goss 2020, str. 257-261.

<sup>24</sup> Slupecki 1994, pp. 72–73; Balen-Letunić 1990, p. 10; Goss 2020, pp. 108, 110; Goss 2020, pp. 257–261.



Sl. 9. Zagreb. Klovíćevi dvori, „Castrum zagrabiense“ (?) (foto: V. Bedenko)

Fig. 9 Zagreb. Klovíćevi dvori, „Castrum zagrabiense“ (?) (photo: V. Bedenko)

Potom se bedem prekrivao granjem i nakon toga bi se cijela konstrukcija potpalila. Time je bedem postao konstrukcijski čvršći i otporniji na atmosferilije. Dendrokronološkom analizom utvrđivanja starosti drva otkrivenog u bedemskoj konstrukciji dobila se godina 679. Dakle u drugoj polovici 7. stoljeća podiže se na Gradecu utvrđenje dosta sofisticiranog tipa. To bi moglo ukazivati da se ondje nalazio stan osobe, mjesnog boljara, koji nije imao značajnu ulogu u životu stare Panonije Savije (Muzej grada Zagreba, 2018). Raspitivanja među uvažanim kolegama pokazala su da je dendrološki datum upitan i da je bedem moguće iz razdoblja latenske kulture. No to samo potvrđuje dugu tradiciju Zagreba-Gornjeg grada kao savršeno lociranog i ljudskom rukom utvrđenog položaja. Zašto bi ga Karolinzi zaobišli nakon pada nesklone vlasti u Sisku?<sup>25</sup>

U Dujmovićevu je doktoratu koncizno i precizno izložena problematika drugih položaja na brdu Griču. Nada Klaić locira „Castrum Zagrabiense“ na mjestu današnjih Klovíćevih dvora i pripisuje mu veći fragment istočnog zida koji se jasno ističe u današnjoj vizuri (sl. 9).

Mišljenja su podijeljena, no postoji konsenzus da se na tom mjestu nalazila neka stara utvrda. Alternativno, neki istraživači lociraju isti „Castrum“ na sjevernoj strani brda, kod Popovog tornja (sl. 10). Daleko smo od definitivnog rješenja tog „Zagreba prije Zagreba“ na Griču, no u svakom se slučaju radi o nemalnim naseobinskim elementima koje se može pratiti natrag do latenskog razdoblja.<sup>26</sup>

esteemed colleagues have revealed that the dendrological date is uncertain and that the rampart possibly dates from the La Tène period. However, this only confirms the long tradition of Zagreb-Gornji grad as a perfectly sited man-made location. Why would the Carolingians bypass it after the fall of the reluctant government in Sisak?<sup>25</sup>

Dujmović's doctoral thesis concisely and precisely presents the topic of other sites on the hill of Grič. Nada Klaić locates „Castrum Zagrabiense“ on the site of today's Klovíćevi dvori Gallery and attributes to it a still clearly visible large fragment of the eastern wall (fig. 9).

Opinions are divided, but there is a consensus that this was a site of an ancient fortification. Alternatively, some researchers argue that the „Castrum“ is located on the north side of the hill, near Popov toranj (fig. 10). The definitive solution to „Zagreb before Zagreb“ on Grič is still far off, but in any case there are substantial settlement elements which can be traced back to La Tène.<sup>26</sup>

This summary does not claim to be complete, but still represents a solid rationale for the Slavic and Carolingian presence in the Zagreb settlement zone at the beginning of the ninth century.

The Zagreb Cathedral before Timothy's rebuilding remains a big black hole. The cathedral must have existed in 1094, when the diocese was founded in Zagreb. It could also have been an existing church, rebuilt, extended, adapted, or a completely new building. No one knows what actually happened around 1094. This mist cannot be dispelled, because only systematic archaeological works within and without the cathedral can do that. Yet, we can attempt to stir that mist, which still comprises a bright ray of light – Ana Deanović's 1949–1953 archaeological excavations, published in 1963. Though the excavations were sadly minimalist, their directress, thanks to her great patience, diligence and intelligence, managed to outline a series of theses on the formation of the sacral complex on the Kaptol hillock, where the Zagreb Cathedral still stands today.<sup>27</sup> Let us paraphrase:

1. There was a much smaller church building from the ninth–eleventh century in the immediate vicinity of today's cathedral. Components of this

<sup>25</sup> Goss 2020, str. 108–110; Muzej grada Zagreba 2018.

<sup>26</sup> Dujmović 2014, str. 113–116, 117–120, 127–129, s dodatnom literaturom.

<sup>25</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 108–110; Zagreb City Museum 2018.

<sup>26</sup> Dujmović 2014, pp. 113–116, 117–120, 127–129, with additional literature.

<sup>27</sup> See the works of Ana Deanović listed in the bibliography; Goss 2020, pp. 203–205.



Sl. 10. Zagreb. Popov toranj, „Castrum zagrabiense“  
(?) (foto: V. Bedenko)

Fig. 10 Zagreb. Popov toranj, „Castrum zagrabiense“  
(?) (photo: V. Bedenko).

Ovaj sumarni pregled ne pretendira na potpunost, ali ipak predstavlja solidnu podlogu za slavenšku i karolinšku prisutnost u zagrebačkoj naseobinskoj zoni početkom 9. stoljeća.

Zagrebačka katedrala prije Timotejeve predgradnje ostaje velika crna rupa. Katedrala mora postojati 1094., kad se u Zagrebu osniva biskupija. Može to biti i već postojeća crkva, koja se pregrađuje, dograđuje, prilagođuje, ili potpuno nova zgrada. Ne znamo što se od toga desilo oko 1094. Tu maglu ne mogu rastjerati, jer to mogu samo sustavni arheološki radovi unutar i u okolici katedrale. No mogu pokušati malo protresti tu magluštinu u kojoj ipak postoji jarka zraka svjetlosti – arheološka iskopavanja Ane Deanović 1949. – 1953., objavljena 1963. Iako su ta istraživanja žalosno minimalistička, velikim strpljenjem, marom i inteligencijom voditeljica istraživanja uspjela je postaviti niz teza o nastajanju sakralnog kompleksa na brežuljku Kaptola, gdje se i danas diže zagrebačka prvostolnica.<sup>27</sup> Parafraziramo:

1. U neposrednoj blizini današnje katedrale postojala je daleko manja crkvena zgrada iz razdoblja 9. – 11. stoljeća. Elementi te zgrade nalaze se ispod građevine koja ju slijedi, a bila je starija i od kapele sv. Stjepana koja se na nju nadovezivala. Kapitel

building are located below the structure erected subsequently, and it was earlier than the chapel of St. Stephen attached to it. The capital discovered in the north wall of the chapel during the excavations could have belonged to that church (fig. 11).

2. It was followed by a monumental early Gothic cathedral. Its remains were discovered under the southern part of Timothy's cathedral.

3. Some parts of that cathedral were used as material for the construction of Timothy's cathedral (Deanović, 1963). Our task at hand is to try to gather as much as we can about a possible church from Carolingian times. This is not entirely impossible either, thanks to Dr Deanović's work and insights.<sup>28</sup> Let us reiterate: historic Zagreb is a series of mountain branches that descend into the swampy plain of the mighty Savus. The two central ones, Gradec and Kaptol, are the most favourable in terms of settlement, because they are well defended either by slopes or swamps and watercourses, and the ridges at their ends are connected with the agriculturally productive Podsljeme stretch from Črnomerec to Granešina. This tract was feeding Zagreb until quite recently. The inhabitants of Gračani were not city's serfs by pure chance.<sup>29</sup> This location possessed no particular attractions for Rome, except for villae rusticae being built in the Podsljeme area and on the mentioned strips. Rome found Sisak more important. It was in the plain, on two important rivers, the intersection of land routes (east-west and north-south). Notwithstanding, Zagreb did have its role in prehistory and the Middle Ages, especially the early medieval period. It was a counterpoise to Sisak, and probably ended its dominance by the tenth century. It is hard to believe that the Carolingians would have overlooked the positions such as the fortifications above Podsused, Zagreb, Zelina on the hillocks, or Podsused, Lučko, Jakuševac, St. Martin (Ščitarjevo) on the Sava plain. It does not matter whether Zagreb attracted the interest of the Carolingian land forces immediately after the victory over the Avars in AD 796 or following the AD 811 incorporation of Pannonia Inferioris into the Frankish system, or maybe after the collapse of Ljudevit's revolt. The exceptionally valuable Carolingian position of Zagreb, located on two logistics and supply routes on the Sava and in the Lonja valley, with a hill as a

<sup>27</sup> Vidi radove Ane Deanović navedene u popisu literature; Goss 2020, str. 203-205.

<sup>28</sup> Goss 2020, p. 204; Deanović 1960, pp. 67–72; 1963, p. 22.

<sup>29</sup> Dobronić 2003.

nađen u sjevernom zidu kapele tijekom iskopavanja moguće je pripadao toj crkvi (sl. 11).

2. Slijedi monumentalna katedrala iz vremena rane gotike, ostaci koje su nađeni ispod južnog dijela Timotejeve katedrale.

3. Neki od dijelova te katedrale postali su izvor materijala za zidanje Timotejeve katedrale (Deanović, 1963). Ovdje nam je zadatak da iz svega toga pokušamo iščepkati što je moguće više o mogućoj crkvi karolinškog vremena. Ni to nije sasvim nemoguće, upravo zahvaljujući radu i uvidima dr. Deanović.<sup>28</sup> Ponavljamo: povijesni je Zagreb niz gorskih izdanaka koji se spuštaju u močvarnu ravnicu moćnog Savusa. Dva središnja, Gradec i Kaptol, naseobinski su najpovoljniji, jer su i dobro branjeni, bilo strminom bilo močvarama i vodotokovima, a hrp-tima na krajevima kojih sjede povezani su s poljoprivredno produktivnim podsljemenskim potezom od Črnomerca do Granešine. Taj je potez hranio Zagreb gotovo do dana današnjega. Nisu Gračanci tek tako bili gradski kmetovi.<sup>29</sup> Taj položaj nije imao nekih posebnih atrakcija za Rim, osim što se grade *villae rusticae* u podsljemenskom prostoru i na već navedenim jezičcima. Za Rim je važniji Sisak, u ravnici, na dvjema važnim rijekama, sjecište kopnenih komunikacija istok-zapad, sjever-jug, no Zagreb „igra“ u pretpovijesti i srednjem vijeku, osobito ranijem. Protuteža je Sisku, kojem je vjerojatno već do 10. stoljeća došao glave. Teško je povjerovati da bi Karolinzi propustili položaje poput utvrde iznad Podsuseda, Zagreb, Zelinu na brežuljcima; ili Podsused, Lučko, Jakuševac, Sv. Martin (Ščitarjevo) na savskoj ravnici. Privlači li Zagreb interes karolinških zemaljskih snaga već odmah po pobjedi nad Avarima 796. ili nakon uključivanja *Pannoniae Inferioris* u franački sustav 811., ili čak nakon slo-ma Ljudevitove pobune, i nije bitno. Izvanredno vrijedan karolinški položaj Zagreba uz dvije linije logistike i dostave Savom i Lonjskom dolinom, s brdom kao štitom u zaleđu nije se mogao mimoići.<sup>30</sup> Sasvim sigurno, ovo odgovorno tvrdim, ne bi nastala biskupija da Zagreb nije bio naseljeno mjesto od izvjesnog značenja, čvrsta obrambena točka i tradicionalan sveti položaj. Svetost su obilno pokazali V. i J. Belaj i pisac ovih redaka, obrambenu sposobnost naglašavaju bedemi ispod Muzeja grada Zagreba bez obzira na datum.<sup>31</sup> Stoga podržavam



Sl. 11. Zagreb, katedrala, predromanički (?) kapitel  
(foto: V. Jukić)

Fig. 11 Zagreb, the cathedral, pre-Romanesque (?)  
capital (photo: V. Jukić)

shield at the back, could not have been missed.<sup>30</sup> Certainly, and I am saying this with full responsibility, the diocese would not have been formed if Zagreb had not been a settlement of a certain significance, a solid defensive point and a traditional sacred site. The sacredness was abundantly presented by V. and J. Belaj and the writer of these lines, while the defence capacity is emphasized by the ramparts under the Zagreb City Museum, regardless of their date.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, I support Dr Deanović's premise regarding the "first" church on Kaptol, and should add that I concur with the beginning of the period (the ninth to eleventh century) that she proposed. I use her documentation as an argument, primarily the remains of plaster found in the foundations of the eastern buttress of the southern apsidiole of Timothy's cathedral, a fragment of a mensa with crosses and the mentioned capital discovered in the wall of the chapel of St. Stephen.<sup>32</sup>

I can responsibly offer a few words only about the latter (fig. 11).

The capital, a rather damaged excellent carved work, consists of two rows of thick, curved leaves, distant relatives of the acanthus, with twigs that would have curved into volutes had the upper part not been destroyed. The capital radiates sympathetic consistency, with a clear rhythm of beautifully rounded surfaces, while serene lighting imparts it the invulnerability of an architectural member of a special, consecrated structure and space. It seems to exude youthfulness and calm optimism. I agree

<sup>28</sup> Goss 2020, str. 204; Deanović 1960, str. 67-72; Deanović 1963, str. 22.

<sup>29</sup> Dobronić 2003.

<sup>30</sup> Goss 2020, str. 257-261.

<sup>31</sup> Goss, Gudek 2007, str. 7-13; Goss 2020, str. 260; Belaj J., Belaj V., 2014, str. 271-278.

<sup>30</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 257-261.

<sup>31</sup> Goss, Gudek 2007, pp. 7-13; Goss 2020, p. 260; Belaj, J., Belaj, V. 2014, pp. 271-278.

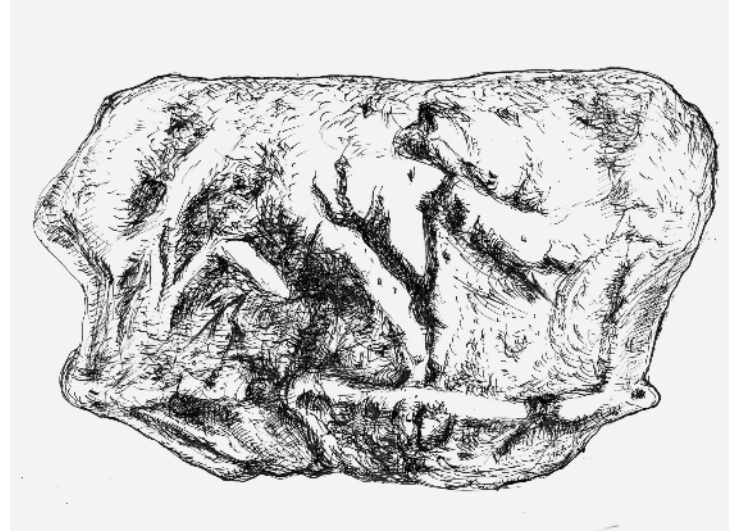
<sup>32</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 205-206; Deanović 1960, pp. 67-72.

tezu dr. Deanović glede „prve“ crkve na Kaptolu, s dodatkom da se priklanjam početku razdoblja (9. do 11. st.) koje je ona predložila. Pri tome kao argument preuzimam njezinu dokumentaciju, prvenstveno ostatke žbuke nađene u temeljima istočnog kontrafora južne apsidoile Timotejeve katedrale, ulomak menze s križevima i navedeni kapitel nađen u zidu kapele sv. Stjepana.<sup>32</sup>

Odgovorno mogu reći nekoliko riječi samo o ovom posljednjem (sl. 11).

Kapitel, znatno oštećen vrsni klesani rad, sastoji se od dvaju nizova debelih, savinutih listova, dalekih rođaka akanta, s grančicama koje bi se svijale u volute da gornji dio nije uništen. Kapitel zrači simpatičnom čvrstoćom, jasnim ritmom lijepo zaobljenih površina, smirena mu rasvjeta daje sigurnost arhitektonskog člana posebne, posvećene, zgrade i prostora. Reklo bi se, odiše mladošću i smirenim optimizmom. Slažem se sa sjajnim uvidom dr. Deanović da takav kapitel ne može pripadati dekadentnoj kasnoj antici ili pričljivom svijetu zrele romanike. Ja bih čak dodao da rana romanika nema tu imperijalnu sigurnost kakvom nam se diči ovaj fini komad domaćeg kamena s Medvednice koji je u Zagrebu klesala ne baš bilo koja ruka. Dr. Deanović vrlo je mudro datirala kapitel između 9. i 11. stoljeća, pokušavajući se prikloniti kraju 11. st., jer tvrdeći nešto drugo šezdesetih godina, daleko prije otkrića na Loboru, bilo bi ishitreno, ali stalno ostavljajući otvorenom mogućnost ranije datacije. Danas, nakon otkrića na Loboru slobodniji smo razmišljati o devetom stoljeću u Panoniji. Dapače, po mom mišljenju Lopor nas stvarno nutka da ozbiljno razmislimo o prvoj polovini devetog stoljeća za ovaj jasan i jezgrovit kapitel, negdje nakon službenog pokrštavanja Donje Panonije.<sup>33</sup>

Kapitel zaista nije lako datirati, prvo zbog oštećenja, a onda i zato što nema puno dobrih geografski bliskih komparativnih primjera. Ako uzmemo Lopor kao paradigmu karolinške *Pannoniae Saviae* i potražimo komparativne primjere ondje otkuda vjerojatno dolaze majstori Lobora, a to je sjeverni Jadran ili alpsko područje, mogli bismo navesti kapitel ciborija u Novigradu (kraj 8. st., sl. 12), koji rese dva niza glatkih, svinutih listova, jasnih i sumarnih, klesanih poput čistih volumena u prostoru.



Sl. 12. Novigrad, kapitel biskupa Mauricija iz krstionice katedrale, kraj 8. st. (crtež: akademska slikarica K. Sladović)

*Fig. 12 Novigrad, Bishop Maurice's capital from the baptistery of the cathedral, end of the eighth century (drawing: academic painter K. Sladović)*

with Dr Deanović's splendid notion that such a capital cannot belong to decadent late antiquity or the loquacious world of High Romanesque. I would even add that the early Romanesque did not possess the imperial dependability as shown by this fine piece of local stone from Medvednica, carved in Zagreb by some special hands. Dr Deanović very wisely dated the capital between the ninth and eleventh centuries, favouring the end of the eleventh century. Any other dating in the 1960s, long before the discovery at Lopor, would have been imprudent, but she was constantly leaving open the possibility of earlier dating. Nowadays, after the discovery at Lopor, we are freer to think in terms of the ninth century in Pannonia. Indeed, in my opinion, Lopor actually urges us to seriously consider the first half of the ninth century for this clear and concise capital, sometime after the official Christianisation of Lower Pannonia.<sup>33</sup>

The capital is really hard to date, primarily due of the damage, and also because there are not many adequate and geographically close comparative examples. If we take Lopor as a paradigm of Carolingian Pannonia Savia and look for comparative examples where the masters of Lopor probably came from, viz. the northern Adriatic or the Alps, we could mention the ciborium capital in Novigrad

<sup>32</sup> Goss 2020, str. 205-206; Deanović 1960, str. 67-72.

<sup>33</sup> Deanović 1960, str. 67-69; Deanović 1963, str. 23; Goss 2020, str. 177, 178, 198-199; 205-206.

<sup>33</sup> Deanović 1960, pp. 67-69; Deanović 1963, p. 23; Goss 2020, pp. 177, 178, 198-199; 205-206.





Sl. 13. Sv. Toma kraj Rovinja, kapitel oltarne pregrade, kasno 8. ili rano 9. st.

(crtež: akademska slikarica K. Sladović)

Fig. 13 *St. Thomas near Rovinj, the altar rail capital, late eighth or early ninth century.*

(drawing: academic painter K. Sladović)

Kapitel oltarne pregrade Sv. Tome kod Rovinja (oko 800., sl. 13) možda nam je još bliži svojim jasnim jezikom volumena u prostoru.<sup>34</sup> Dva manje poznata istarska kapitela datirana u deveto stoljeće jako su bliska našem primjerku. Na njih mi je pozornost svratila Nikolina Belošević, kojoj ostajem trajno zahvalan. To su kapitel iz Sv. Justa u Galižani koji se datira i u kasnu antiku, no crkva ima i predromaničku fazu (sl. 14), i stupić oltara s neutvrđenog južnoistarskog nalazišta, nešto manje rafiniran od našega, ali volumenom zaista podosta blizak (sl. 15).

Nalazi se u franjevačkom samostanu u Puli i pripisuje se radionici koja je u devetom stoljeću radila u okolici Pule. Očito, takvi su se kapiteli mogli naći na sjevernom Jadranu u devetom stoljeću.<sup>35</sup> S onu stranu Alpa navodimo sjajan trokatni kapitel ovog tipa iz Sv. Justina u Hoechstu (druga polovica 9. st., sl. 16), te nekoliko zdepastijih, ali i oblikom i jačim volumenom našem primjeru bližih kapitela iz kripte sv. Germaina u Auxerresu (841. – 859., sl. 17).



Sl. 14. Galižana, Sv. Just, kapitel, oko 800.

(foto: N. Belošević)

Fig. 14 *Galižana, St. Justus, capital, around AD 800*

(photo: N. Belošević)

(from the late eighth century, fig. 12), ornamented with two rows of smooth, curled leaves, clear and concise, carved like pure volumes in space.

The capital of the altar rail in St. Thomas near Rovinj (from around AD 800, fig. 13) may be even closer with its clear expression of volume in space.<sup>34</sup> Two lesser-known capitals from Istria, dated to the ninth century, are quite close to our specimen. It was Nikolina Belošević who drew my attention to them, for which I remain permanently grateful. These are the capital from St. Justus in Galižana, dated to late antiquity, while the church also has a pre-Romanesque phase (fig. 14), and an altar column from an unidentified south Istrian site, somewhat less refined than our example, but in fact quite close in volume (fig. 15).

It is located in the Franciscan monastery in Pula and is attributed to a workshop active in the vicinity of Pula in the ninth century. Obviously, such capitals could be found in the northern Adriatic in the ninth century.<sup>35</sup> From the other side of the Alps, we should mention the splendid capital of this type

<sup>34</sup> Goss 2020, str. 205-206; Milošević 2000, sv. 2, str. 54, 69; Bužančić 1995.

<sup>35</sup> Za informaciju i pomoć izražavam zahvalnost Nikolini Belošević.

<sup>34</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 205-206; Milošević 2000, Vol. 2, pp. 54, 69; Bužančić 1995.

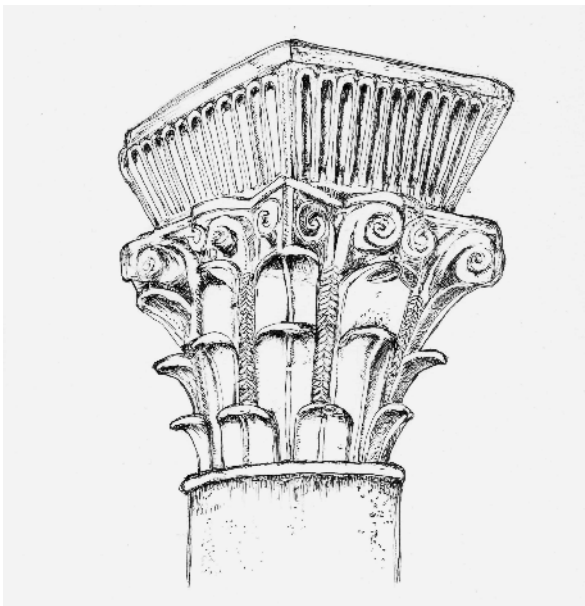
<sup>35</sup> I would like to thank Nikolina Belošević for the information and help.



Sl. 15. Pula, Franjevački samostan, apitel iz južne Istre, oko 800. g. (foto: N. Belošević)  
*Fig. 15 Pula, Franciscan monastery, capital from southern Istria, c AD 800 (photo: N. Belošević)*



Sl. 17. Auxerre, kriptu St. Germain, kapitel, 841. – 859. (crtež: akademska slikarica K. Sladović)  
*Fig. 17. Auxerre, crypt of St. Germain, capital. AD 841–859. (drawing: academic painter K. Sladović)*



Sl. 16. Höchst, Sv. Justin, kapitel, 2. četvrtina 9. st. (crtež: akademska slikarica K. Sladović)  
*Fig. 16 Höchst, St. Justin, capital, second quarter of the ninth century (drawing: academic painter K. Sladović)*

U našem materijalu postoji sličnost s kapitelom iz Sv. Martina (Sv. Barbare) u Trogiru (sl. 18). Crkva se datira u 11. stoljeće, no pitanje datacije raznih faza te crkve nije ni izdaleka riješeno<sup>36</sup>. Ko-

from St. Justin in Höchst (from the second half of the ninth century, fig. 16), and a few capitals from the crypt of St. Germain in Auxerre (from AD 841 to 859, fig. 17), somewhat stockier, but closer to our example with their form and bolder volume.

As to our country, there is a similar capital from St. Martin (St. Barbara) in Trogir (fig. 18). The church is dated to the 11th century, but the dates of its various phases are far from being resolved<sup>36</sup>. Finally, Laura Chinellato, the best connoisseur of the early Middle Ages in northern Italy, recently confirmed to us by e-mail that the sculptural work was compatible with the time around AD 800 in north-eastern Italy and the upper Adriatic (*Aquileia*).<sup>37</sup>

Today, the capital is regularly dated to the 11th/12th century, without much interpretation. Nonetheless, if the new cathedral on a really monumental basis was begun sometime around the mid-12th century and consecrated in 1217, the church that preceded must have had a very short lifespan.

<sup>36</sup> Backes, Dölling 1969, str. 78, 86; Marasović 2008–2013, str. 120–127.

<sup>36</sup> Backes, Dölling 1969, pp. 78, 86. Marasović 2008–2013, pp. 120–127.

<sup>37</sup> I am sincerely grateful.



Sl. 18. Trogir, Sv. Martin (Sv. Barbara), kapitel, moguće rano 9. st. i kapitel sa stare splitske vijećnice, prva polovina 15. st. (foto: R. Bužančić)

Fig 18. Trogir, St. Martin (St. Barbara), capital, possibly early ninth century, and a capital from the old town hall of Split, the first half of the 15th century (photo: R. Bužančić)

načno, i ponajbolja poznavateljica ranog srednjeg vijeka u sjevernoj Italiji, Laura Chinellato, nedavno nam je elektronskom porukom potvrdila da se radi o plastici kompatibilnoj s vremenom oko 800. u sjeveroistočnoj Italiji i gornjem Jadranu (*Aquileia*).<sup>37</sup>

Danas se kapitel redovito bez puno tumačenja datira u 11./12. stoljeće. No ako je nova katedrala na zaista monumentalnoj osnovi započeta negdje oko polovine 12. stoljeća i posvećena 1217., crkva koja joj je prethodila imala bi vrlo kratak životni vijek. To je moguće, ali ne i jako vjerojatno. Priklonio bih se, dakle, nižem kraju raspona koji predlaže dr. Deanović i smatram da je crkva u kojoj se nalazio naš kapitel karolinška, vjerojatno iz ranijeg ili iz sredine devetog stoljeća, da je na Kaptolu naslijedila slavensko svetište; možda Mokoši jer je katedrala posvećena Djevici, dakle Velikoj Majci, a oko nje je dosta vode, da bi Mokoš uz nju mogla prestići do mile volje. Bila je to nevelika, no dobro izvedena i opremljena crkva koja je služila Zagrebu na njegovu putu u metropolitansku budućnost.

Spreman sam bez zadržke ustvrditi da se ovim razmišljanjima nije puno toga zaista novoga postiglo. To bi se moglo desiti samo putem organiziranih arheoloških istraživanja. No isto tako odgovorno tvrdim da se proširio kontekst i da smo malo bliže shvaćanju što se *moglo* događati unutar kulturnog

This is possible, but not very likely. Therefore, I would opt for the lower end of the range as proposed by Dr Deanović. I take it that the church in which our capital was located had been Carolingian, probably from the early or mid-ninth century, that it inherited a Slavic sacred place on Kaptol, perhaps that of Mokosh, since the cathedral is dedicated to the Virgin, i.e. the Great Mother. In addition, there is enough water around it for Mokosh to do her weaving to her heart's content. It was a small but well-built and equipped church that served Zagreb on its way to the metropolitan future.

I am willing to state without hesitation that these thoughts have not yielded much new information. This can only be achieved through organised archaeological research. However, I can also responsibly claim that the context has been expanded and that we are a little closer to understanding what *could* have happened in the cultural landscape of Zagreb and its surroundings around AD 800. The research and discoveries at Lohor are certainly a strong case for continuing such courses of thought. We are slowly pulling our heads out of the sand. I would also like to add a happy circumstance of Radoslav Bužančić's thoughts on the still insufficiently researched and evaluated church of St. Martin/St. Barbara in Trogir. Bužančić's suggestions regarding its Carolingian stratum, specifically the capital

<sup>37</sup> Iskreno zahvaljujem.

pejsaža Zagreba i okolice oko godine 800. Istraživanja i otkrića na Loboru svakako su jak argument za nastavak ovakvih razmišljanja. Polako izvlačimo glavu iz pijeska. Tome bih dodao kao sretnu okolnost razmišljanja Radoslava Bužančića o još uvijek nedovoljno istraženoj i valoriziranoj crkvi sv. Martina/sv. Barbare u Trogiru. Bužančićeve sugestije glede njezinog karolinškog sloja, specifično kapitela s mesnatim listovima, poput onoga u Zagrebu, važan su uvid, koji ne smije zaobići ni jedna buduća studija.<sup>38</sup>

Još nešto. U mojoj disertaciji prvi sam put zapazio sličnost trogirskog Sv. Martina s bizantskim provincijalnim bazilicama, npr. u Trapezuntu (danas bih dodao i Makedoniju). Ovdje bih podsjetio i na postojanje na području Svetog Rimskog Carstva u rasponu od Karolinga do zrele romanike sitnih predromaničkih i romaničkih zgrada, „istočnjački“ dojam kojih prepoznat je već odavno, poput Sv. Bartolomeja u Paderbornu, koju su gradili „magistri graeci“<sup>39</sup>. Što slijedi je za sada samo nabačena sugestija da je zagrebačka, moguće (rano)karolinška crkva, bila takva „orijentalno-karolinška“ zgradića. Osoba vješta kompjuterskim rekonstrukcijama mogla bi možda na temelju kapitela rekonstruirati nešto poput paderbornskog Sv. Bartolomeja na zagrebačkom Kaptolu. To nadilazi moja znanja i sposobnosti, ali za vještu osobu ne bi trebao biti nepremostivi problem. Na kraju, i dalje u sferi hipoteza i prijedloga, skidam kapu kolegi Bužančiću i njegovim uvidima u karolinšku narav trogirskog Sv. Martina. Ako se graditeljstvo i plastika Lobora i Siska može vezati uz jadranski bazen, zašto ne i Zagreb? Hoće li nam ova štura i nedorečena razmišljanja pomoći na tom putu?<sup>40</sup>

with fleshy leaves, such as the one in Zagreb, are an important revelation that no future study should overlook.<sup>38</sup>

I would like to add something else. In my dissertation, I noted for the first time the similarity of St. Martin in Trogir with Byzantine small provincial basilicas, for example in Trebizond (and today I would also add Macedonia). Here I would also like to remind of small pre-Romanesque and Romanesque structures in the Holy Roman Empire, ranging from Carolingian to the mature Romanesque, whose “eastern” impression has long been recognized, such as St. Bartholomew in Paderborn, built by “magistri Graeci”<sup>39</sup>. The following is but a suggestion that the church in Zagreb, possibly (early) Carolingian, was such an “oriental-Carolingian” small structure. A person skilled in computer reconstructions could perhaps reconstruct something similar to Paderborn’s St. Bartholomew on Kaptol in Zagreb, based on its capital. This is beyond my knowledge and abilities, but should not be an insurmountable problem for a competent individual. Finally, still in the sphere of hypotheses and proposals, I take my hat off to my colleague Bužančić and his insights into the Carolingian nature of St. Martin in Trogir. If the architecture and sculpture of Lobor and Sisak can be associated with the Adriatic basin, why not Zagreb? Will these sparse and vague thoughts help us along the way?<sup>40</sup>

(D. G)

<sup>38</sup> Vidi opasku 34.

<sup>39</sup> Busch 1963, str. 27-28, sl. 24. U času kad sam se spremio da pošaljem ovaj tekst urednici, javio mi se kolega Bužančić i ukazao mi na sličnost između trogirskog kapitela i kapitela sa stare splitske vijećnice iz prve polovice 15. st. Analogije nesumnjivo postoje i te se mogu rješavati samo minucioznom pregledom originala. U svakom slučaju, evo još jedne nepoznanice u problemu koji i onako vrvi nepoznanicama. Zahvaljujem kolegi na ljubaznom upozorenju (vidi sl. 18).

<sup>40</sup> Zahvaljujem autorima i vlasnicima na ilustracijama i na ljubaznim dozvolama za reproduciranje.

<sup>38</sup> See footnote 34.

<sup>39</sup> Busch 1963, pp. 27–28, Fig. 24. Just as I was preparing to send this text to the editor, my colleague Bužančić contacted me and pointed out the similarity between the Trogir capital and the capital from the old town hall of Split from the first half of the 15th century. Doubtless, there are analogies, but they can only be addressed by a meticulous examination of the originals. In any case, this is yet another unknown quantity in the problem that is already full of other unknown quantities. I would like to thank my colleague for kindly informing me of this (see Fig. 18).

<sup>40</sup> I would like to thank the authors and owners for the illustrations and their kind permission to reproduce them.

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