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Fragment reljefa VIII. stoljeća iz Splita

An Eighth-Century Relief Fragment from Split

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Objavljuje se fragment reljefa sekundarno ugrađen na objekt u splitskoj četvrti Dobri. Stilskom i komparativnom analizom utvrđuje se da reljef pripada ranosrednjovjekovnoj skulpturi, točnije sloju kamene plastike koji zrcali ostvarenja tzv. liutprandske renesanse s Apeninskog poluotoka, te ga se shodno tome datira u VIII. stoljeće. Zaključno se reljef smješta u kontekst ostale predkarolinške skulpture na istočnoj obali Jadrana.

Ključne riječi: Split, rani srednji vijek, skulptura, Dalmacija, Italija, "liutprandska renesansa".

Presented here is a relief fragment found secondarily embedded in a structure in the Dobri neighbourhood of Split. Through stylistic and comparative analysis, it is determined that the relief belongs to early medieval sculpture, specifically to the horizon of stone sculpture reflecting the outputs of the so-called Liutprand Renaissance from the Apennine Peninsula. Consequently, it is dated to the 8th century. In conclusion, the relief is contextualised alongside other pre-Carolingian sculptures on the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

Key words: Split, Early Middle Ages, sculpture, Dalmatia, Italy, "Liutprand Renaissance".

UVOD

U zidnom plaštu stambene zgrade smještene uz začelje samostanske crkve Gospe od Zdravlja na splitskom predjelu Dobri nalazi se ugrađen nevelik mramorni spolij (sl. 1). Njegovu fotografiju nedavno je prvi objavio N. Cambi, uz kratak komentar: "Ni pedesetak metara udaljen od kuće Carminatti ugrađen je u kuću na adresi Kninska ulica br. 1 neobjavljeni i dosada neuočeni mramorni fragment grede s reljefom ukrašenim viticama loze i grožđem koji je vjerojatno pripadao nekom sepulkralnom zdanju iz kasne antike. Ovaj fragment ukazuje na dulji kontinuitet života na toj lokaciji."¹ Raspravljajući u knjizi posvećenoj splitskom području u preddiokecijanovsko i diokecijanovsko vrijeme – a u sklopu opširnog poglavlja o "arhitekturi, natpisima i drugim kamenim nalazima u Splitu iz doba prije Dioklecijana" – dakle o materijalnim tragovima naselja *Spalatum* koje je prethodilo Dioklecijanovoj palači, autor je ovom fragmentu posvetio primjerenu pažnju u mjeri u kojoj je to dopuštala struktura njegove monografije. Smatra, prema tome, da ulomak reljefa predstavlja ostatak sepulkralnog spomenika² te da ga se u općoj periodizaciji može ubrojiti u kasnoantičku skulpturu, sagledavajući ga k tome kao sponu između rimskodobnih nalaza u toj splitskoj četvrti (npr. brojnih natpisa i reljefa spoliranih u kući Carminatti nešto južnije) i kasnijih razdoblja.³ U detaljniju stilsku analizu ili objavu spomenika u skladu s uobičajenim uzusima Cambi nije ulazio, što je i razumljivo s obzirom na sintetski karakter knjige; autoru nedvojbeno pripada zasluga što je skrenuo pažnju na ovaj – kako će se vidjeti – izvanserijski primjerak kamene plastike.

Direktnom autopsijom spomenika došli smo do novih, drugačijih rezultata, koje podastiremo u nastavku teksta. Svrha je, stoga, našeg priloga dvojaka: prvo, objaviti novouočeni fragment na način koji se uvriježio kao standard za slične spomenike; drugo, interpretirati ga dajući prijedlog njegove kronološke i stilske valorizacije.

* U različitim fazama nastanka ovog rada nesebičnu pomoć su pružili: Michelle Beghelli, Jelena Borota, Ivan Josipović, Ivan Matejčić i Ante Milošević. Svima im najtoplije zahvaljujemo.

- 1 Cambi 2021, str. 41 i sl. 47. Koliko nam je poznato, ulomak nikada nije objavljen niti uopće spomenut u literaturi, na što je vjerojatno utjecao njegov položaj u zabačenoj ulici, daleko od glavnih komunikacija (ali i znatno udaljen od gradskih sadržaja koji su dosad stajali u žarištu istraživačkog interesa).
- 2 Blaga autorova dvojba oko funkcionalnog određenja reljefa vidi se u tome što je ulomak prvo opisan kao dio grede, a potom (u legendi pod fotografijom) kao plutej, uz znak upitnika – Cambi 2021, sl. 47. Plutej, naime, pretpostavlja pripadnost liturgijskom namještaju, sâmim time i crkvenom objektu.
- 3 O njima je autor raspravljao dalje u tekstu – v. Cambi 2021, str. 39-40 i sl. 46, 48-51. Kuća Carminatti (Geremia-Zlendić) nalazi se u sjeveroistočnom uglu Trga Gaje Bulata, u Ulici Ćirila i Metoda br. 2. O epigrafskim spomenicima u nj ugrađenim usp. također Cambi 1987, str. 15-16; Barišić-Marinković 2011, str. 318-319; Demicheli 2018, str. 193.

INTRODUCTION

A small marble spolia was found embedded within the wall cladding of a residential building near the rear of the monastery church of Our Lady of Health in the Dobri neighbourhood of Split (Fig. 1). Its photograph was first published recently by N. Cambi, accompanied by a brief commentary: "Not fifty yards from the Carminatti house is a house at the address Kninska ulica no. 1. Built into this house is a marble fragment of a beam with a relief decoration of grape tendrils and grapes that probably belonged to some sepulchral structure from Late Antiquity, a fragment that has never been described in print or even noticed. This fragment indicates the long continuity of life at this site."¹ In discussing the area in a book dedicated to Split during pre-Diocletian and Diocletian times, as part of an extensive chapter on "architecture, inscriptions, and stone archaeological finds in Split from the pre-Diocletian era," that is, the material traces of the settlement of *Spalatum* that preceded Diocletian's Palace, the author devoted appropriate attention to this fragment in keeping with the structure of his monograph. Consequently, he maintains that the relief fragment represents a remnant of a sepulchral monument² and can be included in the Late Antique sculpture in general periodization, considering it as a link between the Roman-era finds in that part of Split (e.g., numerous inscriptions and reliefs built into the Carminatti House slightly to the south) and later periods.³ Cambi did not delve into a detailed stylistic analysis or publication of the monument in line with common practices, which is understandable given the synthetic nature of the book. The author undoubtedly deserves credit for drawing attention to this, as will be seen, exceptional piece of stone sculpture.

* In various stages of the development of this article, generous assistance was provided by: Michelle Beghelli, Jelena Borota, Ivan Josipović, Ivan Matejčić, and Ante Milošević. We extend our warmest thanks to all of them.

- 1 Cambi 2021, p. 161 and fig. 47. As far as we know, the fragment has never been published or mentioned in literature, which was likely influenced by its location in a remote street, far from main thoroughfares (but also significantly distant from the city sights that have thus far been the focus of research interest).
- 2 The author's hesitation about the functional definition of the relief is evident in the fact that the fragment is first described as part of a beam and then (in the photograph caption) as a pluteus, accompanied by a question mark (see Cambi 2021, Fig. 47). A pluteus presupposes its belonging to liturgical furnishings and, therefore, to a church building.
- 3 The author further discusses them in the text; see Cambi 2021, pp. 39-40 and Fig. 46, 48, 51. The Carminatti House (Geremia-Zlendić) is located in the northeastern corner of Gajo Bulat Square, at Ćirila i Metoda Street No. 2. On the epigraphic monuments incorporated into it, see also Cambi 1987, pp. 15-16; Barišić-Marinković 2011, pp. 318-319; Demicheli 2018, p. 193.



Slika 1.
Split, Kninska ulica, ulomak reljefa (snimila N. Uroda)

Figure 1.
Split, Kninska Street, fragment of relief (photographed by N. Uroda)

OPIS

Ulomak je uzidan na vanjštini zida stambene zgrade na adresi Kninska ulica br. 1.⁴ Načinjen je od sivkastog mramora. Vodoravno polegnut, ugrađen je na visini od oko jednog metra iznad hodne razine, između desnog dovratnika ulaznih vrata navedene zgrade i kvadratičnog prozora s kamenim okvirom; nad ulomkom je fiksiran metalni poštanski pretinac što zasjenjuje desni dio reljefa. Čitava površina zida u kojem je ulomak spoliran prekrivena je žučkastom zrnatom žbukom novijeg datuma. Osim zagasitih mrlji od žbuke i ostataka cementa na krajevima, reljef ne pokazuje većih oštećenja, ne računajući abraziju površine uslijed dotrajalosti (moguće i uslijed ranijih reutilizacija).

Gornja uzdužna strana (42,4 cm) sačuvane površine ulomka nešto je kraća od donje (43,2 cm), dok su dimenzije kraćih strana podudarne (10,7 cm). Debljina se ne može provjeriti zbog sadašnje pozicije ulomka. Iz opće dispozicije vidi se da je u izvornu obliku sačuvana samo gornja duža strana reljefa, dok su donja duža i obje bočne strane skraćene prilikom neke od reupotreba. To, međutim, ne otežava rekonstrukciju ukrasnog repertoara, jer je posrijedi repetitivan motiv, o čemu više u nastavku. Nemoguće je, dakle, znati izvorne dimenzije reljefa, pa je utoliko nezahvalno nagađati o njegovoj izvornoj funkciji. Načelno govoreći, može se raditi o pilastru oltarne ograde, horizontalnoj ili vertikalnoj borduri pluteja, arhitravu oltarne ograde, dovratniku, nadvratniku, prozorskom pilastru ili borduri nadgrobne ploče, makar ni druge namjene nisu isključene.

Na rubu gornje stranice isklesan je okvir u obliku jednostavnog profila, kakav je morao postojati i na odgovarajućem

A direct examination of the monument has led to new and distinct findings, which we outline in the following text. Consequently, our contribution serves a dual purpose: firstly, to publish the newly spotted fragment in accordance with established standards for similar monuments, and secondly, to interpret it by proposing its chronological and stylistic evaluation.

DESCRIPTION

The fragment is integrated into the exterior wall of a residential building at Kninska Street No. 1.⁴ It is made of greyish marble and positioned horizontally at a height of about one metre above the floor level. It is placed between the right jamb of the entrance door to the building and a square window adorned with a stone frame. A metal mailbox is mounted above the fragment, shading the right-hand section of the relief. The entire surface of the wall where the fragment is embedded is covered with a yellowish-grained plaster of recent origin. Besides faint patches of plaster and remnants of cement at the ends, the relief shows no significant damage, except for surface abrasion likely caused by wear and tear, possibly also resulting from earlier reutilisations.

The upper longitudinal side (42.4 cm) of the preserved surface of the fragment is slightly shorter than the lower one (43.2 cm), while the lengths of the shorter sides are equal (10.7 cm). The thickness cannot be determined due to the current position of the fragment. From the general disposition, it is

4 Taj je objekt, po svemu sudeći, podignut u drugoj polovini XIX. ili na samu početku XX. st., jer se na topografskom planu Vicka Andrića iz 1846. ne nazire, dočim je na planu grada Splita iz 1914. godine već vidljiv. Na ustupljenim podacima najsrdačnije zahvaljujemo mag. ing. arh. Jeleni Boroti.

4 This building appears to have been erected in the second half of the 19th century or at the beginning of the 20th century, as it does not appear on Vicko Andrić's topographic map from 1846, but it is already visible on the city plan of Split from 1914. We extend our warmest thanks to Jelena Borota, M.Eng.Arch., for providing the data.

donjem uzdužnom rubu. Unutar ukrasnog polja po dužini reljefa teče sinusoidna izdužena vitica vinove loze s listovima i grozdovima. Vidljive su dvije lučno zaobljene linije što zatvaraju polja u kojima su po jedan list i jedan grozd. To, međutim, nisu sinusoidne jedne te iste grane, već se radi o dvjema isprepletenim granama, odnosno dvjema sinusoidama, što zajednički tvore zaobljena, bademasta polja. Budući da, naime, druga duža strana reljefa nije sačuvana, ne vide se njihovi nasuprotni lukovi, no prateći liniju lozice, očigledno je kako je prvobitno izgledala; sjecišta dviju sinusoida pod preoštrim su kutom da bi se radilo o samo jednoj grani. Nema, uz to, sumnje da se dekoracija identična onoj kakvu smo upravo opisali nastavljala i na nedostajućim dijelovima reljefa, u ritmičkoj smjeni lista i grozda; na to upućuje i krajnja desna voluta, koja pripada nesačuvanoj narednoj sinusoidi.

Glavna grana loze odeblja je, jednostruka linija, iz koje pri kraju svakog zavijutka izbija dvostruko tanja linija peteljke lista ili grozda koja se uvija i prelazi preko glavne grane. Na mjestima gdje grana rotira u peteljku izbušena je duboka kružna rupica, a na podnožju lista par dodatnih rupica simetrično postavljenih u odnosu na žilu. Grozd i list bademastim su oblikom potpuno prilagođeni polju unutar kojeg se nalaze, gotovo do kraja ispunjavajući njegovu površinu. Zrna grozda jednolika su i shematizirana, plodova zbijenih u gustu masu (duž. grozda 15,5 cm). Obris peterodijelnog lista naglašen je linijskim obrubom, a nervatura oživljena bušenim rupicama u urezima gdje se tijelo lista račva u pojedinačne, ušiljene režnjeve. Debela središnja žila (duž. 12 cm), linijski obrub i bušenjem naglašeni utori režnjeva nadomještaju nazubljenost i rebrastost lozina lista. U trokutastim klinovima što ih tvori međuprostor sinusoida i okvira grana se račva u velike spiralne volute, također s dubokim rupicama izbušenim u središtu; volute ispunjavaju cijelu raspoloživu površinu. Vođeci se načelom simetrije i analogijama, jednake volute treba pretpostaviti i na dijelu reljefa koji nedostaje.

U svemu, dakle, reljefni ukras može se rekonstruirati kao par sinusoidno uvijenih grana vinove lozice, ispunjenih naizmjenice listovima i grozdovima, sve unutar profiliranog okvira na dužim stranama. Grozd i list usmjereni su ulijevo, no iz toga se ne mogu donositi zaključci o prvotnoj orijentaciji reljefa. Usprkos izlizanosti površine mramora, vidi se da je klesar uložio trud kako bi plošan reljef oživio zaobljenim potezima i mekšim klesanjem, naročito u oblikovanju glavne grane loze i bočnih voluta, gdje je postigao određenu dozu plastičnosti. U pokušaju prikazivanja zaobljenog profila mjestimice se naziru kosi potezi dljetca. Ostatak prikaza izveden je plošno, u plitkom reljefu što tek neznatno odskače od podloge s kojom ima gotovo paralelne plohe. Takva izvedba je evidentna čak i kada uzmemo u obzir oštećenost ulomka.

U blizini opisane pozicije nema tragova crkava starijega doba; nadalje, ni crkvene vizitacije od XVI. do XVIII. stoljeća ne spominju oko tog mjesta ostatke nikakvih sakralnih građe-

evident that only the upper longer side of the relief's original shape has been preserved, while the lower longer side and both lateral sides have been shortened during one of the reuses. However, this does not impede the reconstruction of the decorative repertoire, as it involves a repetitive motif, as discussed further below. Therefore, it is impossible to ascertain the original dimensions of the relief, making it equally challenging to speculate on its original function. In principle, it could have served as a pilaster of an altar screen, a horizontal or vertical border of a pluteus, an architrave of an altar screen, a door jamb, a lintel, a window pilaster, or a decorative border of a tomb slab, although other uses are not excluded.

At the edge of the upper side, a frame is carved in the shape of a simple profile, similar to what must have existed on the corresponding lower longitudinal edge. Within the decorative field along the length of the relief, a sinuous, elongated vine scroll with leaves and grape clusters is depicted. Two arched lines are visible, enclosing sections containing one leaf and one grape cluster each. However, these are not sinusoids of the same tendril. Instead, they consist of two intertwined tendrils, or sinusoids, collectively forming rounded, almond-shaped sections. Since the lower longer side of the relief is not preserved, their opposing arcs are not visible, but following the line of the tendril, it is clear what it originally looked like. The intersections of the two sinusoids are at too sharp an angle for it to be just one tendril. Moreover, there is no doubt that the decoration identical to what has been described continued onto the missing parts of the relief, with a rhythmic alternation of leaves and grape clusters. This is also indicated by the far-right volute, which belongs to the subsequent missing sinusoid.

The main vine tendril is a rather thick single line from which, at the end of each curl, emerges a by half thinner line of the stem of the leaf or grape cluster. These stems curve and cross over the main tendril. Deep circular holes are present at the points where the tendril rotates into a stem, and a pair of additional holes are symmetrically positioned at the base of the leaf relative to the vein. The almond-shaped clusters and leaves fully adapt to the section within which they are placed, almost completely filling its surface. Individual grapes are uniform and schematic, densely packed into a tight mass (length of the cluster 15.5 cm). The outline of the pentamerous leaf is emphasised by a linear border, and the veins are enlivened by drilled holes in the incisions where the body of the leaf forks into individual pointed lobes. The thick central vein (length 12 cm), linear border, and drilled holes make up for the jagged and ribbed look of the vine leaf. In the triangular wedges formed by the interspace of the sinusoids and the frame, the tendril branches out into large spiral volutes, each with deep holes drilled in their centres. The volutes fill the entire available surface. Following the principles of symmetry and analogies, identical volutes should be assumed on the part of the relief that is missing.

vina, niti tradiciju o njima.⁵ Prva crkva i franjevački samostan Gospe od Zdravlja građeni su od 1759. do 1771. godine. Jesu li graditelji prilikom gradnje kuće u današnjoj Kninskoj ulici našli na ovaj fragment koji su potom dali ugraditi uz njen ulaz, ili je pak on prenesen s neke druge lokacije – nemoguće je reći, jer o tome nisu dostupni nikakvi podaci. U svakom slučaju njegova pozicija i pažljivo obrubljivanje žbukom na zidnom platu ukazuju da je pri pronalasku bio estetski vrednovan, što je uvažavano i pri naknadnim zahvatima na zgradi.

Prisiljeni smo, stoga, reljef analizirati izvan konteksta. Može ga se kronološki fiksirati jedino na temelju stilske analize same skulpture.

ANALIZA

Iz uvida u ukupan fundus ranokršćanske skulpture Salone i šire okolice, odnosno predromaničke skulpture Splita i šire okolice,⁶ razvidno je da je ova skulptura posve različita i od jedne i od druge, te da njoj slične zasad nisu ustanovljene. Ni ikonografski sadržaj, ni forma, niti tehnika izvedbe ne razaznaju se na drugim primjerima ovdašnjih reljefa iz razdoblja V. – VI. ili pak IX. – XI. stoljeća. Treba zastati pred tom činjenicom, jer se ona ne može objasniti samo lošim stanjem istraženosti ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture i jer upućuje na niz zaključaka: s jedne strane, da ga nije izradila nijedna od već definiranih klesarskih radionica, dok s druge strane omogućuje da se naš ulomak vremenski i stilski jasno pozicionira u smislu diferenciranja spram prethodne ranokršćanske skulpture i one naredne, predromaničke. Apartnost spomenika povlači, stoga, dalekosežne konzekvence, utoliko više što je isklesan u mramoru, otvarajući time čak i mogućnost da se radi o uvozu – ili pak o produktu radionice koja se formirala u drugoj sredini. Iznaženje, međutim, srodnih likovnih rješenja iz užega i širega

Therefore, the relief decoration can be reconstructed as a pair of sinuously twisted tendrils of grapevine, alternatingly filled with leaves and grape clusters, all within a profiled frame on the longer sides. The clusters and leaves are oriented to the left, although no conclusions can be drawn about the original orientation of the relief. Despite the surface abrasion of the marble, it is evident that the sculptor made an effort to animate the flat relief with rounded strokes and softer carving, especially in shaping the main vine branch and side volutes, achieving a certain degree of plasticity. Chisel strokes cut at an angle are discernible in places, indicating an attempt to depict the rounded profile. The rest of the image is executed in a flat, shallow relief that only slightly projects from the field, with almost parallel planes. Such execution remains evident even when considering the damage to the fragment.

Near the said location, there are no traces of churches from an earlier period. Additionally, church visitations from the 16th to the 18th centuries do not mention any remains of church buildings in that area, nor do they provide any traditions passed down about them.⁵ The first church and Franciscan monastery of Our Lady of Health were built from 1759 to 1771. Due to the unavailability of data, it is impossible to determine whether the builders encountered this fragment while constructing the house in today's Kninska Street and then had it installed near its entrance or if it was transferred from another location. In any case, its position and careful plastering framing the wall panel indicate that it was aesthetically valued upon discovery. This holds true even for subsequent interventions on the building.

Consequently, the relief had to be analysed out of context. Its chronological placement can only be determined through stylistic analysis of the sculpture itself.

ANALYSIS

An examination of the entire corpus of early Christian sculpture in Salona and its wider surroundings, or pre-Romanesque sculpture in Split and its broader vicinity,⁶ reveals that this

5 Usp. Damjanić-Brešan 1994. Najbliže crkvene građevine s kulturnim kontinuitetom dugog trajanja nalaze se nešto više od 200 m zračne linije u smjeru jugozapada (crkva Gospe od Soca) te oko 500 m u smjeru juga (crkve Sv. Duha i Sv. Marije de Taurello). Kompleksni lokalitet *Ad basilicas pictas* udaljen je gotovo 400 m u smjeru istok-sjeveroistok. Gospa od Soca barokna je građevina (Novak 2005, str. 558, tvrdi da je prvotna crkva na tom mjestu sagrađena u X. st., ne navodeći izvor podatka), dočim postoje naznake da su Sv. Duh i Sv. Marija de Taurello imali ranosrednjovjekovnu fazu. Za pregled podataka o tim crkvama v. Marasović 2011, str. 344–349.

6 Usp. građu sakupljenu u: Rapanić 1963; Rapanić 1971; Duval, Marin, Metzger 1994; Gauthier, Marin, Prévot 2010; Marasović 2011; Piteša 2012; Basić 2013. Jedini primjerak takve ornamentacije pronašli smo na borduri reljefne ploče s prikazom jelena iz crkve sv. Ciprijana u Gatima kod Omiša; reljef, izrađen u tehnici *champlevé*, datira se u sredinu VI. st., v. Jeličić-Radonić 1994, str. 82, 100–101, 122–123, kat. 11–22. Ovaj reljef, kao i dobar dio kamene plastike iz Gata, skupljena je uvozna skulptura porijeklom iz matičnih dijelova Istočnog Rimskog Carstva.

5 See Damjanić-Brešan 1994. The nearest church buildings with a long-lasting cultic continuity are located just over 200 m southwest (Church of Our Lady of Soca) and about 500 m south (churches of the Holy Spirit and St. Mary de Taurello). The complex site of *Ad basilicas pictas* is almost 400 m away in an east-northeast direction. Our Lady of Soca is a Baroque building (Novak 2005, p. 558 maintains that the original church on that site was built in the 10th century, without citing the source of the data), while there are indications that the Holy Spirit and St. Mary de Taurello had an early medieval phase. For a summary of data on these churches, see Marasović 2011, pp. 344–349.

6 See the material collected in: Rapanić 1963; Rapanić 1971; Duval, Marin, Metzger 1994; Gauthier, Marin, Prévot 2010; Marasović 2011;

okruženja trebalo bi omogućiti preciznije vremensko određenje, samim time stilski ga odrediti.

Lozin trs s lišćem i grozdovima svojim je oblikom pogodan za dekoriranje različitih površina izduženog formata, pa ga se kao takvoga – a i zbog simboličke produktivnosti u kontekstu kršćanske teologije – zatječe od ranokršćanskog vremena nadalje na takvim plohamo najraznovrsnijeg tipa: pilonima, pilastrima, bordurama pluteja i nadgrobnih natpisa, arhitravima, katedrama, prsobranima ambona, nadvratnicima i dovratnicima, ciborijima, relikvijarima, ugradbenim frizovima, čak intradosima lukova nad interkolumnijama i lukova oltarnih ograda.⁷ Motiv se reproducirao kroz cijeli srednji vijek.

Ispitujući skulpturu sukladnih stilskih svojstava u daljem i bližem okruženju, u prvi plan smjesta izlazi nepotpuno sačuvani plutej reutiliziran u romaničkoj rozeti zadarske katedrale, a u novije vrijeme zadovoljavajuće rekonstruiran (sl. 2a-b). Uz, dakako, istovjetan ikonografski motiv povijuše s ritmičkom izmjenom plodova i listova, reljefna dekoracija koja teče po horizontalnoj i vertikalnim bordurama ovog dvočlanog pluteja gotovo u svemu je sukladna splitskom reljefu: plitko klesanje, izrazit *horror vacui*, linijski obrubljena nervatura listova s nešto dubljim urezima među režnjevima, listovi i grozdovi još deformiraniji kako bi se posve prilagodili sinusoidama, shematizirana i jednolika zrna, umetnuti parovi voluta koji do kraja ispunjavaju prostor.⁸ Tome treba dodati da se među prvim parom režnjeva na listovima i ovdje naziru bušene rupice, teško vidljive zbog izlizanosti kamena. Primjećuju se, doduše, i pojedine razlike – jedna grana loze umjesto dvije, volute manjih dimenzija, izostanak bušenih rupica – no one su od manjeg značenja, kao posljedica drugačije radionice, s njoj svojstvenim inačicama i načinom obrade, možda i prilagođavanja motiva zadanim manjim dimenzijama pluteja. Za nas je prije svega važno utvrditi stilski predznak i moguću provenijenciju, jer će to biti odlučno za formiranje zaključaka o splitskom ulomku. Od vremena njegova objavljivanja, o ovom se zadarskom reljefu u proteklih šezdesetak godina pisalo sa zamjetnim kolebanjima u dataciji,⁹ od V. do VI. stoljeća, odnosno kraja VI. ili početka VII. stoljeća (I. Petricioli), potom smještajući ga u “skulpturu prijelaznog razdoblja” između kraja VI. i početka IX. stoljeća (Ž. Rapanić), sve dok ga N. Jakšić nije uvjerljivo pridru-

sculpture is entirely distinct from both categories, and no similar ones have been identified thus far. Neither the iconographic content, nor the form, nor the execution technique can be found in other local reliefs from the 5th to 6th or 9th to 11th centuries. This fact warrants careful consideration, as it cannot be solely attributed to the limited research into early medieval sculpture. Rather, it suggests several conclusions: firstly, that it was not produced by any of the already established sculptural workshops; and secondly, that it allows for precise temporal and stylistic positioning, differentiating it from both early Christian and pre-Romanesque sculpture. The uniqueness of the monument carries significant implications, especially since it is carved in marble, which raises the possibility that it is an import or perhaps a product of a workshop established in another milieu. However, the discovery of similar artistic solutions in narrower and broader surroundings should facilitate more precise temporal and, consequently, stylistic determinations.

The vine scroll, along with its leaves and grape clusters, is well-suited for decorating various elongated surfaces. Its symbolic significance within Christian theology has led to its widespread use from early Christian times onwards, appearing on surfaces of various types such as pillars, pilasters, borders of plutei and inscribed tomb slabs, architraves, cathedrae, pulpit enclosures, lintels, door jambs, ciboria, reliquaries, built-in friezes, even intradoses of arches above intercolumniations, and arches of altar screens.⁷ The motif continued to be reproduced throughout the entire Middle Ages.

Analysing sculptures with similar stylistic characteristics in both distant and closer surroundings, one prominent example is an incompletely preserved pluteus, which has been reused in the Romanesque rosette of the Zadar Cathedral and satisfactorily reconstructed in recent times (Fig. 2a-b). Alongside an identical iconographic motif of vine scrolls with rhythmic alternations of clusters and leaves, the relief decoration flowing along the horizontal and vertical borders of this double pluteus is almost entirely consistent with the relief in Split: shallow carving, pronounced *horror vacui*, linearly outlined veins of leaves with slightly deeper incisions between lobes, even more distorted leaves and clusters to fully adapt to the sinuous lines, schematic and uniform grapes, and insert-

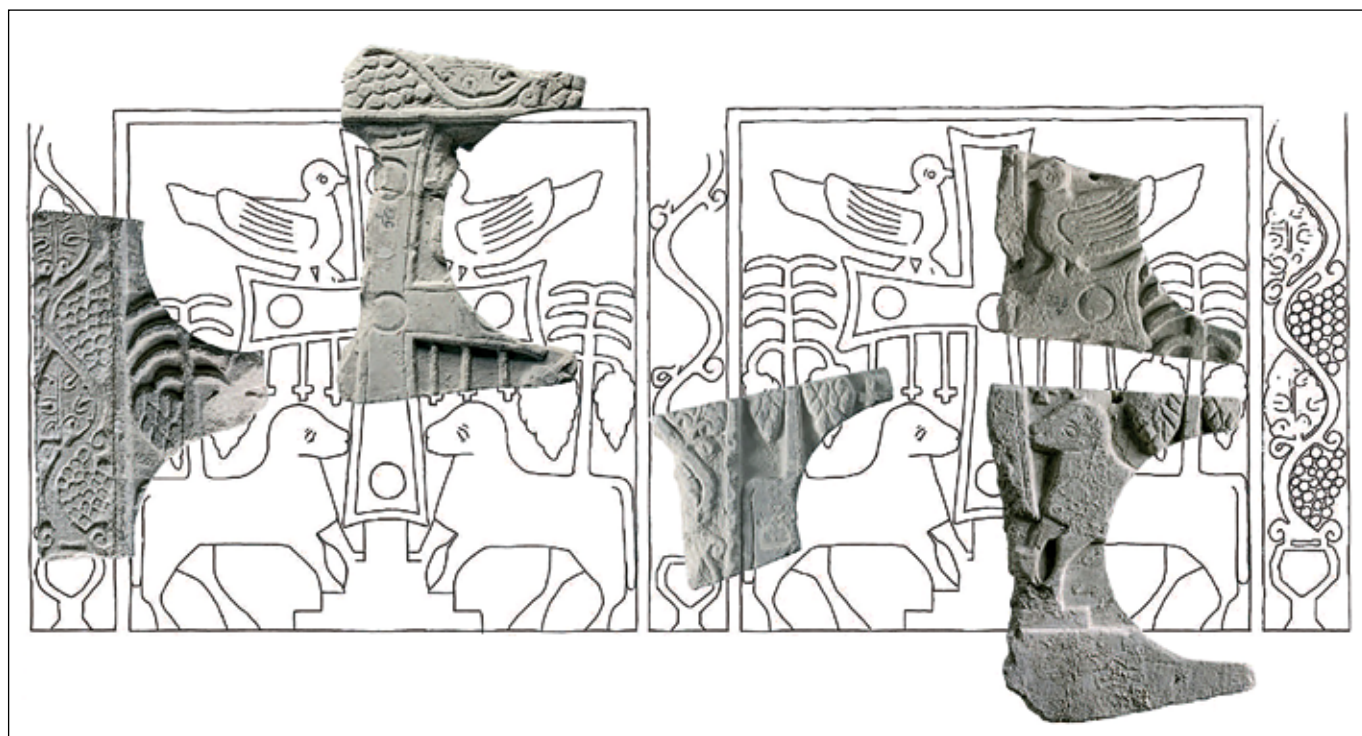
7 Usp. npr. ulomke mramornih tranzena oltarne ograde katedrale u Puli iz VI. st. u: Matejčić, Mustač 2014, str. 110-112, kat. 23.

8 Nasuprot tome, M. Jarak smatra motiv vinove loze na borduri “realistički oblikovanim”, a generalno su u kompoziciji pluteja zastupljeni “motivi koji upućuju na sklonost realističkom predočavanju svijeta prirode”; začudo, istovremeno primjećuje “više dekorativno oblikovanje kompozicije na zadarskome pluteju” (Jarak 2005, str. 281-282).

9 Petricioli 1959, str. 179-184; Petricioli 1972, str. 333, 341-342; Petricioli 1995, str. 76; Rapanić 1987, str. 123-125. Plutej je kataloški obrađen u Vežić 2007, str. 149-150, kat. 16, Jakšić 2008b, te Vežić 2021, str. 72-73, gdje je sabrana i sva literatura o njem. Mišković 2014, str. 221-225 daje iscrpan bibliografski pregled od 1959. do 2014.

Piteša 2012; Basić 2013. The only example of such ornamentation was found on the border of a relief plaque depicting a deer from the Church of St. Cyprian in Gata near Omiš; the relief, made in the *champlevé* technique, dates back to the middle of the 6th century; see Jeličić-Radonić 1994, pp. 82, 100-101, 122-123, cat. 11-22. This relief, as well as much of the stone sculpture from Gata, is a precious imported sculpture originating from the core regions of the Eastern Roman Empire.

7 See, for example, fragments of marble *transennae* from the altar screen of the cathedral in Pula from the 6th century in Matejčić, Mustač 2014, pp. 110-112, cat. 23.



Slika 2a.
Arheološki muzej u Zadru, rekonstrukcija pluteja oltarne ograde
(prema Jakšić 2010, sl. 8)

Figure 2a.
Archaeological Museum in Zadar, reconstruction of the altar
screen pluteus (according to Jakšić 2010, Fig. 8)

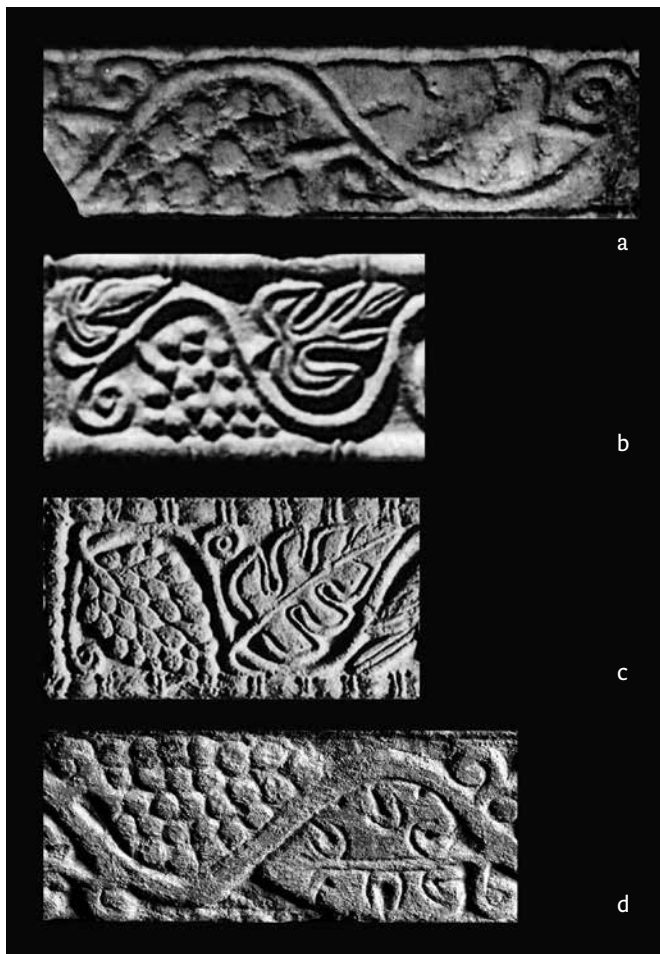


Slika 2b.
Arheološki muzej u Zadru, ulomak pluteja oltarne ograde (prema
Petricioli 1995, sl. 1)

Figure 2b.
Archaeological Museum in Zadar, fragment of the altar screen
pluteus (according to Petricioli 1995, Fig. 1)

ed pairs of volutes that fill the space completely.⁸ Additionally, it should be noted that there are also drilled holes among the first pair of lobes on the leaves, which are hardly visible due to the stone's wear. Some differences are observed, however: one vine branch instead of two, smaller-size volutes, and the absence of drilled holes. These differences are of minor significance, likely resulting from differences in workshops and execution methods, perhaps even adaptation of the motif to the smaller dimensions of the pluteus. The primary importance

⁸ In contrast, M. Jarak considers the motif of the grapevine on the border "realistically shaped," and generally, in the composition of the pluteus, there are "motifs indicating a tendency towards realistic representation of the natural world." Surprisingly, at the same time, she notes "a more decorative design of the composition on the Zadar pluteus" (Jarak 2005, pp. 281-282).



Slika 3.
Usporedba bordura reljefa: a. Vicenza; b. Cividale; c. Akvileja; d. Zadar (prema Jakšić 2010, sl. 12)

Figure 3.
Comparison of relief borders: a. Vicenza; b. Cividale; c. Aquileia; d. Zadar (according to Jakšić 2010, Fig. 12)

žio stilskom korpusu “liutprandske renesanse”, primjećujući potpuno jednake kompozicijske sheme te izvedbene postupke na, primjerice, naslonu katedre iz Akvileje iz sredine VIII. stoljeća, ploči iz Cividalea ili na jednom pluteju iz Vicenze (ovdje br. 36, 38, 26) (sl. 3).¹⁰ Uz to, autor je jasno metodološki impostirao razliku između ikonografskih rješenja i stilske valorizacije u ocjenama ovakve skulpture, koje noviji osporavatelji takve datacije u pravilu nisu uvažavali, dajući primat isključivo generičkim ikonografskim paralelama te zapostavljajući stilsku analizu.¹¹ Komparativna građa na koju je uputio Jakšić be-

lies in determining the stylistic characteristics and potential provenance, as they will be decisive in forming conclusions about the Split fragment. Since the publication of the Zadar relief, its dating has undergone noticeable fluctuations over the past sixty years.⁹ Initially dated to the 5th to 6th centuries or the late 6th to early 7th century (I. Petricioli), it was later placed in the “sculpture of the transitional period” between the late 6th and early 9th centuries (Ž. Rapanić), until N. Jakšić convincingly associated it with the stylistic corpus of the “Liutprand Renaissance,” noting completely identical compositional schemes and executional techniques on artefacts such as the backrest of the cathedra from Aquileia from the mid-8th century, the pluteus from Cividale, or a pluteus from Vicenza (here no. 36, 38, 26) (Fig. 3).¹⁰ Furthermore, the author methodologically imposed a clear distinction between iconographic solutions and stylistic valorisation in assessments of such sculptures, which newer critics of such dating have generally not considered, giving priority solely to generic iconographic parallels and neglecting stylistic analysis.¹¹ The comparative

¹⁰ Jakšić 2008a, str. 395-397; Jakšić 2008b; Jakšić 2010, str. 20-21; Jakšić 2014, str. 16-19; Jakšić 2015, str. 104-109. Analogije između bordure zadarskog pluteja i bordure naslona katedre iz Akvileje prvi je uočio Milošević 2004, str. 244, bilj. 32.

¹¹ Nekoliko je autora u novije vrijeme pokušalo osporiti Jakšićevu dataciju zadarskog pluteja u VIII. st., npr. Jarak 2005, str. 282; Jarak 2010, str. 84-85; Jarak 2013, str. 244-245; Jarak 2014; Jarak 2017, str. 57; Vežić 2007, str. 132; Vežić 2021, str. 71. Ostavši isključivo na ikonografskoj ravni, motiv križa na stepenastom podnožju (Kalvarije, Golgote) uspoređivali su, primjerice, s nedatiranim reljefom iz Kampora na otoku Rabu ili s visoko geometriziranim reljefima pronađenim na nekoliko lokaliteta u Zadru ili okolici (Podvršje, Ugljan), zalažući se za dataciju cijele grupe na izmak VI. ili sâm početak VII. st.

⁹ Petricioli 1959, pp. 179-184; Petricioli 1972, pp. 333, 341-342; Petricioli 1995, p. 76; Rapanić 1987, pp. 123-125. The pluteus is catalogued in Vežić 2007a, pp. 149-150, cat. 16, Jakšić 2008b, and Vežić 2021, pp. 72-73, with a review of previous literature. Mišković 2014, pp. 221-225, provides a comprehensive bibliographic overview from 1959 to 2014.

¹⁰ Jakšić 2008a, pp. 395-397; Jakšić 2008b; Jakšić 2010, pp. 20-21; Jakšić 2014, pp. 16-19; Jakšić 2015, pp. 104-109. Analogies between the border of the Zadar pluteus and the border of the backrest of the cathedra from Aquileia were first noticed by Milošević 2004, p. 244, note 32.

¹¹ In recent times, several authors have attempted to challenge Jakšić's dating of the Zadar pluteus to the 8th century, e.g., Jarak 2005, pp. 282; Jarak 2010, pp. 84-85; Jarak 2013, pp. 244-245; Jarak 2014; Jarak 2017, p. 57; Vežić 2007a, p. 132; Vežić 2021, p. 71. Focusing solely on the iconography, they compared the motif of the cross on the stepped base (Calvary, Golgotha), for example, with an undated relief from Kampor on the island of Rab or highly geometric reliefs found at several sites in Zadar and its surroundings (Podvršje, Ugljan), advocating for dating the entire group to the late 6th or early 7th century. It is not disputable that the motifs on these reliefs are indeed similar, but they derive from the general ubiquity of the iconographic motif of the Calvary Cross, while all these sculptures do not really share any other stylistic features. Comparing one undated pluteus (Kampor) with another one (Zadar) could not lead to successful conclusions, especially since serious

zuvjetno ukazuje na Apeninski poluotok, osobito njegov sjever (*Langobardia Maior*), gdje se nalaze najbliže analogije.

Štoviše, sve elemente koje je nedavno I. Matejčić primijenio na jedan pilastar iz VIII. stoljeća spoliran u Rovinju kako bi pokazao njegovu pripadnost umjetnosti ranoga srednjovjekovlja, možemo bez ostatka primijeniti i na splitski reljef: “To su u prvom redu odstupanje od naturalističkog prikazivanja, izostanak prikaza progresije volumena, raspored i deformacija elemenata po pravilu *horror vacui*. Za ranosrednjovjekovnu umjetnost karakteristični su detalji podjele grane na tri segmenta (pruta), malene volute na krajevima vitica i, posebno, prikazivanje vitica koje prelaze jedna preko druge.”¹² Uz nave-

material referred to by Jakšić undoubtedly points to the Italian Peninsula, especially its north (*Langobardia Major*), where the closest analogies are found.

Furthermore, all the elements recently applied by I. Matejčić to an eight-century pilaster spoliated in Rovinj to demonstrate its belonging to early medieval art can be fully applied to the relief in Split: “These include, first and foremost, deviation from naturalistic representation, absence of depiction of volume progression, arrangement, and deformation of elements determined by *horror vacui*. For early medieval art, characteristic details include the division of branches into three segments (strands), small volutes at the ends of tendrils, and particularly the depiction of tendrils crossing over each other.”¹² Additionally, certain other features and details reinforce

Nije doista sporno da su motivi na tim reljefima slični, no oni proizlaze iz opće rasprostranjenosti ikonografskog motiva križa Kalvarije, dočim sve ove skulpture stvarno ne dijele nikakve druge stilske odlike. Uspoređivanje jednog nedatiranog pluteja (Kampor) s drugim nedatiranim plutejem (Zadar), očekivano, nije moglo uroditi uspješnim zaključcima, utoliko više što su pritom zaobiđeni ozbiljni i kvalificirani Jakšićevi argumenti o kasnijoj, ranosrednjovjekovnoj dataciji zadarskog pluteja (koji su, k tome, vodili računa o stilskom aspektu problema). Ulančavanjem neprovjerljivih pretpostavki autori koji se zalažu za dataciju obaju reljefa u pred-srednjovjekovno razdoblje razvijaju konstrukciju uzajamno ovisnih hipoteza: pojednostavljeno rečeno, datiranje rapskog pluteja u VI. st. ovisi o datiranju zadarskog pluteja u VI. st. (što nije nimalo izvjesno). Tako se obliku kružne datacije kojima se, zapravo, ne može doći do kronološkog ni stilskog rješenja postavljeno problema. Za duboko usađen otpor prema ranosrednjovjekovnoj dataciji – a i prema stilskoj analizi – karakteristično je što, čak i kada pojedini autori dobro uoče analogije zadarskome pluteju iz fundusa ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture, čvrsto datirane u VIII. st. (npr. Jarak 2014, str. 13, 14, primjećuje da je *crux gemmata* izuzetno rijedak u ranokršćanskoj skulpturi Dalmacije, ujedno zapažajući krajnju shematiziranost palminih stabala, citirajući analogije iz VIII. st., na koncu zamjećuje nezgrapno oblikovanje tijela ovaca te plošnost prikazivanja prostornih planova), unatoč tome, pod utjecajem površnih ikonografskih sličnosti i dalje ga datiraju u kasno VI. ili VII. st., kako bi ga vezali u isti radionički opus s plutejima s Raba, iz Podvršja i dr.

Nastavljajući s navođenjem paralela isključivo ikonografske prirode, A. Mišković zalaže se za dataciju ovog pluteja u ranokršćansko razdoblje, zaplećući se povremeno u kontradikcije: tako npr. “obrada svakako govori o kasnom razdoblju ranokršćanske umjetnosti”, pri čemu su zoomorfni likovi “dani vrlo stilizirano”, dočim su palme s plodovima “više naturalistički obrađene” i to “za razliku od realističnih prizora iz kasnoantičkog razdoblja” (Mišković 2014, str. 227). Kao jedini argument stilske prirode – koji bi bio protivan Miloševićovoj ili Jakšićevoj dataciji – autorica navodi glatke, neispunjene površine figura na zadarskom pluteju (str. 230–231), ne primijetivši poodavno Jakšićevo upozorenje da upravo na kasnolangobardskim reljefima takva raščlamba korpusa četveronožaca vrlo često izostaje (Jakšić 2008b, str. 85, Jakšić 2010, str. 21–22, Jakšić 2014, str. 20). Sličnom argumentu utječe se i Vežić 2021, str. 73: “Plohe na pluteju u Zadru nisu prekrivene gustim ornamentima geometrijskih dekoracija, a one su karakteristične za likovno izražavanje na reljefima iz vremena i kruga *liutprandske renesanse*. Predstavljaju važnu odliku, svojevrsni geometrijski grafizam karakterističan za langobardsku skulpturu.”

12 Matejčić 2021, str. 69, kat. 77. Iznimka je tropruta grana loze, koja je na našem fragmentu jednopruta. Autor, uz to, za rovinjski reljef na-

and qualified arguments by Jakšić about the later, early medieval dating of the Zadar pluteus (which also took into account the stylistic aspect of the problem) were bypassed. Authors advocating for dating both reliefs to the pre-medieval period construct a series of independent hypotheses based on chaining unverifiable assumptions. In essence, their argument hinges on dating the Rab pluteus to the 6th century, a conclusion that relies on the uncertain dating of the Zadar pluteus to the same period. Thus, circular datings are formed that cannot actually lead to a chronological or stylistic resolution of the posed problem. The deep-seated resistance to early medieval dating, and stylistic analysis, is characteristic in that, even when some authors notice analogies to the Zadar pluteus from the fund of early medieval sculpture firmly dated to the 8th century (e.g., Jarak 2014, pp. 13–14 notes that *crux gemmata* is extremely rare in early Christian sculpture in Dalmatia, also noting the extreme schematisation of palm trees, citing analogies from the 8th century, ultimately observing awkwardly shaped bodies of sheep and flatness in representing spatial plans), despite this, under the influence of superficial iconographic similarities, they still date it to the late 6th or 7th century, aiming to tie it to the same workshop oeuvre as the pluteus from Rab, Podvršje, and others.

Continuing to cite exclusively iconographic parallels, A. Mišković advocates for dating this pluteus to the early Christian period, occasionally becoming entangled in contradictions. For example, the “treatment certainly speaks of the late period of early Christian art,” where zoomorphic figures are “presented very stylized,” while palms with fruits are “more naturalistically treated,” which is “unlike realistic scenes from the late antique period” (Mišković 2014, p. 227). As the only argument of a stylistic nature, which would be contrary to Milošević’s or Jakšić’s dating, the author mentions smooth, bare surfaces of figures on the Zadar pluteus (pp. 230–231), not noticing Jakšić’s prior caveat that such a detailed treatment of the corpus of quadrupeds is often omitted on late Lombard reliefs (Jakšić 2008b, p. 85; Jakšić 2010, pp. 21–22; Jakšić 2014, p. 20). A similar argument is echoed by Vežić 2021, p. 73: “The surfaces on the Zadar pluteus are not covered with dense ornaments of geometric decorations, and they are characteristic of the visual expression on reliefs from the times and circle of the *Liutprand Renaissance*. They represent an important feature, a kind of geometric graphism characteristic of Lombard sculpture.”

12 Matejčić 2021, p. 69, cat. 77. The exception is the three-branch vine, which is depicted as a single branch in the Split fragment. The author also provides numerous parallels for the Rovinj relief that are consistent with the morphology and composition of the fragment

deno, i određene druge značajke i detalji učvršćuju ovakvu dataciju: elipsoidna polja među viticama identičnih su dimenzija; listovi i grozdovi potpuno ispunjavaju zadani kadar; volute na splitskom fragmentu su predimenzionirane kako bi do kraja ispunile međuprostor vitice i okvira (*horror vacui* je, dakle, još izraženiji); mesnati listovi loze spljošteni su i shematizirani, jednako kao radikalno pojednostavljeni grozdovi; sinusoidne dviju grana savijene su u jednoličnom ritmu, formirajući dvije zavojnice što zajednički tvore dojam nanizanih ovalnih medaljona, radije nego naturalistički prikazanu lozicu. Dojmu pridonosi nizanje voluta u pravilnim razmacima s objiju strana loze, čime motiv dodatno gubi karakter vlastite realnosti, preobražavajući se u dekorativni friz. Doda li se tome niski plasticitet vegetabilnog ukrasa i uopće plošna modelacija reljefa, postaje jasno da pred sobom imamo ranosrednjovjekovnu, ni pošto ranokršćansku skulpturu.

Ukoliko u sljedećem koraku pokušamo precizirati njenu dataciju, iznova smo upućeni na langobardsku skulpturu Italije, na koju gore opisana stiliska svojstva neosporno ukazuju.

Pri tome je od prvorazredne pomoći Korpus ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture Italije (*Corpus della scultura altomedievale*), koji u sklopu dugogodišnjeg projekta sustavnog izdavanja građe objavljuje Centar za ranosrednjovjekovne studije u Spoletu.¹³ Od 1959. do 2015. godine tiskano je ukupno 25 svezaka korpusa, kojima je do sada obuhvaćen veći dio središnje i sjeverne Italije (sa značajnim prazninama kod potonjeg) te manji dio južne. Premda projekt nije ni izdaleka završen, približno šest tisuća kataloški obrađenih reljefa predstavlja reprezentativan uzorak na osnovi kojega se mogu donositi utemeljeni zaključci. Od osobitoga je značenja što su cjelovito obrađeni korpusi skulpture onih regija koje su stajale u naročitim i privilegiranim kontaktima s istočnojadranskim prostorom, kao što su Friuli (Akvileja i Grado), Veneto (Vicenza), sjeverna Apulija (s Barijem), kao i gotovo polovina građe grada Rima (u sedam polusvezaka). Generalno uzevši, katalogizirani podaci zasad daju prilično jasnu kvalitativnu i kvantitativnu sliku stilskog profila skulpture *Langobardiae Maior*, papinskog Rima te sjedišta Egzarhata; ona je Korpusom čvrsto definirana – uz izuzetak same Venecije.

Dakako, navođenje *in extenso* svih komparativnih motiva u golemom korpusu italske plastike ranoga srednjovjekovlja ne može nadomjestiti metodološki postupak – jedini ispravan – koji bi vodio računa o cjelini kompozicije skulpture, o cjelini kojoj je ta skulptura pripadala (arhitektonska plastika, liturgijske instalacije itd.), na koncu o cjelini sakralne građevine iz

such dating: the ellipsoidal sections among the tendrils are of identical dimensions; leaves and clusters completely fill the outlined frame; the volutes on the Split fragment are oversized to fully occupy the space between the tendrils and the frame (thus enhancing *horror vacui* even more); fleshy vine leaves are flattened and schematized, just like radically simplified clusters; the sinusoids of the two branches are bent in a uniform rhythm, forming two coils that collectively create the impression of a series of oval medallions rather than a naturalistically depicted vine. This impression is further accentuated by the series of volutes at regular intervals on both sides of the vine, which further diminishes the motif's character of its own realism, transforming it into a decorative frieze. When combined with the low plasticity of the vegetal ornamentation and the overall flat modelling of the relief, it becomes evident that early medieval sculpture is being dealt with here rather than early Christian sculpture.

In an attempt to further specify its dating, once again, the Lombard sculpture of Italy comes into focus, to which the above-described stylistic features undeniably point.

In this endeavour, the Corpus of Early Medieval Sculpture of Italy (*Corpus della scultura altomedievale*) proves to be of paramount assistance, published as a part of a long-term project by the Centre for Early Medieval Studies in Spoleto.¹³ From 1959 to 2015, a total of 25 volumes of the corpus were published, covering a significant part of central and northern Italy (with notable gaps in the latter) and a smaller part of the south. Although the project is far from complete, approximately six thousand catalogued reliefs provide a representative sample for drawing well-founded conclusions. Particularly noteworthy is the comprehensive coverage of sculptures from the regions that maintained significant and privileged contacts with the eastern Adriatic region, including Friuli (Aquilaia and Grado), Veneto (Vicenza), and northern Apulia (including Bari), as well as almost half of the material from the city of Rome (spanning seven half-volumes). In general, the catalogued data thus far offer a fairly clear qualitative and quantitative understanding of the stylistic profile of the sculpture of *Langobardia Major*, papal Rome, and the seat of the Exarchate, as firmly defined by the Corpus, with the exception of Venice itself.

Naturally, listing all comparative motifs in the vast corpus of early medieval Italian sculpture cannot replace the methodological approach. This approach, the only correct one, considers the composition as a whole, the context in which the sculpture existed (such as architectural sculpture or liturgical

vodi brojne paralele koje su sukladne morfologiji i kompoziciji ovdje razmatranog ulomka, te shodno tome uzete u obzir i u našem radu.

13 Za dosadašnje rezultate i trenutno stanje tog projekta v. Guiglia 2021. Njima treba dodati i tri sveska ranokršćanske i ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture Ravenne, koji su objavljeni separatno: Angiolini Martinelli 1968; Valenti Zucchini, Bucci 1968; Olivieri Farioli 1969.

under discussion here, and accordingly, they have been taken into account in this article.

13 For the current results and status of that project, see Guiglia 2021. Additionally, three volumes on early Christian and early medieval sculpture in Ravenna have been published separately: Angiolini Martinelli 1968; Valenti Zucchini, Bucci 1968; Olivieri Farioli 1969.

koje je proizašla, čitavoga lokaliteta ili grada u kojemu bi se horizont stila ili produkcija radionice očitovali. Nažalost, takvome pristupu u ovom slučaju nepremostivu prepreku predstavlja posvemašnja izoliranost te fragmentarnost ulomka koji razmatramo. Stoga i periodizacija ove skulpture mora biti zasnovana na drugačijim osloncima.

Na ovdje navedenim komparacijama stoga ne inzistiramo kao izravnim predlošcima, već isključivo kao orijentaciji koja će omogućiti smještanje splitskog reljefa u generalni stilski okvir. Vegetabilni motiv, naime, prikazan na ovom reljefu, univerzalan je i davnoga porijekla – u krajnjoj liniji derivacija antičkih i kasnoantičkih modela – tako da će u repertoaru kamene plastike biti vrlo često prisutan, te zastupljen u velikom geografskom radijusu i dijakronijskom rasponu. Ono što ga izdvaja kao skulpturu određenoga stilskog predznaka nije, prema tome, motiv sam po sebi (u likovnom smislu), već njegova specifična izvedba, koja će pokazati posebnosti svojstvene ipak samo jednom mogućem stilskom profilu, koji je onda u idućem koraku naravno moguće i vremenski omeđiti. Anticipirajući na trenutak zaključke ovoga rada, vrijedi na ovome mjestu istaknuti da u tome i leži vrijednost njegova prepoznavanja kao ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture. Tako se ipak, uza sve nedostatke, može uspostaviti relativna kronološka slika.

ANALOGIJE

Ne kanim ovdje iznositi sve moguće usporedbe s komparativnim materijalom. One su vidljive iz sumarnog pregleda priloženog u nastavku, gdje se nalaze i datacije svakog pojedinog reljefa (v. tablicu). Treba, dakako, voditi računa da su datacije iz Korpusa dobrim dijelom zastarjele, što smo nadoknadili ažuriranjem literature i provjerom prihvaćanja davnajšnjeg datiranja kod novijih autora. Neovisno o tome, znatan dio datacija predloženih u Korpusu je opstao. Osim toga, komparativna građa s Apeninskog poluotoka o kojoj je riječ, datirana je većim dijelom natpisima kao kronološkim osloncima, ili pak arheološkim kontekstom, tako da – čak i pretpostavimo li neispravnost pojedinih datacija – dosadašnja saznanja predstavljaju solidan temelj za građenje daljnjih zaključaka. Gotovo svi ovdje navedeni primjeri redom su datirani unutar VIII. stoljeća, odnosno u manjem broju slučajeva u ranije IX. stoljeće, pa je utoliko osnovano sukladno datirati te stilski definirati i splitski reljef.

Od vrhunski rezbarenih primjera ovog motiva iz sredine VI. stoljeća, poput bjelokosnih reljefa tzv. Maksimijanove katedre iz Ravenna (sl. 4), pa do zrelih predromaničkih reljefa poodmaklog IX. stoljeća, može se gotovo korak po korak pratiti udaljavaње od naturalizma biljnih motiva k njihovoj shematizaciji.

Čini se da je motiv presijecajućih grana vinove loze koje oblikuju bademaste medaljone, s volutama na mjestu njihova križanja, kanoniziran relativno rano, možda već krajem VI. stoljeća, sudeći prema reljefu iz bazilike S. Apollinare Nuovo u Ravenni (br. 2) ili reljefu iz Kalikstova baptisterija u Cividaleu s

installations), and ultimately, the entirety of the consecrated space from which it originated, the entire site, or the city where the stylistic layer or workshop production would be evident. Unfortunately, such an approach in this case faces insurmountable obstacles due to the sculpture's complete isolation and fragmentary nature. Therefore, the periodization of this sculpture must rely on different foundations.

The comparisons made here are not insisted upon as direct models but solely as a guide that will enable placing the Split relief within a general stylistic framework. The vegetal motif depicted in this relief is universal and of ancient origin, ultimately derived from antique and late-antique models. It will often be present in the repertoire of stone sculpture and represented across a large geographical radius and diachronic span. What sets it apart as a sculpture of a specific stylistic character is not the motif itself in the visual sense, but its specific execution, which reveals the peculiarities inherent in only one possible stylistic profile. This profile can then be chronologically delimited in the next step. Anticipating the conclusions of this article, it is worth noting that herein lies the value of its identification as early medieval sculpture. Despite all shortcomings, a relative chronological picture can be established.

ANALOGIES

All possible comparisons with the comparative material are not intended to be presented here, as they are evident from the summary provided below, which includes the datings of each individual relief (see table). It is important to note that the datings from the Corpus are largely outdated, which we have compensated for by updating the literature and verifying the acceptance of past datings by more recent authors. This notwithstanding, a large number of datings present in the Corpus was upheld. Additionally, the comparative material from the Apennine Peninsula in question is largely dated based on inscriptions as chronological anchors or archaeological contexts. Therefore, even if the inaccuracy of certain datings is assumed, the existing knowledge provides a solid foundation for drawing further conclusions. Almost all the examples listed here are consistently dated within the timespan of the 8th century, or in a few cases, to the early 9th century. Hence, it is reasonable to date and stylistically define the Split relief accordingly.

From superbly carved examples of this motif dating back to the mid-6th century, such as the ivory reliefs of the so-called Throne of Maximian from Ravenna (Fig. 4), to mature pre-Romanesque reliefs from the late 9th century, the departure from the naturalism of vegetal motifs towards their schematization can be traced almost step by step.

The motif of intersecting branches of grapevines forming almond-shaped medallions, with volutes at their intersec-



Slika 4.
Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile, katedra nadbiskupa Maksimijana,
detalj (prema *Christian Antiquities Museum and Archives*)

Figure 4.
Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile, Archbishop Maximian's cathedra,
detail (according to *Christian Antiquities Museum and Archives*)

kraja VII. ili početka VIII. stoljeća na čijoj je poledini naknadno isklesana tzv. Paulinova ploča (br. 3). Motiv postupno poprima naglašeno dekorativni karakter,¹⁴ o čemu svjedoče dobro dati-

tions, appears to have been canonised relatively early, perhaps as early as the late 6th century. This conclusion is based on reliefs such as the one from the basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (no. 2) or the relief from the baptistry of Calixtus in Cividale, dating from the late 7th or early 8th century, on the back of which the so-called Paulin's plaque was later carved (no. 3). Over time, the motif took on a distinctly decora-

14 Izučavanju ovog motiva posebna su istraživanja posvetili Coden

rani fragmenti dovratnika i ciborija iz crkve S. Mustiola u Chiusiju, munificijencija *dux*a Grgura, nećaka kralja Liutpranda, iz 729. – 730. godine (br. 9): veliki plosnati listovi vinove loze, s rebrima prikazanim tankim urezanim linijama i kompaktnim grozdovima jednolikog, okruglog zrnja (bez ikakvog pokušaja perspektivnog skraćivanja), koji sasvim ispunjavaju volute grane. Takav će se tip – s volutama ili bez njih, s ponekad sasvim shematiziranim lišćem i groždem – tokom prve polovine VIII. stoljeća često susretati na reljefima *Langobardiae Maior*, npr. na borduri nadgrobnog natpisa langobardske kraljice Regintrude iz Pavije (br. 11), na ulomku arkade ciborija u Maniagu (Pordenone, br. 12), u S. Maria Assunta u Cividaleu (br. 13), na jednoj od arkada ciborija iz crkve S. Cristina u Bolseni (br. 14) te možda nešto kasnijem intradosu luka iz crkve S. Giovanni u Tremosineu kraj Brescie (br. 21); sredinom stoljeća (oko 749. – 764.) motiv je multipliciran na dekorativnim trakama prsobrana ambona iz Voghenze (Ferrara, br. 31).

Iako će pleterna ornamentika u takvim motivima sporadično biti prisutna i ranije, npr. na sarkofagu iz Gubbija gdje se lozica sasvim transformira u gustu višeprutu mrežu (br. 23), ili pak na pilastru, arhitravu ili vijencu iz katedrale u Pisi (br. 52), primicanjem IX. stoljeća pleter postaje sve dominantnijim, podređujući motiv vinove povijuše geometrijskom principu i linearnom grafizmu. Ta je tendencija vidljiva već oko treće četvrtine VIII. stoljeća, primjerice na tzv. Piltrudinom sarkofagu iz Cividalea (br. 37), zatim na razmeđu VIII. i IX. stoljeća na ciboriju iz crkve S. Pietro in Sylvis u Bagnacavallu (br. 47). Dosljednim razvijanjem takvog pristupa i ranom IX. stoljeću lozica se sasvim pretvara u učvorne kružnice pletera, kao na pluteju iz crkve SS. Giovanni e Paolo u Ferentinu (br. 58) ili plutejima bazilike sv. Sabine u Rimu kojima ju je opremio papa Eugen II. (br. 63); istom ansamblu liturgijskih instalacija pripada plutej s kojega lozica posve nestaje, a listovi i grozdovi su umetnuti u kasete uokvirene kontinuiranom pletenicom (br. 62). Pleterne kasete zamijenit će lozicu na predromaničkim reljefima rimske regije u prvoj polovini IX. stoljeća (s najkasnijim primjerima iz vremena pontifikata Lava IV., 847. – 855.): Ponzano Romano, Leprignano, S. Saba u Rimu, S. Pietro in Tuscania (br. 59, 61, 64, 65). Usporedo s tim, parapet ambona i jedan drugi ulomak iz Muzeja ranoga srednjeg vijeka u Rimu dosljedno tropruto oblikuju granu loze (br. 66, 67). Ona će biti takva i na arhitravima gotovo cjelovito očuvane oltarne ograde iz Leprignana (Capena), ali će na intradosu njezina luka ista radi-

tive karakter,¹⁴ as evidenced by well-dated fragments of door jams and ciboria from the church of S. Mustiola in Chiusi. These fragments, commissioned by Duke Gregory, nephew of King Liutprand, in 729-730 (no. 9), feature large flat grapevine leaves with ribs depicted by thin engraved lines and compact clusters of uniform, round grapes without any attempt at perspective foreshortening, which completely fill the volutes of the branch. Such a type, with or without volutes, sometimes featuring completely schematized leaves and grapes, is often encountered on reliefs from the first half of the 8th century in *Langobardia Major*. Examples include the border of the funerary inscription of Lombard Queen Regintrude of Pavia (no. 11), a fragment of the ciborium arcade in Maniago (Pordenone, no. 12), S. Maria Assunta in Cividale (no. 13), one of the ciborium arcades from the church of S. Cristina in Bolsena (no. 14), and perhaps the slightly later intrados of the arch from the church of S. Giovanni in Tremosine near Brescia (no. 21). In the mid-8th century (around 749-764), the motif was multiplied on decorative bands of the pulpit enclosure from Voghenza (Ferrara, no. 31).

While interlaced ornamentation had sporadically appeared in earlier instances of this motif, such as on the sarcophagus from Gubbio, where the vine scroll transforms into a dense network of multiple strands (no. 23), or on a pilaster, architrave, or cornice from the cathedral in Pisa (no. 52), it wasn't until the approach of the 9th century that interlace became increasingly dominant. This dominance subordinated the motif of the vine scroll to geometric principles and linear graphism. This tendency is evident as early as the third quarter of the 8th century, as seen on the so-called Piltrude's sarcophagus from Cividale (no. 37), and further demonstrated at the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries, as observed on the ciborium from the church of S. Pietro in Sylvis in Bagnacavallo (no. 47). With the consistent development of such an approach, by the early 9th century, the vine scroll undergoes a complete transformation into knotted circles of interlace, as seen on the pluteus from the church of S. Giovanni e Paolo in Ferentino (no. 58) and on the plutei from the basilica of S. Sabina in Rome, which were furnished by Pope Eugene II (no. 63). The same ensemble of liturgical installations includes a pluteus where the vine scroll disappears entirely and leaves and grape clusters are inserted into coffers framed by continuous interlaced ribbon (no. 62).

2017 i Beghelli 2020a, str. 308 i d.; Beghelli 2020b, str. 220, 223. Autorica je metodom serijacije pristupila istraživanju, proučavajući serije homogenih motivskih jedinica i kompozicijskih shema koje se mogu usporediti – a ponavljaju se u razmjerno duljem trajanju i unutar njega u određenim pravilnim intervalima – kako bi odredila prostorni obuhvat i obilježja radionice (u ovom slučaju *Prva radionica iz Ventimigljije i Pijemontsko-provansalska klesarska radionica*) te uspostavila korelacije među njenim ostvarenjima.

14 To research this motif, special studies have been carried out by Coden 2017 and Beghelli 2020a, p. 308 et seq.; Beghelli 2020b, pp. 220, 223. The author approached the study of the same motif using the seriation method, examining a series of homogenous motif units and compositional schemes that can be compared and which are repeated over a relatively long period and within it at certain regular intervals, in order to determine the spatial scope and characteristics of the workshop (in this case, the *First workshop from Ventimiglia* and the *Piedmont-Provençal stonecarving workshop*) and to establish correlations among its oeuvre.

onica motiv klesati s većim naturalizmom (br. 60). Učvorenji, debeli tropruti medaljoni na arkadi ciborija iz Murana iz IX. stoljeća (br. 72) sasvim su minimizirali grozdove i listove koje sadrže u odnosu na okolni ornament, svodeći tako vegetabilne motive na simbolične naznake njihova prvotnog karaktera. Geometrization motiva osobito je dobro vidljiva usporedbom dviju baza stupa iz S. Prassede u Rimu koje nose identičnu ikonografiju: jedne iz druge polovine VIII. stoljeća, druge iz vremena pape Paskala I. (817. – 824.).¹⁵ Dva praktički istovjetna mramorna pilastra iz katedrale u Modeni iz IX. stoljeća sada su već potpuno linearne i apstraktne stilizacije, vegetabilni motivi ropski prate obris dvoprutog i troprutog pletera, shematiizam i statičnost urodili su dematerijalizacijom motiva (br. 70).

Povremeno će dolaziti do povratka antikizirajućem, naturalističkom oblikovanju motiva, ponajviše u umjetničkom stvaralaštvu "liutprandske renesanse" kao što su terakotne lezene iz bazilike S. Salvatore u Bresciji (sl. 5), piloni iz S. Maria d'Aurona u Milanu ili nadgrobni natpis kraljice Cunincperge iz Pavije (br. 28-30); koncu VIII. stoljeća pripadaju besprijekorno klesani, raskošni dovratnici bazilike na Torcellu (br. 45), transformacija čije lozice u troprute učvorene kružnice nagovještava pleternu plastiku. Ipak, i sve te tehnički superiorne izvedbe, vezane uz elite Liutprandova i kasnijeg vremena,¹⁶ čuvat će kanonsku tipologiju motiva kakva je uspostavljena ranije.

Odmicanjem IX. stoljeća, ornamentalni repertoar i izvedba sve su više usmjereni geometrizaciji, anikonizmu i "dekorativnosti". Stupanj stilizacije ili "ornamentalizacije" vinove loze obrnuto je, dakle, proporcionalan njenu podražavanju prirode, istodobno označavajući mjesto splitskog reljefa u evoluciji stila.

Ovako široko zasnovano komparativno istraživanje ima, međutim, smisla jedino u mjeri u kojoj je moguće identificirati pojedine specifične, naročite motive, koji će dati preciznije rezultate od površnih, generalnih i generičkih sličnosti. U tom smislu tri pojedinosti splitskog reljefa izlaze u prvi plan. To su: (1) duboko bušene rupice kojima su naglašena tijela listova, volute i sjecišta granâ; (2) rebra i rubovi listova prikazani tankim urezanim linijama; (3) prijevaj lozice u peteljku lista ili grozda koji na tom mjestu tvori "petlju". Ti elementi, stoga, predstavljaju databilan ornament na našem reljefu.

Kao cjelina, tipološki, ikonografski i stilski najrodnije splitskom reljefu su liturgijske instalacije nedavno uvrštene u produkciju tzv. Prve radionice iz Ventimiglije,¹⁷ djelatne po-

Interlaced cofferes replaced the vine scroll on pre-Romanesque reliefs in the area of Rome in the first half of the 9th century, with the latest examples from the pontificate of Leo IV (847-855) found in Ponzano Romano, Leprignano, S. Saba in Rome, and S. Pietro in Tuscania (no. 59, 61, 64, 65). Concurrently, the parapet of the ambo and another fragment from the Museum of Early Middle Ages in Rome consistently render the branch of the vine scroll as three-stranded (no. 66, 67). The same motif appears on the architraves of the nearly completely preserved altar screen from Leprignano (Capena), while on the intrados of its arch, the same workshop carved the motif with greater naturalism (no. 60). The knotted, thick three-strand medallions on the arcade of the 9th-century ciborium from Murano (no. 72) exhibit significantly minimised grape clusters and leaves compared to the surrounding ornamentation, with notable reduction of vegetal motifs to symbolic indications of their original character. The geometricization of the motif is particularly evident when comparing two column bases from S. Prassede in Rome, both bearing identical iconography. One base dates from the second half of the 8th century, while the other is from the time of Pope Paschal I (817-824).¹⁵ Two practically identical 9th-century marble pilasters from the cathedral in Modena now display completely linear and abstract stylizations, with vegetal motifs slavishly following the outline of two-strand and three-strand interlaces. This schematism and static nature have resulted in the dematerialization of the motif (no. 70).

At times, there is a return to Classicizing, naturalistic shaping of motifs, primarily in the artistic creations of the "Liutprand Renaissance." Examples include the terracotta lesenes from the Basilica of S. Salvatore in Brescia (Fig. 5), pillars from S. Maria d'Aurona in Milan, or the funerary inscription of Queen Cunincperga of Pavia (no. 28-30). Elaborately carved door jambs of the Torcello Basilica (no. 45), dating to the end of the 8th century, exhibit vine scrolls transforming into three-strand interlocking circles, hinting at interlace sculpture. Despite their technical superiority and association with the elites of Liutprand's and later times,¹⁶ these examples maintain the canonical typology of the motif established earlier.

As the 9th century progressed, the ornamental repertoire and execution increasingly leaned towards geometrization, aniconism, and "decorativeness." Consequently, the degree of stylization or "ornamentalization" of the vine scroll became inversely proportional to its imitation of nature, thereby simultaneously marking the place of the Split relief in the evo-

15 Pani Ermini 1974, str. 143; Jurković 2001, str. 50.

16 Npr. sva skulptura iz S. Maria d'Aurona vezana je uz benediktinski samostan koji su u prvoj polovini VIII. st. utemeljili biskup Teodor i sestra mu Aurona. Teodor je navodno bio u srodstvu s langobardskom kraljevskom kućom za vrijeme Liutprandove vladavine, usp. Cassanelli 2017.

17 Opus i podrijetlo radionice, kronologiju te područje njene aktivnosti definirala je Beghelli 2020b, str. 218-229.

15 Pani Ermini 1974, p. 143; Jurković 2001, p. 50.

16 For example, all the sculptures from S. Maria d'Aurona are associated with the Benedictine monastery founded in the first half of the 8th century by Bishop Theodore and his sister Aurona. Theodore was reportedly related to the Lombard royal house during Liutprand's reign; see Cassanelli 2017.



Slika 5.
Brescia, Museo della città, S. Giulia, terakotne lezene iz bazilike S. Salvatore (prema Goodson 2017, str. 372)

Figure 5.
Brescia, Museo della città, S. Giulia, terracotta lesenes from the basilica of S. Salvatore (according to Goodson 2017, p. 372)

četkom VIII. stoljeća: dva pluteja i pilastar iz crkve S. Martino in Castro u Stenicu, pilastar iz katedrale u Ventimigliji te jedan iz crkve S. Siro u Sanremu (br. 5-8) (sl. 6, 7). Kompozicija i tretman motiva na ovim reljefima iz Trentina i ligurskog primorja gotovo su posve identični, s tom razlikom što ova radionica realističnije oblikuje koru lista, dočim bušene rupice koristi samo sporadično (usp. pilastar iz Sanrema).

lution of style.

This comprehensive comparative study is meaningful only to the extent that specific, particular motifs can be identified, yielding more precise results than superficial, general, and generic similarities. In this regard, three details of the Split relief come to the fore. These include: (1) deeply drilled holes emphasising the bodies of leaves, volutes, and intersections



Slika 6.
Stenico, S. Martino in castro, plutei (prema Beghelli 2020b, sl. 10.5-6)

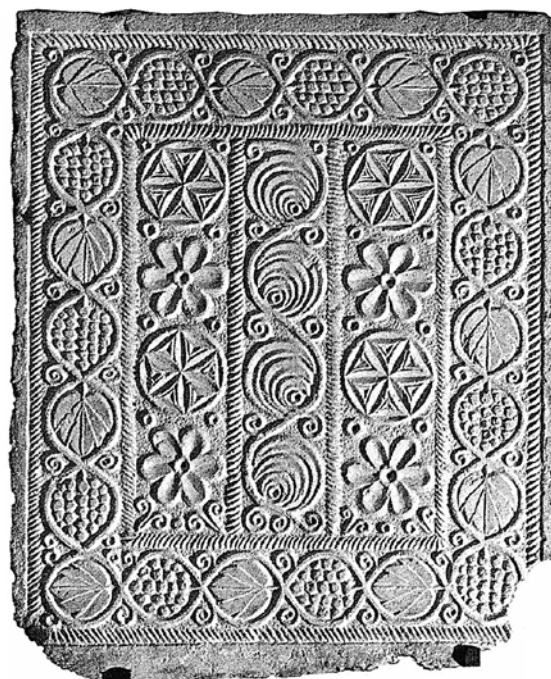


Figure 6.
Stenico, S. Martino in castro, plutei (according to Beghelli 2020b, Fig. 10.5-6)

Listovi, pak, splitskog reljefa tipološki su sličniji onima na borduri nadgrobne ploče biskupa Kumijana iz opatije sv. Kolumbana u Bobbiju iz prve polovine VIII. stoljeća (oko 736. – 744.), jednom od reprezentativnih likovnih i epigrafskih ostvarenja “liutprandske renesanse” (br. 16). K tome, vegetabilni motivi su ondje oživiljeni plitkim rupicama, a grozdovi kao i listovi izrastaju iz “petlji” koje smo opisali. Ono što ovu ploču razlikuje od našeg ulomka – osim, naravno, neusporedivo više kvalitete klesanja – jest smještanje listova i grozdova zajedno unutar svake volute, kao i umetanje manjih rozeta između svake veće volute. Gotovo potpuno istovjetno izvedena je reljefna bordura jedne druge nadgrobne ploče iz istog samostana, uz to s duboko svrdlanim rupicama u volutama (br. 17), a nalikuje im jedan reljef iz katedrale u Spoletu (br. 18) čiju će vrlo široku dataciju trebati korigirati.¹⁸ Ističemo, nadalje, sukladno riješene listove i petlje na tzv. Teodotinim pločama iz crkve S. Michele alla Pusterla u Paviji (br. 10), također iz ranijeg VIII. stoljeća

of branches; (2) ribs and edges of leaves depicted with thin incised lines; and (3) the twist of the vine in the stem of the leaf or cluster, forming a “loop” at that point. Therefore, these elements constitute distinctive ornamentation on the Split relief in terms of date.

As a whole, typologically, iconographically, and stylistically, the liturgical installations most closely related to the Split relief are those recently attributed to the production of the so-called First Workshop from Ventimiglia,¹⁷ active in the early part of the 8th century. These installations include two plutei and a pilaster from the church of S. Martino in Castro in Stenico, a pilaster from the cathedral in Ventimiglia, and one from the church of S. Siro in Sanremo (no. 5-8) (Fig. 6, 7). The composition and treatment of motifs on these reliefs from Trentino and the Ligurian coast are nearly identical. However, a distinction lies in the fact that this workshop renders the leaf texture more realistically while using drilled holes only sporadically (cf. pilaster from Sanremo).

Typologically, the leaves of the Split relief bear a closer resemblance to those found on the border of the tomb slab of Bishop Cumianus from the Abbey of St. Columbanus in Bobbio, dating back to the first half of the 8th century (around

18 Isto ikonografsko rješenje približava ih reljefu na nadgrobnoj ploči biskupa Vitalijana iz Osima te onom iz crkve S. Bartolomeo u Badia di Cantignano kod Luce (br. 19, 22), s tim da je potonji reljef drugačijih izvedbenih značajki. Oba su datirana u VIII. st. Kada je ovaj rad već bio kompletiran i recenziran, zapazili smo nedavno objavljeni vijenac iz crkve S. Maria di Propezzano u Abruzzima (Antonelli 2010, str. 213 i sl. 19), datiran u drugu polovinu VIII. st., posve sukladnih svojstava.

17 The workshop’s oeuvre, origin, chronology, and area of activity were defined by Beghelli 2020b, pp. 218-229.



Slika 7.
Ventimiglia, Sanremo (S. Siro), Stenico (S. Martino in castro), pilastri (prema Beghelli 2020b, sl. 4, 9, 10.3)

Figure 7.
Ventimiglia, Sanremo (S. Siro), Stenico (S. Martino in castro), pilasters (according to Beghelli 2020b, Fig. 4, 9, 10.3)

(oko 735. – 750.). Listove dosad najsljednije splitskima ustanovili smo na ploči (sarkofagu?) iz katedrale u Modeni, također iz VIII. stoljeća (br. 20), čijim gornjim rubom teče složena povišja s parovima listova linijski raščlanjenih rebara, sa simetrično raspoređenim rupicama među režnjevima; listovi izbijaju iz “petlji”. Simetrično raspoređene četiri rupice na kori listova, bušene volute i “petlje” zatječemo i na arkadama Kaliksto-

736-744). This inscribed relief represents one of the notable artistic and epigraphic achievements of the “Liutprand Renaissance” (no. 16). Furthermore, the vegetal motifs on it are adorned with shallow holes, and both the clusters and the leaves emerge from the “loops” described earlier. What sets this slab apart from the Split fragment, aside from the incomparably higher quality of carving, is the arrangement of leaves



Slika 8 a-c.
Cividale, Museo Cristiano, krstionički ciborij patrijarha Kaliksta, detalji triju arkada (prema <https://www.cividale.com>)

Figure 8 a-c.
Cividale, Museo Cristiano, baptistry ciborium of Patriarch Calixtus, details of three arcades (according to <https://www.cividale.com>)

and clusters together within each volute, as well as the insertion of small rosettes between each larger volute. An almost identically executed relief border can be observed on another tomb slab from the same monastery, featuring deeply drilled holes in the volutes (no. 17). A similar relief exists in the cathedral in Spoleto (no. 18), although its dating requires further clarification due to its broad timespan.¹⁸ Moreover, attention should be drawn to the leaves and loops rendered in the same manner on the so-called Plutei of Theodota from the church of S. Michele alla Pusterla in Pavia (no. 10), also from the early 8th century (around 735-750). Leaves resembling those on the Split relief are extant on a slab (sarcophagus?) from the cathedral in Modena, also dating back to the 8th century (no. 20). This slab features a complex vine scroll running along the upper edge, adorned with pairs of leaves with linearly segmented ribs and symmetrically arranged holes among the lobes, with the leaves emerging from “loops.” Symmetrically arranged four holes on the surfaces of leaves, drilled volutes, and “loops” are also present on the arcades of Calixtus’ ciborium from Cividale (no. 32-33) (Fig. 8a-c), which is also recognised as a masterpiece of the “Liutprand Renaissance” (737-756). Additionally, somewhat similar leaves can be observed on another related arcade from the same city (no. 35). Jakšić previously highlighted the vine from the backrest of the cathedra in Aquileia (no. 36) in the context of the Zadar pluteus, and we would like to emphasise all the elements that bring it closer to the Split relief: linearly outlined leaves with holes, drilled volutes, and “loops.” Finally, the famous sarcophagus with an arcosolium from the baptistery in Albenga, dating back to the mid-8th century, also features leaves with linearly outlined veins and holes among the lobes (Fig. 9). For completeness sake, four examples will be listed that show symmetrical holes on the leaf surface but otherwise do not exhibit greater similarity to our relief: the vine on the arcades of Maurice’s ciborium from Novigrad and the pilasters from Alba, Turin, and Marseille (no. 41, 42-44) (Fig. 10). All of these are dated to the last quarter of the 8th century, with the pilasters attributed to the production of the so-called Piedmont-Provençal workshop.¹⁹

All these characteristic details establish a significant con-

18 The same iconographic solution also brings them closer to the relief on the tomb slab of Bishop Vitalianus from Osimo and the one from the church of S. Bartolomeo in Badia di Cantignano near Lucca (no. 19, 22), although the latter relief has different stylistic features. Both are dated to the 8th century. When this paper had already been completed and reviewed, we noticed a recently published cornice from the church of S. Maria di Propezzano in Abruzzo (Antonelli 2010, p. 213 and fig. 19), dated to the second half of the 8th century, with entirely congruent characteristics.

19 Beghelli 2020a, pp. 320-322; Beghelli 2020b, pp. 210-217. The reliefs of this workshop are attested within a spatial radius from Avignon in the west to Bergamo in the east.



Slika 9.
Albenga, krstionica, sanduk sarkofaga s arkosolijem (prema <https://ilcapochiave.it/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Gordio-foto-6.jpg>)

Figure 9.
Albenga, baptistery, chest of the sarcophagus with arcosolium (according to <https://ilcapochiave.it/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Gordio-foto-6.jpg>)

vog ciborija iz Cividalea (br. 32-33) (sl. 8a-c), također vrhunskog ostvarenja "liutprandske renesanse" (737. – 756.), kao i donekle slične listove na još jednoj srodnoj arkadi iz istog grada (br. 35). Na lozicu s naslona katedre iz Akvileje (br. 36) već je upozorio Jakšić u kontekstu zadarskog pluteja, a ovdje bismo istaknuli sve elemente koji ju približavaju splitskom reljefu: linijski obrubljeni listovi s rupicama, svrdlane volute, "petlje". Napokon, glasoviti sarkofag s arkosolijem iz krstionice u Albengi iz polovine VIII. stoljeća također posjeduje listove s linijski ocrtanim žilama i rupicama među režnjevima (sl. 9). Potpunosti radi, navodimo i četiri primjera koji ne pokazuju veće bliskosti s našim reljefom, osim simetričnih rupica na kori lista: lozicu s arkadâ Mauricijeva ciborija iz Novigrada te pilastre iz Albe, Torina i Marseillea (br. 41, 42-44) (sl. 10). Svi su datirani u posljednju četvrtinu VIII. stoljeća, pri čemu pilastri pripadaju produkciji tzv. Pijemontsko-provansalske radionice.¹⁹

Svi ovi karakteristični detalji pokazuju izrazitu vezu s

nection with the compared material. Despite the considerable spatial distance, it is evident that the Split relief is directly correlated with North Italian sculpture, thereby leading to the conclusion that it belongs to the reflections of the "Liutprand Renaissance." This inclusion adds to the increasing number of examples of this layer of sculpture in the central Eastern Adriatic.

In the broader context of stylistic evolution from the Justinian and post-Justinian sculpture of Italy, through the "Liutprand Renaissance" of the 8th century, characterised by classicizing tendencies and its ensuing interaction with Carolingian sculpture aimed at geometrization and schematization, to the development into the classical pre-Romanesque sculpture of the mature 9th century, the Split relief, with its stylistic indicators, clearly places itself within a period when pre-Romanesque sculpture was not yet fully formed, retaining some elements of the previous period. In terms of both chronology and style, this comparative material unmistakably identifies the Split fragment as a product of early medieval artistic creation, specifically from the 8th century, and as a product stemming from the artistic and cultural milieu of the "Liutprand Renaissance."

19 Beghelli 2020a, str. 320-322; Beghelli 2020b, str. 210-217. Reljefi ove radionice dokumentirani su u prostornom radijusu od Avignona na zapadu sve do Bergama na istoku.



Slika 10.
Torino, pilastar oltarne ograde (prema Beghelli 2020a, sl. 11)

Figure 10.
Turin, altar screen pilaster (according to Beghelli 2020a, Fig. 11)

kompariranim materijalom. Bez obzira na znatnu prostornu udaljenost, nalazimo očitim da splitski reljef stoji u izravnoj korelaciji sa sjevernoitalskom skulpturom, pa utoliko i dopuštenim zaključiti da pripada odrazima “liutprandske renesanse”, pridružujući ga na taj način sve brojnijim primjerima tog sloja skulpture na srednjem istočnom Jadranu.

U općoj evoluciji stila od justinijanske i postjustinijanske skulpture Italije, preko “liutprandske renesanse” VIII. stoljeća kao nositelja klasicizirajućih tendencija, pa njena prožimanja s karolinškom skulpturom usmjerenom ka geometrizaciji i shematizaciji, sve do preobrazbe u klasičnu predromaničku skulpturu zrelog IX. stoljeća, splitski se reljef svojim stilskim pokazateljima jasno smješta u vrijeme kada predromanička

In terms of dating, the analogies consistently point to the 8th century, particularly its first half. However, due to obscure historical circumstances, a lack of archaeological and workshop context in local frameworks, and a shortage of similar reliefs in the immediate vicinity, we hesitate to attribute the relief from Dobri to that same period or to any specific time-frame within that century. Therefore, insistence on a very early chronology is not asserted. However, it is certain that the relief should be dated to the 8th century.

CONTEXT

Reflecting on the early medieval artistic legacy of the Split region, examples of reliefs that are chronologically close to this one can be identified, such as those on the liturgical installations of the hexaonch church of the Holy Trinity (originally very likely St. Michael) in Poljud or the first ensemble of medieval liturgical installations in the church of St. Martha in Bijaći. Notably, pre-Romanesque hexaonch rotundas in Brnaze and Trogir used visual models from the reliefs of the Holy Trinity. N. Jakšić hypothesised that the conception of the Split hexaonch church served as a model for the construction and furnishing of other Dalmatian churches of this type.²⁰ This assumption, if justified, indirectly suggests that the construction and decoration of the Split hexaonch can be chronologically placed slightly earlier than the activity of the *Trogir stonecarving workshop*, which operated during the first quarter of the 9th century and furnished the churches of the same type in Trogir and Brnaze. Such an established relative chronology allows for dating the construction of the hexaonch church of the Holy Trinity (St. Michael) and its furnishing with the first set of liturgical installations (later replaced by new ones) to the end of the 8th century or at the very beginning of the next one, around 800 CE. A similar situation is observed in Stombrato (Bijaći), where among several ensembles of early medieval liturgical installations, primacy belongs to the workshop that carved elements of the altar screen, whose features are preliminarily described as “Lombard.”²¹ This sculptural layer is connected in several ways with the distinct sculpture from the interior of the former Roman

20 Jakšić 2004, pp. 276-285. Therefore, these architectural and sculptural interventions in the northern part of the Split Peninsula closely coincide in time, almost synchronous, with the production of the *Split stonecarving workshop of the late 8th century*, whose most important patron was Archbishop John of Split, a participant in the Nicene Council of 787. For more information on the sequence of workshops in Stombrato (Bijaći), see Jakšić and Josipović 2015; Jakšić 2015, pp. 241-294.

21 Milošević 2004; Jakšić 2004; Jakšić, Josipović 2015, p. 154; Jakšić 2015, p. 243.

skulptura u svojoj punini još nije formirana, čuvajući neke od elemenata prethodnog razdoblja. U kronološkom i stilskom smislu ova komparativna građa nedvojbeno određuje naš ulomak kao produkt ranosrednjovjekovnog umjetničkog stvaralaštva, i to VIII. stoljeća, točnije rečeno kao produkt proizašao iz umjetničkoga i kulturnog kruga “liutprandske renesanse”.

Što se datacije tiče, analogije redom ukazuju na VIII. stoljeće, i to s težištem k njegovoj prvoj polovini. S druge strane, uslijed nerasvijetljenih povijesnih okolnosti, manjka arheološkog i radioničkog konteksta u lokalnim okvirima te nedostatka sličnih reljefa u bližem radijusu, ustručavamo se reljef s Dobroga pripisati tom istom razdoblju, odnosno nekom konkretnom vremenskom odsječku istog vijeka. Stoga ne inzistiramo na veoma ranoj kronologiji; izvjesno je, međutim, da reljef treba datirati u VIII. stoljeće.

KONTEKST

Osvrćući se po ranosrednjovjekovnoj umjetničkoj ostavštini splitske regije, možemo doduše ustanoviti primjere reljefa koji su kronološki bliski ovome, poput onih na liturgijskim instalacijama šesterolisne crkve Sv. Trojice (izvorno vrlo vjerojatno sv. Mihovila) na Poljudu ili pak prvoga ansambla srednjovjekovnih liturgijskih instalacija crkve sv. Marte u Bijaćima. Uočivši da su predromaničke šesterolisne crkve u Brnazama i Trogiru kao predložak rabile likovne uzore s reljefâ Sv. Trojice, N. Jakšić je iznio hipotezu da je splitska šesterolisna crkva u koncepcijskom smislu bila uzor pri gradnji i opremanju drugih dalmatinskih crkava tog tipa.²⁰ Ta pretpostavka, ako je opravdana, posredno omogućuje da se izgradnja i dekoracija splitskog heksakonhosa vremenski pozicionira nešto ranije od vijeka djelovanja *Trogirske klesarske radionice*, tj. od prve četvrtine IX. stoljeća, kada je ova opremila crkve istog tipa u Trogiru i Brnazama. Tako uspostavljena relativna kronologija omogućuje nam, dakle, da podizanje šesterolisne crkve Sv. Trojice (sv. Mihovila) i njeno opremanje prvim kompletom liturgijskih instalacija (naknadno će biti zamijenjeni novima) datiramo koncem VIII. stoljeća ili najkasnije samim početkom idućega vijeka, oko 800. godine. Slična je situacija u bijačkim Stombratama, gdje među nekoliko ansambala ranosrednjovjekovnih liturgijskih instalacija prvenstvo pripada radionici koja je isklesala elemente oltarne ograde čije su značajke preliminarno opisane kao “langobardske”.²¹ Taj je horizont skulpture, pak, na više na-

Dalmatia (Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatian hinterland).²² Based primarily on comparative studies of sculpture, A. Milošević convincingly demonstrated that its cultural and stylistic origins should be traced back to the Lombard and early Carolingian milieus, with an emphasis on the former, thus positioning this sculpture predominantly within the chronological boundaries of the 8th century.

According to the relative chronology, both the Poljud and Bijaći churches were furnished with reliefs during the last quarter or at the very end of the 8th century. However, the workshops that created them are only chronologically synchronous with the relief from Dobri, while their ensembles significantly differ in content, form, and quality of execution. Ultimately, the interrelations between these two workshops, as well as their position in relation to other contemporary sculpture, remain unknown for now. This primarily refers to the third group of reliefs that should be mentioned here, specifically the production of the *Split stonecarving workshop from the late 8th century*. Its oeuvre is firmly linked to the urban setting of Split, dated with precise temporal markers (around 787 CE or in the last quarter of the 8th century), and contextualised within the patronage of the first Split archbishop, John of Ravenna; the origin and genesis of the workshop are quite clear.²³ However, as with the previous two cases, the relief surfaces of this workshop have not yet revealed motifs or compositional schemes that would be comparable to the relief from Dobri.

Regardless of how this layer is labelled, whether “late Lombard” or “pre-Carolingian” sculpture,²⁴ it is evident that such a new artistic language (and thus a new style) has no discernible roots on the eastern Adriatic coast, and the affirmation of

22 Milošević 2003a; Milošević 2003b. The dominant motifs found in various combinations on almost all of these fragments include concentric circles, single- or multi-stranded bands forming braids with umbilical projections, or a cross in the centre, as well as two-stranded stylized scrolls marked by trefoil endings or crosses in the centre. The main decorations on the plutei are large multi-stranded crosses with stylized palmettes below horizontal arms and rosettes of various shapes above them. Some of these monuments were reused during the mature pre-Romanesque period, with new, stylistically different decorations carved on their backs that clearly distinguished them from the subsequent periods. The three most important sites are Bilimišće near Zenica, Dabravina, and Breza. Other sites include Založje, Vrtoče, Majdan, Muđići, Šiprage, Oborci, Turbe, Mali Mošunj, Lepenica, Jabuka, Skelani, Prijeđel, Gornji Vakuf, Vrba, Rešetarica, Bare, Lisičići, Crvenica, Gradac, Klobuk, Doci, Borasi, Mokro, Cim, Potoci, Žitomislčići, Mogorjelo, Nerezi, Panik, Dikovača, Cista, Otok, Gala, Biskupija, Solin and Bijaći. See also Džino 2021, pp. 180–181.

23 Basić, Jurković 2011, especially pp. 157–178; Basić 2013, pp. 341–421; Basić 2014; Basić 2015, pp. 432–435, 438–440; Basić 2018a; Basić 2022.

24 As far as we know, the term “pre-Carolingian sculpture” was first introduced into the literature by Marasović 2002.

20 Jakšić 2004, str. 276–285. Vremenski su, prema tome, ti graditeljski i skulptorski zahvati na sjeveru Splitskog poluotoka vrlo, vrlo bliski, gotovo sukladni, vremenu produkcije *Splitske klesarske radionice kasnog VIII. stoljeća* čiji je najvažniji naručitelj splitski nadbiskup Ivan, sudionik Nicejskog koncila iz 787. godine. Šire o sljedbu radionica u Stombratama u Bijaćima: Jakšić, Josipović 2015; Jakšić 2015, str. 241–294.

21 Milošević 2004; Jakšić 2004; Jakšić, Josipović 2015, str. 154; Jakšić

čina vezan s apartnom skulpturom iz unutrašnjosti nekadašnje rimske Dalmacije (Bosna, Hercegovina, Dalmatinska zagora).²² Temeljem prvenstveno komparativnih istraživanja skulpture, A. Milošević je pokazao – vrlo uvjerljivo – da njena kulturna i stilska ishodišta treba tražiti u langobardskom i ranokarolinškom miljeu (s naglaskom na onaj prvi), što ovu skulpturu smješta uglavnom unutar kronoloških međa VIII. stoljeća.

Sudeći po relativnoj kronologiji, obje spomenute crkve – na Poljudu i u Bijaćima – opremljene su reljefima tokom posljednje četvrtine ili na samom kraju VIII. stoljeća. Radionice koje su ih načinile su, međutim, samo vremenski sukladne reljefu s Dobrog, dok su im ansamblu sadržajem, formom i kvalitetom izvedbe bitno različiti. Na koncu, međusobni odnosi tih dviju radionica, kao i njihov položaj spram drugih suvremenih im klesarskih produkcija, ostaju zasada nepoznati. Pritom prije svega mislimo na treću skupinu reljefa koju ovdje valja spomenuti, a to je produkcija *Splitske klesarske radionice kasnog VIII. stoljeća*. Njezin je opus čvrsto vezan uz urbani ambijent Splita, datiran preciznim vremenskim odrednicama (oko 787. godine, odnosno u posljednju četvrtinu VIII. st.) i kontekstualiziran (pokroviteljstvo prvoga splitskog nadbiskupa Ivana iz Ravenne); prilično je jasno i porijeklo te geneza radionice.²³ No, kao i u slučaju prethodnih dviju, reljefne površine ove radionice dosad nisu očitovale ni motive ni kompozicijske sheme koji bi bili usporedivi s reljefom s Dobroga.

Bez obzira kako nazvali taj sloj – “kasnolangobardskom” ili “predkarolinškom” skulpturom²⁴ – očito je da taj i takav novi likovni jezik (samim time i novi stil), nema razaznatljivih korijena na istočnoj jadranskoj obali, te da afirmaciju ovog horizonta skulpture u Dalmaciji treba vidjeti kao refleks izvanjskih činitelja. Njegovu, pak, pojavu moguće je objašnjavati na

this sculptural horizon in Dalmatia should be seen as a reflection of external influences. The emergence of this phenomenon can be interpreted in various ways, particularly the groups of reliefs nearing the end of the 8th century, which can be reasonably construed within the context of prestigious patrons, primarily from ecclesiastical elites, and the major political changes that occurred in Dalmatia between the 8th and 9th centuries.²⁵ However, interpreting the previous sculpture, which would belong to the earlier 8th century, in the same manner poses a greater challenge due to the almost complete lack of historical sources that would shed light on its context.²⁶

The study of this segment of artistic production in Dalmatia, in contrast to Istria, where proximity to the Italian peninsula and a different research tradition sparked interest early, has been more systematically conducted only in recent times. This is primarily driven by debates on stylistic differentiation and chronological stratification of the oldest early medieval sculpture in Zadar and Split.²⁷ In this context, the reasons for the onset of stylistic changes are also examined.

Recently, a relatively large number of individual finds have been documented, and this body continues to grow, alongside an increasing number of complexes, sites, and objects from which these fragments originate. This phenomenon is observed both along the coast and in the hinterland of former Roman Dalmatia, where a substantial corpus of monuments of this profile has been established. While the contextualization of workshops from the late 8th century has progressed significantly and has been satisfactorily resolved, the same cannot be said for earlier reliefs from the same century. The spatial dispersal of these finds, along with their isolated nature and the absence of coherent historical context, continue to impede a comprehensive discussion of this layer. While certain patterns in stylistic evolution and chronological stratification can be discerned for individual monuments or liturgical and architectural ensembles, this analysis remains challenging for the entire group as a whole. Thus, closer identification and definition of recognisable examples of sculptures of this type serve as the foundation for such systematic research. This contribution

2015, str. 243.

- 22 Milošević 2003a; Milošević 2003b. Dominantni motivi koji se u različitim kombinacijama javljaju na gotovo svim tim ulomcima su motivi nizova koncentričnih kružnica, jednoprute ili višeprute trake koje oblikuju pletenice s točkastim ispupčenjem ili križićem u sredini te dvoprute stilizirane vitice s trolisnim završetkom ili križem u sredini. Glavni ukrasi na plutejima su veliki višepnuti križevi sa stiliziranim palmetama ispod vodoravnih hasti i rozetama različita oblika iznad. Neki od tih spomenika su tijekom zrele predromaničke reupotrijebljeni te su im na poledini isklesani novi ukrasi, stilski bitno drugačiji, koji njihove prethodnike jasno odvajaju od razdoblja koje je uslijedilo. Tri najvažnija lokaliteta su Bilimišće kraj Zenice, Dabravina i Breza. Ostali lokaliteti su Založje, Vrtoče, Majdan, Muđići, Šiprage, Oborci, Turbe, Mali Mošunj, Lepenica, Jabuka, Skelani, Prijedel, Gornji Vakuf, Vrba, Rešetarica, Bare, Lisičići, Crvenica, Gradac, Klobuk, Doci, Borasi, Mokro, Cim, Potoci, Žitomislići, Mogorjelo, Nerezi, Panik, Dikovača, Cista, Otok, Gala, Biskupija, Solin i Bijaći. Usp. također Džino 2021, str. 180-181.
- 23 Basić, Jurković 2011, naročito str. 157-178; Basić 2013, str. 341-421; Basić 2014; Basić 2015, str. 432-435, 438-440; Basić 2018a; Basić 2022.
- 24 Koliko nam je poznato, termin “predkarolinška skulptura” u literaturu je prvi uveo Marasović 2002.

25 For more on this context and relevant literature, we refer to the overview in Džino 2021, pp. 152-155. This early, actually the earliest so far identified, artistic layer of early medieval sculpture in Dalmatia has been associated with a large number of reliefs, with individualized workshops mostly operating in episcopal cities along the eastern Adriatic coast and on the islands: Jakšić 2010, p. 18; Jakšić 2014; Jakšić 2015, pp. 103-132; Basić 2013, pp. 341-421; Basić 2014; Basić 2015, 432-440; Basić 2018a; Basić, Jurković 2011; Zornija 2016; Josipović 2014; Josipović 2016; Jurković 2016. On the epigraphic culture in Dalmatian cities at the end of the 8th century, see Basić 2018b.

26 Budak 2018 and Džino 2021, pp. 113-116, systematise the archaeological and historical record of the Dalmatian coast and islands in the 7th and especially 8th centuries.

27 See n. 25.

različite načine, pri čemu su one skupine reljefa što se približavaju samom kraju VIII. stoljeća razložno tumačene u kontekstu prestižnih naručitelja, ponajviše iz crkvenih elita, i velikih političkih promjena koje su zadesile Dalmaciju na razmeđu VIII. i IX. stoljeća.²⁵ Prethodnu skulpturu, koja bi pripadala ranijem VIII. stoljeću, teže je interpretirati na taj način, zbog gotovo posvemašnjeg izostanka povijesnih izvora koji bi osvijetlili njen kontekst.²⁶

Izučavanje toga segmenta umjetničke produkcije u Dalmaciji – nasuprot Istri, gdje je zbog blizine Italskog poluotoka i drugačije istraživačke tradicije rano pobudilo interes – sustavnije se provodi tek u novije vrijeme, potaknuto prije svega raspravama o stilskoj diferencijaciji i kronološkoj stratifikaciji najstarije ranosrednjovjekovne zadarske i splitske skulpture,²⁷ a u tom kontekstu proučavaju se i razlozi nastupu stilskih promjena.

Tako je u posljednje vrijeme evidentiran razmjerno velik broj pojedinačnih nalaza, koji neprestano raste, kao i broj cjelina, lokaliteta i objekata iz kojih ti ulomci potječu. Odnosi se to kako na obalu, tako i na zaleđe nekadašnje rimske Dalmacije, gdje je ustanovljen veoma brojnan korpus spomenika tog profila. I dok je kontekstualizacija radionica s kraja VIII. stoljeća uvelike uznapredovala i zadovoljavajuće riješena, isto se ne može reći za ranije reljefe iz tog vijeka. Prostorna disperziranost tih nalaza, zatim njihova izoliranost i nedostatak suvisloga povijesnog konteksta još uvijek, naime, priječe da se o tom horizontu progovori sintetski: određene pravilnosti u stilskoj evoluciji i kronološkoj stratifikaciji mogu se ustanoviti za svaki spomenik ili liturgijsko-arhitektonsku cjelinu zasebno, ali se to ipak i dalje ne može učiniti za cijelu grupu. Stoga pobliže identificiranje i definiranje raspoznatljivih primjeraka skulpture ove vrste stoji kao osnova takvim sustavnijim istraživanjima, a ovaj prilog predstavlja predradnju budućim obuhvatnijim rezultatima.

U tom su pogledu poticajna razmatranja koja je ponudio britanski arheolog Richard Hodges, promatrajući jadranski bazen u postantičkom razdoblju kao susretište dvaju trgovačko-ekonomskih sustava: bizantskog i langobardskog, dijelom suprotstavljenih, ali ne nužno uzajamno isključivih.

serves as a precursor to future, more comprehensive results.

In this context, noteworthy insights have been provided by the British archaeologist Richard Hodges, who examined the Adriatic basin in the post-Roman period as a meeting point between two commercial-economic systems: Byzantine and Lombard. These were partly opposed, but not necessarily mutually exclusive.

While he labels church furnishings in the early medieval Duchy of Croatia as “Lombard,” a term that could be cautiously accepted only for a small portion, limited chronologically to the very beginning of the 9th century, Hodges also proposes a compelling notion based on diverse archaeological findings. He suggests that the eastern Adriatic ports served as destinations for goods from the flourishing emporia of *Langobardia Major* along the eastern coast of Italy in the 8th century. Among these, Comacchio stood out as the “motor of the regional political economy” before Venice fully assumed that role.²⁸ Hodges highlights the export of North Italian stone sculpture and architectural models to the Adriatic’s opposite coast, linking them to the resurgence of long-distance trade networks and communications serving the social elite. While he defines the lower limit of the “Lombard zone” as south of Split, this is subject to debate. However, identifying various artefacts in Dalmatia as imports from Lombard centres offers promising avenues for research. Cultural exchanges in material culture imply at least a matching amount of mutual exchange in art forms, too, suggesting that the circulation of master sculptors and/or models originating from Lombard artistic circles was as prevalent as the export of pottery, weapons, or jewellery. The sporadic and uneven spread, coupled with insufficient research in stylistic classification and chronological stratification, continues to impede the creation of a comprehensive picture of stone sculpture finds of this profile. However, the “pre-Carolingian” reliefs from Zadar or Split unequivocally indicate the interest of North Italian cultural and artistic centres of the Lombard Kingdom in the market on the opposite coast. The appearance of such reliefs is the result of both supply and demand, as well as a pre-established and functioning trans-Adriatic communication system that connected

25 O tom kontekstu, s najvažnijom literaturom, vidi pregled u: Džino 2021, str. 152-155. Tom ranom – zapravo najranijem dosad konstatiranom – likovnom sloju ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture u Dalmaciji pripisan je velik broj reljefa, a razlučene su i pojedine radionice, raspoređene uglavnom po gradovima-sjedištima biskupija uzduž istočnojadranske obale i na otocima: Jakšić 2010, str. 18; Jakšić 2014; Jakšić 2015, str. 103-132; Basić 2013, str. 341-421; Basić 2014; Basić 2015, 432-440; Basić 2018a; Basić, Jurković 2011; Zornija 2016; Josipović 2014; Josipović 2016; Jurković 2016. O epigrafskoj kulturi u dalmatinskim gradovima potkraj VIII. st. usp. Basić 2018b.

26 Budak 2018 i Džino 2021, str. 113-116, sistematiziraju arheološki i povijesni zapis o dalmatinskom priobalju i otocima u VII. i naročito VIII. st.

27 Vidi bilj. 25.

28 Hodges 2008, pp. 276 (quote), 280; Hodges 2012, pp. 62, 133-134. The author also assumes that the Byzantine trading zone may have extended into present-day northern Albania at the furthest, a proposition difficult to accept considering the long-standing Byzantine political and other presence in coastal Dalmatia until the late 12th century and even in Istria until around 788, supported by historical and archaeological evidence. Although Hodges errs in asserting (very generally) that the archaeology and architecture of Zadar and Nin show that these two cities stood within the Lombard sphere of influence and that the early medieval archaeological picture of the coast north of Corfu is practically unknown, his overall conclusion regarding the trade and communication network originating in Lombard emporia across the Adriatic is undoubtedly correct.

Premda crkveni namještaj u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj Kneževini naziva “langobardskim” – što bi se, i to tek uvjetno, moglo prihvatiti samo za malen njegov dio, vremenski ograničen na sam početak IX. stoljeća – Hodges temeljem raznovrsne arheološke evidencije iznosi vrlo produktivnu misao o istočnojadranskim lukama kao odredištima za proizvode iz tada cvatućih emporija *Langobardiae Maior* uz istočnu obalu Italije VIII. stoljeća, među kojima je Comacchio bio “motor regionalne političke ekonomije” prije nego što je tu ulogu posve preuzela Venecija.²⁸ Primjećuje eksport sjevernoitalske kamene plastike i arhitektonskih modela na suprotnu obalu Jadrana, povezujući ih s obnovom ciklusa trgovine na dugim relacijama i komunikacija stavljenih u službu društvenih elita. Pritom donju granicu “langobardske zone” postavlja južno od Splita, što je diskutabilno, ali već identificiranje artefakata raznih vrsta u Dalmaciji kao uvoza iz langobardskih centara samo po sebi otvara plodonosne istraživačke perspektive. Samim tim, naime, kulturni transferi u materijalnoj kulturi pretpostavljaju u najmanju ruku jednak udio razmjene iskustava i u likovnim vrstama, pa nema razloga pretpostaviti da je cirkulacija majstora-klesara i/ili predložaka poniklih iz langobardskog umjetničkog stvaralaštva bila iole sputanija od, primjerice, izvoza keramike, oružja ili nakita. Sporadična, neujednačena njihova zastupljenost te nedostatna istraženost u stilskom razvrstavanju i kronološkoj stratifikaciji i dalje priječi stvaranje potpunije slike o takvim nalazima kamene plastike, no “predkarolinški” reljefi iz Zadra ili Splita bezuvjetno jesu pokazatelj interesa sjevernoitalskih kulturno-umjetničkih žarišta Langobardskog Kraljevstva za tržištem na sučelnoj obali. Pojava, dakle, takvih reljefa posljedica je, s jedne strane, postojanja ponude i potražnje, dok s druge strane svjedoči o otprije uspostavljenom i funkcionirajućem prekojadranskom komunikacijskom sustavu koji je povezivao gradska naselja Dalmacije s njihovim pandanima na nasuprotnoj obali.

U tom je smislu neveliki reljef s Dobroga u Splitu još jedna od potvrda pretpostavke da je “dalmatinska skulptura 8. stoljeća u svojoj složenosti potpun odraz onovremenih zbivanja u europskoj umjetnosti, posebno u Italiji”.²⁹

urban settlements in Dalmatia with their counterparts on the opposite shore.

In this sense, the small relief from Dobri in Split serves as yet another confirmation of the assumption that “Dalmatian sculpture of the 8th century, in all its complexity, is a complete reflection of contemporary developments in European art, especially in Italy.”²⁹

28 Hodges 2008, str. 276 (odakle potječe i citat), 280; Hodges 2012, str. 62, 133-134. Autor uz to pretpostavlja da je bizantska trgovačka zona tada sezala do današnje sjeverne Albanije, što je teško prihvatiti u svjetlu spoznaja o dugotrajnoj bizantskoj političkoj i inoj nazočnosti u primorskoj Dalmaciji (sporadično sve do kraja XII. st.), čak i u Istri (do otprilike godine 788.), dobro vidljivoj u povijesnom i arheološkom zapisu. Iako Hodges griješi tvrdeći (veoma uopćeno) kako arheologija i arhitektura Zadra i Nina pokazuje da su ova dva grada stajala unutar langobardske utjecajne sfere, kao i da je ranosrednjovjekovna arheološka slika obale sjeverno od Krfa praktički nepoznanica, njegovi su krajnji zaključci o trgovačkoj i komunikacijskoj mreži s ishodištem u langobardskim emporijama na suprotnoj obali Jadrana – nesumnjivo točni.

29 Milošević 2004, str. 255.

29 Milošević 2004, p. 255.

Kratice / Abbreviations

APSAT	Ambiente e Paesaggi dei Siti d'Alta Trentini, Mantova
CSA	Corpus della scultura altomedievale, Spoleto
HAM	Hortus Artium Medievalium, Zagreb – Motovun.
KB	Kulturna baština, Split
RömJbK	Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, Tübingen
SHP	Starohrvatska prosvjeta, Split
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split

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Br.	MJESTO NALAZA I/ ILI ČUVANJA	DATACIJA	LITERATURA
1	Akvileja (Museo Paleocristiano)	početak ili prva polovina VI. st.	Tagliaferri 1981, str. 180, kat. 270-271
2	Ravenna (S. Apollinare Nuovo)	kraj VI. st.	Angiolini Martinelli 1968, str. 82, kat. 139
3	Cividale	kraj VII. – rano VIII. st.	Tagliaferri 1981, str. 220-221, kat. 333; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2001, str. 547, br. 8; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, str. 295; Chinellato 2011, str. 64
4	Villa Santina (Invillino)	početak VIII. st.	Tagliaferri 1981, str. 330-331, kat. 500
5	Stenico (S. Martino in castro)	početak VIII. st.	Schaffran 1941, T. 24c; L'Orange 1974, str. 442; Rasmø 1976, str. 153; Porta 2013, str. 48-49; Beghelli 2020b, str. 225
6	Stenico (S. Martino in castro)	početak VIII. st.	L'Orange 1974, str. 442; Rasmø 1976, str. 153; Beghelli 2020b, str. 219
7	Ventimiglia (katedrala)	početak VIII. st.	Beghelli 2020b, str. 215
8	Sanremo (S. Siro)	početak VIII. st.	Beghelli 2020b, str. 218
9	Chiusi (S. Mustiola)	druga četvrtina VIII. st. (oko 729. – 730.)	Ciampoltrini 1991, str. 43-45; Ciampoltrini 2020, str. 88-89
10	Pavia (S. Michele alla Pusterla)	rano VIII. st. (oko 735. – 750.)	L'Orange 1974, str. 442; Ricci 1990a
11	Pavia (S. Maria alle Pertiche)	oko 740. – 750.	Panazza 1953, str. 265, kat. 77; L'Orange 1974, str. 442; Zatti 2017, str. 523
12	Maniago (Pordenone)	prva polovina VIII. st.	Gaberscek 1977, str. 43; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, str. 297
13	Cividale (S. Maria Assunta)	prva polovina VIII. st.	Tagliaferri 1981, str. 232-233, kat. 347
14	Bolsena (S. Cristina)	prva polovina VIII. st.	Scortecchi 2003, str. 56-63, kat. 10c
15	Borgo San Dalmazzo (Torino)	prva polovina VIII. st.	Casartelli Novelli 1974, str. 73, kat. 14
16	Bobbio (opatiija sv. Kolumbana), nadgrobna ploča biskupa Kumijana	prva polovina VIII. st. (oko 736. – 744.)	L'Orange 1974, str. 442; Destefanis 2003, str. 401-404; Destefanis 2008, str. 108-121, kat. 9
17	Bobbio (opatiija sv. Kolumbana)	polovina VIII. st.	Destefanis 2003, str. 405; Destefanis 2008, str. 121-128, kat. 10-13
18	Spoletø (katedrala)	VIII. – IX. st.	Serra 1961, str. 51-52, kat. 65
19	Osimo	VIII. st.	Chisalberti 1990a; Betti 2007, str. 50
20	Modena (katedrala)	VIII. st.	Trovabene 1984, str. 74-75, kat. 57; Ricci 1990b
21	Tremosine (S. Giovanni)	VIII. st.	Panazza, Tagliaferri 1966, str. 188, kat. 236
22	Badia di Cantignano kod Lucce (S. Bartolomeo)	VIII. st.	Belli Barsali 1959, str. 20-21, kat. 3
23	Gubbio	VIII. st.	Betti 2007, str. 53
24	Tuscania (S. Pietro)	VIII. st.	Raspi Serra 1974, str. 264-265, kat. 372
25	L'Aquila (S. Giustino a Paganica)	VIII. st.	Betti 2007, str. 56
26	Vicenza (katedrala)	VIII. st.	Napione 2001, str. 232-233, kat. 133-134
27	Brescia (S. Afra)	VIII. st.	Panazza, Tagliaferri 1966, str. 25-26, kat. 5
28	Brescia (S. Salvatore)	VIII. st.	Panazza, Tagliaferri 1966, str. 111-115, kat. 130-138; Goodson 2017, str. 372
29	Milano (S. Maria d'Aurona)	sredina VIII. st.	Kautzsch 1941, str. 20-21; Cassanelli 2017, str. 121
30	Pavia (Sant' Agata in Monte)	sredina VIII. st.	Panazza 1953, str. 263, br. 75, T. CXI; Scardigli 1990
31	Ferrara (Voghenza)	sredina VIII. st. (oko 749. – 764.)	Porta 2009, str. 426
32	Cividale, Kalikstov ciborij	737. – 756.	Tagliaferri 1981, str. 210-214, kat. 315-317, 319, 321; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2001, str. 553-556, br. 19; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, str. 297-298; Vežić, Lončar 2009, str. 232-239; Chinellato 2011, str. 61
33	Cividale, Kalikstov ciborij	737. – 756.	Tagliaferri 1981, str. 214, kat. 322; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, str. 297-298
34	Cividale (Rualis)	sredina VIII. st.	Tagliaferri 1981, str. 274-275, kat. 410; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2001, str. 556-557, br. 20; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, str. 297
35	Cividale	sredina VIII. st.	Tagliaferri 1981, str. 275, kat. 411; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2001, str. 558-559, № 23; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, str. 297
36	Akvileja	sredina VIII. st.	Gaberscek 1977, str. 41; Tagliaferri 1981, str. 181-182, kat. 273; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, str. 300
37	Cividale (S. Maria in Valle)	druga polovina VIII. st. (oko 756. – 786.)	L'Orange 1974, str. 441-442; Tagliaferri 1981, str. 251-252, kat. 375; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2001, str. 569-570, br. 42a-b; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, str. 305
38	Cividale (S. Maria in Valle)	druga polovina ili treća četvrtina VIII. st.	L'Orange 1974, str. 441-442; Gaberscek 1977, str. 47; Tagliaferri 1981, str. 244-246, kat. 364; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2001, str. 564-565, br. 32; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, str. 301; Chinellato 2011, str. 62
39	Rim (S. Prassede)	druga polovina VIII. st.	Pani Ermini 1974, str. 142-143, kat. 92; Chisalberti 1990b
40	Colognola ai Colli (Verona)	treća četvrtina VIII. st.	Coden 2017, str. 72-73, 75
41	Novigrad Istarski (katedrala sv. Pelagija)	posljednja četvrtina VIII. st.	Vežić, Lončar 2009, str. 181-202, 259-260; Matejčić, Mustač 2014, str. 162-168, kat. 49 (M. Jurković); Matejčić 2018, str. 44-52, kat. 20

Br.	MJESTO NALAZA I/ILI ČUVANJA	DATACIJA	LITERATURA
42	Alba (SS. Frontiniano e Cassiano)	posljednja četvrtina VIII. st.	Beghelli 2020a, str. 305
43	Torino	posljednja četvrtina VIII. st.	Beghelli 2020a, str. 305
44	Marseille (La Major)	posljednja četvrtina VIII. st.	Beghelli 2020a, str. 305
45	Venecija (Torcello)	kraj VIII. st.	Polacco 1976, str. 46; Basić 2014, str. 31; Basić 2022
46	Taizzano (S. Martino)	kraj VIII. st.	Bertelli 1985, str. 193-198, kat. 103
47	Bagnacavallo (S. Pietro in Sylvis)	kraj VIII. – početak IX. st. (oko 782. – 827.)	Kautzsch 1941, str. 27; Ibsen 2007, str. 156; Novara 2019
48	Brescia (S. Salvatore)	kraj VIII. – početak IX. st.	Panazza, Tagliaferri 1966, str. 83-84, kat. 91; Betti 2007, str. 54
49	Rim (S. Maria in Aracoeli)	kraj VIII. – početak IX. st.	Pani Ermini 1974, str. 91-92, kat. 40
50	Bovino (katedrala sv. Marije)	kraj VIII. – početak IX. st.	Bertelli 2002, str. 183-184, kat. 181
51	Modena, katedrala	kraj VIII. st. ili IX. st.	Trovabene 1984, str. 118-119, kat. 87
52	Pisa (katedrala)	VIII. – IX. st.	Testi Cristiani 2011, str. 80, kat. 9
53	Lucca, Museo nazionale	VIII. – IX. st.	Belli Barsali 1959, str. 40, kat. 36
54	Orte (Alto Lazio)	VIII. – IX. st.	Raspi Serra 1974, str. 185, kat. 228
55	Vicenza (katedrala)	početak IX. st.	Napione 2001, str. 230-232, kat. 130
56	Otricoli (S. Maria Assunta)	početak IX. st.	Bertelli 1985, str. 228-230, kat. 132b
57	Rim (S. Prassede)	817. – 824.	Pani Ermini 1974, str. 143-144, kat. 93
58	Ferentino (SS. Giovanni e Paolo)	prva četvrtina IX. st.	Ramieri 1983, str. 35-37, kat. 1
59	Ponzano Romano (S. Andrea in Flumine)	prva polovina IX. st.	Raspi Serra 1974, str. 99-100, kat. 108
60	Leprignano [Capena] (S. Leone)	prva polovina IX. st.	Raspi Serra 1974, str. 156-157, kat. 181
61	Leprignano [Capena] (S. Leone)	prva polovina IX. st.	Raspi Serra 1974, str. 158, kat. 183
62	Rim (S. Sabina)	prva polovina IX. st. (oko 824. – 827.)	Trinci Cecchelli 1976, str. 209-210, kat. 241
63	Rim (S. Sabina)	prva polovina IX. st. (oko 824. – 827.)	Trinci Cecchelli 1976, str. 214-215, kat. 245
64	Rim (S. Saba)	prva polovina IX. st.	Trinci Cecchelli 1976, str. 128-129, kat. 95
65	Tuscania (S. Pietro)	847. – 855.	Raspi Serra 1974, str. 272, kat. 384
66	Rim (Museo dell'Alto Medioevo)	druga četvrtina - polovina IX. st.	Melucco Vacaro, Paroli 1995, str. 76-77, kat. 2
67	Rim (Museo dell'Alto Medioevo)	sredina IX. st.	Melucco Vacaro, Paroli 1995, str. 190-191, kat. 117
68	Brescia (S. Salvatore)	IX. st.	Panazza, Tagliaferri 1966, str. 57, kat. 41
69	Brescia (S. Salvatore)	IX. st.	Panazza, Tagliaferri 1966, str. 84-85, kat. 92
70	Modena, katedrala	IX. st.	Trovabene 1984, str. 94-95, kat. 70 i str. 96, kat. 71
71	Terni (S. Valentino)	IX. st.	Serra 1961, str. 105, kat. 154
72	Venecija (Murano)	IX. st.	Vecchi 1995, str. 105, kat. 154

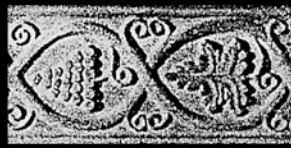
№	SITE OF THE FIND AND/OR HOLDING INSTITUTION	DATING	SOURCES
1	Aquileia (Museo Paleocristiano)	beginning or first half of 6th c.	Tagliaferri 1981, p. 180, cat. 270-271
2	Ravenna (S. Apollinare Nuovo)	end of 6th c.	Angiolini Martinelli 1968, p. 82, cat. 139
3	Cividale	end of 7th – early 8th c.	Tagliaferri 1981, pp. 220-221, cat. 333; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2001, p. 547, № 8; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, p. 295; Chinellato 2011, p. 64
4	Villa Santina (Invillino)	beginning of 8th c.	Tagliaferri 1981, pp. 330-331, cat. 500
5	Stenico (S. Martino in castro)	beginning of 7th c.	Schaffran 1941, T. 24c; L'Orange 1974, p. 442; Rasmus 1976, p. 153; Porta 2013, pp. 48-49; Beghelli 2020b, p. 225
6	Stenico (S. Martino in castro)	beginning of 8th c.	L'Orange 1974, p. 442; Rasmus 1976, p. 153; Beghelli 2020b, p. 219
7	Ventimiglia (cathedral)	beginning of 8th c.	Beghelli 2020b, p. 215
8	Sanremo (S. Siro)	beginning of 8th c.	Beghelli 2020b, p. 218
9	Chiusi (S. Mustiola)	second quarter of 8th c. (ca. 729 – 730)	Ciampoltrini 1991, pp. 43-45; Ciampoltrini 2020, pp. 88-89
10	Pavia (S. Michele alla Pusterla)	early 8th c. (ca. 735 – 750)	L'Orange 1974, p. 442; Ricci 1990a
11	Pavia (S. Maria alle Pertiche)	ca. 740 – 750	Panazza 1953, p. 265, cat. 77; L'Orange 1974, p. 442; Zatti 2017, p. 523
12	Maniago (Pordenone)	first half of 8th c.	Gaberscek 1977, p. 43; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, p. 297
13	Cividale (S. Maria Assunta)	first half of 8th c.	Tagliaferri 1981, pp. 232-233, cat. 347
14	Bolsena (S. Cristina)	first half of 8th c.	Scortecci 2003, pp. 56-63, cat. 10c
15	Borgo San Dalmazzo (Turin)	first half of 8th c.	Casartelli Novelli 1974, p. 73, cat. 14
16	Bobbio (Abbey of St. Columbanus), tombstone of bishop Cumianus	first half of 8th c. (ca. 736 – 744)	L'Orange 1974, p. 442; Destefanis 2003, pp. 401-404; Destefanis 2008, pp. 108-121, cat. 9
17	Bobbio (Abbey of St. Columbanus)	mid-8th c.	Destefanis 2003, p. 405; Destefanis 2008, pp. 121-128, cat. 10-13
18	Spoletto (cathedral)	8th – 9th c.	Serra 1961, pp. 51-52, cat. 65
19	Osimo	8th c.	Chisalberti 1990a; Betti 2007, p. 50
20	Modena (cathedral)	8th c.	Trovabene 1984, pp. 74-75, cat. 57; Ricci 1990b
21	Tremosine (S. Giovanni)	8th c.	Panazza, Tagliaferri 1966, p. 188, cat. 236
22	Badia di Cantignano near Lucca (S. Bartolomeo)	8th c.	Belli Barsali 1959, pp. 20-21, cat. 3
23	Gubbio	8th c.	Betti 2007, p. 53
24	Tuscania (S. Pietro)	8th c.	Raspi Serra 1974, pp. 264-265, cat. 372
25	L'Aquila (S. Giustino a Paganica)	8th c.	Betti 2007, p. 56
26	Vicenza (cathedral)	8th c.	Napione 2001, pp. 232-233, cat. 133-134
27	Brescia (S. Afra)	8th c.	Panazza, Tagliaferri 1966, pp. 25-26, cat. 5
28	Brescia (S. Salvatore)	8th c.	Panazza, Tagliaferri 1966, pp. 111-115, cat. 130-138; Goodson 2017, p. 372
29	Milan (S. Maria d'Aurona)	mid – 8th c.	Kautzsch 1941, pp. 20-21; Cassanelli 2017, p. 121
30	Pavia (Sant' Agata in Monte)	mid – 8th c.	Panazza 1953, p. 263, № 75, T. CXI; Scardigli 1990
31	Ferrara (Voghenza)	mid – 8th c. (ca. 749 – 764)	Porta 2009, p. 426
32	Cividale, ciborium of Calixtus	737 – 756	Tagliaferri 1981, pp. 210-214, cat. 315-317, 319, 321; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2001, pp. 553-556, № 19; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, pp. 297-298; Vežić, Lončar 2009, pp. 232-239; Chinellato 2011, p. 61
33	Cividale, ciborium of Calixtus	737 – 756	Tagliaferri 1981, p. 214, cat. 322; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, pp. 297-298
34	Cividale (Rualis)	mid – 8th c.	Tagliaferri 1981, pp. 274-275, cat. 410; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2001, pp. 556-557, № 20; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, p. 297
35	Cividale	mid – 8th c.	Tagliaferri 1981, p. 275, cat. 411; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2001, pp. 558-559, № 23; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, p. 297
36	Aquileia	mid – 8th c.	Gaberscek 1977, p. 41; Tagliaferri 1981, pp. 181-182, cat. 273; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, p. 300
37	Cividale (S. Maria in Valle)	second half of 8th c. (ca. 756 – 786)	L'Orange 1974, pp. 441-442; Tagliaferri 1981, pp. 251-252, cat. 375; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2001, pp. 569-570, № 42a-b; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, p. 305
38	Cividale (S. Maria in Valle)	second half or third quarter of 8th c.	L'Orange 1974, pp. 441-442; Gaberscek 1977, p. 47; Tagliaferri 1981, pp. 244-246, cat. 364; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2001, pp. 564-565, № 32; Lusuardi Siena, Piva 2002, p. 301; Chinellato 2011, p. 62
39	Rome (S. Prassede)	second half of 8th c.	Pani Ermini 1974, pp. 142-143, cat. 92; Ghisalberti 1990b

№	SITE OF THE FIND AND/OR HOLDING INSTITUTION	DATING	SOURCES
40	Colognola ai Colli (Verona)	third quarter of 8th c.	Coden 2017, pp. 72-73, 75
41	Novigrad, Istria (cathedral of St. Pelagius)	last quarter of 8th c.	Vežić, Lončar 2009, pp. 181-202, 259-260; Matejčić, Mustač 2014, pp. 162-168, cat. 49 (M. Jurković); Matejčić 2018, pp. 44-52, cat. 20.
42	Alba (SS. Frontiniano e Cassiano)	last quarter of 8th c.	Beghelli 2020a, p. 305
43	Turin	last quarter of 8th c.	Beghelli 2020a, p. 305
44	Marseille (La Major)	last quarter of 8th c.	Beghelli 2020a, p. 305
45	Venice (Torcello)	end of 8th c.	Polacco 1976, p. 46; Basić 2014, p. 31; Basić 2022
46	Taizzano (S. Martino)	end of 8th c.	Bertelli 1985, pp. 193-198, cat. 103
47	Bagnacavallo (S. Pietro in Sylvis)	end of 8th – beginning of 9th c. (ca. 782-827)	Kautzsch 1941, p. 27; Ibsen 2007, p. 156; Novara 2019
48	Brescia (S. Salvatore)	end of 8th – beginning of 9th c.	Panazza, Tagliaferri 1966, pp. 83-84, cat. 91; Betti 2007, p. 54
49	Rome (S. Maria in Aracoeli)	end of 8th – beginning of 9th c.	Pani Ermini 1974, pp. 91-92, cat. 40
50	Bovino (cathedral of St. Mary)	end of 8th – beginning of 9th c.	Bertelli 2002, pp. 183-184, cat. 181
51	Modena, cathedral	end of 8th or 9th c.	Trovabene 1984, pp. 118-119, cat. 87
52	Pisa (cathedral)	8th – 9th c.	Testi Cristiani 2011, p. 80, cat. 9
53	Lucca, Museo nazionale	8th – 9th c.	Belli Barsali 1959, p. 40, cat. 36
54	Orte (Alto Lazio)	8th – 9th c.	Raspi Serra 1974, p. 185, cat. 228
55	Vicenza (cathedral)	beginning of 9th c.	Napione 2001, pp. 230-232, cat. 130
56	Otricoli (S. Maria Assunta)	beginning of 9th c.	Bertelli 1985, pp. 228-230, cat. 132b
57	Rome (S. Prassede)	817 – 824	Pani Ermini 1974, pp. 143-144, cat. 93
58	Ferentino (SS. Giovanni e Paolo)	first quarter of 9th c.	Ramieri 1983, pp. 35-37, cat. 1
59	Ponzano Romano (S. Andrea in Flumine)	first half of 9th c.	Raspi Serra 1974, pp. 99-100, cat. 108
60	Leprignano [Capena] (S. Leone)	first half of 9th c.	Raspi Serra 1974, pp. 156-157, cat. 181
61	Leprignano [Capena] (S. Leone)	first half of 9th c.	Raspi Serra 1974, p. 158, cat. 183
62	Rome (S. Sabina)	first half of 9th c. (ca. 824 – 827)	Trinci Cecchelli 1976, pp. 209-210, cat. 241
63	Rome (S. Sabina)	first half of 9th c. (ca. 824 – 827)	Trinci Cecchelli 1976, pp. 214-215, cat. 245
64	Rome (S. Saba)	first half of 9th c.	Trinci Cecchelli 1976, pp. 128-129, cat. 95
65	Tuscany (S. Pietro)	847-855	Raspi Serra 1974, p. 272, cat. 384
66	Rome (Museo dell'Alto Medioevo)	second quarter – mid-9th c.	Melucco Vacaro, Paroli 1995, pp. 76-77, cat. 2
67	Rome (Museo dell'Alto Medioevo)	mid-9th c.	Melucco Vacaro, Paroli 1995, pp. 190-191, cat. 117
68	Brescia (S. Salvatore)	9th c.	Panazza, Tagliaferri 1966, p. 57, cat. 41
69	Brescia (S. Salvatore)	9th c.	Panazza, Tagliaferri 1966, pp. 84-85, cat. 92
70	Modena, cathedral	9th c.	Trovabene 1984, pp. 94-95, cat. 70 and p. 96, cat. 71
71	Terni (S. Valentino)	9th c.	Serra 1961, p. 105, cat. 154
72	Venice (Murano)	9th c.	Vecchi 1995, p. 105, cat. 154
73	Rome (Museo dell'Alto Medioevo)	10th c. (?)	Kautzsch 1939, p. 72; Melucco Vacaro, Paroli 1995, pp. 293-299, cat. 229; Antonelli 2010, p. 214 and note 52 establishes the provenance from the church of S. Maria a Brecciano (Montorio al Vomano, Teramo, Abruzzo) and dates the fragment to the second half of the 8th c.

Tabla 1



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9a



9b



10a



10b



11



12



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22



23



24



25

Tabla 2



26



27



28a



28b



29



30



31



32a



32b



33



34



35



36



37



38



39



40



41a



41b



41c



42



43



44



45



46



47



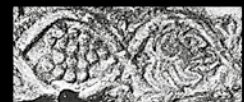
48



49



50



51

Tabla 3



52



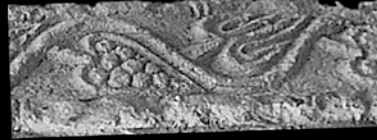
53a



53b



54



55



56



57



58



59



60



61



62



63



64



65



66



67



68



69



70



71



72



73



74

