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## Katičić, Dekarina i dva „stupa“ hrvatske umjetnosti

*Ovaj je tekst prijedlog nacрта za proučavanje elitističkog i populističkog stupa u hrvatskom stvaralaštvu. S izuzetkom, donekle, Ljube Karamana, ta tema nije imala odjeka u hrvatskoj humanistici. Time je znatan broj spomenika ostao nedovoljno ocijenjen, ostavljajući sliku nepotpunom. Ovaj je tekst tek nacrt otvoren kritičkom razmatranju, no bez zamišljenog plana putovanja nema niti stizanja do cilja.\**

Ključne riječi: *Katičić, Dekarina, hrvatska umjetnost.*

## Katičić, Dekarina and the two “pillars” of Croatian art

*This text is a draft proposal for the analysis of the elitist and populist pillar in Croatian creativity. With the exception of Ljubo Karaman to some extent, this topic has not been widely discussed in Croatian humanities, and therefore many monuments have remained insufficiently evaluated, leaving the picture incomplete. This text is merely a draft and open to critical review. However, without a plan for the journey, one cannot reach the destination.\**

Key words: *Katičić, Dekarina, Croatian art.*

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U knjizi objavljenj 2012. (*The Origins of the World's Mythologies*) harvardski antropolog Michael Witzel ustvrdio je da sve svjetske mitologije imaju zajednički korijen, koji se danas može iščitati u dvije inačice, Laurazijskoj (95 %, Euroazija, obje Amerike i nadsaharska Afrika) i Gondwanskoj (5 %, u podsaharskoj Africi, Australiji, Novoj Gvineji, Tasmaniji i na nekoliko točaka u južnoj i jugoistočnoj Aziji). Obje su moguće nastale iz jednog temeljnog korpusa – pangeanske mitologije. Jedinostvenost tog korpusa korelirala bi s jedinstvenim životnim iskustvom pretpovijesnih ljudi diljem našeg planeta – *unus mundus*. Oblikovni sustavi tih ljudi mogu se pojavno razlikovati, no svi oni žive u svijetu simboličkih i zabiljnih sadržaja. Na području umjetnosti riječi sjajno ih je definirao Mislav Ježić („Mythos, epos i logos: Mit, ep i filozofija. O odnosu hellenske filozofije i indoeuropske mitske predaje“).<sup>1</sup>

Hijeratske mitske pjesme imaju za svrhu utjecati na bogove i poticati slušateljstvo na otvorenost prema spoznaji i nevidljivoj zbilji. Nema naracije, već izričaj stoji kao otjelotvorenje nematerijalnog i pojmovnog.<sup>2</sup>

Epos se bavi djelima junaka, njihovim rodoslovljima. Naglasak je na radnji, priči - zornoj, vidljivoj i slikovitoj. To je poezija ranih urbanih središta, mikenskih i trojanskih citadela, kiklopskih zidova i megarona.<sup>3</sup>

Do izlaska iz špilje umjetnost je jedna, vezana uz jedinstven mitološko-religiozni kompleks doživljavanja svijeta u ljudskom društvu u nastajanju - Witzelova pangeanska mitologija. Veliki sklopovi litične vizualne umjetnosti moguće su likovni trag tih kozmogonijskih vizija.<sup>4</sup> Takve „scene“, naslikane ili ugravirane, mogu pokrivati stotine četvornih metara kamene površine, litice, i sadržavati stotine i stotine više ili manje stiliziranih, grotesknih, fantazmagoričnih bića, nerijetko sastavljenih bez naizgled ikakve „kompozicije“. Sjajni primjeri su Petrified Forest u Arizoni, Nine Mile Canyon u Utahu, Dry Fork u Utahu, oko 700. - 1200. g. n. e., Rochester Creek u Utahu, Renegade Canyon u Kaliforniji, oko 1000. g. n. e., Magnificent Gallery u Queenslandu ili stijena u Huashanu u Kini, najveća površina litične umjetnosti na svijetu, sa 1819 likova.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Witzel 2012; Ježić 2016, str. 19-62

<sup>2</sup> Ježić 2016, str. 53-54.

<sup>3</sup> Ježić 2016, str. 53-54.

<sup>4</sup> Mumford 1961, str. 15, 35-36; Ježić 2016, str. 53-56; Goss 2020, str. 35-36.

<sup>5</sup> Goss 2020, str. 36-38; Bahn 1998, str. XXI, XXIII, 177, 235, 238, 239, 299.

In his book published in 2012 (*The Origins of the World's Mythologies*), Harvard anthropologist Michael Witzel argues that all world mythologies have a common root, which nowadays can be identified in two versions: the Laurasian (95%, Eurasia, both Americas and the African region north of the Sahara) and the Gondwanan (5%, in sub-Saharan Africa, Australia, New Guinea, Tasmania, and several places in southern and south-eastern Asia), both possibly evolving from one basic corpus – the Pan-Gaeian mythology. The unity of this corpus would correlate with the uniform life experience of prehistoric people across our planet – *unus mundus*. These people may have had different systems of formation, but they all inhabited a world of symbolic and real content. In the field of literary art, Mislav Ježić brilliantly defined them in his work “Mythos, epos i logos: Mit, ep i filozofija. O odnosu hellenske filozofije i indo europske mitske predaje” (Mythos, epos and logos: on the relation between Hellenic and Indoeuropean mythic tradition).<sup>1</sup>

Hieratic mythical poems aim to influence the gods and encourage openness to knowledge and the invisible reality among the audience. There is no narrative, but the expression stands as the embodiment of the conceptual and immaterial.<sup>2</sup>

The epos deals with heroes, their deeds and family genealogy. The emphasis is on the narrative, the story- clear, visible and vivid. It is the poetry of early urban structures, the Mycenaean and Trojan citadels, cyclopean walls and *megarons*.<sup>3</sup>

Until the exit from the cave, the art was one, tied to the unique religious-mythological complex of experiencing the world in the human society in formation, according to Witzel's Pan-Gaeian mythology. The large complexes of rock art are most likely visual traces of these great cosmogonic visions.<sup>4</sup> Such “scenes,” whether painted or carved, can cover hundreds of square meters of stone surface and cliffs, and contain hundreds of more or less stylized, grotesque and phantasmagorical beings, often composed without any apparent “composition.” Great examples are the Petrified Forest in Arizona, Nine Mile Canyon and Dry Fork in Utah (ca. 700-1200 AD), Rochester Creek in Utah, Renegade Canyon

<sup>1</sup> Witzel 2012; Ježić 2016, pp. 19-62

<sup>2</sup> Ježić 2016, pp. 53-54.

<sup>3</sup> Ježić 2016, pp. 53-54.

<sup>4</sup> Mumford 1961, p. 15, 35-36; Ježić 2016, pp. 53-56; Goss 2020, pp. 35-36.



Sl. 1. Arizona (Karina Sladović, akad. slikarica)  
Fig. 1 Arizona. (Karina Sladović, Master of Painting)

Strateški položaj ranoga grada jasno pokazuje ulogu koju nasljeđuje i današnji grad kao središte nadzora – vlade, sudišta, parlamenata, glavnih stožera, ministarstava, biskupija, akademija, banaka, tvornica. Grad bilježi povijest muzejima, arhivima, knjižnicama, nameće se kvazirajskom pretpovijesnom pejzažu kao izumitelj i mjesto najstrašnijeg terora, kontrole, zločina, čineći povijest neprekinutom kronikom nasilja čovjeka nad čovjekom. I selo ima svoje mračne strane – tvrdoglavi konzervativizam, nedostatak inicijative, okrutnost emocija. Stanovnici utvrda i njihovi nasljednici po gradovima zaboravili su da seoski svijet uopće postoji, da je povijest ujedno i kronika odnosa urbanih zona i ladanja te da se stoga sučeljavanje tih dvaju polova odvija i u duši svakoga od nas.<sup>6</sup> Postglaciobnom bifurkacijom dobili smo najmanje dva vida stvaralaštva. Ono gradsko bilježe za to izučeni promatrači i tumači (kritičari, povjesničari umjetnosti, estetičari). Grad nije samo proglasio pravo da nadzire ladanje, već bez kompleksa piše i povijest tog terora.

Dva načina života, dva oblika stvaralaštva! U klasičnoj knjizi *Quarante mille ans d'art moderne* (Paris, 1954) Jacques-André Mauduit jasno je prepoznao kontinuitet pretpovijesnih oblika u umjetnosti suvremenog sela i prisutnost „simboličke umjetnosti“ shema i znakova kao intuitivnih prikaza ideja (introvertna, „ženska“, umjetnost) u suprotnosti s imitativnom figuralnom „muškom“ (ekstrovertnom) umjetnošću. „Došli smo do točke stvaranja velikih političkih tvorevina i početka povijesti. Naša je zadaća ispunjena. Odsada (tj. od početka mlađeg kamenog doba) umjetnost se odvaja od ljudskih bića. Postaje vlasništvo vladajuće klase, dok narod-

in California (around 1000 AD), the Magnificent Gallery in Queensland and the rock of Huashan in China, the largest known rock art surface in the world containing 1819 figures.<sup>5</sup>

The strategic location of the early city shows clearly its role, which was also inherited by the modern city as a centre of control- control by the government, courts, parliaments, headquarters, ministries, dioceses, academies, banks and factories. The city collects and records history in museums, archives and libraries, imposing itself on the quasi Eden-like prehistoric landscape as the inventor and site of the most horrific terror, control and crime, making history an uninterrupted chronicle of human violence against humans. The village has also its negative aspects, including stubborn conservatism, lack of initiative and emotional cruelty. The inhabitants of the fortresses and their descendants in the cities have forgotten that the rural world even existed, that history is also a chronicle of the relationship between urban areas and the countryside, and that hence the confrontation between these two poles also takes place within each of us.<sup>6</sup> The post-glacial bifurcation has given rise to at least two forms of creativity. Trained observers and interpreters such as critics, art historians and aestheticians record urban creativity. The city not only claims the right to oversee the countryside, but also writes the history of that terror without any reservations.

Two ways of life and two forms of creativity! In his classical book *Quarante mille ans d'art moderne* (Paris, 1954), Jacques-André Mauduit has clearly recognized the continuity of prehistoric shapes in the art of the contemporary village, and the universal presence of “symbolic art” of schemes and signs as intuitive representations of ideas (introvert, “feminine”, art) as opposed to the art of imitation and figured “masculine” forms (extrovert). “Thus we have reached the point of large political entities and the beginning of history. Our task has been accomplished. From this point on (i.e. from the beginning of the Neolithic period), the art has separated itself from human beings. It becomes property of the ruling classes. Only ‘folk art’, which is closely tied to life and the magic of natural forms, has kept the creative fires alive.”<sup>7</sup> About twenty years earlier, Josef Strzygowski criticized in a similar way the art

<sup>5</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 36-38; Bahn 1998, pp. XXI, XXIII, 177, 235, 238, 239, 299.

<sup>6</sup> Mumford 1961, chapter 1 and 2; Goss, 2020, p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 36-38; Mauduit 1961, pp. 117, 121, 142, 152, 188, 208, 251.

<sup>6</sup> Mumford 1961, poglavlje 1 i 2; Goss, 2020, str. 15.

na umjetnost, bliska životu i magiji prirodnih oblika drži na životu stvaralačko uzbuđenje.<sup>7</sup> Dvadesetak godina ranije Josef Strzygowski je na sličan način kritizirao umjetnost elita, vjerskih i svjetovnih – *Europas Machtkunst*.<sup>8</sup> I Mauduit i Strzygowski jasno prepoznaju pretpovijesni *unus mundus* s jednom zajedničkom kulturom i jednim programom likovnog izražavanja. S bifurciranjem na grad i selo nestaje i jednostupni vid stvaralačkog izražavanja. Podijeljeno društvo, podijeljena nadgradnja.

Prije više od jednog stoljeća vrhunski hrvatski intelektualac A. G. Matoš, rodnom dubokog ladanja, nazvao je Zagreb, hrvatsku metropolu, „šumskim gradom“. Isti je Matoš primijetio i začudnu stabilnost *Patriae* u duhu hrvatskih ljudi koji je nose bilo kamo se svijetom rasipali („Naši ljudi su krajevi, a krajevi ljudi“, Jembrih 2022, 25). Uvaženi povjesničar umjetnosti Vladimir Crnković prepoznaje pak u fenomenu hrvatske naive otisak kolektivne memorije, što se može svesti „pod pojmove *genius loci* ili čak šire: *genius patriae*“ (Goss 2020, 405; Crnković 2018).<sup>9</sup>

Postoje ljudi-građani i ljudi-vilani. I, konačno, oni koji su i jedno i drugo. U sretnom društvu ravnoteže obaju oblika *svi* su oni sretni, pa tako i njihove zajednice, uključivo onu najveću – državu.

Ljudsko postojanje određeno je dvama čimbenicima – prostorom (fizički okvir) i (ljudskim) duhom koji ga nastava. Hrvatski je prostor konglomerat razmjerno malih, ne osobito povezanih, jedinica, ne odveć različit od zapadnoeuropskog prostora uopće. Opisao bih prirodnu ekologiju prostora Republike Hrvatske kao pretežno lirsku, s umjerenim, no izražajnim, dramatskim potezima. Naše planine nisu Alpe, no čak i brdašce može biti iznenađujuće divlje i izražajno. Naše ravnice nisu nikad izvan vidokruga planina, nemaju golemu prostornost Teksasa ili Ruske ploče, no sjajno se uklapaju u svoje brežuljkaste rubove. Naša obala nema zastrašujuću dramatičnost norveških fjordova i klifova, no čak i ograničeni potezi divljine sjajno se spajaju sa zelenilom borova, plavetnilom mora i neba i zlatom Sunca. Tisućama je godina čovjek pozorno slušao govor čarobnog duha zemlje otkrivajući snove i vizije zapisane u pejzaž.<sup>10</sup>

of the elite classes, both the religious and secular ones, in his work *Europas Machtkunst*.<sup>8</sup> Both Mauduit and Strzygowski acknowledged the prehistoric *unus mundus* with one shared culture and one program of visual expression. However, with the bifurcation into city and village, the one-pillar form of creative expression disappears, leading to a divided society and superstructure.

More than a century ago, AG Matoš, the eminent Croatian intellectual whose roots were from the deep countryside, called the Croatian metropolis Zagreb a “forest city.” The same Matoš noticed the remarkable stability of the *Patriae* spirit in the Croatian people wherever they scattered around the world (“Our people are regions, and regions are people,” Jembrih 2022, 25). Respected art historian Vladimir Crnković, on the other hand, recognizes the imprint of collective memory in the phenomenon of Croatian naive art, which can be summed up as “the concept of *genius loci* or even broader: *genius patriae*” (Goss 2020, 405; Crnković 2018).<sup>9</sup>

There are citizens and there are villagers, and eventually those who are both. In a happy and balanced society with a mix of both forms, everyone is happy, including their communities, including the largest one - the state.

Human existence is determined by two factors – space (physical framework) and (human) spirit that inhabits it. The Croatian territory is a conglomerate of relatively small, not particularly interconnected units and not very different to the Western European landscape in general. The Croatian natural ecology can best be described as being mostly lyrical, with moderate, yet expressive and dramatic expanses. Our mountains are certainly not the Alps, but even a small mountain can be unexpectedly wild and expressive. Our plains are never too far from the surrounding mountains, and they do not have the endless expanses of Texas or the Russian plain, but nevertheless they perfectly fit into their hilly edges. Our littoral does not possess the frightening drama of the northern fiords and cliffs, but even the limited number of areas of wilderness blend beautifully with green pine trees, the blue of the sea and sky, and the golden sunshine. Throughout thousands of years, man has listened to this miraculous voice of

<sup>7</sup> Goss 2020, str. 36-38; Mauduit 1961, str. 117, 121, 142, 152, 188, 208, 251.

<sup>8</sup> Strzygowski 1941.

<sup>9</sup> Matoš 1912, str. 59-60; Jembrih 2018, str. 25; Goss 2020., str. 405-408; Crnković 2018.

<sup>10</sup> Goss 2020, str. 16-18.

<sup>8</sup> Strzygowski 1941.

<sup>9</sup> Matoš 1912, pp. 59-60; Jembrih 2018, p. 25; Goss 2020, pp. 405-408; Crnković 2018.



Sl. 2. Karta.  
Fig. 2 Map

Od časa kad možemo na području RH započeti pratiti kreativnu ljudsku prisutnost, primjećuje se prostorna podijeljenost na tri velike zone: priobalje, gorsku Hrvatsku i nizinsku Hrvatsku (jugozapadna Panonija). Tu podjelu i brojne manje podjele unutar većih područja prati rascjepkanost, niska populacija, neprotočnost, autarkičnost i policentričnost, što ne pogoduje stvaranju većih populacijskih središta. Oslanjanje na mjesne izvore svakako odgovara seoskom, zatvorenom načinu života. Taj se oblik posebno ističe u prapovijesti, ranijem srednjem vijeku, vremenima turskih provala. Urbanizacija kakvu je provodila antika obnavlja se zapravo tek zadnjih stotinjak godina, premda se grad kao politička i gospodarska jedinica afirmira u zreлом srednjem vijeku i renesansi.<sup>11</sup>

Ruralna kultura plemenitaša, slobodnjaka i kmetova *à la* Gjaljski, tradicionalistička i konzervativna,

nature, discovering dreams and visions engraved into the landscape.<sup>10</sup>

From the moment the creative human presence in the area of Croatia has become traceable, a spatial division into three large zones is evident: Coastland, Highlands, Pannonian plain (south-western Pannonia). This division and numerous smaller divisions within larger areas are reflected in small units, low population density, poor flow, autarchy and polycentricism, none of which is conducive to larger population centres. The dependence on local resources certainly breeds a rather rural, closed way of life, especially characteristic of Prehistory, the Early Middle Ages and the times of Ottoman incursions. Urbanization, such as the one implemented during Antiquity, was renewed only within the last one hundred years or so, although the city as a major political and economic unit had asserted itself

<sup>11</sup> Goss 2016, str. 19-21; Goss 2020, str. 17-19.

<sup>10</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 16-18.

važna je i pozitivna sastavnica hrvatskog nacionalnog karaktera i identiteta. Hrvatska kulturna ekologija rezultat je prilagođivanja čovjeka tom prostoru, odnosno, za svaki val doseljenika, prilagođivanja onome što su prethodnici učinili s tim prostorom. Ladanjski aspekt čak i urbanih civilizacija, poput rimske, ili gradskih sredina od zrelog srednjeg vijeka do u 20. stoljeće, ukazuje da je i gradski čovjek, kako u priobalju tako i u kontinentu, zadržao i funkcionalnu i emocionalnu vezu s izvangradskim prostorima, no da urbana tradicija nije u potpunosti iščeznula ni u izrazito antiurbanim vremenima ranijega srednjeg vijeka i turskih provala.<sup>12</sup>

Unutar ovako opisanog prostora žive Hrvati kao većinski narod. Ti su se između 6. i 8. stoljeća doselili na istočnu obalu Jadrana i njegovog dinaridskog i panonskog zaleđa iz sjeverne srednje Europe, Prikarpatja i Zakarpatja. Hrvati i njihovi suputnici stigli su kao pretpovijesna ljudska skupina. Na području gdje su se smjestili, zatekli su ostatke jake urbane tradicije Rima i Grčke, ali i one domaćeg predslavenskog stanovništva, ponajprije Ilira. Urbani stup se sasvim lijepo udomio u rimskom Iliriku, ali ruralni nije sasvim nestao. „Mali grad“ i kultura „rimske provincije“ predstavlja dosta uspješan suživot dvaju stupova. Kako piše don Ante Škobalj u svojoj monumentalnoj knjizi o Poljicima, stapanje je bilo moguće jer su i domaći i doseljenici „bili pastiri“.<sup>13</sup>

Još jedna primarno ladanjska skupina imala je važnu ulogu u europeizaciji Hrvata. Zahvaljujući političkoj i vojnoj snazi, Franci su se nametnuli kao lideri ranosrednjovjekovne Zapadne Europe. Do početka 9. st. njihova samosvijest je tolika da se s pravom deklariraju kao nasljednici Zapadnoga Rimskog Carstva.

Od svih barbarskih naroda u orbiti Rimskog Carstva Franci su napravili najveću političku karijeru. Pod vladavinom obitelji Karolinga potomaka Karla Martela (oko 685. – 741.), posebice njegovog unuka Karla Velikog (747. – 814., kralj Franaka 768. – 800., rimski car 800. – 814.), Franci vladaju Zapadnom Europom od Katalonije do Panonije, Istre i dijelova istočnog Jadrana. Intelektualni vođe Franaka okupljeni oko carskog prijestolja u Aachen-u sanjali su o obnovi Rima i rimske uljudbe, no Franačko Carstvo nije bilo *Roma*, nego njezina preslika po ukusu karolinških poglavica i njihovih in-

already in the High Middle Ages and in the Renaissance.<sup>11</sup>

The rural culture of the petty nobleman, the yeoman and serf à la Ksaver Šandor Gjalski, traditionalistic and conservative, is an important and positive component of the Croatian national character and identity. The Croatian cultural ecology is hence the result of man's adjustment to that space, or, for each wave of immigrants, the adjustment to what their predecessors had done with that space. The countryside aspect of even urban civilizations, such as the Roman or urban one from the High Middle Ages up until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, shows that the urban dweller, be it at the coast or in the continental areas, retained both a functional and emotional link with the extra-urban environments. However, even in the extremely anti-urban times of the Early Middle Ages and Ottoman invasions, the urban tradition did not completely vanish.<sup>12</sup>

The majority population living within such a space were the Croats. They migrated to the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea and its Dinaric and Pannonian hinterlands from northern Central Europe, the Pre- and Transcarpathian regions between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Croats and their travel companions arrived as a prehistoric human group. In the region where they settled, they encountered remnants of the urban traditions of Rome and Greece, as well as those of the indigenous pre-Slavic population, primarily the Illyrians. The urban pillar integrated well into Roman Illyricum, but the rural one did not completely disappear. The "small town" and the culture of the "Roman province" represent a successful coexistence of the two pillars. As Don Ante Škobalj writes in his monumental book about Poljica, the blending was possible because both the locals and the newcomers were "shepherds."<sup>13</sup>

Another primarily rural group played an important role in the Europeanization process of the Croats. Thanks to their political and military power, the Franks imposed themselves as leaders of early medieval Western Europe. By the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, their self-awareness was at such a level that they rightfully declared themselves as heirs to Western Rome.

<sup>11</sup> Goss 2016, pp. 19-21; Goss 2020, pp. 17-19.

<sup>12</sup> Goss 2016, pp. 16-18.

<sup>13</sup> Škobalj 1999, p. 124.

<sup>12</sup> Goss 2016, str. 16-18.

<sup>13</sup> Škobalj 1999, str. 124.



Sl. 3. Luk do splitske Krstionice (foto: V. Bedenko)  
 Fig. 3 Arch next to the baptistery of Split (photo: V. Bedenko)

telektualnih barbarskih žrečeva, kako na dvoru tako i na ladanju. Karolinška je renesansa pod parolom *modo romano* stvarala vrlo privlačnu, novu i svježju sintezu Rima i narodnih barbarskih sredina, nove Europe. Iza nje stajao je car i dvor, i to joj je davalo dignitet i legitimitet. Za Hrvate na krajnjem jugoistoku Carstva to znači utjecaje još jednoga ladanjskog izraza obojenog onim što njegovi stvaratelji pomalo naivno doživljavaju kao klasični kršćanski Rim. Metalodobni izraz, kako ga lijepo naziva Katičić, proviruje ispod karolinškog zlata, a nose ga sredine koje su malo ili nikako upile renovacijske ideale središta.

Jedna takva moćna skupina su veliki evangelizatori kontinentalne Europe, britanski i irski monasi, koji zajedno s Kristovom riječi šire oblikovni svijet keltskih druida. Oni su veliki diseminatori karolinške obnove, posebice njezinog „narodnog“ krila.<sup>14</sup> Karolinška će sistematizacija u umjetnosti, kao i u svemu ostalome, težiti ujedinjavanju, sređivanju i staloženoj uniformnosti. Paul Zykan je još 1937. primijetio da unutar karolinške obnove postoje oblici koji su izrazito „antikarolinški“ u smislu njihovog odstupanja od modela klasične „Renovatio“. Zykan je primijetio razlike u stilu između dijelova oslika u crkvama sv. Prokula u Naturnsu i sv. Bene-

Out of all the barbarian peoples within the orbit of Rome, the Franks were politically the most successful ones. Under the rule of the Carolingian dynasty, the descendants of Charles Martel (ca. 685–741) and especially of his grandson, Charlemagne (747–814, king of Franks 768–814, Roman Emperor 800–814), the Franks ruled the West from Catalonia to Pannonia, Istria and parts of the Eastern Adriatic. The intellectual leaders of the Franks, gathered around the imperial throne in Aachen, dreamed about a revival of Rome and the classical culture, but the Frankish Empire was not the Roman Empire, but rather a reproduction according to Carolingian chieftains and their intellectual barbarian seers, both at the court and countryside. The Carolingian Renewal under the slogan of *modo romano* created an attractive, new and fresh synthesis of Rome and native barbarian environments, of a new Europe, whose dignity and legitimacy was backed by the Emperor and the Court. For the Croats at the farthest south-eastern fringe of the Empire, it meant a presence of yet another extra-urban idiom tinted by a somewhat naïve image, its creators had of the classical Christian Rome. The term ‘Metal Age’, brilliantly coined by Katičić, peaks through from underneath the Carolingian gilding, carried by communities that have absorbed little or no ideals of renewal from the centres.

<sup>14</sup> Goss 2020, str. 144, 146, 160; Zykan 1937, str. 46–50.

dikta u Malsu, obje u Južnom Tirolu iz vremena oko godine 800. i unutar desetak kilometara jedna od druge. Mals predstavlja stil klasične „Renovatio“, a Naturns slog koji Zykan, s pravom, veže uz umjetnost Kelta i irskih misionara („Es ist falsch, hier von karolingischer Kunst zu reden, wir haben es mit antikarolingischer Kunst zu tun“, Zykan 1937, 48; „Krivo je ovdje govoriti o karolinškoj umjetnosti, jer se ovdje susrećemo s antikarolinškom umjetnošću“). Pa šta, zaboga, rade one krave predvođene golemim njemačkim ovčarom u apsidi Sv. Prokula! I Mario Brozzi i Amelio Tagliaferi primijetili su da u langobardskoj umjetnosti perzistira stil „pienamente ‘barbarico’ e di emanazione strettamente ‘langobardo’... immune dalla contaminazione carolingia“ (Brozzi i Tagliaferi 1961, II, 44; „...u potpunosti ‘barbarski’ i s izrazom koji je striktno ‘langobardski’, imun na karolinške kontaminacije“).<sup>15</sup> Karolinzi su možda najvažniji faktor u stvaranju hrvatskog brenda. Od domaćeg rimskoprovincijalnog vilana učilo se mjesnom dijalektu pretpovijesnog stvaralaštva. Od grada se, kad se jednom prihvati kršćanstvo, moglo još uvijek nešto naučiti o urbanom svijetu Mediterana. Hrvatska i Hrvati ulaze u Europu noseći vlastiti ladanjski stup tragove kojeg nalazimo u toponomastici, u mitološkim pejzažnim formacijama kako ih otkrivaju Andrej Pleterški i Vitomir Belaj, u rijetkim materijalnim ostacima koji bi se mogli pripisati predmigracijskoj tradiciji (Troglavac iz Vačana i s Magdalensberga, Pranger iz Vinice; kalnički pretpovijesni reljefi (?), koje je otkrio Vladimir Palošika), i u odjeku keltskih radova u romaničkoj skulpturi savsko-dravskog međuriječja (Rudina, Glogovnica, Križovljan).<sup>16</sup>

Karolinška uljudba, koja je i *kršćanska*, regulator je ladanjskog stupa, koji Hrvati gotovo jedino poznaju kroz nju u času stupanja u svijet Zapadne Europe pokrštenjem u Biskupiji oko 800. godine. Tijekom 9. st. u procesu sve intenzivnije kristijanizacije razvit će se novi hrvatsko-karolinški stup, posebice u vremenu kneza Branimira, koji, uz izrazito tradicionalne oblike ladanjskog stupa, pokazuje i prve naznake hrvatskog zanimanja i razumijevanja za ostatke antičkog urbaniteta rimske Dalmacije.

Visoka humanistička znanost službenih centara zapadne kulture nije pretjerano marila za „ladanjski stup“. Problem je stručno prikazao veliki popularizator i tumač srednjovjekovne uljudbe Jacques Le

One such powerful group were the great evangelizers of continental Europe, the British and Irish monks who, together with the Word of Christ, spread the formative world of Celtic druids. They were great disseminators of the Carolingian Renewal, especially its “populist” wing.<sup>14</sup> Carolingian systematisation in art, as in everything else, aimed at unification, organisation and calm uniformity. As early as 1937, Paul Zykan noticed that within the Carolingian Renewal there were forms that were essentially “anti-Carolingian” in terms of their departure from the model of the classical “Renovatio”. Zykan noted stylistic differences between parts of the frescoes in the churches of St Proculus in Naturns and St Benedict in Mals, both within ten kilometres of each other in South Tyrol, and both dating from around 800 AD. Mals represents the classical “Renovatio”, whereas Naturns reflects a style that Zykan rightly associates with the art of the Celts and the Irish missionaries (“It is wrong here to talk of Carolingian art, as this is a case of anti-Carolingian art”, Zykan 1937, 48). So what on earth are those cows, led by an enormous German shepherd, doing in the apse of St Proculus? Both, Mario Brozzi and Amelio Tagliaferi have noticed that a style persisted in Lombard art that was “pienamente ‘barbarico’ e di emanazione strettamente ‘langobardo’... immune dalla contaminazione carolingia” (Brozzi i Tagliaferi 1961, II, 44; “...purely ‘barbarian’ and with an expression that is strictly ‘Lombard,’ immune to Carolingian contamination”).<sup>15</sup> The Carolingians are an important, possibly the most important factor in the creation of the “Croatian brand.” From the local roman-provincial vilanus one learned the domestic dialect of prehistoric creativity. Once Christianity was adopted in cities, there was still a handful to be learned about the urban world of the Mediterranean. Croatia and the Croats entered Europe with their own rural pillar, traces of which can be found in toponymy, in mythological landscape formations as discovered by Andrej Pleterški and Vitomir Belaj, in rare material remains that could be attributed to the pre-migration tradition (Three-header from Vačani and Magdalensberg, the Pranger of Vinica; prehistoric reliefs from Kalnik (?), discovered by Vladimir Palošika) and in the echo of Celtic works in Romanesque sculpture in the territory between the Sava and the Drava River (Rudina, Glogovnica, Križovljan).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 144, 146, 160; Zykan 1937, pp. 46-50.

<sup>15</sup> Brozzi and Tagliaferi 1961, II, p. 44

<sup>16</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 109-118, 118-120, 286-295.

<sup>15</sup> Brozzi i Tagliaferi 1961, II, str. 44.

<sup>16</sup> Goss 2020, str. 109-118, 118-120, 286-295.



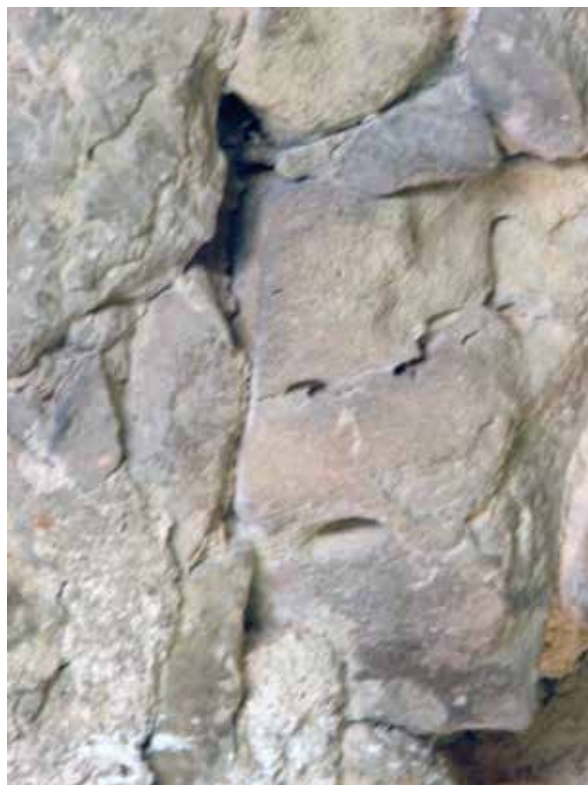


Sl. 4. Troglavac iz Vaćana, MHAS (foto: Z. Alajbeg)  
 Fig. 4 Three-Header from Vaćani, MHAS  
 (photo: Z. Alajbeg)



Sl. 5. Pranger iz Vinice  
 (preuzeto iz: V. Pascutini-Juraga, I. Peškan 2010.)  
 Fig. 5 Pranger from Vinice  
 (photo: V. Pascutini-Juraga, I. Peškan)

Goff, pozivajući se ni na kog drugog nego na Julesa Micheleta (*Histoire de France*, 1-6, 1833. – 1844.). “Sjedeći na obali goleme poetske rijeke srednjeg vijeka, možemo prema boji vode razlikovati dva



Sl. 6. Lice iz Visokog na Kalniku (foto: V. Palošika)  
 Fig. 6 Face from Visoko on Kalnik  
 (photo: V. Palošika)

The Carolingian civilisation, which is also *Christian*, is the regulator of the countryside pillar, which Croats knew almost exclusively through it at the moment they entered the world of Western Europe through baptism in Biskupija around 800 AD. During the 9<sup>th</sup> century, within the increasingly intense Christianisation process, a new Croatian-Carolingian pillar developed, especially during the reign of Prince Branimir, which, along the with the extremely traditional forms of the countryside pillar, also showed the first signs of Croatian interest in and understanding of the remnants of the ancient urbanity of Roman Dalmatia.

The higher levels of humanistic science of the official centres of Western culture was not overly concerned with the “countryside pillar”. The problem was expertly presented by the great populariser and interpreter of medieval civilisation, Jacques Le Goff, quoting none other than Jules Michelet (*Histoire de France*, 1-6, 1833-1844). “From beside this great poetic river which runs through the Middle Ages, I can make out two separate sources to account for the colour of its waters ... Two poetries, two literatures: one chivalrous, military, amorous; from early on, this was aristocratic; the other reli-

izvora... dvije poetike, dva korpusa literature. Jedan viteškog svijeta ratnika i ljubavi i njihovih dvorova, drugi religiozni i popularni. Micheletova knjiga *Le peuple* iz 1847. inspirativna je apoteoza pučkog segmenta nacije. Elitna kultura koja uključuje kršćanstvo kao nasljednika aristokratske grčko-rimske kulture, prikriva, isključuje i blokira kao superiorna inferiornu narodnu kulturu. Ona Zykanova „antika-rolinška umjetnost“ jest tradicionalna kultura, „dru- gi stup“, koji je izbjegao takvim korekcijama.<sup>17</sup>

U hrvatskoj povijesti umjetnosti takva teoretska pitanja jedva da su se uopće postavljala. Otac hrvatske povijesti umjetnosti Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816. – 1889.), zastupao je, nevjerojatno pronica- vo, stav da je umjetnost „zercalo naroda“, smješta- jući tako stvaralaštvo i njegovo proučavanje u kon- tekst djelovanja duha u prostoru.<sup>18</sup> Ljubo Karaman (Split, 1886. – Zagreb, 1971.) razmat- ao je hrvatsku umjetnost u svjetlu triju komponenti – provincija- lizirane, granične i periferne umjetnosti, pri čemu sva ta tri vida konstituiraju „ladanjski stup“, dok se visoka umjetnost elite drži dvora i urbanih sredina. Svi ovi aspekti mogu se naći zajedno u svim dijelo- vima zemlje, što jamči jedinstvo hrvatskog stvara- lačkog i kulturnog prostora.<sup>19</sup> Karaman točno zapa- ža da su ladanjski vidovi upravo specifikum hrvatske umjetnosti i njezino krunsko ostvarenje. Točno je prepoznao zajedništvo triju aspekata ladanjskog stupa, koji se može pojaviti rame uz rame s elitnim u istom vremenu i na istome mjestu.

Ono što su propustili likovnjaci, nadoknadila je lingvistika u radu velikoga ranoslavenskog jeziko- slovca Radoslava Katičića. Uz vrhunski doprinos staroslavenskom jezikoslovlju i književnosti Kati- čić je dao jednak doprinos razumijevanju hrvatske duhovne, pa tako i likovne i materijalne kulture.<sup>20</sup>

Nakon pokrštenja oko godine 800. Hrvatima je u načelu olakšan pristup gradovima rimske Dal- macije, no taj je „dalmatinski jezik“, kaže Katičić, ponovno poprimio svoju pretpovijesnu metalodob- nu fizionomiju (primjerice, luk uzidan u zgradu do splitske krstionice). Složenost ladanjskog stupa još se više uslojava drugim opcijama – zapadnom karo- linškom, kojoj je ispostava biskupija u Ninu, služ- benim rimskim kršćanstvom bizantskog imperija

giuous and popular.” Michelet’s book *Le peuple* from 1847 is an inspiring apotheosis of the popular seg- ment of the nation. The elite culture, which includes Christianity as the heir of the aristocratic Greco-Ro- man culture, conceals, excludes and blocks the infe- rior popular culture as superior. Zykan’s “anti-Car- olingian art” is the traditional culture, the “second pillar”, which has avoided such corrections.<sup>17</sup>

In Croatian art history, such theoretical ques- tions have rarely been raised. The father of Croa- tian art history, Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816 - 1889), was remarkably insightful in arguing that art is the “mirror of the people”, thus placing cre- ativity and its analysis in the context of the action of the mind in space.<sup>18</sup> Ljubo Karaman (Split, 1886 - Zagreb, 1971) examined Croatian art in terms of three components - the provincialized, peripher- al and borderland nature of art, all three of which form the “countryside pillar”, while the high art of the elite is associated with the court and the urban environment. All these aspects can be found togeth- er in all parts of the country, ensuring the unity of the Croatian creative and cultural space.<sup>19</sup> Karaman rightly observed that the rural aspects are precisely the special feature of Croatian art and its crowning achievement. He correctly recognised the unity of the three aspects of the rural pillar, which can ap- pear side by side with the elite in the same time and place.

What the artists missed was compensated for by linguistics in the work of the great early Slavic lin- guist Radoslav Katičić. In addition to his outstand- ing contribution to old Slavic linguistics and liter- ature, Katičić highly contributed to understanding the Croatian spiritual, visual and material culture.<sup>20</sup>

After their conversion to Christianity around 800 AD, access to the cities of Roman Dalmatia was generally facilitated for the Croats, but as Katičić says, this “Dalmatian language” once again as- sumed its prehistoric Metal Age physiognomy (for example, the arch embedded in the building next to the Baptistery of Split). The complexity of the countryside pillar is further complicated by other options - the Western Carolingian with their outpost in the diocese in Nin, the official Roman Christian-

<sup>17</sup> LeGoff 2011, str. 32, 227.

<sup>18</sup> Mance 2011.

<sup>19</sup> Karaman 2001, str. 14, str. 175-178

<sup>20</sup> Prvenstveno *Litterarum studia*, Zagreb 2007. i *Naša stara vjera*, Zagreb 2017.

<sup>17</sup> LeGoff 2011, p. 32, 227.

<sup>18</sup> Mance 2011.

<sup>19</sup> Karaman 2001, p. 14, pp. 175-178

<sup>20</sup> Primarily *Litterarum studia*, Zagreb 2007 and *Naša stara vjera*, Zagreb 2017

u Bizantskoj Dalmaciji i utjecajem koji među Slavenima šire sveta braća Ćiril i Metod. U hrvatskoj je historiografiji to dovelo do romantične, zapravo eurofobijske slike, u kojoj narodna, hrvatska, ćirilometodska crkva narodnim jezikom i pismom – glagoljicom – brani interese naroda u sukobu s protunarodnim rovarenjima elite koja se uzda u potporu franačkih i dalmatinsko-rimskih krugova. Povijest hrvatskih početaka tako postaje povijest sukoba narodne, slavenske, glagoljaške, proturimske stranke na jednoj, i latinaške, prorimske, protunarodne stranke na drugoj strani – glagoljaša i latinaša. Velika je zasluga Katičića da je shvatio i usudio se reći da se tu ne krije nikakav dualizam, već da se radi o dva oblika ponašanja koja su oba naša, hrvatska, zapadna, jedan skloniji dvoru, a drugi proizvodnoj zoni, dominacija kojih varira od mjesta do mjesta i od vremena do vremena. Katičić je sjajno prepoznao da je „hrvatsko dvovjerje“ zapravo „dvokulturnje“, da se ono manifestira podjelom na „rimski“ urbs i na „narodni“ rus, te da su oba naši, legitimni i „hrvatski“. Time je Katičić postavio temelje za ispravnu valorizaciju „pučkog stupa“, a na nama je da taj proces provedemo glede distribucije – geografske, društvene i kulturne – obaju stupova. Za početak ćemo s prvim sustavnim hrvatskim kulturnim pejzažem - države kneza Branimira. Na tim temeljima pratit ćemo kretanja do danas, uključujući i neke ključne pojave najnovijeg doba.<sup>21</sup>

U drugoj polovici 9. st. Branimirova Hrvatska je u malom preslika karolinške države s početka stoljeća. Politički samosvjesna, s vlastitom crkvom (Nin) i s razvijenom nadgradnjom u ideološkom i stvaralačkom smislu, Hrvatska je lokalna sila koja dominira svojim političkim i kulturnim okolišem.<sup>22</sup>

Nova arhitektura, zasnovana na interpretaciji karolinške te izvanredne radionice pleterne skulpture, ponajviše vezane uz vladarsku skupinu zadužbina u Dalmatinskoj zagori, glavna su umjetnička legitimacija te države. Unutar tog kulturnog, ali i zemaljskog brenda, ističu se kao paradigmatična skupina zgrade grupirane oko Branimirove Sv. Cecilije na Stupovima u Biskupiji, koja arhitekturom (uvođenje adaptiranoga karolinškog zapadnog tornja, *westwerka*, artikulacija zidnih ploha, presvođivanje prostranih interijera), skulpturom, a zacijelo i

ity of the Byzantine Empire in Byzantine Dalmatia, and the influence spread among the Slavs by the holy brothers Cyril and Methodius. In Croatian historiography, this has led to a romantic, essentially Europhobic image in which the national, Croatian, Cyrillic-Methodist Church, with the language and script of the people – the Glagolitic - defended the interests of the people in conflict with the anti-national plotting and scheming of the elite, which relied on the support of Frankish and Dalmatian-Roman circles. The history of Croatian beginnings thus becomes the history of the conflict between the national, Slavic, Glagolitic, anti-Roman faction on the one hand, and the Latin, pro-Roman, anti-national faction on the other – i.e. between Glagolitic and Latin supporters. It is Katičić's great merit to have realised and dared to say that there is no dualism here, but rather two forms of behaviour, both of which are ours, Croatian, Western, one of them more oriented towards the court and the other towards the production zone, the dominance of which varies from place to place and from time to time. Katičić brilliantly recognised that the “Croatian dual faith” is actually “biculturalism”, which manifests itself in the division between the “Roman” urbs and the “national” rus, and that both are ours, legitimate and “Croatian”. Katičić thus laid the foundations for the correct valorisation of the “folk pillar”, and it is up to us to carry out this process in terms of the distribution - geographical, social and cultural - of both pillars. We will start with the first systematic Croatian cultural landscape - the state of Prince Branimir. On this basis, we will trace the movements up to the present day, including some key phenomena of the modern era.<sup>21</sup>

In the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, Branimir's Croatia was a small replica of the Carolingian state from the beginning of the century. Politically self-confident, with its own church seated in Nin and a developed superstructure in the ideological and creative sense, Croatia was a local power dominating its political and cultural environment.<sup>22</sup>

The new architecture, based upon the interpretation of the Carolingian style, together with the extraordinary workshops of interlace sculpture, mostly associated with the royal group of endow-

<sup>21</sup> Katičić 2007, str. 317, str. 392-401; Katičić 2017, str. 14, 18, 22, 49.

<sup>22</sup> Tekst o Branimirovoj Hrvatskoj zasniva se na stranica-ma 161-180 moje knjige *Počeci hrvatske umjetnosti*.

<sup>21</sup> Katičić 2007, p. 317, pp. 392-401; Katičić 2017, p. 14, 18, 22, 49.

<sup>22</sup> The text on Branimir's Croatia is based on pages 161-180 of my book *The Beginnings of Croatian Art*.



Sl. 7. Biskupija, Sv. Cecilija na Stupovima, MHAS (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 7 Biskupija, St. Cecilia at Stupovi, MHAS (photo: Z. Alajbeg)



Sl. 8. Biskupija, Sv. Cecilija na Stupovima, pleter. MHAS (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 8 Biskupija, St. Cecilia at Stupovi, interlace, MHAS (photo: Z. Alajbeg)



Sl. 9. Muć, Sv. Petar, Branimirov natpis 888 AMZ (foto: I. Krajcar)

Fig. 9 Muć, St. Peter, Branimir's inscription 888, AMZ (photo: I. Krajcar)

slikom i zvukom, anticipira zapadnoeuropske trendove za više od stoljeća.

Ladanje, ono dvora i najviše elite, igra – *more Carolingiano* – ulogu zamašnjaka kulturnog života i sinteze koju smo upravo zacrtali. Taj sloj visoko kulturnog ladanja izvrsno ilustrira klesani dekor pleterne skulpture. Onaj sv. Cecilije, očuvan, nažalost, vrlo fragmentarno, možda je najbolji pleter na

ments in Dalmatia's hinterland, are the main artistic legitimisation of this state. Within this cultural and secular brand, a paradigmatic group of buildings stands out, clustered around Branimir's Church of St. Cecilia at Stupovi in Biskupija, which through architecture (introduction of the adapted Carolingian western tower, westwork, articulation of wall surfaces, vaulting of spacious interiors), sculpture and certainly also painting and sound, anticipated Western European trends for more than a century.

The stay in the countryside, both by the court and the highest elite, played – *more Carolingiano* – the role of the powerhouse of the cultural life and synthesis that we have just outlined. This level of high cultural countryside is perfectly illustrated by the carved décor of the interlace sculpture. In the case of St. Cecilia, it represents possibly the best interlace sculpture in the world (holy water basin, pulpit), albeit preserved only in fragments.

The dedication to St Cecilia also refers to the art of music, and, alongside the finely decorated pulpit, to the art of painting. St. Cecilia is a brilliant example of the "brand" of Croatian creativity at its best, when all available elements come together harmoniously in an act of original creation.

Two important workshops of interlaced sculpture were directly linked to Branimir himself. Both were rural phenomena, which also had an impact on the Dalmatian city.

The Benedictine sculpture workshop of Prince Branimir was identified at 22 sites, from Košljun to Nin, Knin, Biskupija and Split, with the highest density in Ravni Kotari, around Bribir and in the hinterland from Pađene to Muć. It was also active in the cities of Zadar, Trogir and Split. The workshop is distinguished by perfect carving, balanced and well-thought out composition, and smoothness of relief. Its best works are the interlace sculpture in the church of St. Cecilia and the beam with the name of Branimir from Muć (888), where the workshop may have left the best proof of its perfection having, possibly, carved the best pieces of interlace sculpture in the world, an absolute synthesis of the orderly urbanity of antiquity and the decorative innovation of new early medieval peoples.

In rural areas, we can recognize them within royal and noble estates, but also in smaller villages and courts. Jakšić concluded that it was the Benedictines, with a strong centre at the church of St. Chrysognus in Zadar, but also elsewhere, who craft-

svijetu (posuda za svetu vodu, stalak za čitanje s propovjedaonice)

Posveta sv. Ceciliji ukazuje i na umjetnost glazbe, a to, uz vrsno ukrašeni pult za čitanje, i na umjetnost slikopisa. Sv. Cecilija sjajan je primjer brenda hrvatskog stvaralaštva na samom vrhuncu, kad se svi dostupni elementi skladno spajaju u činu izvornog stvaralaštva.

Dvije velike radionice pleterne skulpture izravno se vežu uz Branimirovu osobu. Obje su ladanjski fenomeni, no ne zaobilaze ni dalmatinski grad.

Benediktinska klesarska radionica kneza Branimira prepoznata je na 22 lokaliteta od Košljuna do Nina, pa do Knina, Biskupije i Splita. Najveća joj je gustoća u Ravnim kotarima, oko Bribira te u Zagori od Pađena do Muća. Djelovala je i u gradovima – Zadru, Trogiru i Splitu. Odlikuje ju savršeno klesanje, uravnotežena i dobro smišljena kompozicija, mekoća reljefa. Njezini najbolji radovi su pleter sv. Cecilije te greda s Branimirovim imenom iz Muća (888.), gdje je radionica isklesala možda najbolje pletere na svijetu, izvanredan spoj uredne urbanosti Antike i dekorativnih fantazija novih ranosrednjovjekovnih naroda.

Na ladanju je susrećemo na posjedima vladara i elite, ali i u malim naseljima i *curtisima*. Jakšić je zaključio da su upravo benediktinci, s jakim centrom kod Sv. Krševana u Zadru, ali i drugdje, proizveli oko 50 % pleterne skulpture Branimirova razdoblja.

No postoji i paralelna pojava, pomalo nespretno nazvana *Dvorska radionica Branimirova vremena*. Njezina produkcija je golema. Zapažena je na 41 lokalitetu, od Smiljana u Lici do Livna, od Trogira do Drvara, a najveća joj je koncentracija oko Knina i u zadarskom zaleđu. Posljedica je velike potražnje za crkvenim namještajem u trenutku *booma* u širenju crkvene organizacije nakon sredine stoljeća.

Dok je Benediktinska radionica – elitni stup – zadovoljavala potrebe elite, „Dvorska“ radi za mase. Koriste se sheme i kratice, dekor je standardiziran i repetitivan, planovi striktno paralelni, detalj uprošćen. Na križu iz Ždrapanja nalazimo spirale slične onima iz pretpleterne faze u Gali.

No postoji stanovita privlačnost u toj radikalnoj plošnosti. Kroz nju kao da proviruje pretpovijesno iskustvo ilirskog rusa, slavenskih troglavaca, ona metalodobna morfologija koju zaziva Katičić. Radionica se javlja čak i u dalmatinskim gradovima, u Splitu, a možda i u Zadru. Podloga je općena-

ed about 50% of the interlace sculpture during the reign of Branimir.

But there was also another parallel workshop at that time, rather clumsily named the *Court workshop of Branimir's time*. Its production was huge. It was recorded at 41 sites from Smiljan to Livno, from Trogir to Drvar, with the highest concentration around Knin and in Zadar's hinterland. Their appearance was a result of the high demand for church stone furniture during a time when the church organization was booming and expanding in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

As opposed to the Benedictine workshop- the elite pillar- which satisfied the needs of the elite, the “court” workshop catered to masses. It used shortcuts and schemes, the décor was schematized and repetitive, and the planes were strictly parallel and the detail coarse. For instance, the cross from Ždrapanj features some forms of interlace, recalling the spirals of the pre-interlace phase in Gala.

Still, there is a certain appeal in that radical flatness. Through it, the prehistoric experience of the Illyrian rus, the Slavic three-header sculptures and the Metal Age morphology invoked by Katičić, seems to peep through. The workshop was also present in Dalmatian towns, in Split and possibly in Zadar. It was the base of the national expression in which we can clearly distinguish elite and popular creations - *Carolingian and anti-Carolingian*. But the spirit of the decorative and symbolic rural art- *mythos*- is common to both. The parallel existence of Benedictine and Court workshops is a good example of the multiplicity of Croatian culture and creativity. Both models, both pillars, on both levels, would certainly please J-A. Mauduit. Today we could say: The Benedictine workshop are Rabuzin and Generalić, Rudina, Peroj and Hum - the Court workshop are the Đukin brothers, Glogovnica, St



Sl. 10. Šopot, dio oltarne pregrade, kasno 9. st., MHAS (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 10 Šopot, part of the altar screen, late 9<sup>th</sup> century MHAS (photo: Z. Alajbeg)

rodnom izrazu u kojem jasno razlikujemo elitne i pučke tvorevine – *karolinške* i *antikarolinške*. No duh dekorativne i simboličke ladanjske umjetnosti *mythosa* im je zajednički. Paralelno postojanje Benediktinske i Dvorske radionice dobar je primjer multicipliteteta u hrvatskoj kulturi i stvaralaštvu. Oba modela, oba stupa, na obje razine, sigurno bi razveselila J.-A. Mauduita. Danas bismo mogli reći: Benediktinska radionica je Rabuzin i Generalić, Rudina, Peroj i Hum, a Dvorska – braća Đukin, Glogovnica, Sv. Agata u Kanfanaru, brački sljedbenici Andrije Alešija, Lindar. Sjetimo se Karamanovih riječi o populističkoj umjetnosti trogirskih bratovština uz bok Radovana i Firentinca.

Opće pokrštenje naroda iziskivalo je, uz sigurno brojne popravke i pregradnje, intenzivnu novogradnju. Dok središta moći zahtijevaju složenije zgrade, u Hrvatskoj istovremeno nastaju stotine manjih sakralnih građevina kao odgovor na mjesne potrebe – populistički drugi stup. To su one „crkvice slobodnih oblika“, koje je u literaturu uveo Ljubo Karaman. Te bezbrojne predromaničke crkvice rasute diljem zemlje, gotovo bez razlike savršeno ambijentirane, opipljiv su dokaz, listine u kamenu, posjeda ili postojanja.

Na rtovima i obalnim humcima, uz lokve i žurne vodotokove, na ulazima u zaljeve i udoline, one su mjere vječne prisutnosti ljudskog duha u humaniziranom izvangradskom prostoru, no ulaze i u gradove. Ovdje nema razlike između ambijentalne osjetljivosti domorodaca i doseljenika. Pa onda i ne čudi što su se baš te ladanjske crkvice pojavile kao veza između kulturnih inačica – slavenskog i dalmatinskog rusa i dalmatinskoga grada – i pomogle im da srastu u jedno.<sup>23</sup> Dok se vladarske „karolinške“ crkve mogu usporediti s uporabom karolinškoga latinskog jezika u vjerskim poslovima, zasigurno s lokalnom infleksijom, a višelisne zgrade moguće s hrvatskom redakcijom crkvenoslavenskog, ove vesele crkvice diljem zemlje izraz su hrvatskog vernakulara koji još nije zabilježen u pisanoj književnosti. Dobrim su dijelom „prijevodi“ s romanskog, dalmatinskog, nerijetko po najjednostavnijem modelu jednobrodne zgrade s polukružnim ili pravokutnim svetištem. Ima i zaista vrlo maštovitih „arhaizama“ na romanskom, i „prijevoda“ na slavenskom području, kako Bizantske Dalmacije, tako i hrvatske države. Posebna, nešto kasnija pojava su



Sl. 11. Savar, Sv. Pelegrin (foto: V. Bedenko)  
Fig. 11 Savar, St. Pelegrin (photo: V. Bedenko)

Agatha in Kanfanar, Andrija Aleši's followers from Brač, Lindar. Let us remember Karaman's words about the populist art of the Fraternity from Trogir alongside Radovan and the Florentine.

The people's mass conversion to Christianity required, along with numerous reconstructions and adaptations, intense new building activities. While the seats of power required larger and more complex buildings, hundreds of small-scale churches appeared all over Croatia at the same time as a response to local needs- the populist second pillar. These were the "free form churches" that Ljubo Karaman introduced into literature. These numerous pre-Romanesque churches were scattered across the state, almost without exception perfectly set within the landscape, a palpable evidence of estates or human presence, charters in stone.

Located on promontories and coastal hills, along puddles and lively streams, at the entranceways to bays and valleys, they measure the eternal presence of the human spirit in the humanized, extra-urban landscape, but they also enter into the cities. There is no difference in approach between the natives and newcomers here, so it is no wonder that those small countryside churches acted as a link between the cultural poles – the Slavic and Dalmatian rus and the Dalmatian city – helping them to grow into one.<sup>23</sup> While the rulers' "Carolingian" churches may be compared to the use of Carolingian Latin in

<sup>23</sup> Goss 2020, str. 165-168; Marasović 2008-2013, vol. 2, str. 534-535.

<sup>23</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 165-168; Marasović 2008-2013, Vol.2, pp. 534-535.

crkvice južnodalmatinskog tipa u južnim sklavinijama od 10. stoljeća nadalje.

Deveto, „karolinško“ stoljeće odredilo je bit „umjetnosti hrvatskog prostora“ ispreplećući domaće tradicije na raznim nivoima s tradicijom doseljenika i prodorom karolinškog Zapada na Jadran. Ponudeni materijali svrstavali su se u zacrtane stupove kako su se ovi u najvećoj mjeri posložili u 9. stoljeću i ostali u upotrebi do danas – jer Hrvatska ostaje trajno zemlja visokociviliziranog ladanja, u kojem najviši sloj čine središta zemaljske i crkvene plemenitaške odličnosti (elitni stup) kojima se s vremenom pridružuje grad sa svojim stupovima patricijata i puka, ekvivalentom stupovima ladanjskog plemstva i seljaštva (populistički stup). Krajnje je važno naglasiti da pripadanje elitnom ili pučkom stupu ne znači i ocjenu kvalitete. Ima sjajnih radova pri vrhu obaju stupova, a tako i nemuših pri dnu.

Hrvatska 9. stoljeća, Karolinga i ranih Trpimirovića, Branimirova Hrvatska, paradigmatičan je primjer tvorevine kojom po ranosrednjovjekovnoj navadi dominira ladanjski, manorijalni, sustav, što je uostalom karakteristično i za središnje zemlje Karolinškog Carstva. U sljedećoj fazi učvršćenjem Splita kao vjerskog megasredišta i Zadra kao stožera bizantske uprave u Dalmaciji, i gradovi počinju igrati značajniju ulogu u povijesti i kulturi Hrvata. Javlja se i hrvatski grad, Biograd pa Šibenik. Proces ulaska grada u ladanje nastavlja se u 10. i 11. stoljeću i vodi prema stvaranju državne zajednice Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije – Trojedne kraljevine. U tom procesu Branimirova Hrvatska će do kraja 11. stoljeća prerasti u Zvonimirovu, od patrijarhalne kneževine, do male velesile na istočnom Jadranu – Zvonimirovu lađu.<sup>24</sup>

Pravi laboratorij inovacija je Zadar, civilna metropola bizantske Dalmacije okružena hrvatskim dvorovima u Ninu, Biogradu, Šibeniku i Kninu; gdje je iskušano „sve“ – tradicionalna ranokršćanska bazilika kao *badge* gregorijanske reforme, oblici suvremenog bizantinizma, mjesna karolinška tradicija, oblici iz bizantsko-normanske južne Italije te sjevernog Jadrana i njegova zaleđa. Uz baziliku obnavlja se kao nositelj glasa reforme ljudska figura i naracija, s predromaničkim („ruralnim“) i ranoromaničkim („gradsko-dvorskim“) nagnućima. Kad se sastojci dobro smiješaju, nastaju čudesa – arhitektura i slojevi skulpture Sv. Lovre, Šuplja crkva, pluteji Sv. Nedeljice, splitski Kralj, antependij iz

religious matters, certainly with a local inflection, and the multi-aisled buildings possibly to the use of the Croatian variant of Old Church Slavic, those happy little churches scattered all over the land were the Croatian vernacular that has not yet been recorded in written literature. They are for a good part “translations” from the Romance, Dalmatian, often in form of the simplest model of a single-nave building with a semicircular or rectangular sanctuary. There are also very imaginative “archaisms” in the Romance style, and “translations” in the Slavic area of both Byzantine Dalmatia and the Croatian state. A unique, somewhat later phenomenon are the churches of the south Dalmatian type in the southern Sclavinias from the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

The ninth or “Carolingian” century determined the essence of the “art of the Croatian space”, intertwining local traditions at various levels with the tradition of immigrants and the penetration of the Carolingian West into the Adriatic region. The available materials have been classified according to the designated pillars, as they were mostly aligned in the 9<sup>th</sup> century and have remained in use until today - because Croatia remained a state of a highly civilized countryside, where the highest layer was comprised of the centres of secular and ecclesiastical noble excellence (elite pillar), which, over time, were joined by the city with its pillars of patrician and common people, equivalent to the pillars of the gentry and peasants (populist pillar). It is important to emphasise that belonging to either the elite or the populist pillar does not imply a judgement on quality. At the top of both pillars there are magnificent works, and at the bottom there are coarse ones.

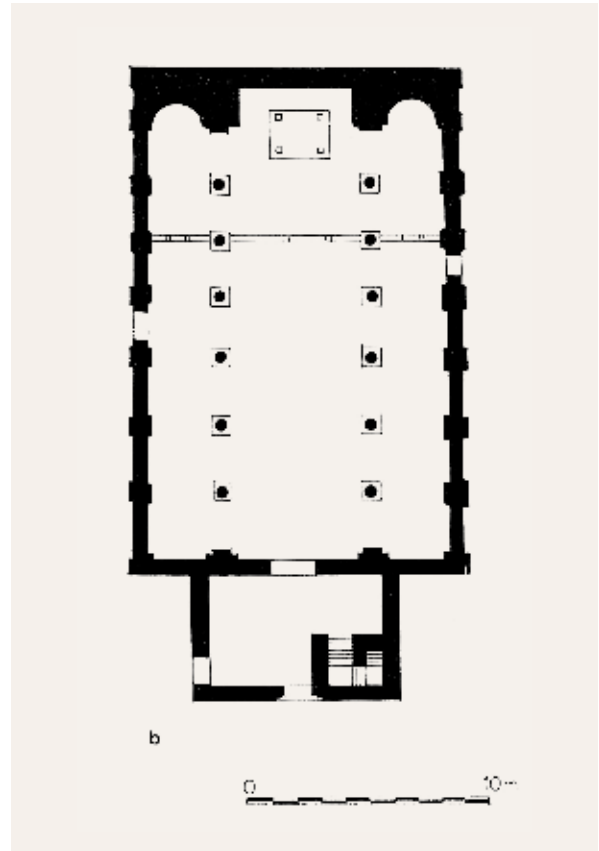
Croatia of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, of the Carolingians and early Trpimirović-dynasty, Branimir’s Croatia, is a paradigmatic example of a creation that was, in accordance with the early mediaeval practice, dominated by a rural, manorial system, as was typical of the central states within the Carolingian Empire. In the next phase, with the consolidation of Split as a religious major centre and Zadar as the seat of the Byzantine administration in Dalmatia, cities began to play a more significant role in Croatian history and culture. Furthermore, Croatian cities started to emerge, first Biograd and then Šibenik. The process of the city entering the countryside continued in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, leading to the formation of the state community of the Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia - the Triune Kingdom.

<sup>24</sup> Goss 2022, str. 244-245.



Sl. 12. Split, Hrvatski kralj, druga polovica 11. st., IPU (foto: Ž. Bačić)

*Fig. 12 Split, Croatian king, second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, IPU (photo: Ž. Bačić)*



Sl. 13. Solin, SS. Petar i Mojsije, tlocrt, oko 1070 (T. Marasović)

*Fig. 13 Solin, SS. Peter and Moses, groundplan, around 1070 (T. Marasović)*

Crkvine, oslik Sv. Foške, minijature benediktinskih samostana.<sup>25</sup>

Ta naša rana figuralika slijepa je za antičke prikaze ljudskog lika. Vraća se vječnom, izvangradskom modelu ovalnih lica s ponešto izbuljenim očima i izbočenom bradom. Okvir – pleter, vitica, stilizirani životinjski lik – ustaljeni je element. No kako bi se stvorio, recimo, splitski Kralj, taj ustaljeni sustav oblika morao se slomiti, ili barem dovesti u pitanje. I tako nam se ukazuje trag individualiteta unutar naizgled vječnog modela.<sup>26</sup>

Kraljevina 10. stoljeća, Tomislava i nasljednika, korak je prema integraciji bizantske Dalmacije te politički i vojno prema integraciji južne Panonije. Trojedna kraljevina postaje stvarnost. Zbližavanje s Dalmacijom potencira i utjecaje Bizanta, kojem sada neki hrvatski kraljevi služe kao upravljači Dalmacije. Kroatizacija stare bizantske teme i njezinih središta postaje trajan, uzlazni, proces.

<sup>25</sup> Jurčević 2016, str. 114; Jakšić 2000, str. 205; Delonga 2000, str. 286-287.

<sup>26</sup> Petricioli 1960. *sub voce*.

In the course of this process, Branimir's Croatia turned into Zvonimir's Croatia by the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, from a patriarchal principality to a small mini European power in the eastern Adriatic – Zvonimir's Kingdom of Croatia.<sup>24</sup>

The true laboratory of innovation was Zadar, the civil metropolis of Byzantine Dalmatia, surrounded by the Croatian courts in Nin, Biograd, Šibenik and Knin, where "everything" was tried - the traditional early Christian basilica as a badge of the Gregorian reform, forms of contemporary Byzantinism, the local Carolingian tradition, forms from Byzantine-Norman southern Italy and the northern Adriatic and its hinterland. Alongside the basilica, the human figure and narrative were revived as bearers of reform, with pre-Romanesque ('rural') and early Romanesque ('urban-courtly') tendencies. When the ingredients are well mixed, miracles are created - the architecture and layers of sculpture of St. Lawrence, the Hollow Church, the plutei of St.

<sup>24</sup> Goss 2022, pp. 244-245.



Veliki hrvatski kraljevi 11. st. bili su revni promicatelji reforme, koja trijumfira na istočnom Jadranu kad papinski legat Gebizon kruni Dmitra Zvonimira (1075. – 1089.). Miljenko Jurković točno je prepoznao važnost gregorijanske reforme i povezo s njom pojavu romaničkih oblika u 11. st. Bilo u gradu, bilo na ladanju ranoromaničke bazilike slijede stari model, a nerijetko su posvećene prvoborcima reforme – Sv. Mariji i Sv. Petru.

To najbolje prezentira najdosljednija ranoromanička zgrada Kraljevstva, crkva kraljevskog samostana svetih Petra i Mojsija („Šuplja crkva“) u Solinu, krunidbena bazilika Dmitra Zvonimira, trobrodna, s trodijelnim svetištem utopljenim u ravni istočni zid u duhu mjesne predromaničke tradicije. Osim u Solinu, Zvonimir ostavlja trag svog patronata u Biskupiji, Sumpetru u Poljičkom primorju, na Koločepu, u Baškoj – od Kvarnera do južne Dalmacije, no isto tako u Splitu i Zadru.<sup>27</sup>

Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije najvećeg starohrvatskog vladara Dmitra Zvonimira, čovjeka slavonskog podrijetla i jakih dalmatinskih interesa. duboko zadire u srednjoeuropsko zaleđe, dok se ojačanim nadzorom nad Dalmacijom usko veže uz mediteranske i zapadnoeuropske trendove. Na taj način Hrvatska se integrira u novi europski poredak reforme, investiture i križara, no ne potiskuje se pučki pol hrvatskog dvokulturnja. Zvonimir ostavlja dokaze svoje darežljivosti na Kvarneru obdarivši ključnu ustanovu hrvatske narodne crkve, samostan i crkvu glagoljaša u Jurandvoru kraj Baške, dok se sa suprugom javlja kao dobročinitelj na otoku Koločepu, pred dverima Dubrovnika, gdje kraljica Jelena gradi i oprema crkvu sv. Mihajla na zemlji svečevog imenjaka, dukljanskog kralja; gdje se Jelena bilježi kao „soror et regina“, sestra budućeg ugarskog kralja sv. Ladislava i supruga hrvatskog, Dmitra Zvonimira.

Kralj se sustavno druži s velikim promicateljem reforme na Jadranu, splitskim nadbiskupom Lovrom, i isto tako revnosnim redovnicama Sv. Marije u Zadru, no blagoslivlja i svečanost posvete samostana u Sumpetru u ladanjskim Poljicima, koji zasniva njegov prijatelj, splitski patricij Petar Crni. Prijateljski podupire i kralja Mihajla Dukljanina, koji vjerojatno na Zvonimirovu preporuku, dakle kao reformator, dobiva kraljevsku krunu, navlas hrvatsku, koju nosi na osliku u Sv. Mihajlu stonskom,

Domenica, the relief with the image of a king from Split, the antependium from Crkvina, the wall murals of St. Fosca, the miniatures from Benedictine monasteries.<sup>25</sup>

This early figurative art is blind to the ancient representations of the human figure. It returns to the eternal, non-urban model of oval faces with slightly bulging eyes and protruding chins. The frame - interlace, tendril, stylised animal figure - is a fixed element. But in order to create the relief of the king from Split, for example, this set system of forms had to be broken, or at least questioned, revealing eventually a trace of individuality within the seemingly eternal model.<sup>26</sup>

The 10<sup>th</sup>-century kingdom of Tomislav and his successors was a step towards the integration of Byzantine Dalmatia, and politically and militarily towards the integration of southern Pannonia. The Triune Kingdom became a reality. The rapprochement with Dalmatia emphasised the influence of Byzantium, to which some Croatian kings were in service as governors of Dalmatia. The Croatisation of the old Byzantine theme and its centres became a permanent upward process.

The great Croatian kings of the 11<sup>th</sup> century were zealous promoters of the Reform, which had a great triumph in the eastern Adriatic when the papal legate Gebizon crowned Dmitar Zvonimir (1075-82). Miljenko Jurković has correctly recognised the importance of the Gregorian reform and linked it to the emergence of Romanesque forms in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Whether in the city or the countryside, early Romanesque basilicas followed the old model and were often dedicated to the pioneers of the reform - St Mary and St Peter.

The best example of this is the most consistent early Romanesque building in the kingdom, the church of the royal monastery of SS. Peter and Moses (“the Hollow Church”) in Solin, and the coronation church of Dmitar Zvonimir, a three-nave basilica with a three-partite sanctuary embedded into the straight eastern wall in the spirit of the local pre-Romanesque tradition. Besides Solin, Zvonimir left his imprint at Biskupija, Sumpetar in Poljica, on the island of Koločep and in Baška- from the Kvarner region to southern Dalmatia, but also in Split and Zadar.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Jurčević 2016, p. 114; Jakšić 2000, p. 205; Delonga 2000, pp. 286-287.

<sup>26</sup> Petricoli 1960. *sub voce*

<sup>27</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 227-228, with references to valuable works by M. Jurković and N. Maraković.

<sup>27</sup> Goss 2020, str. 227-228, s referencama na vrijedne radove M. Jurkovića i N. Maraković.



Sl. 14. Koločep, Sv. Mihajlo, oltarna pregrada, kasno 11. st. (foto: Sart Studio Azinović)

Fig. 14 Koločep, St. Michael, altar screen, late 11<sup>th</sup> century, (photo: Sart Studio Azinović)

i tako Zvonimir i Ladislav bacaju oko na južne sklavinije. Ta velika sinteza patronata najbolje se odražava u Zadru, gdje se u graditeljstvu, plastici i osliku Sv. Marije susreću sjeverni i južni Jadran, Bizant i Zapad, dalmatinska i hrvatska tradicija, pa čak i dašak dalekih visoravni Burgundije. Dame i gospodo, Zvonimirova je lađa uplovila u Zapad Europe.

Od vremena Branimira, Tomislava i Zvonimira malo toga se promijenilo u biti hrvatskog kulturnog pejzaža. Središta teritorijalne organizacije, uprave i uljudbe često slijede ranosrednjovjekovne manorijske, župne i velikaške (svjetovne i crkvene) položaje i njihove proizvodne zone. Postupno se javljaju gradske strukture i izvan obalnog područja. Neke prerastaju u gradske komune i slobodne kraljevske gradove, pa i u seoske komune s vlastitim proizvodnim arealima. Neke postaju države u državi (Dubrovačka astareja, ageri Splita, Trogira, Zadra, Pule, posjedi plemenite varoši vu Gričkih gorica..., veliki feudi Bribirskih, Nelipića, Zrinskih, Frankopana, Kurjakovića, Babonića, Celjskih...). U tom policentризmu povremeno neki od centara ostvaruju trajniji i širi autoritet (na pr., Dubrovačka Republika, Međimurje Zrinskih, Turopolje, Poljica...), no bitna slika glede vezanosti centara naseljenosti i

The Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia of the greatest among early Croatian

Kings, Dmitar Zvonimir, a man of Slavonian origin and of strong Dalmatian ties and interests, penetrated deep into the central European hinterland, while through increased control over Dalmatia, it was also closely linked to Mediterranean and western European trends. Croatia was thus integrated into the new European order of Reform, Investiture and Crusades, but without suppressing the folk aspect of Croatian biculturalism. Zvonimir left evidence of his munificence in the Kvarner region by endowing the key institution of the Croatian national church, the monastery and church of the Glagolitic monks in Jurandvor near Baška. He and his wife also became benefactors on the island of Koločep, before the gates of Dubrovnik, where Queen Jelena built and endowed the church of St. Michael on the land of Mihailo, king of Dioclea, as evidenced in the written record of Jelena as "soror et regina", the sister of the future Hungarian king St. Ladislaus and the wife of the Croatian king, Dmitar Zvonimir.

The king was not only associated with the great reformer in the Adriatic, Archbishop Lawrence of Split, and the equally fervent nuns of St. Mary's monastery in Zadar, but also blessed the ceremonial consecration of the monastery in Sumpetar in rural Poljica, founded by his friend, patrician Petar Crni from Split. He had friendly relations with King Mihailo of Dioclea, who, probably on Zvonimir's recommendation, hence as a reformer, received the royal crown, identical to the Croatian one, which he wears on the mural painting in the church of St. Michael in Ston, and thus Zvonimir and Ladislaus set their eyes on the southern Sclavinias. This great synthesis of patronage is best reflected in Zadar, where in the architecture, sculpture and the frescoes of St. Mary we encounter a fruitful intertwining of the northern and southern Adriatic, Byzantium and the West, the Dalmatian and Croatian tradition, and even an echo of the distant high plateaus of Burgundy. Eventually, one can state that Zvonimir's kingdom has reached the shores of Western Europe.

Since the times of Branimir, Tomislav and Zvonimir, little has changed in the nature of the Croatian cultural landscape. The centres of territorial organisation, administration and civilisation often followed the early medieval manorial, parish and aristocratic (secular and ecclesiastical) locations

njihovih okoliša se ne mijenja. Kolika je Dubrovniku vrijednost astareje?! Što danas znači Zagreb za svoje ruralno i suburbano okruženje?!

Ovu šturu kronološku skicu nadopunit ćemo uz razmatranje geografije.

Hrvatska je još uvijek ladanjska zemlja. Ona je i danas veliki „šumski grad“ i fizički i duhovno, i to nam dovodi one milijune turista koji su svjesno ili nesvjesno prepoznali takvu bit Hrvatske. Za sada ostaje nagađanje zašto se drugi stup na nekim mjestima javlja učestalije, no postoji nekoliko zajedničkih osobina koje upućuju na to što treba istražiti.

Ladanjski stup se posebice afirmira na područjima gdje je prevladavala hrvatska Crkva, njezina liturgija i pismo – glagoljica, ali i drugi oblici narodnog pisma – bosančica, ćirilica i hrvatski jezik na svim razinama društva, te neki vid staroga hrvatskog prava (Vinodolski zakonik). Takve su sredine redovito tradicionalne, no ne zatucane i zatvorene, te mogu uključivati položaje pogodne razvoju i prvog stupa – grad, sjedište svjetovnog ili crkvenog vlastelina, primjerice sjeverni Jadran, neretvanska oblast sa zaleđem, Bosna, sjeverozapadna Hrvatska, središnja Slavonija. Prvom stupnju naginju srednja Dalmacija, Dubrovačko primorje, jugozapadna Panonija, hrvatsko Podunavlje. No ne postoje kulturno „čisti“ prostori. Stupovi se miješaju – čak unutar jednog opusa ili spomenika – što ne narušava opći sklad kulturnog pejzaža, ali povećava njegovu uzbudljivost i složenost. To je zato što je u općehrvatski prostor upisana stanovita dominacija ladanjskog stupa kao jamac sustavnosti i ravnoteže. Radovi, umjetnici, opusi, koji uspješno balansiraju između stupova nerijetki su i nerijetko vrhunski. Prostori drugog stupa su ipak izrazitije težački, ribarski, pastirski, lugarski, „tvrđi“, „pionirski“, „arhaični“. Kamen u priobalju i prašuma u kontinentu njihovi su zaštitni znakovi – suhozid, veslo i drvenjara od trupaca. No tvrđi realitet života ne isključuje vrhunska stvaralačka ostvarenja. Ona koja utjelovljuju tvrđi duh koji ih je stvorio.<sup>28</sup>

Ondje gdje je šuma rjeđa, putevi ravniji, rijeke plovnije, obale pitomije, vjetar blaži, obradiva zemlja dostupnija, svijet je prvog stupnja. Kod nas to su zapadna Istra, središnja i sjeverna Dalmacija, Dubrovačka astareja, dijelovi Panonije Savije, Podunavlje, Međimurje. Upravo smo pokazali očito: prvi će stup dominirati ondje gdje se lakše povezuje i živi; dok se tradicija, pa tako i drugi stup, jače

and their production zones. Beyond the coastal area, urban structures gradually appeared. Some developed into urban communes and free royal towns, and even rural communes with their own production areas. Some became states within the state (the astarea of Dubrovnik, the ager of Split, Trogir, Zadar, Pula, the estates of the noble towns in the hills of Grič, the large fiefs of the dynasties of Bribir, Nelepić, Zrinski, Frankopan, Kurjaković, Babonić, Celje...). In this polycentrism, some of the centres occasionally exercised a more permanent and wider authority (e.g. the Republic of Dubrovnik, Međimurje of the Zrinski dynasty, Turopolje, Poljica...), but the basic picture of the connection between the populated centres and their surroundings remained unchanged. What is the value of the astarea to Dubrovnik today? What does Zagreb mean today for its rural and suburban surroundings?!

We will complement this brief chronological sketch by examining the geography.

Croatia is still a rural country. It is even today a large “forest city”, both physically and spiritually. This is, among other things, what attracts the millions of tourists who have consciously or unconsciously recognised such an essence of Croatia. For now, speculation remains as to why the second pillar is more prevalent in some places, though there are several common characteristics that suggest what needs to be explored.

The countryside pillar was particularly affirmed in areas where the Croatian church, its liturgy and script - Glagolitic and other forms of vernacular script - Bosančica, Cyrillic and the Croatian language were dominant at all levels of society, together with a form of old Croatian law (Law code of Vinodol). Such environments were usually traditional but not narrow-minded or closed, and could have included locations conducive to development and the first pillar - the city, i.e. the seat of a secular or ecclesiastical nobleman, for example, the northern Adriatic, the Neretva region with its hinterland, Bosnia, north-western Croatia, central Slavonia. Central Dalmatia, the Dubrovnik littoral, south-western Pannonia, the Croatian Danube basin were inclined towards the first pillar. However, there were no culturally “pure” areas. Pillars intermingled, even within the same opus or monument, without disturbing the overall harmony of the cultural landscape, but rather adding to its excitement and complexity. The reason for this is that a certain

<sup>28</sup> Goss 2016, str. 16-24.



Sl. 15. Jurandvor, Sv. Lucija, Bašćanska ploča, oko 1100. (foto: A. Vujasić)

*Fig. 15 Jurandvor, St. Lucy, Baška tablet, around 1100 (photo: A. Vujasić)*

odražavaju u tvrđem, zatvorenijem svijetu. Postoje naravno izuzetci, odnosi se mijenjaju od vremena do vremena, i u tome je upravo zanimljivost i ljepota neke kulture. Postoji Hrvatska grada i Hrvatska ladanja, a ponajviše one jednoga i drugog. Ako ikad sve postane jedno, više nas neće biti.

Obećana su zemlja drugog stupa, naravno, sjeverni Jadran i unutrašnja Istra. Tomu je uvelike pridonijela Bašćanska ploča (pa i Valunska i Senjska te Grdoselski ulomak), što sve čini Kvarner obećanom zemljom glagoljice.

Sv. Juraj u Plominu, Izvanzemaljci iz Bala, Mutvoranski bestijarij, fragmenti s tornja Sv. Lucije u Jurandvoru, kapiteli Sv. Marije Velike kod Bala i niz dobro poznatih ciklusa zidnog slikarstva (Sv. Foška kod Peroja, Sv. Agata kod Kanfanara, Sv. Jeronim u Humu... iz 11. i 12. st.) pripadaju toj izrazito stiliziranoj umjetnosti s kamenodobnim reminiscencijama u formiranju glava i fizionomija (izduženi i kruškoliki ovali), s plošnim tretmanom oblika, izrazitim grafizmima, dramatskim bljeskovima i sjenama, pa i s pojavom glagoljice unutar likovnih prikaza i kompozicija.

Među navedenim ima vrhunskih remek-djela, poput fresaka u Peroju i Humu, zapanjujuće primitive (Kanfanar, Plomin), potresnih kombinacija boja. U Humu se unutar fresko-ciklusa dvorske kvalitete (*Aquileia*) već odmah po nastanku urezuju glagoljaški grafiti, pokazujući kako prašumski pri-



Sl. 16. Peroj, Sv. Foška, Krist u slavi, oko 1100. (foto: Ž. Bistrović)

*Fig. 16 Peroj, St. Fosca, Christ in Glory, around 1100 (photo: Ž. Bistrović)*



Sl. 17. Kanfanar, Sv. Agata, svetački lik, oko 1100. (foto: Ž. Bistrović)

*Fig. 17 Kanfanar, St. Agatha, Fresco of a Saint, around 1100 (photo: Ž. Bistrović)*

dominance of the countryside pillar, inscribed in the entire Croatian space, represented a guarantor of systematic consistency and balance. Works, artists and opuses that successfully balanced between the pillars were not uncommon and often excellent. Yet, the areas of the second pillar were rather those of farmers, fishermen, shepherds, woodcutters,



Sl. 18. Lindar, Sv. Katarina, Živi križ, 1408. (foto: V. Bedenko)  
 Fig. 18 Lindar, St. Catherine, Living Cross, 1408 (photo: V. Bedenko)



Sl. 19. Novljanski misal, kraj 15. st.  
 Fig. 19 Missal of Novalja, end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century

“hard”, “pioneering”, “archaic”. Stone in the coastal areas and primeval forests in the interior are their hallmarks - dry stone walls, oars and log cabins. But the harsh reality of life does not preclude outstanding creative achievement, those that embody the hardier spirit that created them.<sup>28</sup>

The world of the first pillar was there where the forests were sparser, the roads straighter, the rivers more navigable, the coasts gentler, the winds milder and the farmland more accessible. In our case, these were western Istria, central and northern Dalmatia, the astarea of Dubrovnik, parts of Pannonia Savia, the Danube basin area and Međimurje. We have just shown the obvious: the first pillar dominated where life was easier and people could connect. On the other hand, tradition and therefore the second pillar was more strongly reflected in a harder, more closed world. Of course, there were exceptions, as relationships changed over time, and that is the fascination and beauty of a culture. There is the Croatia of the cities and the Croatia of the countryside, and most importantly the one comprised of both. If everything ever becomes one, we will no longer exist.

<sup>28</sup> Goss 2016, pp. 16-24.

mitivci prepoznaju kao svoje sjajne aulijske oblike (individualizirane začuđujućom skalom bijelih bljeskova i tamnih crvenosmeđih tonaliteta). Vesela umjetnost Antuna iz Sošćerge (Sv. Rok u Draguču) kao i mehanistički manirizam Vincenta iz Kastva i radionice (Beram) odjek su tog slikanog lutkarstva s kraja srednjeg vijeka, baš kao i strašan prikaz Živog Križa u Sv. Katarini u Lindaru.

Sjajno primjećuje Branko Fučić: „Infantilizam se druži s visokim likovnim namjerama“; kao i daleko ranije, oko 800., u kapitelima Sv. Marije Velike kod Bala, gdje se uz pleter (kao ne baš uspješni regulator) javljaju značke i fantazije kamenodobnih i vječnih ureza i spirala izmiješanih s motivima rustificirane antičke tradicije. Sve se to ponovno deklarira u sjajnim glagoljaškim rukopisima kasnosrednjovjekovnog Kvarnera (Vrbnik, Novi Vinodolski).

S ovima su usporedive dirljivo naivne kustodije istarskog majstora Benka u Predloki (1463.) i Vrhu (1466.) s likovima babilonske čvrstine koji nasmiješeni pristizu u kuću Božju nekim svemirskim brodom koji je krenuo na put tisućama godina ranije. Pučko remek-djelo – poput Lindara – ali sretno i veselo! U kontinentu im odgovara neoromanika oslika 15. st. u Zadobarju.<sup>29</sup>

Glagoljica je trajno je prisutna u Poljicima. U Dalmatinskoj zagori postoje rani nalazi (Plastovo kod Skradina i Knin, 11. – 12. st., a u neretvanskom zaleđu Humac (12. – 13. st.). Južnije i dublje u unutrašnjosti dominira bosančica/hrvatska ćirilica, koju susrećemo i na Braču i u južnoj Dalmaciji. Dosta kompaktni džep nalazi se oko Ozlja i Vinice (pet lokaliteta). U Pribiću glagoljica dolazi najbliže Zagrebu, u okolici kojeg je inače nema.<sup>30</sup>

Zapanjuje tvrdokorna prisutnost glagoljice na sjevernom i srednjem Jadranu, uključujući i velika središta (Trogir, Zadar. Split – Hrvojev misal na visokoj dvorskoj razini) praktički do danas. S posjedima Krčkih širi se u gorsku Hrvatsku (Brinje, Otočac, Kosinj, Krbava), a pritokama Save i prema velikoj ravnici (Bihać, Golubić). Izvanredna uljudba gorske Hrvatske dokumentirana je *Misalom kneza Novaka*, koji je 1368. na jednom od svojih posjeda u Krbavi napisao i iluminirao krbavski knez Novak

The Promised Land of the second pillar is, of course, the northern Adriatic and the interior of Istria. The Baška tablet (as well as the Valun and Senj tablets and the Grdoselo fragment), which all make Kvarner the Promised Land of the Glagolitic script, has contributed greatly to this.

St. George in Plomin, the Extraterrestrial from Bale, the Mutvoran Bestiary, fragments of the tower of St. Lucy in Jurandvor, the capitals of St. Mary the Great near Bale, and a number of well-known mural cycles (St. Fosca near Peroj, St. Agatha near Kanfanar, St. Jerome in Hum... from the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries) belong to this extremely stylised art form, with Stone Age reminiscences in the formation of heads and physiognomies (elongated and pear-shaped ovals), with a flat treatment of shapes, pronounced graphic elements, dramatic flashes and shadows, and even the appearance of Glagolitic script within visual depictions and compositions.

There are outstanding masterpieces among them, such as the frescoes in Peroj and Hum, stunning primitives (Kanfanar, Plomin) and poignant colour combinations. In Hum, within the cycle of frescoes of courtly quality (Aquileia), Glagolitic graffiti was engraved immediately after their creation, showing how primitive people recognised their splendid Aulian forms (individualised with a surprising scale of white flashes and dark red-brown tones). The joyful art of Antun from Sošćerga (St. Rochus in Draguč) and the mechanistic mannerism of Vincent from Kastav and his workshop (Beram) echo the puppet-like painting of the late Middle Ages, as does the terrifying depiction of the Living Cross in St. Catherine's in Lindar.

Branko Fučić astutely observes: “infantilism mingles with sublime artistic intentions”, as can be seen much earlier, around 800 AD, in the capitals of St. Mary the Great near Bale, where, besides the interlace pattern (as a not very successful regulator), symbols and fantasies of the Stone Age and eternal engravings and spirals appear mixed with motifs of rusticated ancient tradition. All this is expressed again in the magnificent Glagolitic manuscripts from the late medieval Kvarner region (Vrbnik, Novi Vinodolski).

Comparable with them are the touching and naïve ambries of the Istrian master Benko in Predloka (1463) and Vrh (1466), with figures of Babylonian solidity, arriving with a smile in the house of God aboard a spaceship that set out on its journey

<sup>29</sup> Goss 2020, str. 234, 279-284. O likovnosti glagoljice pisao sam više puta, npr. Goss 2020, str. 246-257. Ratkovčić 2014, str. 361; Fučić 1982, str. 182, 324. Vidi i mape o rasprostranjenosti glagoljice u istom radu. Fučić 1982, mape.

<sup>30</sup> Vidi ponovno mape, opaska 30.



Sl. 20. Misal kneza Novaka  
(crteži: K. Sladović, akademska slikarica)  
*Fig. 20 Missal of duke Novak*  
(drawings: K. Sladović, professional painter)

Disislavić iz ličke Ostrovice, dvorski vitez hrvatsko-ugarskoga kralja Ludovika I.

Nema stranice bez fantastičnih dekoracija koje se divno isprepleću sa zreloom ustavnim glagoljicom i predivnim dekorativnim umetcima, dok figuralni prikazi odaju ruku odgojenu na ponajboljim radovima talijanske kasne gotike. Misal je svjetsko čudo visoke dvorske kulture, u tom smislu prvog stupa, ali s posebnom svježinom dekorativnog izraza koju duguje nesumnjivo lokalnoj glagoljaškoj sredini – remek-djelo „hrvatske umjetnosti“ koja spaja najbolje što može pružiti u elitističkom i u populističkom smislu. Novakovi sinovi otkupili su *Misal* 1405. za crkvu sv. Jelene i sv. Petra u Nugli, kraj Roča, gdje je poslužio kao jedan od predložaka za priređivanje glagoljskoga *prvotiska*. Trajnu visinu te kulture svjedoči i pojava kosinjske tiskare u kojoj se 1483. tiska glagoljski brevijar, prva tiskana hrvatska knjiga. Nestanak, ali i nepoznavanje kulture gorske Hrvatske jedna je od najboljih točaka naše humanistike.<sup>31</sup>

Glagoljica prati i ponajbolje srednjovjekovne spomenike Slavonije. Grafiti su urezani u najrani-

thousands of years ago. A folk masterpiece - like Lindar - but happy and joyful! In the continental region, they correspond to the neo-Romanesque of the 15<sup>th</sup>-century mural paintings in Zadobarje.<sup>29</sup>

The Glagolitic script has had a lasting presence in Poljica. Early finds of the script have been discovered in the Dalmatian hinterland, specifically in Plastovo near Skradin and Knin dating back to the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, but also in the hinterland of Neretva, specifically in Humac (12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries). Bosnian/Croatian Cyrillic, on the other hand, dominated further south and deeper inland, and was also present on the island of Brač and in southern Dalmatia. A fairly compact area with these finds is located around Ozalj and Vinica (five sites). Finds of Glagolitic, which are the closest to Zagreb, are from Pribić, where it is otherwise absent in this region.<sup>30</sup>

Its persistent presence on the northern and central Adriatic coast, including major centres such as Trogir, Zadar and Split (Hrvoje's Missal at a high court level) has been surprising until today. It has spread from the estates of the counts of Krk into the Gorski Kotar region (Brinje, Otočac, Kosinj, Krbava) and along the tributaries of the Sava river towards the vast plain (Bihać, Golubić). The exceptional civilisation of Gorski Kotar is evidenced by the Missal of duke Novak, which was written and illuminated by Duke Novak Disislavić, a royal knight of the Croatian-Hungarian king Louis I from the village of Ostrovica in Lika, on one of his estates in Krbava in 1368.

There is no page without fantastic decorations that beautifully intertwine with mature angular Glagolitic and beautiful decorative inserts, while the figurative depictions reveal a hand nurtured on the finest works of Italian Late Gothic. The Missal is a world wonder of high court culture, hence representing the first pillar, but with a unique and fresh decorative expression, undoubtedly owed to the local Glagolitic environment. It is a masterpiece of Croatian art, combining the best it can offer in elitist and populist terms. Novak's sons redeemed the Missal in 1405 for the Church of St. Helena and

<sup>29</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 234, 279-284. I have written several times about the artistic qualities of the Glagolitic script, e.g. Goss 2020, pp. 246-257. Ratkovčić 2014, p. 361. Fučić 1982, pp. 182, 324. See also the maps on the distribution of the Glagolitic script in the same work. Fučić 1982, map.

<sup>30</sup> See maps, note 30.

<sup>31</sup> Knez Novak, 2023.



Sl. 21. Rudina, AMZ, (foto: F. Beusan)  
Fig. 21 Rudina, AMZ, (photo: F. Beusan)

ji sloj vrlo vrijednih fresaka iz vremena oko 1200. u Sv. Martinu u Lovčiću, a sama crkvića, malena, no lijepo proporcionirana, smještena u gorskom sedlu, pripada među najveće spomenike umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj. Ovdje se standardni jednobrodni kanton spustio u divljinu Dilja, odjenuo se vrhunskim oslicima i razveselio naivnim detaljima poput trokutastog istaka zapadnog pročelja. I glagoljaškim se pismenima vezao u rodno tlo. Savršen primjer suživota hrvatske dvorske i pučke struje. Grafite susrećemo i u Brodskom Drenovcu, spomeniku koji slaže još romaničko tijelo s prostornom organizacijom gotike i fantastičnom kulom iz vremena turskih ratova.

Glagoljica se, uz bosančicu i prvi hrvatski natpis na latinici (BRAT IAN...), javlja na paradigmatičnom spomeniku pučkog stupa, ali i romanike u Slavoniji općenito, na Rudini. Arhitektura je kanonski zapadna, bazilika s dva zvonika, no njezin dekor, kako figuralni („rudinske glave“), tako i arhitektonski, nose biljeg zastrašujuće starine slavonske pretpovijesti. I to na grubom, primitivnom i izvanredno izražajnom i potresnom nivou, što ih čini jedinstvenim i izvan hrvatskih granica.

Rudina je spojila gotovo sve što se može zamisliti u našem kontinentalnom srednjovjekovlju, nakalemila to na standardni europski model, i stvorila paradigmatsko remek-djelo drugog stupa, ali i naše umjetnosti općenito.<sup>32</sup>

St. Peter in Nugla, near Roč, where it served as one of the templates for the preparation of the Glagolitic *Incunabula*. The enduring high level of that culture is also evidenced by the appearance of the Kosinj printing press, where the Glagolitic breviary was printed in 1483, making it the first printed Croatian book. Unfortunately, the disappearance and ignorance of the culture of Gorski Kotar is a painful aspect of our humanities.<sup>31</sup>

The Glagolitic is also present in some of the most impressive medieval monuments of Slavonia. Graffiti has been found engraved in the earliest layer of valuable frescoes from around 1200 in St. Martin in Lovčić. The church itself, although small, is beautifully proportioned and located in a mountain saddle. It is considered one of the greatest monuments of art in Croatia. This standard single-nave structure found its place among the wilderness of Dilj, it is adorned with exquisite frescoes and features cheerful naïve details such as the triangular projection of the western façade, while the Glagolitic scriptures connect it to the native soil. A perfect example of the coexistence of the Croatian courtly and folk trend. Additionally, graffiti was found in Brodski Drenovac, on a monument which combines a still Romanesque body with the spatial organization of Gothic and a fantastic tower from the time of the Ottoman wars.

Glagolitic script, along with Bosančica and the first Croatian inscription in Latin alphabet (BRAT IAN...), appears in Rudina on a paradigmatic monument of the folk pillar and of Romanesque architecture in Slavonia in general. The architecture is canonical Western, with a basilica and two bell towers. However, its decor, both figural (“Rudina heads”) and architectural, bears the mark of the terrifying antiquity of Slavonian prehistory at a rough, primitive and extraordinarily expressive and poignant level, making it unique even beyond Croatian borders.

Almost everything imaginable in our continental Middle Ages has been brought together in the monument in Rudina, and placed on the standard European model, creating a paradigmatic masterpiece of the second pillar but also of our art in general.<sup>32</sup>

The area of Križevci in northwest Croatia, especially the southern slope of Kalnik, belongs also to this overview, albeit without the old scripts. The

<sup>31</sup> Knez Novak, 2023.

<sup>32</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 286-291, pp. 317-331.

<sup>32</sup> Goss 2020, str. 286-291, str. 317-331.





Sl. 22. Glogovnica, glava, oko 1200, AMZ  
(foto: F. Beusan)

Fig. 22 Glogovnica, head, around 1200, AMZ  
(photo: F. Beusan)

Doduše, bez starih pisama u ovaj pregled pripada križevačko područje sjeverozapadne Hrvatske, posebice južna padina Kalnika. Vrijedni arheolog amater Vladimir Palošika otkrio je u Visokom, Malom Kalniku i Gornoj Rijeci niz likova, plitkih, uglavnom mekano zakrivljenih reljefa ljudskih lica i figura koje podosta podsjećaju na neke pretpovijesne likove – recimo na Lepenski vir (sl. 6). Njihov kontekst, sekundarna upotreba, ne pomaže datiranju. No neke se indicije mogu pronaći u fragmentima romaničkih skulptura iz Glogovnice, kuće križarskog reda sepulkralaca sjeverno od Križevaca, koje posjeduju slične detalje, ribljih očiju i usta, naglašenu zaobljenost oblika i fluidnost površina.

Kalničko područje arhaični je kraj – izolirana visoravan Trema relik je starohrvatske župe, na kalničkom Igrišću moguće se iščitavaju tragovi slavenskog svetog kruga. Na kući u podkalničkoj Kamešnici nalazi se Perunova zvijezda kao zaštita od groma. Arhaična zaobljenost kalničkih skulptura možda se može povezati i s Viničkim prangerom (Vinica zapadno od Varaždina), troglavim stupom jakih, simplificiranih oblika koji je, možda, ranoslavenski.<sup>33</sup>

Godine 1102. Hrvatska je ušla u personalnu uniju s Ugarskom, no u to nije bila uključena i četvrta

diligent amateur archaeologist Vladimir Palošika discovered a series of figures in Visoko, Mali Kalnik and Gornja Rijeka. These figures are shallow, mostly softly curved reliefs of human faces and figures that resemble some prehistoric figures, such as those from Lepenski Vir (fig. 6). Their context, secondary use, does not help with their dating. However, certain indications can be found in the fragments of Romanesque sculptures from Glogovnica, on the house of the Crusader order of the Sepulchralians, north of Križevci, which feature similar details, fish-like eyes and mouths, emphasized round forms, and fluidity of surfaces.

The Kalnik area is an archaic region – the isolated high plateau of Trema is a relic of an early Croatian parish, and traces of a Slavic sacred circle can be recognized at site Igrišće on Kalnik. On a house in Kamešnica below Kalnik, there is the star of Perun as protection from lightning. The archaic roundness of the Kalnik sculptures might also be linked to the Vinica pranger (Vinica west of Varaždin), a three-headed stone pillar of powerful, simplified forms that might be of early Slavic origin.<sup>33</sup>

The Kingdom of Croatia entered a personal union with the Kingdom of Hungary in 1102, but without the fourth Croatia, i.e. Bosnia. Due to its inaccessibility, it was able to preserve its independence and early Croatian characteristics (as nicely explained by Don Ante Škobaļ) until the Turkish conquest. Bosnia is an example of a country basically without a city and the first pillar (with the exception of the court and the narrow circle of nobility). The rich second pillar largely consists of *stećci* (from the word „stajati“, „stojeći“ meaning standing, also *bilig, kâm, mramor, zlamen, kuća*), which are stone monuments that mark important sites, most commonly graves or the eternal house. They are signs within the space, a memory and remembrance, an extension of life. *Stećci* have also been found in Croatia, particularly in southern Dalmatia and Slavonia.

I have repeatedly asked myself a question, so I repeat it here. Are only *stećci* special marks in space? Isn't every meaningful sign in space a mark, a memorial, just like a „stećak“? In this regard, I think of chapels, roadside shrines, crucifixes along roads and at crossroads, modest architecture (which can be very expressive despite its small dimen-

<sup>33</sup> Goss 2020, str. 118, 287; Palošika 2016; Peškan i Pascuttini-Juraga 2010.

<sup>33</sup> Goss 2020, p. 118, 287; Palošika 2016; Peškan and Pascuttini-Juraga 2010.



Sl. 23. Stećak iz Ciste Velike (foto: Naklada Jurčić)  
Fig. 23 Stećak from Cista Velika  
(photo: Naklada Jurčić)



Sl. 24. Trški vrh, sredina 18. st.  
Fig. 24 Trški vrh, mid-18<sup>th</sup> century.

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Hrvatska – Bosna, koja je, zahvaljujući nepristupačnosti, očuvala neovisnost i starohrvatske osobine (kako lijepo tumači don Ante Škopalj) do turskog osvajanja. Bosna je primjer zemlje praktički bez grada i prvog stupa (uz iznimku dvora i uskog kruga vlastele), a bogati drugi stup čine uvelike *stećci* (od „stajati“, „stojeći“, isto *bilig, kâm, mramor, zlamen, kuća*), dakle kamen koji označuje nešto važno, najčešće grob, kuću vječnu. Oni su znak u prostoru, memorija, sjećanje, produžetak života... Stećaka ima i u Hrvatskoj, posebno u južnoj Dalmaciji, ali i u Slavoniji.

Postavio sam sebi više puta pitanje, pa ga i ovdje ponavljam: Jesu li samo *stećci posebni* biljezi u prostoru? Nije li svaki smisleni znak u prostoru biljeg, spomen, baš kao i „stećak“? Pri tome pomišljam na kapelice, poklonce, raspeća uz ceste i na raskršćima, na skromnu arhitekturu (koja može biti itekako neskromno izražajna usprkos malim dimenzijama), na krune bunara, pilove, stupove, ograde... na zidne slike, ikone, kipove, posude... sve što označava neko mjesto kao *locus* iznimne pažnje. Nisu li minijature crkvice naše predromaničke, ali i one kasnije, istarske, slavonske i ine, *stećci* koji obuhvaćaju prostor, govore sa svojih zidova i opreme? Ili istarske freske? Podsjetimo se i visoko humaniziranih prostora hrvatskog baroka, posebice onog sjeverozapadnog.<sup>34</sup>

U Hrvatskoj – *redivivi* – 18. stoljeća, uz gradski barok, većinom uvozni, u najboljim slučajevima

sions), well crowns, pylons, pillars, fences... wall paintings, icons, statues, vessels... everything that marks a place as a *locus* of exceptional attention. Are not our pre-Romanesque chapels, and the later ones, the Istrian, Slavonian and other ones, *stećci* that encompass space and speak with their walls and equipment? Or Istrian frescoes? Let's also remember the highly humanized spaces of Croatian Baroque, especially in the northwest.<sup>34</sup>

In 18<sup>th</sup>-century Croatia – *rediviva* –, alongside urban Baroque which was mostly imported and in the best cases generally decently average, there also exists the eternal countryside one. There was no hilltop without a church, no fishpond without a castle or manor house, no road without a chapel, no crossroad without a shrine, no square without a sculpture of a saint. No church interior was without a cascade of saints and angels on the altars, and no wall without tallow candles, or colour and light. This Late Baroque wave can be compared to the interlace euphoria of the just Christianised Pre-Romanesque.

I am aware that we have quickly traversed through a millennium. This needs to be compensated in a broader context. Here are a few suggestions.

Andrija Buvina was a renowned artist of the folk pillar in the most Dalmatian city of Dalmatia, Split, where he carved the wooden doors for the cathedral, which itself is a supreme monument of Roman imperial art.

<sup>34</sup> Tica 2011; Goss 2020, str. 329-332.

<sup>34</sup> Tica 2011; Goss 2020, pp. 329-332.



Sl. 25. Andrija Buvina,  
Vratnice splitske katedrale, 1214.  
Fig. 25 Andrija Buvina, doors of the Cathedral of  
Split, 1214

uglavnom solidno prosječan, postoji i onaj vječni. ladanjski – nema vrhunca bez crkvice, jezera bez dvorca ili kurije, ceste bez kapelice, raskršća bez poklonca, trga bez pila. Nema interijera bez vodoroda svetaca i anđela, bez lojanica, boja i svjetla. Taj naš kasnobarokni val usporediv je s pleternom euforijom netom kristijanizirane predromanike.

Svjestan sam da smo prohujali kroz tisuću godina. To valja nadoknaditi u nekom širem kontekstu. Evo nekoliko natuknica.

Andrija Buvina vrhunski je umjetnik pučkog stupa, u najdalmatinskijem gradu Dalmacije, Splitu, gdje rezbari drvene vratnice za katedralu koja je sama vrhunski spomenik rimske carske umjetnosti.

Njegov mlađi suvremenik, majstor Radovan, napućuje trogirsku katedralu likovima bukolitičke nebeske vedrine i božanske ljubavi, da bi čas kasnije zalutao u mračnim šibljicima *condition humaine*.

Kao stvaratelj jedne od najupečatljivijih vizija urbsa i rusa bez bolnog reza zatvara romaniku i bez nepotrebne bravure najavljuje svjetlosti gotike. Uz njih majstor Kralja i Kraljice portala splitskog zvo-



Sl. 26. Majstor Radovan, Luneta katedrale u Trogiru,  
oko 1240.

Fig. 26 Master Radovan, lunette of the Cathedral in  
Trogir, around 1240

His younger contemporary, Master Radovan, filled the Cathedral of Trogir with figures of bucolic celestial serenity and divine love, only to wander into the dark thickets of the *condition humaine* a moment later.

As the creator of one of the most striking visions of urbs and rus, he closed Romanesque without a painful cut and, without unnecessary bravado, heralded the lights of Gothic. Alongside them, the master of the King and Queen portal of the Split bell tower (which itself is a marvel of combining Romanesque rusticity and Gothic transparency) revived the imperial elegance of Rome in dimensions acceptable to the logic of life in a small Adriatic town.<sup>35</sup>

Juraj Dalmatinac created in Šibenik, within an ideally purified and interpreted Renaissance corpus of the cathedral, a monument dedicated to all those small domed churches of Dalmatia and their direct and sincere architectural logic. Juraj was an artist who excelled in balancing the urbs and rus, the land and sea, the wind and silence, created by our Adriatic basin. Evidence of this can be seen in the incredible gallery of human heads around the eastern end of the cathedral.<sup>36</sup>

Francesco Laurana, who emerged from our warm sea, takes us from the context of the Renaissance formal precision and the supernatural spirit-

<sup>35</sup> Goss 2020, p. 298, pp. 307-314.

<sup>36</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 337-342.



Sl. 27. Juraj Dalmatinac, Šibenske glave, oko sedine 15. st.

*Fig. 27 Juraj Dalmatinac, heads of Šibenik, around the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century*

nika (koji je i sam čudo spoja romaničke rustike i gotičke prozračnosti) oživljava carsku eleganciju Rima u dimenzijama prihvatljivim logici života maloga grada na Jadranu.<sup>35</sup>

Juraj Dalmatinac u Šibeniku stvara unutar idealno pročišćenog i protumačenog renesansnog korpusa katedrale spomenik svim onim malim kupolnim crkvicama Dalmacije i njihovoj izravnoj i iskrenoj arhitektonskoj logici. Juraj je možda najveći umjetnik ravnoteže između urbsa i rusa, kopna i mora, vjetra i tišine koju je proizveo naš Jadranski bazen, čemu je svjedok i ona nevjerojatna galerija ljudskih glava uokolo istočnog kraja katedrale.<sup>36</sup>

Iz našeg toplog mora proizlazi i Franjo Laurana, koji nas iz konteksta renesansne formalne točnosti i nadnaravne duhovnosti oblika vodi u rimsku visoku renesansu, što vrijedi i za graditeljstvo njegova rođaka, Lucijana. Bez specifičnog urbano-bukoličkog miljea Urbina i urbinskog dvora taj fantastični korak europske umjetnosti ne bi se dogodio. A pitanje je bi li se i kako dogodilo i rezervirano rastakanje visoke renesanse u manirizam bez Andrije Medulića i njegovih iskričavih svjetala, ili bez Julija Klovića i zelenih poljana uz Dubračinu i Suhu Ričinu ispod vrtoglavih klisura Vinodola. Ili zreli barok srednjoeuropskih dvorova bez onog difuznog titranja platnima malog bračkog plemića, Federica Benkovicha?<sup>37</sup>

uality of forms to the Roman High Renaissance. The same can be said for the architecture of his cousin, Luciano. Without the specific urban-bucolic milieu of Urbino and the Urbino court, this fantastic step of European art may not have happened. It is also uncertain whether and how the reserved dissolution of the High Renaissance into Mannerism would have occurred without Andrea Meldola (Medulić) and his sparkling lights, or without Julije Klović and the green fields near Dubračina and Suha Ričina below the dizzying cliffs of Vinodol. Or the mature Baroque of central European courts without the diffuse shimmering of canvases by the small nobleman from Brač, Federico Benkovich?<sup>37</sup>

None of these careers is conceivable without the sovereign levitation between our two pillars.

Is the concept of two pillars applicable to the most recent era, say the last 150 years?

From the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Zagreb was a small city located below the peak Sljeme, a forest metropolis reminiscent of the traditions of Dubrovnik's gardens and the parks of Zagorje manors. As Zagreb's urban fabric spreads through the area below Sljeme along green roads such as Sv. Duh, Pantovčak, Zelenogaj, Tuškanac, Rokovac, Cmrok, Ribnjak-Medveščak-Ksaver, Mirogojski breg, Laščina, Srebrnjak, Bukovac, before our eyes, the spirit embodies itself in endless variations of stylistic individualisms of builders and commissioners, from Felbin-

<sup>35</sup> Goss 2020, str. 298, str. 307-314.

<sup>36</sup> Goss 2020, str. 337-342.

<sup>37</sup> Goss 2020, str. 363-370.

<sup>37</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 363-370.



Sl. 28. Zareb, Vila Vrbančić, UGK 2, rano 20. st.  
(foto: A. Vujasić)

*Fig. 28 Zagreb, Villa Vrbančić, UGK 2, early 20<sup>th</sup> century (photo: A. Vujasić)*



Sl. 29. Zagreb, Južni pristup, sr. 20. st. i kasnije  
(foto: V. Bedenko)

*Fig. 29 Zagreb, southern entry, mid-20<sup>th</sup> century and later (photo: V. Bedenko)*

Nijedna od ovih karijera nije zamisliva bez suverenog levitiranja između naših dvaju stupova.

Je li razmišljanje o dva stupa primjenjivo na najnovije doba, recimo zadnjih 150-ak godina?

Zagreb od sredine pretprošlog do druge polovice prošlog stoljeća, mali grad pod Sljemenom, šumska je metropola u najboljoj tradiciji dubrovačkih đardina i perivoja zagorskih kurija. Kako se zagrebačko naseobinsko tkivo razlijeva podsljemenskim prostorom zelenim cestama Sv. Duha, Pantovčaka, Zelengaja, Tuškanca, Rokovca, Cmroka, Ribnjaka-Medveščaka-Ksavera, Mirogojskog brega, Lašćine, Srebrnjaka, Bukovca, pred našim se očima duh utjelovljuje u neiscrpnim inačicama stilskih individualizama graditelja i naručilaca, od Felbingerove kuće i vinograda u srcu Zagreba i njegovog Okrugljaka, do Planićeve kružne vile, od impresivne neoromaničke kuće na I. G. Kovačića br. 6, do lokal-funkcionalizma majstora Novakove.<sup>38</sup>

Sredinom prošlog stoljeća podiže se južno od pruge Novi Zagreb, svjetla, sunca i zelenila, Zagreb Holjevca i Kolacija uz magisterijalnu os Avenije V. Holjevca i Hrvatske bratske zajednice, s monumentalnim ulazima kod INA-e i Muzeja suvremene umjetnosti, kod NSB-a, pri Trgu Stjepana Radića uz Poglavarstvo Grada i Dvoranu Lisinski; s tornjevima Kaptola i Gornjeg grada i prostranim bilom Zagrebačke gore u pozadini. Genijalni „Južni pristup“, nedovršen i djelomično narušen, no još uvijek urbanošću i ritmom arhitektonske logike dobro nadziran put u najvišu svetinju – dušu Naroda.<sup>39</sup>

ger's house and vineyard in the heart of Zagreb and his Okrugljak, to Planić's circular villa, from the impressive neo-Romanesque house at IG Kovačića no. 6, to the local-functionalism of Master Novak.<sup>38</sup>

South of the railway, New Zagreb emerged in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, boasting light, sun and greenery, it is the Zagreb of Holjevca and Kolacio, along the axis of Avenija V. Holjevca and Hrvatske bratske zajednice, with monumental entries to the city near the buildings of INA and the Museum of Contemporary Art, the National and University Library, at Stjepan Radić Square next to the City Hall and Lisinski Concert Hall; with the towers of Kaptol and the Upper Town, along with the vast white expanse of the Zagreb mountainous surroundings as a stunning backdrop. The brilliant “southern entry”, unfinished and partially disrupted, yet still well supervised by urbanity and the rhythm of architectural logic, is the path to the highest sanctuary - the soul of the people.<sup>39</sup>

This monumental yet unobtrusive ‘recueillement’ has an analogy in another top phenomenon of contemporary Croatian creativity: Croatian naïve art.<sup>40</sup>

The city is, of course, the place where foreign ideas enter, while the village is the *locus* of the preservation of tradition. When these diverse phenomena creatively merge, something great emerges! Croatian biculturalism (or multiculturalism) exists today as well. The city is a positive link to the

<sup>38</sup> Goss 2020, str. 392-394

<sup>39</sup> Goss 2020, str. 395-398.

<sup>38</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 392-394

<sup>39</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 395-398.

<sup>40</sup> Crnković 2018; Goss 2020, pp. 404-406.

Taj monumentalni, ali nenametljivi *recueillement* ima analogiju u još jednoj vrhunskoj pojavi suvremenoga hrvatskog stvaralaštva, u hrvatskoj naivnoj umjetnosti.<sup>40</sup>

Grad je naravno mjesto gdje ulaze strane ideje, selo je pak *locus* čuvanja tradicije. Kad se te raznorodne pojave stvaralački spoje, nastaje ono veliko! Hrvatsko dvokulturje (ili višekulturje) postoji i danas. Grad je pozitivna spona sa svijetom, selo s tradicijom – s toliko puta spominjanim *genius loci*. „Jasno mi je da se naiva nametnula kao kontrapunkt svim dezintegracijskim, rušilačkim i nihilističkim tendencijama... suvremene hrvatske likovnosti“, piše Vladimir Crnković (2018:9). „Od Matoša do Ljube Babića, dijelom i do dana današnjega, traju rasprave... o ‘našem izrazu’. Ako taj pojam pretpostavlja... pored osobnog stila i poetike... i duh podneblja, onda je očito da je Rabuzinova umjetnost dobar primjer za to (12)... To je umjetnik izvan historije, kao što se naivna umjetnost uopće nalazi izvan historijskog toka“ (146).<sup>41</sup>

Čudo naše naive ravno je čudima naših pretkršćanskih pejzažnih struktura, predromaničkog pletera i arhitekture, kasne srednjodalmatinske i panonske romanike, priobalne renesanse Dubrovnika i Trogira, svijeta zagorskih dvoraca, Zelene potkove, Mirogoja, prigradskih vila zagrebačkog Prigorja, najboljih urbanističkih poteza suvremenog Zagreba. Nije rustična, a nije ni jednostrano ruralna. Itekako „ulazi u grad“ – preko muzeja, dilera, izložbi, izdavaštva, društvenih i profesionalnih kontakata. *Genius patriae*.

### Još jednom Vladimir Crnković.

„Kao eminentno umjetnički fenomen, hrvatska naiva važna je iz najmanje triju aspekata. Prvo, uz francuske klasike prve generacije ona je prepoznata kao najvrjedniji segment svjetske naive... Drugo, najvažniji umjetnici tzv. Hlebinske škole – Ivan Generalić i njegovi sljedbenici: Mirko Virius, Dragan Gaži, Ivan Večenaj, Mijo Kovačić i Martin Mehkek – ne samo da su klasici svjetske naive, nego su ti majstori tehniku slikarstva na staklu metjerski doveli do takva virtuozičeta i savršenstva da im u umjetnosti 20. stoljeća, u svjetskim okvirima, nema ravnih. Treće, Hrvatski muzej naivne umjetnosti – osnovan 1952. godine – prvi je muzej naive u svijetu. Hrvatska naiva i autsajderska umjetnost znani

world, the village a link to tradition - with the often-mentioned *genius loci*. “I am very much aware that naïve art imposed itself as a counterpoint to all disintegrative, subversive and nihilistic tendencies ... in contemporary Croatian art,” writes Vladimir Crnković (2018:9). “From Matoš to Ljubo Babić, even to this very day, discussions on ‘our type of expression’ go on and on. If that concept presupposes...beside an individual style and poetics... also the spirit

of the environment, then it is obvious that Rabuzin’s art is definitely a good example thereof (12). He is an artist outside history in the same way as the naïve art generally is outside the course of history.”(146)<sup>41</sup>

The miracle of Croatian naïve art equals miracles of Croatian pre-Christian landscape structures, Pre-Romanesque interlace sculpture and architecture, late Central Dalmatian and Pannonian Romanesque, coastal Renaissance of Dubrovnik and Trogir, the castles and mansions of Zagorje, the Green horseshoe, Mirogoj, the suburban villas of Zagreb’s Prigorje, and the best urban planning projects of modern Zagreb. The character of Croatian naïve art is neither rustic, nor unilaterally rural. It most certainly “enters the city” – via museums, art dealers, exhibitions, the publishing industry and social and professional contacts. *Genius patriae*.

### Once again Vladimir Crnković.

“As an eminent artistic phenomenon, Croatian naïve art is important for at least three reasons. Firstly, it is recognized as the finest segment of world naïve art, alongside the French classics of the first generation. Secondly, the most important artists of the so-called Hlebine School, Ivan Generalić and his followers: Mirko Virius, Dragan Gaži, Ivan Večenaj, Mijo Kovačić and Martin Mehkek are not only classics of world naïve art, but they are also masters who brought the technique of glass painting to such virtuosity and perfection that they have no equals on a global scale in the art of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Third, the Croatian Museum of Naïve Art, founded in 1952, is the world’s first museum of naïve art. Croatian naïve art and outsider art are valuable documents of time and space. They vividly testify to the appearance of the Croatian land, the Croatian people, and the way of life from the Middle Ages

<sup>40</sup> Crnković 2018; Goss 2020, str. 404-406.

<sup>41</sup> Crnković 2018, str. 9, 41, 59, 146.

<sup>41</sup> Crnković 2018, p. 9, 41, 59, 146.

su i kao vrijedni dokumenti vremena i prostora, jer zorno svjedoče o izgledu hrvatske zemlje, hrvatskih ljudi i načina života od srednjovjekovlja do sredine 20. stoljeća... Tu otkrivamo i prepoznajemo dakle slike kolektivne memorije. Osim što su naiva i autsajderska umjetnost eminentni umjetnički brendovi, po čemu je Hrvatska, osobito po naivi, poznata diljem svijeta, to su i fenomeni u kojima je utisnuta kolektivna memorija s nizom primjera što ih možemo svesti pod pojmove *genius loci* ili čak šire: *genius patriae*.<sup>42</sup>

Dugo sam tražio potvrdu za ova razmišljanja, i to tamo gdje se ona mora tražiti i naći – u umjetničkom djelu. I našao. Što me je i ponukalo da napišem ove retke.

U Brseču u stjenovitoj Liburniji koja se strmo-glavo ruši u valove kvarnerskog mora, veliki istarski kipar, Ljubo Dekarina, zadire u slojeve sjećanja, u prastaru, pretpovijesnu bit primarnih predurbanih osjeta i oblika. Teške kolone njegovih „Prodora“ gaze liticama, kamenim terasama i zaraslim stazama, motre nas ispod kamenih svodova kažuna, kroz kamene okvire ljudskih i životinjskih nastambi. U Dekarini se u današnje doba u svoj svojoj punini probudila ona izvanurbana pretpovijest, koja se i činjenično, arheološki, zabilježila na prastarim gradinama nadohvat ruke umjetnikovu atelijeru. Onaj izvor oblika koji do danas ostaje svojstven izvanurbanom, seoskom, ambijentu, koji smo nastojali pratiti kroz povijest kao ladanjski stup „hrvatskog prostora“, izlio se u kamen, drvo, metal Dekarininih primordijalnih snoviđenja. U konačnici, i eksplicitne.<sup>43</sup>

Dekarinina karijera imala je i svoje suzdržanije momente. No figuracija ostaje minimalna. Primjere: 1973. Veli Jože (gipsane skulpture, kasnije se nije vraćao na njih); 1987. Reljefi; 1989. Obloženi oblici (drvene jezgre omotane metalom); 1997. Maske / Macmalići (mitska bića); 1999. – 2000., vratnice katedrale sv. Vida u Rijeci; 2002. zidni objekti (stilizirane slike u metalu).<sup>44</sup>

Uvjetno, Dekarinin oblik slijedi onaj prirodni, no ne može se govoriti o figuraciji. Približava se organskoj skulpturi, no postoji stanovita erotičnost opipa i specifične obrade površina. Poetska evokacija zidanih oblika i rustične teksture ploha.<sup>45</sup>



Sl. 30. Brseč, Ljubo Dekarina, Prodori  
(foto: M. Dekarina)

Fig. 30 Brseč, Ljubo Dekarina, Penetrations  
(photo: M. Dekarina)

to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. We discover and recognize images of collective memory here. Beside the fact that naïve and outsider art are eminent art brands, making Croatia, especially in terms of naïve art, recognizable throughout the world, they are also phenomena containing collective memories with numerous examples that can be classified as *genius loci* or even broader: *genius patriae*.<sup>42</sup>

I have long sought confirmation for these thoughts, in places where they must be sought and found - in the artistic work. And I found it, hence prompting me to write these lines.

In Brseč, in the rocky region of Liburnia that descends steeply into the waves of the Kvarner sea, the great Istrian sculptor Ljubo Dekarina explores the layers of memory. He delves into the ancient, prehistoric essence of primary pre-urban sensations and forms. His ‘Penetrations’ are heavy columns that tread along the cliffs, stone terraces and overgrown paths. They watch us from beneath the stone vaults of the *kažun* stone huts and through the stone frames of human and animal dwellings. In Dekarina, the extra-urban prehistory has fully awakened in these modern days, one that has also been factually and archaeologically recorded on ancient hill-forts within reach of the artist’s studio. That origin of form that has remained characteristic of the ex-

<sup>42</sup> Goss 2020, str. 407-408.

<sup>43</sup> Vučemilović, Župan 2017.

<sup>44</sup> Vidi relevantna poglavlja u Vučemilović, Župan 2017.

<sup>45</sup> Vučemilović, Župan 2017, str. 10-12.

<sup>42</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 407-408.

Posebno mjesto zauzimaju Vertikale (1986), tanke jezgre, treperavog uzgona u okruženju zraka, svjetla i sunčeve topline. Neke, zapravo, izgledaju kao tanahne biljke (Vertikala s procijepom, 1986.), ili pak sitnoglave gljive kojima klobuci stoje na smiješno visokim i tankim stapkama.<sup>46</sup>

Svi navedeni datumi odnose se na vrijeme prve pojave, a u najvećem broju slučajeva mnogi se oblici nastavljaju do danas.

Dekarina je zaista svestran i produktivan umjetnik. Dijapazon je začuđujuće širok – u materijalu od raznih vrsta kamena, raznih tvrdoća, boje, teksture, do isto tako raznovrsnog drva te raznih metala i metalnih limova. Radi punu plastiku, reljef, gravuru, plohu. Polikromija je prisutna u materijalu, no također se nanosi na površine kao u slikarstvu. Dekarina voli kombinirati – boju i volumen, igre boje i teksture, mase i svjetla. Jasne jezgre pune plastike nose onu „dodanu“ specifičnu Dekarininu dvoslojnost. U jednom se radu druže kamen, metal, drvo. Dekarina je klesar, drvorezac, metalac, grebač, slikar. Ukratko, iako redovno klasificiran kao kipar, Dekarina je *likovni umjetnik*.

### **Konačno, 1983., Prodori!**<sup>47</sup>

Što su ti „Prodori“, koji su postali Dekarinin zaštitni znak?

Standardni Prodor je uspravni nerijetko ravno završeni pravokutnik s (približno) koncentričnim otvorom ravnih stranica od sivog izgladenog kamena. Za svaku od ovih karakteristika postoji bezbroj varijabli.

Rupa može biti ljevkaista ili obostrano ljevkaista (Prodor Perspektiva, 1984., Prodor Učka, 1990.). Postoje primjeri s više rupa (obično dvije; Dvostruki glatki otvor, 1998.). Površina može biti savršeno uglačana (Prodor kuća 2, 1991.), manje ili više teksturirana (Prodor, 1993.; Prodor procijep, 1993.), žljebaste površine (Plavi trokut, 1991.), ali i izrazito gruba, gotovo lomljenac (Prodor, 1998.). Susrećemo kamen Kirmenjak, Kanfanar, Voltura, brački sivac, pa brački mramor, Carraru, pilepski mramor i „plavi tok“ (Plavi trokut, 1991.). Ima primjera u drvu i metalu (Vertikala s prorezom, 1999.). Sadržajno prodor se može proširiti tako da prikazuje prepoznatljive predmete – Bijela kapelica (1995), Volta (1986), Dvostruki oltar (1993.), Mali

tra-urban, rural environment to this day, which we have sought to trace through history as the countryside pillar of the “Croatian space”, has poured out into the stone, wood and metal of Dekarina’s primordial visions. Ultimately, and explicitly.<sup>43</sup>

Dekarina’s career also had its more restrained moments. But the figuration remains minimal. For example: 1973, “Veli Jože” (plaster sculptures, later not reworked); 1987, reliefs; 1989, Coated Forms (wooden cores wrapped in metal); 1997, Masks / Macmalići (mythical beings); 1999 – 2000, cathedral doors of St. Vitus in Rijeka; 2002, wall objects (stylized metal paintings).<sup>44</sup>

Conditionally, Dekarina’s form follows the natural one, but it cannot be classified as figuration. It comes close to the organic sculpture, but with a sensual touch and specific surface treatment. A poetic evocation of masonry shapes and rustic textures of the surfaces.<sup>45</sup>

The ‘Verticals’ (1986) are particularly noteworthy with their thin cores that quiver as they ascend in the presence of air, light and warmth from the sun. Some even resemble delicate plants (Vertical with a gap, 1986) or tiny-headed mushrooms with pilei standing on quirky tall and thin stems.<sup>46</sup>

It is important to note that all mentioned dates refer to the time of the first appearance, and in most cases, many forms continue to the present day.

Dekarina is indeed a versatile and productive artist, who works with a surprisingly wide range of materials—from various types of stone, of various hardness, colour, texture, to equally diverse wood, and various metals and metal sheets. He creates full plastic art sculptures, reliefs, engravings, and works with surface treatment. Polychromy is present in the material, but it is also applied to surfaces as in painting. Dekarina’s artistry is also characterized by his love of combining colour and volume, colour and texture, and mass and light. His works have clear cores that are full of plasticity, showcasing his unique duality. In one piece, stone, metal and wood can be combined. Dekarina is a skilled sculptor, woodcarver, metalworker, engraver and painter. In summary, while Dekarina is often referred to as a sculptor, he is actually a *visual artist*.

<sup>43</sup> Vučemilović, Župan 2017.

<sup>44</sup> See the relevant chapters in Vučemilović, Župan 2017.

<sup>45</sup> Vučemilović, Župan 2017, pp. 10-12

<sup>46</sup> Vučemilović, Župan 2017, pp. 14-15.

<sup>46</sup> Vučemilović, Župan 2017, str. 14-15.

<sup>47</sup> Vučemilović, Župan 2017, str. 15-16.





Sl. 31. Ivan Rabuzin, Selo i sunce, oko 1985.,  
privatna zbirka

Fig. 31 Ivan Rabuzin, Village and sun, around 1985,  
private collection

oltar (1993.), Siva kapelica (1985.), Leteća kapelica (1986.), Kapelica na stazi Tramuntana (1996.). Posebno su poglavlje glagoljska slova u Baški, od kojih su neka gigantski prodori, a neka višedijelni prodori složeni po načelu kamena na kamen.

Prema riječima autora, Prodori su krenuli kad je ugledao jarko osvijetljeni otvor u južnom zidu mračnog interijera u Jakovcima. Svjetlo i vatra znače Duh. Dakle, otvor prodora predstavlja nematerijalnu, duhovnu bit, „utvaru“ ljudskog bića, koja se uokviruje materijalnom tvarnosti „biljke“.

Prodori su vrlo prisutni u pejzažu Meranije. Iz kratkih zaljeva s pješćanim prudom zadiru u kameni bok planine, vode u njezinu unutrašnjost, neki se i prijevojima probijaju na drugu stranu. Postoji i jedan „pravi“ mega-prodor – Tunel „Učka“. U manjem, ali nimalo manje dramatičnom formatu, prodori su ulazi u bezbrojne špilje i jame, raspukline koje je more izdubilo u kamenoj litici. Ako je prozor u Jakovcima put u svjetlost beskonačnog Duha, zemljine su raspukline put u tamu tvari, u mrak podzemlja iz kojeg nema izlaza na drugu stranu – iako je povratak moguć. Prodori su i sveprisutni otvori, prolazi, vrata u zidovima i suhozidima u polju i naselju, u pregradama između izbi, u oknima podruma i konoba. Stanemo li na terasu kuće na Starcu, pred nama je gigantski prodor u mase zraka, sunca, vatre, vjetra i vode, kojem ne naziremo i ne možemo domisliti kraja.<sup>48</sup>

Koliko je meni poznato, nitko nije predložio da se Dekarinu klasificira kao „naivca“. Ipak postoji velika bliskost između krda Dekarininih prodora i

### Finally, in 1983, Penetrations!<sup>47</sup>

What are these “Penetrations”, which have become Dekarina’s trademark?

The standard Penetration sculpture is an upright, often straight-edged rectangle with an (approximately) concentric opening of straight sides made of smooth grey stone. There are countless variations for each of these characteristics.

The hole can be funnel-shaped or bilaterally funnel-shaped (Penetration Perspective, 1984, Penetration Učka, 1990). There are also examples with multiple holes (usually two; Double smooth opening, 1998). The surface can vary, it may be perfectly smooth (Penetration House 2, 1991), more or less textured (Penetration, 1993; Penetration Gap, 1993), grooved (Blue Triangle, 1991) and even extremely rough, almost as roughly carved stone (Penetration, 1998). He works with various types of stone, including Kirmenjak, Kanfanar, Voltura, Sivac (beige limestone) and marble from Brač, Carrara, Prilep marble, and ‘blue flow’ (Blue Triangle, 1991). There are also sculptures in wood and metal (Vertical with a slit, 1999). Regarding content, the Penetration can be expanded to depict recognizable objects such as White Chapel (1995), Arch (1986), Double Altar (1993), Small Altar (1993), Grey Chapel (1985), Flying Chapel (1986), and Chapel on the Tramuntana Path (1996). A special series are the Glagolitic letters in Baška, some of which are gigantic penetrations, while others are multi-part penetrations arranged according to the principle of stone on stone.

According to the author, the Penetrations began when Dekarina saw a brightly lit opening in the southern wall of a dark interior in Jakovci. Light and fire symbolize the spirit. Therefore, the opening of the Penetration represents the immaterial, spiritual essence, the “apparition” of the human being, which is framed by material substance, the “plant.”

Penetrations are a prominent feature in the landscape of Merania. From small bays with sandbars, they penetrate the rocky side of the mountain, leading into its interior. Some even penetrate through passes to the other side. There is also one “real” mega-penetration- the Tunnel ‘Učka’. In a smaller but no less dramatic format, penetrations are entrances to countless caves and pits, cracks carved by the

<sup>48</sup> Vučemilović, Župan 2017, str. 20-21.

<sup>47</sup> Vučemilović, Župan 2017, pp. 15-16.



Sl. 32. Ljubo de Karina, Jurandvor, Bašćanska draga, Glagoljsko slovo, 2006. - 2009. (foto: M. Dekarina)  
 Fig. 32 Ljubo de Karina, Jurandvor, Bašćanska draga, Glagolitic letter, 2006-2009. (photo: M. Dekarina)



Sl. 33. Ljubo de Karina, Jurandvor, Bašćanska Draga, glagoljsko slovo "L", 2007 (foto: M. Dekarina)  
 Fig. 33 Ljubo Dekarina, Jurandvor, Bašćanska draga, Glagolitic letter "L", 2007 (photo: M. Dekarina)

Rabuzinovih šumica uredno složenih od isto tako urednih obliha stabala. Kao i ona, prodori, premda „anorganski“ djeluju kao živa bića jednog pradvnog pretpovijesnog soja koja se nisu još odlučila jesu li biljke ili utvare. A Rabuzinova stabalca? Jesu li su ona utvare ili biljke?

Upravo mi se ta neizmijerna lapidarnost čini mjestom susreta Rabuzina i Dekarine. Tek je u tom svijetu Rabuzin korak dalje prema organskom stanju, i prema rađanju duha. Nije li kroz ova dva velika hrvatske umjetnosti ispričana naša prapovijest do trenutka biološkog otjelotvorenja i prvih titraja duhovnosti?<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Goss 2020, str. 399-400.

sea into the rocky cliffs. If the window in Jakovci provides a path to the light of the infinite spirit, the cracks in the earth provide a path to the darkness of matter, to the blackness of the underworld with no exit to the other side - although a return is possible. Penetrations are also ever-present openings, passages, doors within walls and dry stone walls in the fields and settlements, in partitions between small rooms, and windows of basements and cellars. Standing on the terrace of the house in Starac, there is a gigantic Penetration into the masses of air, sun, fire, wind and water in front of us, whose end we cannot see or imagine.<sup>48</sup>

As far as I know, no one has suggested classifying Dekarina as a "naïve" artist. However, there is a striking resemblance between Dekarina's herds of Penetrations and Rabuzin's groves, which are neatly arranged from equally round trees. Like them, Penetrations, although "inorganic," appear as living beings of a primordial prehistoric lineage that have not yet decided whether they are plants or apparitions. And Rabuzin's little trees? Are they apparitions or plants?

It is precisely this immense lapidary quality that seems to me to be the meeting place of Rabuzin and Dekarina. Only in that world is Rabuzin one step closer to the organic state and to the birth of spirit. Hasn't our prehistory been narrated through these two giants of Croatian art until the moment of biological embodiment and the first stirrings of spirituality?<sup>49</sup>

To confirm my thoughts, it was necessary to connect the deep primordial nature of Dekarina's sculptures with another aspect of it— the Glagolitic script. And that's what Dekarina did for me.

Several times during his career, Dekarina reached for Glagolitic letters as a decorative motif, of course, with a strong Croatian charge (for example, the Path of Tramuntana near Beli on the island of Cres, 1995-1998; the tomb of Dr. Msgr. Anton Benvenin, 1999).<sup>50</sup>

Recently, on the fenced meadow around Dekarina's house in Starac, Brseč, a beautiful, large, massive, arched penetration appeared that is ornamented with letters of the Glagolitic alphabet, 33 of them. They cover the surfaces, as confirmed by the author, without any specifically designed arrange-

<sup>48</sup> Vučemišević, Župan 2017, pp. 20-21.

<sup>49</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 399-400.

<sup>50</sup> Vučemišević, Župan 2017, p. 301, fig. 155.



Sl. 34. Ljubo de Karina, Prodor na Starcu,  
(foto:M. Dekarina)

*Fig. 34 Ljubo de Karina, penetration at Starac,  
(photo: M. Dekarina)*



Sl. 35. Ljubo de Karina, Prodor na Starcu,  
(foto:M. Dekarina)

*Fig. 35 Ljubo de Karina, penetration at Starac,  
(photo: M. Dekarina)*

Za potvrdu mog razmišljanja trebalo je spojiti duboku primordijalnost Dekarinine skulpture s još jednim njezinim aspektom – glagoljicom. I to je Dekarina učinio za mene.

Više puta tijekom svoje karijere Dekarina je posezao za glagoljskim slovima kao dekorativnim motivom, naravno, s jakim hrvatskim nabojem (npr., staza Tramuntana kod Belog na Cresu, 1995. – 1998.; grobnica dr. msgr. Antona Benvina, 1999.).<sup>50</sup>

Nedavno se na ograđenoj livadi oko doma Dekarina na Starcu u Brseču pojavio prekrasan, velik, masivan, lučno završen prodor pokriven dekorom koji se sastoji od slova glagoljskog alfabeta, njih 33.

Pokrivaju površine, kako mi je autor potvrdio, bez bilo kakvog posebno zamišljenog rasporeda ili priče kao sjajna dekorativna mreža jasno urezanih poteza. Iznimka je desna vertikalna pozadina koja je ostala prazna, i to, također, bez neke primisli.

Monumentalnost prodora na Starcu podsjetit će poznavatelja na glagoljaška slova kojima je Dekari-

ment or story, but rather as a brilliant decorative network of clearly engraved strokes. The exception is the right vertical background, which remained empty, also without any particular intention.

The grandeur of the penetration at Starac is reminiscent of the Glagolitic letters that Dekarina used to decorate one of the most sacred landscapes of Croatian culture, the bay of Baška from St. Lucy in Jurandvor, the birthplace of the Baška Tablet, to the port in Baška - A, L, V, Omega (wind rose). I have previously written about this sequence twice so I will only provide a brief conclusion here. It is intriguing how letters, enlarged in the landscape to the dimensions of architecture, reflect the proportions, structure, silhouettes and spatial-body logic of early Croatian architecture, particularly the so-called free-form chapels! The master who carves the angular Glagolitic letters could have also been the author of interlace ornamentation and a builder. He may have been familiar with the principles of addition, cellular stacking and axial symmetry upon which his creativity is based. The monumental art of Croatian pre-Romanesque rightfully sees itself

<sup>50</sup> Vučemilović, Župan 2017, str. 301, sl. 155.

na uresio jedan od najsvetijih pejzaža hrvatske kulture, Bašćansku valu od Sv. Lucije u Jurandvoru, domicila Bašćanske ploče, do luke u Baški – A, L, V, Omega (ruža vjetrova).

Dva puta sam opsežnije pisao o toj sekvenci i ovdje iznosim samo kratak zaključak: fascinantno je kako slova povećana u krajoliku do dimenzija arhitekture odražavaju proporcije, strukturu, siluete i prostorno-tjelesnu logiku starohrvatskoga graditeljstva, posebice takozvanih crkvice slobodnog oblika! Majstor koji kleše slova uglate glagoljice mogao je biti i autor pleternog ornamenta i graditelj. Mogao je biti svjestan načela adicije, ćelijskog slaganja i aksijalne simetrije na kojima počiva njegova kreativnost. Monumentalna umjetnost hrvatske predromanike s pravom se doživljava kao brend. Glagoljica je svakako brend hrvatske pismenosti, književnosti i povijesti. Ne čudi što brendovi imaju dodirnih točaka, jer ih nose isti ljudi, isto okruženje, ista kultura.<sup>51</sup>

Prodorom na Starcu Dekarina mi je potvrdio da glagoljica, kao bitan dio stare hrvatske kulture i bitan element „ladanjskog stupa“ hrvatskog stvaralaštva, preuzima, u novim okolnostima kršćanskog društva, tradiciju prastarih načela pretpovijesnoga simboličkog izražavanja, koja je Ljubo Dekarina, posebice u prodorima, usvojio kao ključni temelj svoje umjetnosti. Hrvatski ladanjski stup tako se potvrđuje kao povijesni kontinuitet duha u prostoru.

Ovime, zasada, zatvaramo krug od prodora, macmalića i vertikala do hrvatske naive kojoj su već višestruko navedeni Dekarina i Rabuzin blještavi primjeri. U njima hrvatska umjetnost ladanjskog stupa živi i cvjeta i danas na najvišoj razini i duhovnosti i kvalitete umjetničkog govora.



Sl. 36. Ljubo de Karina, Prodor na Starcu, (foto: V. Bedenko)

Fig. 36 Ljubo de Karina, penetration at Starac, (photo: V. Bedenko)

as a brand. The Glagolitic script is undoubtedly a brand of Croatian literacy, literature and history. It is not surprising that brands have points of contact because they are carried by the same people, environment and culture.<sup>51</sup>

With the penetration at Starac, Dekarina confirmed to me that the Glagolitic script, as an important part of the old Croatian culture and a significant element of the “countryside pillar” of Croatian creativity, assumes, in the new circumstances of Christian society, the tradition of ancient principles of prehistoric symbolic expression, which Ljubo Dekarina, especially in the penetrations, adopted as the key foundation of his art. The Croatian countryside pillar is thus affirmed as a historical continuity of spirit in space.

With this, for now, we close the circle from the penetrations, macmalići and the verticals to Croatian naïve art, to which the aforementioned Dekarina and Rabuzin are shining examples. In them, the Croatian art of the countryside pillar lives and flourishes today at the highest level of spirituality and quality of the artistic expression.

<sup>51</sup> Goss 2020, str. 246-256.

<sup>51</sup> Goss 2020, pp. 246-256.

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