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Bilješke o ranim predromaničkim klesarskim radionicama u sjevernoj i srednjoj Dalmaciji

Rad je posvećen ranim predromaničkim klesarskim radionicama u sjevernoj i srednjoj Dalmaciji. Na tom području, koje je većinom pripadalo naseobinskom prostoru Hrvata i na kojem je u prvoj polovini 9. stoljeća formirana Hrvatska Kneževina, klesarstvo se razvijalo prvenstveno zahvaljujući radioničkom kontinuitetu u dalmatinskim bizantskim gradovima. U radu su iznesene okvirne spoznaje o radionicama u Zadru, Trogiru i Splitu te o zastupljenosti njihovih djela i na hrvatskom teritoriju. Nadalje, ukazano je na značenje gradskih klesarskih radionica u formiranju dviju novih, vrlo kvalitetnih radionica koje su djelovale na hrvatskom teritoriju. Uz oslanjanje na dosadašnje spoznaje iz literature, iznesena su i nova razmišljanja o nekoliko značajnih spomenika upitne radioničke pripadnosti.

Ključne riječi: *predromaničke klesarske radionice, sjeverna i srednja Dalmacija, bizantski gradovi, 8. i 9. stoljeće.*

Notes on the early pre-Romanesque stonemason workshops in northern and central Dalmatia

This study examines the early pre-Romanesque stonemason workshops in northern and central Dalmatia. Within this region, largely corresponding to the settlement territory of the Croats and the area in which the Croatian Principality was established during the first half of the 9th century, stonemasonry developed primarily through the continuity of workshop traditions maintained in the Byzantine cities of Dalmatia. The paper provides an overview of current knowledge about the workshops of Zadar, Trogir and Split, together with an analysis of the distribution of their craftworks across Croatian territory. It further highlights the significance of urban stonemason workshops in the emergence of two highly accomplished new workshops that were active predominantly within Croatian territory. Building upon existing findings in the literature, the study further proposes new interpretations concerning several important monuments whose workshop attribution has hitherto remained uncertain.

Keywords: *pre-Romanesque stonemason workshops, northern and central Dalmatia, Byzantine cities, 8th and 9th centuries*

Početci stvaranja ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture u Dalmaciji s pravom se vežu za obalne gradove i kontinuitet rada kasnoantičkih klesarskih radionica.[1] Utjecaj antičke baštine i kontinuitet klesarstva, ostvaren prenošenjem znanja i vještina, nisu specifičnost samo Dalmacije u ranom srednjem vijeku nego opća pojava, kako u Italiji i zapadnim područjima nekadašnjeg Rimskog Carstva tako i unutar Bizanta. Kao primjer vrlo ranog razvoja skulpture, već u 7. stoljeću, može poslužiti krajnji zapad Mediterana, odnosno Pirenejski poluotok, gdje je vidljiv kontinuitet i velika uloga kasnoantičkih radionica. Ondje se pod vlašću Vizigota razvija nova kićena crkvena skulptura, uglavnom datirana u 7. stoljeće, što već ulazi u vremenski okvir ranog srednjeg vijeka.[2] Tu je vizigotskodobnu skulpturu omogućio kontinuitet antičkog klesarstva i ranijih tradicija, a majstori klesari, jednako kao i graditelji novih crkava, vjerojatno su većinom bili starosjedilačkog podrijetla. U langobardskoj Italiji, kao i u Dalmaciji i Istri, prati se isti načelni utjecaj kasnoantičke skulpture i klesarskih radionica na ranosrednjovjekovnu produkciju. Kasnoantički utjecaji bili su prisutni u ranosrednjovjekovnoj umjetnosti općenito, a posebno su vidljivi u skulpturi, koja je bila posvuda prisutna te je stoga najbolje poznata i proučena. Važnost kasnoantičkih predložaka istaknuta je u brojnim radovima, a uočava se i prostorna određenost razvoja ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture u područjima s bogatim prethodnim klesarskim tradicijama. Tako se umjetnost kod Langobarda u prvoj polovini 8. stoljeća ne razvija samo zbog jačanja langobardske države, nego zahvaljujući postojanju kontinuirane umjetničke djelatnosti u sjevernoj Italiji, koja je pretežno kasnoantičkog podrijetla. Područja u kojima dolazi do procvata umjetnosti dijelovi su nekadašnjeg Zapadnog Rimskog Carstva

[1] O utjecajima antičke baštine na ranosrednjovjekovnu skulpturu u Dalmaciji pisao je don Frane Bulić razvijajući misao o kontinuitetu između kasne antike i ranog srednjeg vijeka. U novijoj literaturi, koja na temelju niza novih spoznaja razrađuje tu ideju, posebno se ističe iscrpan doprinos Željka Rapanića. On je sustavno proučavao razdoblje prijelaza između antike i srednjeg vijeka i kontinuitet klesarskih radionica u obalnim gradovima te je, na temelju spomeničke građe, precizno utvrdio prijenos kasnoantičke baštine i njezin utjecaj na genezu predromanike. Usp. Bulić 1888, str. 17; Rapanić 1987, str. 74–138.

[2] Pregled graditeljstva i skulpture prije i u vrijeme vizigotske dominacije usp. u Schlunk, Hauschild 1978, *passim*.

The origins of early medieval sculpture in Dalmatia are rightly associated with the coastal cities and the continuity of late antique stonemason workshops.[1] The influence of the ancient heritage and the continuity of stonemasonry through the transfer of technical knowledge and skills is not a phenomenon unique only to Dalmatia in the early medieval period, but a broader pattern observable across Italy, the western provinces of the former Roman Empire and Byzantium. Taking as an example the very early development of sculpture, already in the 7th century, in the far western Mediterranean region, on the Iberian Peninsula, the major role and continuity of late antique workshops is clearly apparent. Under Visigothic rule, a distinctive and richly ornamented ecclesiastical sculpture emerged there, predominantly dated to the 7th century and thus already within the chronological framework of the Early Middle Ages.[2] This sculpture of the Visigothic period was made possible by the continuity of ancient stonemasonry and earlier traditions; and the masters and craftsmen, like the builders of new churches, were in all likelihood drawn in considerable numbers from the indigenous population. A comparable situation is evident in Lombard Italy, as well as in Dalmatia and Istria, where the pervasive influence of late antique sculpture and stonemason workshops on early medieval production can likewise be observed. Late antique influences were widely present in early medieval art in general, and particularly evident in the field of sculpture, since stone sculpture is ubiquitous and accordingly the best known and most thoroughly studied one. The importance of late antique models has been emphasised in numerous studies, as has the spatial dimension of this

[1] Don Frane Bulić wrote about the influence of the ancient heritage on early medieval sculpture in Dalmatia and developed the concept of continuity between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. In more recent literature, which elaborates this concept on the basis of a range of new insights, the most comprehensive contribution is that of Željko Rapanić, who systematically studied the transitional period between Antiquity and the Middle Ages and the continuity of stonemason workshops in the coastal cities, thereby establishing, on the basis of archaeological evidence, the precise transmission of late antique heritage and its influence in the genesis of pre-Romanesque art. Cf. Bulić 1888, p. 17; Rapanić 1987, pp. 74–138.

[2] For an overview of architecture and sculpture before and during the period of Visigothic dominance, cf. Schlunk, Hauschild 1978, *passim*.

i Bizanta.[3] Po tom načelu Dalmacija bi mogla zauzimati izuzetno važno mjesto s obzirom na svoju dugu opstojnost kao dijela antičkog svijeta, sve do u prvu polovinu 7. stoljeća,[4] te zbog vrlo intenzivne klesarske djelatnosti i velikog broja spomenika crkvenog namještaja iz kasnije faze salonitanske produkcije, iz druge polovine 6. i prvih desetljeća 7. stoljeća.[5] Mnogo duže nego na Pirenejskom poluotoku i u sjevernoj Italiji, u Dalmaciji su se zadržale kasnoantička administracija i organizacija života. U njoj su se prožimali i italski i ranobizantski utjecaji, a kontinuitet kasnoantičkih klesarskih radionica bio je vrlo izražen. Konačnim prestankom postojanja antičke provincije i padom njezina glavnog grada, Salone, život se umnogome nastavlja uz neophodne prilagodbe novim okolnostima, što uključuje i odabir novog centra umjesto Salone. Drugi važni gradovi, primjerice Iader, Tragurium, Arba i Curicum, nisu napušteni, nego se u njima život kontinuirano nastavlja, a i klesarska djelatnost ostavila je vidne tragove, o čemu svjedoče brojni spomenici u tim gradovima i njihovoj okolici. Riječ je o djelima tzv. prijelaznog doba, nastalim tijekom 7., 8. i

[3] Casartelli Novelli 1978, str. 11–22; Johannson-Meery 1993, str. 18–19. Razvoj skulpture tijekom prve polovine 8. stoljeća bio je osobito izražen u sjevernoj Italiji pod vlašću Langobarda. Uz značajne kasnoantičke utjecaje na području same Italije, razvoj skulpture u literaturi se povezivao i s prijenosom umjetničkih tradicija s Pirenejskog poluotoka. U svojem posebno utjecajnom članku S. Casartelli Novelli iznijela je mišljenje da su nakon prodora Arapa 711. godine vizigotski majstori izbjegli prema zapadu, osobito u langobardsku Italiju, gdje su utjecali na razvoj skulpture. Kasnije je ta misao napuštena jer nema nikakvih podataka o kretanju umjetnika iz Španjolske prema zapadu, a ni arapska vlast nije bila toliko destruktivna da bi sprječavala rad majstora klesara. Čini se da su Arapi bili tolerantni te da se, uz priznavanje njihove vlasti, život nesmetano nastavio odvijati u nekadašnjim oblicima. Čak se i datacije izgradnje crkava, od kojih su neke nesigurno datirane u razdoblje prije 711. godine, pomiču u kasnije vrijeme. Navedena teorija, unatoč svojim slabostima, ukazuje na značenje kasnoantičkog horizonta na čijim se osnovama razvija najranija srednjovjekovna umjetnost.

[4] Tek s padom Salone, koji se u suvremenoj literaturi datira u početak četvrtog desetljeća 7. stoljeća, može se govoriti o kraju kasnoantičkog razdoblja u Dalmaciji. Usp. Marović 1984, str. 293–314. O obrambenom sustavu Salone, nizu utvrda u zaleđu grada i općenito o problematici pada Salone vidi Katić 2018, str. 245–279.

[5] Jarak 2023, str. 117–138.

phenomenon—namely, the development of early medieval sculpture in regions with rich and well-established earlier stonemason traditions. Thus, the flourishing of Lombard art in the first half of the 9th century was not solely a consequence of the political consolidation of the Lombard state, but also of the uninterrupted continuation of artistic activity in northern Italy, which was fundamentally rooted in late antique practice. The regions in which art flourished were located within territories that had formed part of the Western Roman Empire or Byzantium.[3] By this principle, Dalmatia might occupy an exceptionally prominent position, given its enduring existence as part of the ancient world well into the first half of the 7th century.[4] This is further underscored by the very intensive stonemason activity and the large number of monuments of church furnishing from the later phase of Salonitan production, dating to the second half of the 6th and the first decades of the 7th century.[5] Far longer than in the Iberian Peninsula and northern Italy, late antique administration and social organisation persisted in

[3] Casartelli Novelli 1978, pp. 11–22; Johannson-Meery 1993, pp. 18–19. The development of sculpture during the first half of the 8th century was particularly pronounced in northern Italy under Lombard rule. Alongside the significant late antique influences present in Italy itself, the development of sculpture has been linked in literature to the transfer of artistic traditions from the Iberian Peninsula. In a particularly influential article, S. Casartelli Novelli argued that following the Arab conquest of 711, Visigothic craftsmen fled westward, especially to Lombard Italy, where they influenced local sculptural development. This thesis was subsequently abandoned, as there is no evidence for the movement of artists from Spain towards the west, nor were the Arab authorities so destructive as to prevent the continuation of the work of masters and stonemasons. It appears that the Arabs were relatively tolerant and that, provided their authority was acknowledged, life continued largely in its established forms. Even the datings of church construction, some of which had been tentatively placed before 711, have been revised to later periods. This theory, despite all its shortcomings, points to the significance of the late antique horizon, upon whose foundations the earliest medieval art developed.

[4] Only with the fall of Salona, dated in modern literature to the beginning of the fourth decade of the 7th century, can one speak of the end of the late antique period in Dalmatia. Cf. Marović 1984, pp. 293–314. On the defensive system of Salona, the chain of fortifications in its hinterland, and the broader problem of the city's fall, cf. Katić 2018, pp. 245–279.

[5] Jarak 2023, pp. 117–138.

ranijeg dijela 9. stoljeća, koja imaju veliko značenje unutar ukupnog korpusa istočnojadranske ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture. Spomenuti gradovi i otoci bili su dio bizantske Dalmacije, provincije koja je povezivala središnje dijelove Carstva s bizantskim područjima u Italiji. Najvažnija bizantska luka na istočnom Jadranu u kasnoj je antici bila Salona, a u ranom srednjem vijeku taj položaj preuzima Zadar, ujedno i glavni grad bizantske arhontije i teme Dalmacije. U razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku najvažnija luka postat će Dubrovnik, uz Veneciju na zapadnoj obali Jadrana.[6] Iako je u svim bizantskim gradovima i na sjevernojadranskim otocima bila razvijena klesarska djelatnost, posebno značenje u odnosu na hrvatsko zaleđe imali su obalni gradovi u sjevernoj i srednjoj Dalmaciji – Zadar, Trogir i Split. U njima su u posljednjim desetljećima 8. i u prvoj polovini 9. stoljeća djelovale vrlo važne klesarske radionice koje stoje na početku razvoja ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture na čitavom prostoru sjeverne i srednje Dalmacije.

Rane predromaničke radionice u Zadru, Trogiru i Splitu

U bizantskim gradovima sjeverne i srednje Dalmacije klesarske radionice bile su utemeljene na ranijim, antičkim tradicijama, a skulptura koju su izrađivale bila je namijenjena brojnim crkvama, kako u samim gradovima tako i izvan njih. Takav je bio slučaj sa zadarskom i trogirskom radionicom, dok je splitska imala ograničeniji opseg djelovanja. Literatura o tim radionicama vrlo je opsežna, a mnogi su detalji dobro proučeni, pa je ovaj osvrt ograničen na sažet prikaz nekih obilježja rane predromaničke skulpture u navedenim gradovima i na njezinu disperziju na hrvatskom teritoriju u zaleđu.[7]

[6] O bizantskim plovidbenim putovima na istočnom Jadranu, lukama i utvrdama koje su ga nadzirale pisali su brojni autori, među kojima su u posljednjim desetljećima primjerice Zdenko Brusić, Miljenko Domijan, Zlatko Gunjača, Željko Tomičić, Irena Radić Rossi i Tomislav Fabijanić. Načelno o najvažnijim bizantskim lukama od kasne antike do 15. stoljeća usp. Aidoni *et al.* 1998, str. 9–18.

[7] Iz opsežne literature ovdje su izdvojena samo odabrana novija djela. Za Zadar i zadarsko područje vrlo dobar pregled daje N. Jakšić (usp. Jakšić, Hilje 2008). O trogirskoj ranosrednjovjekovnoj skulpturi usp. Burić 1982, str. 127–160; Jakšić 2004, str. 265–286; Jakšić 2015, str. 241–266. O ranoj splitskoj predromaničkoj skulpturi usp. Rapanić 1987, str. 115–121; Basić, Jurković 2011, str. 149–178; Piteša 2012, *passim*.

Dalmatia, where both Italic and early Byzantine influences intertwined, and the continuity of late antique stonemason workshops remained particularly pronounced. With the ultimate cessation of the ancient province and the fall of the capital Salona, life mostly continued, albeit with the necessary adaptations to new circumstances, which included the establishment of a new regional centre to replace the former capital. Other important cities, such as Iader, Tragurium, Arba, Curicum and others, were not abandoned; rather, they persisted as active settlements, within which stonemason workshops continued to leave tangible traces. This is demonstrated by the numerous monuments preserved in these cities and their surrounding areas, representing the so-called transitional period of the 7th, 8th and early 9th centuries. These works hold considerable importance within the broader corpus of early medieval sculpture on the eastern Adriatic. The cities and islands in question formed part of Byzantine Dalmatia, a province connecting the central territories of the Empire with Byzantine possessions in Italy. The most important Byzantine port on the eastern Adriatic had been Salona in Late Antiquity; in the early medieval period that role passed to Zadar, which also served as the capital of the Byzantine archonty and theme of Dalmatia. In the High and Late Middle Ages, the most important port would become Dubrovnik, alongside Venice on the western shore of the Adriatic.[6] Although stonemasonry was well-developed in all Byzantine cities and on the northern Adriatic islands, it was the coastal cities of northern and central Dalmatia — Zadar, Trogir, and Split — that held particular significance in relation to the Croatian hinterland. In the final decades of the 8th and throughout the first half of the 9th century, highly important stonemason workshops were active in these cities that marked the very beginnings of the development of early medieval sculpture across the entire territory of northern and central Dalmatia.

[6] Numerous scholars have written about Byzantine sea routes along the eastern Adriatic, the ports and fortifications that controlled them; in recent decades, for example, Zdenko Brusić, Miljenko Domijan, Zlatko Gunjača, Željko Tomičić, Irena Radić Rossi, Tomislav Fabijanić, and others. For a general overview of the most important Byzantine ports from Late Antiquity to the 15th century, cf. Aidoni et alii 1998, pp. 9–18.

Najbrojniju produkciju i najširi opseg djelovanja po svoj prilici imala je *Zadarska klesarska radionica*, odnosno radionice, što se zaključuje na temelju obilježja sačuvanih djela datiranih od druge polovine 8. do sredine 9. stoljeća. Ta su djela rasprostranjena na čitavom prostoru sjeverne Dalmacije i obližnjih otoka. Vidljiva je raznolikost motiva i načina izvedbe, od figuralnih antropomorfnih i zoomorfnih tema do prevladavajućih biljnih i kršćansko-simboličkih kompozicija na plutejima, ciborijima i ambonima ove radionice. Za figuralne kompozicije s prikazima konjanika ratnika i sa simbolima evanđelista drugdje u Dalmaciji nema analogija, pa se zadarski motivi uspoređuju s pojedinim figuralnim djelima iz Italije. Pritom je istaknuta i stilska podudarnost između ambona iz zadarske katedrale i Sigvaldova pluteja iz Cividalea.[8] Kod zadarskog ambona vjerojatno je riječ samo o utjecaju iz sjeverne Italije, a ne o uvozu ili djelovanju stranih majstora u Zadru. I na jednom drugom ranom spomeniku iz Zadra, sarkofagu s bogatom dekoracijom poklopca i sanduka, zamijećena je srodnost sa sjevernoitalskim spomenicima tzv. liutprandske renesanse, no i ovdje je riječ o odrazima tog stila u *Zadarskoj klesarskoj radionici*, a ne o uvozu iz Italije.[9] Vezano za rane predromaničke reljefe s figuralnim motivima iz *Zadarske klesarske radionice*, osobito je važno istaknuti da su takvi reljefi bili prisutni i u crkvi sv. Martina u Pridrazi, lokalitetu koji je dosta udaljen od Zadra. U blizini Sv. Martina nalaze se ostatci starohrvatske predromaničke crkve

[8] Reljefi s antropomorfnim motivima vezani su za zadarsku katedralu i crkvu sv. Martina u Pridrazi. Katedrali su pripadali figuralno ukrašeni ambon i plutej s prikazom konjanika ratnika, dok su u Pridrazi postojali pluteji (vjerojatno tri) s antropomorfnim motivima u različito oblikovanim kasetama. Navedene spomenike posebno je obrađivao Ivo Petricioli u nizu radova. Usp. Petricioli 1975, str. 111–117; Petricioli 1983, str. 47–52; Petricioli 1995, str. 74–83; Petricioli 1996, str. 209–214.

[9] Navedeni sarkofag, koji se prije smještaja u Arheološki muzej nalazio u okolišu katedrale, u literaturi je izdvajan kao vrlo specifično djelo. Ž. Rapanić primijetio je da je sarkofag blizak djelima iz Sesto al Reghena, dok je I. Petricioli naveo da je riječ o spomeniku bez analogija na zadarskom području. N. Jakšić ističe istu analogiju koju je prethodno uočio Rapanić, odnosno sličnost sa skulpturom iz Sesto al Reghena, te sarkofag izdvaja kao posebno važno djelo nastalo pod utjecajima liutprandske renesanse. Usp. Rapanić 1987, str. 122–123; Petricioli 1995, str. 76–77; Jakšić 2008, str. 402–404.

Early pre-Romanesque workshops in Zadar, Trogir and Split

In the Byzantine cities of northern and central Dalmatia, the stonemason workshops were rooted in earlier, ancient traditions, and the sculpture they produced was intended for the numerous churches both within the cities themselves and beyond their walls. This appears particularly true in the case of the stonemason workshops of Zadar and Trogir, while the Split workshop had a more limited sphere of activity. The literature on these workshops is extensive and many details have been thoroughly studied; consequently, the present overview is confined to a concise discussion of certain characteristics of early pre-Romanesque sculpture in these cities and its dissemination into the Croatian territory in the hinterland.[7]

The most prolific production and the widest range of activity appears to have belonged to the Zadar stonemason workshop — or workshops — as may be inferred from the characteristics of surviving works dated from the second half of the 8th to the mid-9th century. These works are distributed across the entire territory of northern Dalmatia and the neighbouring islands. Considerable diversity is apparent in the motifs and execution, ranging from figural anthropomorphic and zoomorphic themes to the predominant vegetal and Christian-symbolic compositions on the plutei, ciboria and ambons of this workshop. As there are no close analogies elsewhere in Dalmatia for the figural compositions depicting mounted warriors and the symbols of the Evangelists, the motifs from Zadar have been compared with certain figural works from Italy, with particular emphasis placed on the stylistic correspondence between the ambon from the Cathedral of Zadar and the pluteus of Sigwald from Cividale.[8]

[7] From the extensive literature, only selected recent works are cited here. For Zadar and its region, an excellent overview is provided by N. Jakšić. Cf. Jakšić, Hilje 2008. On early medieval sculpture from Trogir, cf. Burić 1982, pp. 127–160; Jakšić 2004, pp. 265–286; Jakšić 2015, pp. 241–266. On early pre-Romanesque sculpture from Split, cf. Rapanić 1987, pp. 115–121; Basić, Jurković 2011, pp. 149–178; Piteša 2012, *passim*.

[8] Reliefs with anthropomorphic motifs are associated with the Cathedral of Zadar and the Church of St. Martin in Pridraga. An ambon with figural decoration and a pluteus with a representation of a mounted warrior belonged to the cathedral, while plutei, probably three, with anthropomorphic motifs arranged in vari-



Sl. 1 - Galovac – Crkvina, fragment crkvenog namještaja iz prve predromaničke faze (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 1 – Galovac–Crkvina, fragment of furnishing from the 1st pre-Romanesque phase (photo: Z. Alajbeg)

sv. Mihovila i ranosrednjovjekovni grobovi u Goričini.[10] Riječ je o naseobinskom prostoru Hrvata, koji su vjerojatno koristili i staru crkvu sv. Martina, opremljenu namještajem iz *Zadarske klesarske radionice*. Uz crkvu je postojala ranokršćanska krstionica s heksagonalnom piscinom, koja je vjerojatno korištena tijekom kristijanizacije Hrvata.[11] Zidane piscine, poput pridraške, bile su namijenjene krštenju odraslih, a o njihovu korištenju na hrvatskom prostoru svjedoči sličan krstionički sklop u Bijaćima, također ranokršćanskog podrijetla, koji je činio bitan dio misionarskog ranosrednjovjekovnog kompleksa na tom važnom starohrvatskom lokalitetu.[12]

Slično kao u Pridrazi, na hrvatskom teritoriju rasprostranjena su i druga djela zadarskih klesarskih radionica, s drukčijim izborom motiva i kom-

In the case of the ambon from Zadar, however, the evidence points more plausibly to influence from northern Italy rather than the importation of works or the activity of foreign craftsmen in Zadar. A similar affinity with northern Italic monuments of the so-called Liutprandic Renaissance has also been noted on another early monument in Zadar, namely a sarcophagus with rich decoration on both the lid and the chest, albeit it is in this case as well rather a reflection of that style within the Zadar stonemason workshop than an import from Italy.[9] In connection with the early pre-Romanesque reliefs with figural motifs from the Zadar stonemason workshop, it is particularly important to note that such reliefs were present in the Church of St. Martin in Pridraga, a site situated at a considerable distance from Zadar. In the vicinity of St. Martin lie the remains of the early Croatian pre-Romanesque Church of St. Michael, as well as the early medieval graves at Goričina.[10] This area belonged to the settlement territory of the Croats, who most probably also used the older Church of St. Martin, which was furnished with liturgical sculpture produced by the Zadar stonemason workshop. Adjacent to the church stood an early Christian baptistery with a hexagonal piscina, in all likelihood used during the Christianisation of the Croats.[11] Built piscinae of this kind, like the one

10 Gunjača 1963, str. 7–66. U grobovima u Goričini, koje je istražio S. Gunjača, nalazio se tipičan starohrvatski nakit: jednojagodne naušnice, odnosno sljepoočničarke, i jednostavno prstenje. Unatoč blizini dviju tada korištenih crkava, Sv. Martina i Sv. Mihovila, starohrvatsko groblje formiralo se kao groblje na redove, bez pripadajuće crkve.

11 O krstionici uz crkvu sv. Martina usp. Vežić 2011, str. 34–35, 41–42.

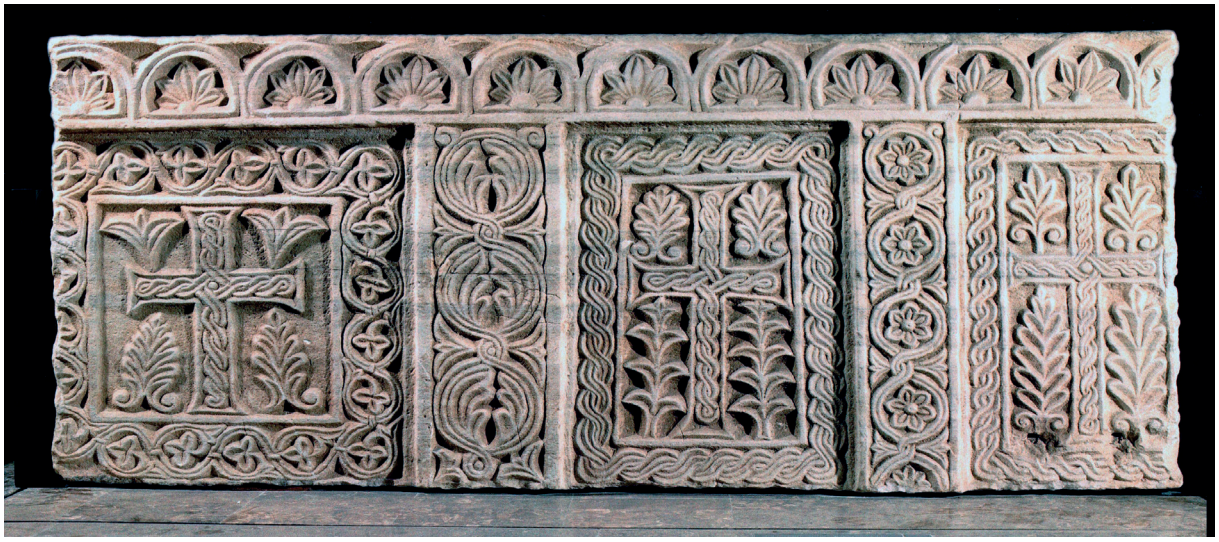
12 U Bijaćima je piscina bila križnog oblika, a nalazila se unutar zasebne krstioničke građevine oktogonalnog tipa. Usp. Jelovina 2004, str. 99, 103; Delonga 2004, str. 315–317.

ously shaped compartments existed in Pridraga. These monuments were particularly studied by Ivo Petricioli in a series of papers. Cf. Petricioli 1975, pp. 111–117; Petricioli 1983, pp. 47–52; Petricioli 1995, pp. 74–83; Petricioli 1996, pp. 209–214.

9 This sarcophagus, which before its relocation to the Archaeological Museum stood in the vicinity of the cathedral, has been singled out in the literature as an exceptionally distinctive work. Ž. Rapanić noted its affinity with pieces from Sesto al Reghena, while I. Petricioli described it as a monument without analogies in the Zadar region. N. Jakšić highlights the same analogy noted earlier by Rapanić, namely a similarity with sculpture from Sesto al Reghena, and identifies the sarcophagus as a particularly important work produced under the influence of the Liutprandic Renaissance. Cf. Rapanić 1987, pp. 122–123; Petricioli 1995, pp. 76–77; Jakšić 2008, pp. 402–404.

10 Gunjača 1963, pp. 7–66. The graves at Goričina, excavated by S. Gunjača, yielded typical early Croatian jewellery: single-bead earrings (temple rings) and plain finger-rings. Despite the proximity of the two churches then in use, St. Martin and St. Michael, the early Croatian cemetery was laid out as a row-grave cemetery without an associated church.

11 On the baptistery next to the church of St. Martin, cf. Vežić 2011, pp. 34–35, 41–42.



Sl. 2 - Zadar, veliki mramorni plutej iz katedrale (preuzeto iz: N. Jakšić, E. Hilje, *Kiparstvo I*, Umjetnička baština Zadarske nadbiskupije, Zadar 2008, str. 98)
Fig. 2 – Zadar, large marble pluteus from the cathedral. Taken from N. Jakšić, E. Hilje, Kiparstvo I, Umjetnička baština Zadarske nadbiskupije, Zadar 2008, p. 98.

pozicija. Riječ je o plutejima i ciborijima s biljnim i kršćansko-simboličkim kompozicijama. Najbrojniji primjerci takvih pluteja vezani su za zadarsku katedralu. Posebno je reprezentativan veliki mramorni plutej s križevima i palmetama te nizom biljnih motiva specifične izvedbe. Nekoliko manjih mramornih pluteja ukrašeno je križevima i palmetama pod arkadama. Pojavljuju se i nešto drukčije kompozicije, bez podjele na arkade ili četvrtaste kasete.[13] Za *Zadarsku predromaničku radionicu* posebno je karakteristična kompozicija sa središnjim kantarosom oko kojeg se izvijaju vitice loze, zastupljena kako u samom gradu tako i na udaljenijim lokalitetima. Jednu varijaciju te kompozicije predstavlja fragmentarni plutej iz Ljubača, lokaliteta u blizini Nina, koji se prema sačuvanim detaljima izvedbe sa sigurnošću pripisuje *Zadarskoj klesarskoj radionici*.[14] Na drugoj strani, u zaleđu istočno od Zadra, važan je lokalitet Crkvina u Galovcu, na kojem je pronađen veći broj fragmentarnih pluteja s obilježjima zadarske klesarske produkcije. Ovdje donosimo usporedbu jednog fragmenta iz Galovca i detalja na velikom mramornom pluteju iz zadarske katedrale (sl. 1 i 2). Kao i Pridraga i Ljubač, Galovac je lokalitet na naseobinskom prostoru Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku, na kojem je utvrđeno pokat Pridraga, were intended for the baptism of adults, and their use in Croatian territories is further attested by the similar baptismal complex at Bijaći, also of early Christian origin and a significant component of the missionary early medieval complex at that important early Croatian site.[12]

Much as at Pridraga, other works from the Zadar stonemason workshops are also distributed across Croatian territory, though with a different repertoire of motifs and compositions. These are plutei and ciboria with vegetal and Christian-symbolic compositions. The most numerous examples of such plutei are associated with the Cathedral of Zadar. Particularly representative is the large marble pluteus with crosses and palmettes and a row of vegetal motifs of distinctive execution. Several smaller marble plutei are decorated with crosses and palmettes beneath arcades, while somewhat different compositions also occur, without the subdivision into arcaded or square compartments.[13] A motif especially characteristic of the pre-Romanesque workshop of Zadar is the composition featuring a central kantharos surrounded by curling vine tendrils, a motif attested both within the city itself and at more distant sites. One variation of this composition is represented by

[13] Sistematizaciju motiva s upućivanjem na pojedine spomenike donosi Josipović 2014, str. 43–62.

[14] Usp. objavu i rekonstrukciju pluteja u Uglešić 1991/1992, str. 143–154.

[12] In Bijaći, the piscina was cross-shaped and located within a separate octagonal baptismal structure. Cf. Jelovina 2004, p. 99, 103; Delonga 2004, pp. 315–317.

[13] A systematic classification of motifs with references to individual monuments is provided by Josipović 2014, pp. 43–62.

stojanje krstionice i velikog groblja s kontinuitetom od kasne antike do novog vijeka. Groblje obuhvaća značajan broj grobova iz ranog srednjeg vijeka, na što upućuju nalazi nakita tipični za starohrvatsko razdoblje.[15] Još dalje prema jugoistoku, u važnom hrvatskom gradu Biogradu, također su poznati fragmentarni reljefi pripisani ranoj predromaničkoj zadarskoj produkciji. Srodna djela nalaze se i na zadarskim otocima, ponajprije na Dugom otoku, te na otoku Pagu.[16]

Primjeri prisutnosti skulpture iz zadarskih klesarskih radionica na lokalitetima sjeverne Dalmacije svjedoče o utjecaju razvijene gradske sredine koja je krajem 8. i početkom 9. stoljeća osiguravala opremanje crkava na velikom području sjeverne Dalmacije. Drugo radioničko središte u sjevernoj Dalmaciji mogao je u to doba biti hrvatski Nin, no blizina Zadra upućuje na vjerojatno oslanjanje na zadarske klesarske radionice. Nešto kasnije, u drugoj polovini 9. stoljeća, u Ninu su prisutna djela radionica iz doba kneza Branimira.

Nešto kasnije od *Zadarske* započinje djelovanje *Trogirske klesarske radionice*, koje se podudara s kasnijom produkcijom u Zadru tijekom prvih desetljeća 9. stoljeća. Kao i kod *Zadarske klesarske radionice*, primjetna je velika disperzija kamenih spomenika *Trogirske klesarske radionice* na hrvatskom području. Riječ je o brojnim lokalitetima na području srednje i dijelom sjeverne Dalmacije. Kod te radionice, čije bi se djelovanje moglo datirati u prva desetljeća 9. stoljeća i čija su djela povezana s nekim važnim rano datiranim predromaničkim građevinama, vidljivo je prožimanje kasnoantičkih ikonografskih predložaka i suvremenih utjecaja iz sjeverne Italije, a možda i iz Rima.[17] Omiljeni motivi na plutejima – križ s palmetama pod arkadama i tzv. dno košare – proizlaze iz kasnoantičkih predložaka, dok se oblikovanje ornamentalnih pojaseva na arhitravima u literaturi povezuje s utjecajima iz sjeverne Italije i Istre te Rima, odnosno s područjima koja su u to vrijeme, krajem 8. i u prvoj polovini 9. stoljeća, bila pod karolinškom vlašću ili utjeca-

[15] Belošević 1992, str. 132–135; Petrinec 2009, str. 73–74.

[16] O spomenicima s navedenih lokaliteta, o kojima su ranije pisali A. Uglešić, N. Uroda, M. Skoblar, P. Vežić i drugi, usp. noviju sistematičnu analizu u citiranom radu I. Josipovića iz 2014., str. 45–57.

[17] Najpotpunije je o *Trogirskoj klesarskoj radionici* pisao N. Jakšić u nizu tekstova, od kojih usp. Jakšić 2015, str. 267–294.

a fragmentary pluteus from Ljubač, a site in the vicinity of Nin, which on the basis of the preserved details of execution may be reliably attributed to the Zadar stonemason workshop.[14] On the other side, in the hinterland east of Zadar, the important site of Crkvina in Galovac has yielded a larger number of fragmentary plutei bearing the hallmarks of the stonemason production of Zadar. One such fragment from Galovac is here compared with a detail from the large marble pluteus from the Cathedral of Zadar (Figs. 1, 2). Like Pridraga and Ljubač, Galovac was located within the settlement territory of the Croats in the early medieval period. Excavations there have confirmed the existence of a baptistery and an extensive cemetery with continuity from Late Antiquity into the modern period, including a significant number of early medieval graves, as indicated by finds of jewellery typical of the early Croatian period.[15] Further to the south-east, in the important Croatian town of Biograd, fragmentary reliefs attributed to the early pre-Romanesque production of Zadar are likewise attested. Related works are also known from the islands (Dugi otok) belonging to Zadar and from the island of Pag.[16]

The presence of sculpture originating from the Zadar stonemason workshops at sites in northern Dalmatia speaks of the influence emanating from the well-developed urban centre which, at the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century, secured the furnishing of churches across a large area of northern Dalmatia. A second workshop centre in northern Dalmatia at this period might have been the Croatian town of Nin, but its proximity to Zadar suggests that it most probably relied on the Zadar stonemason workshops. Somewhat later, in the second half of the 9th century, works associated with the workshops from the time of Duke Branimir are attested in Nin.

The activity of the Trogir stonemason workshop began somewhat later than that of Zadar, coinciding chronologically with the later phase of production in Zadar during the first decades of the 9th century.

[14] Cf. the publication and reconstruction of the pluteus: Uglešić 1991/92, pp. 143–154.

[15] Belošević 1992, pp. 132–135; Petrinec 2009, pp. 73–74.

[16] For the monuments from these sites, previously discussed by, among others, A. Uglešić, N. Uroda, M. Skoblar and P. Vežić, cf. the more recent systematic analysis in the cited paper by I. Josipović from 2014, pp. 45–57.

jem.[18] Izvan Trogira skulptura s istim radioničkim obilježjima poznata je u Bijaćima, Brnazama kod Sinja, Kljacima kod Drniša, Morinju kod Šibenika, Pađenama kod Knina i Otresu kod Bribira. Sve su to važni predromanički lokaliteti na hrvatskom teritoriju, čije su crkve bile opremljene namještajem koji su izrađivali isti majstori klesari koji su djelovali i u Trogiru te koji su poznavali i preuzimali određene predloške iz Italije i Istre. Kako se na arhitravima iz crkve sv. Marte u Bijaćima, s karakterističnim repertoarom *Trogirske klesarske radionice*, nalazi i liturgijski tekst osobito prisutan u karolinškom krugu, a u natpisima s istog lokaliteta spominje se đakon i svećenik germanskog imena, vjerojatno franački misionar, podatci zabilježeni na kamenoj skulpturi otkrivaju i dodatne komponente i utjecaje u doba formiranja ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske Kneževine.[19] Sjedište karolinških misionara bilo je u neposrednoj blizini Trogira, u hrvatskim Bijaćima, te su crkvu sv. Marte opremili trogirski klesari, koji su radili i po mnogim narudžbama na udaljenijim lokalitetima u hrvatskom zaleđu.

Nešto prije djelovanja opisane *Trogirske klesarske radionice* datiraju se brojna djela tzv. rustičnih obilježja, prisutna na mnogim lokalitetima u Dalmaciji.[20] Koncentracija tih djela najveća je u okolici

As in the case of the Zadar stonemason workshop, a broad dissemination of stone monuments produced by the Trogir stonemason workshop across Croatian territory is apparent, as evidence was found on numerous sites in central and part of northern Dalmatia. In the case of this workshop, whose activity may be dated to the first decades of the 9th century and whose products are linked to several important early-dated pre-Romanesque structures, one may observe an interplay between late antique iconographic models and contemporary influences from northern Italy and possibly Rome.[17] The favoured motifs on the plutei, the cross with palmettes beneath arcades and the so-called "Korbboden" motif, derive from late antique models. By contrast, the ornamental friezes decorating the architraves have been associated in scholarship with influences from northern Italy, Istria and Rome, regions that during the late 8th and first half of the 9th century were under Carolingian rule or influence.[18] Outside Trogir itself, sculpture displaying the same workshop characteristics has been identified at Bijaći, Brnaze near Sinj, Kljaci near Drniš, Morinje near Šibenik, Pađene near Knin and Otres near Bribir. All of these represent significant pre-Romanesque sites within the Croatian territory, where churches were furnished with liturgical sculpture made by the same masters/stonemasons who were also active in Trogir and acquainted with and adopted certain models from Italy or Istria. The architraves from the Church of St. Martha at Bijaći, distinguished by the characteristic ornamental repertoire of the Trogir stonemason workshop, also preserve a liturgical text closely associated with the Carolingian sphere. Furthermore, inscriptions from the same site mention a deacon and priest bearing a Germanic name, most likely a Frankish missionary. Taken together, these elements preserved in stone sculpture point to additional cultural components and external influences that shaped the process of the formation of the early medieval Croatian Principality.[19] The

18 Jakšić 2015, str. 287–289.

19 O liturgijskom tekstu s trostrukim *Sanctusom* i njegovoj povezanosti s ranokarolinškim razdobljem usp. posebno Delonga 2001, str. 79–82. Tekst na fragmentarnom arhitravu iz Žednog na Čiovu, iz istog ranog razdoblja, sadržavao je sličnu liturgijsku formulaciju, a trostruki *Sanctus* na pojasnom jezičcu iz Gornjih Vrbljana, jednom od najdragocjenijih ranokarolinških artefakata uopće, svjedoči, kao i neki ovdje nespomenuti nalazi, o stvarnoj prisutnosti karolinških misionara i značenju njihovih utjecaja u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj. Arhitrav iz Žednog i jezičac iz Gornjih Vrbljana spominje V. Delonga u citiranom tekstu, a opširnije o tim nalazima usp. Burić 2010, str. 227–256; Bojanovski 1974, str. 245–255; Vinski 1977–1978, str. 143–165. O natpisima đakona i svećenika Gumperta usp. Delonga 1996, str. 43–47.

20 Ta su djela posebno obrađivana u prvim sintezama ranosrednjovjekovne umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, Karamanovoj *Koljevci* i Rapanićevoj knjizi iz 1987. Oba autora, iako rustičnu skulpturu iz Sv. Marte datiraju različito, promatraju ta djela izvan definiranih radioničkih opusa. Drukčije određenje dao je T. Burić, koji je navedenu skulpturu pripisao posljednjim salonitanskim klesarima. U kasnijoj literaturi istaknute su analogije u Italiji iz 8. stoljeća te je znatno proširen korpus tzv. rustičnih reljefa. Kao vjerojatni radionički centar za nalaze u srednjoj Dalmaciji mogao bi se istaknu-

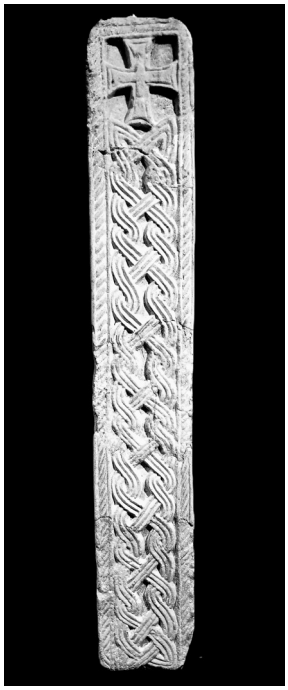
17 The most comprehensive paper on the stonemason workshop of Trogir is provided by N. Jakšić in a series of studies, of which cf. Jakšić 2015, pp. 267–294.

18 Jakšić 2015, pp. 287–289.

19 On the liturgical text with the triple Sanctus and its connection with the early Carolingian period, cf. in particular Delonga 2001, pp. 79–82. The text on the fragmentary architrave from Žedno on Čiovo, from the same early period, contained a similar liturgical formulation; and the triple Sanctus on the strap-end



Sl. 3 - Putalj, mramorni pilastar (foto: M. Jarak)
Fig. 3 – Putalj, marble pilaster (photo: M. Jarak)



Sl. 4 - Putalj, mramorni pilastar (foto: M. Jarak)
Fig. 4 – Putalj, marble pilaster (photo: M. Jarak)

Trogira i Splita, na lokalitetima poput Bijaća, Čiova i Gradine u Solinu. Majstori koji su izrađivali ta djela vjerojatno su djelovali u gradskoj sredini, najvjerojatnije u Trogiru, na što upućuju njihovo poznavanje istodobne skulpture u Italiji i izrada spomenika u Dalmaciji vjerojatno prema istim predlošcima.

Navedena disperzija djela na širokom prostoru izvan gradova, koji su nesumnjivo bili centri djelovanja klesara, povezuje Zadar i Trogir u kontekstu ranog predromaničkog klesarstva. Treći bizantski grad, Split, u čijem se zaleđu formira ranosrednjovjekovna hrvatska država, čini se da nije imao takav odnos u pogledu širenja skulpture. Rana klesarska radionica u Splitu iz posljednjih desetljeća 8. stoljeća, poznata po kvalitetnim reljefima u duhu liutprandske renesanse, imala je ekskluzivan karakter. Za tu radionicu posebno su karakteristični mramorni pluteji i sarkofazi, a mogu joj se pripisati i neki drugi spomenici, poput pilastara i drugih dijelova oltarnih ograda.[21] Sva ta djela potječu iz Splita i nje-

ti Trogir. Usp. Karaman 1930, str. 116, 126; Rapanić 1987, str. 126–128; Burić 1992, str. 177–197; Milošević 2004, str. 237–263.

21 O radionici i proširenom popisu djela koja su joj pripadala usp. Basić, Jurković 2011, str. 149–178.

seat of the Carolingian missionaries was located in the immediate vicinity of Trogir, at the Croatian site of Bijaći, and it was Trogir stonemasons who furnished the Church of St. Martha there, while simultaneously carrying out numerous commissions at more distant sites within the Croatian hinterland.

A slightly earlier date than that of the aforementioned Trogir workshop has been proposed for numerous works of so-called "rustic" character found at many sites throughout Dalmatia.[20] The greatest concentration of these works is in the environs of Trogir and Split, at sites such as Bijaći, Čiovo and Gradina in Solin. The craftsmen who produced these works were probably active in an urban environment, most likely in Trogir, as indicated by their familiarity with contemporary sculpture in Italy and by the production of monuments in Dalmatia apparently following the same models.

The broad distribution of works across territories far beyond the urban centres, which were undoubtedly the primary locations of workshop activity, links Zadar and Trogir within the context of early pre-Romanesque stonemasonry. The third Byzantine city in whose hinterland the early medieval Croatian state was emerging, namely Split, appears not to have played a comparable role in the dissemination of sculpture. The early stonemason workshop of Split from the final decades of the 8th centu-

from Gornji Vrbljani, one of the most precious early Carolingian artefacts known, testifies, along with other finds not mentioned here, to the actual presence of Carolingian missionaries and the significance of their influence in early medieval Croatia. The architrave from Žedno and the strap-end from Gornji Vrbljani are mentioned by V. Delonga in the cited text; for more detailed discussion about these finds cf. Burić 2010, pp. 227–256; Bojanovski 1974, pp. 245–255; Vinski 1977–78, pp. 143–165. On the inscriptions of the deacon and priest Gumpert, cf. Delonga 1996, pp. 43–47.

20 These works were discussed extensively in the first syntheses of early medieval art in Dalmatia — Karaman's Koljevka and Rapanić's monograph of 1987. Both authors, though assigning different dates to the rustic sculpture from St. Martha, consider these works outside the defined workshop corpora. A different assessment was offered by T. Burić, who attributed the sculpture in question to the last Salonitan stonemasons. In later literature, analogies in Italy from the 8th century are emphasized and the corpus of so-called rustic reliefs substantially enlarged. Trogir may be proposed as the most likely workshop centre for the finds in central Dalmatia. Cf. Karaman 1930, pp. 116, 126; Rapanić 1987, pp. 126–128; Burić 1992, pp. 177–197; Milošević 2004, pp. 237–263.

gove najbliže okolice, primjerice s položaja crkve Sv. Trojice na Poljudu. S nešto kasnijim splitskim spomenicima, iz prve polovine 9. stoljeća, povezuju se, međutim, mramorni pilastri iz crkve sv. Jurja na Putalju. Riječ je o povijesnom starohrvatskom lokalitetu i prvoj poimence poznatoj crkvi koju je uredio jedan hrvatski vladar, knez Mislav, kako je spomenuto u Trpimirovoj darovnici. Kvalitetno klesane, ali nažalost vrlo fragmentarno sačuvane nalaze crkvenog namještaja s Putalja cjelovito je obradio Tonči Burić datiravši ih u prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća, odnosno u doba kneza Mislava, čime je potvrdio vjerodostojnost navoda iz Trpimirove darovnice.[22] Burić je putaljsku skulpturu povezao sa sjevernoitalskom i istarskom produkcijom iz druge polovine 8. i ranog 9. stoljeća s obzirom na analogije kako u specifičnim motivima tako i u klesarskoj izvedbi. Putaljski spomenici većinom su izrađeni od mramora, a najbolje su sačuvani pilastri (sl. 3 i 4). Za njih se mogu naći analogije među ranim predromaničkim pilastrima iz Splita, što je u svojoj analizi spomenuo i T. Burić, no izradu putaljske skulpture pripisao je italskim klesarima.[23] I za neke druge motive i izvedbu na putaljskim ulomcima postoje analogije u Dalmaciji, osobito u Splitu, no općenito je srodna skulptura u Dalmaciji prilično rijetka.[24] Kasnije je u literaturi ipak posebno istaknuta velika sličnost između putaljskih i splitskih pilastara te je predloženo drukčije rješenje za putaljsku mramornu skulpturu. Ona je pripisana Splitu, odakle bi tek naknadno dospjela na Putalj.[25] Prema tom mišljenju mramorni crkveni namještaj s Putalja nije pripadao Mislavovoj crkvi. Možda bi bilo prihvatljivije putaljski namještaj povezati sa *Splitskom klesarskom radionicom*, a Putalj smatrati njegovom prvotnom lokacijom. Prema tom prijedlogu *Splitska klesarska radionica* u doba kneza Mislava izrađuje namještaj za crkvu sv. Jurja na Putalju, a na sličan način kleše

[22] Burić 1983, str. 147–161; Burić 2001, str. 169–193.

[23] Burić 1983, str. 152–159; Burić 2001, str. 188–189.

[24] Burić 2001, str. 182–193.

[25] Milošević 2008, str. 186, 206. U članku su objavljene fotografije triju mramornih pilastara s Putalja, od kojih jedan nije prikazan u Buićevoj objavi iz 1983. U kasnijoj cjelovitijoj objavi građe s Putalja iz 2001. T. Burić donosi četiri, većinom rekonstruirana pilastra i dva manja ulomka. U katalogu izložbe autora A. Miloševića i N. Uroda uz odabrane spomenike s Putalja navodi se njihovo vjerojatno podrijetlo iz splitske katedrale te datacija u kraj 8. stoljeća. Usp. Milošević, Uroda 2018, kat. br. 65.1, 65.2, 67.1, 67.2, 80.

ry, known for its high-quality reliefs in the spirit of the Liutprandic Renaissance, possessed a markedly exclusive character. Marble plutei and sarcophagi are particularly characteristic of this workshop, and certain other monuments such as pilasters and other elements of altar screens may also be associated with it.[21] All works originate from Split and from the city's immediate environs, such as the site of the Church of the Holy Trinity at Poljud. The marble pilasters from the Church of St. George at Putalj, however, are associated with somewhat later monuments from Split dating to the first half of the 9th century. The site is of exceptional importance in early Croatian history, as it is the first church known by name to have been commissioned by a Croatian ruler—Duke Mislav—as mentioned in Trpimir's charter. The finds of church furnishing at Putalj, of high quality but unfortunately very fragmentary, were comprehensively studied by Tonči Burić, who dated them to the first half of the 9th century, to the time of Duke Mislav, thereby confirming the credibility of the reference in Trpimir's charter.[22] Burić connected the sculpture at Putalj with northern Italic and Istrian production of the second half of the 8th and the earlier 9th century, on the basis of parallels in specific motifs as well as in stonemasonry technique. The monuments at Putalj are carved predominantly in marble, with the best-preserved examples being the pilasters (Figs. 3, 4). Analogies for them may be found among the early pre-Romanesque pilasters from Split, as T. Burić himself noted in his analysis, though he attributed the execution of the sculpture at Putalj to Italic stonemasons.[23] Certain motifs and carving methods represented on the fragments at Putalj also have parallels elsewhere in Dalmatia, particularly in Split, although in general, related sculpture in Dalmatia is fairly rare.[24] Later scholarship, however, has placed particular emphasis on the close similarity between the pilasters from Putalj and Split and proposed a different solution for the marble sculpture at Putalj. Namely, it has been attributed to Split, with the suggestion that it only subsequently reached Putalj.[25]

[21] On the workshop and an expanded list of works attributed to it, cf. Bašić, Jurković 2011, pp. 149–178.

[22] Burić 1983, pp. 147–161; Burić 2001, pp. 169–193.

[23] Burić 1983, pp. 152–159; Burić 2001, pp. 188–189.

[24] Burić 2001, pp. 182–193.

[25] Milošević 2008, pp. 186, 206. Photographs of three marble pilasters from Putalj, one of which was not included in Burić's 1983 publication, were published

i namještaj za splitske crkve, osobito za katedralu, odakle proizlaze navedene sličnosti.[26] *Splitska klesarska radionica* mogla je koristiti predloške iz Istre i Italije, kao što je ranije, krajem 8. stoljeća, izrađivala sarkofage i crkveni namještaj pod utjecajem italskih spomenika. Ako bi ovo razmišljanje bilo prihvatljivo, moglo bi se govoriti o određenoj disperziji spomenika *Splitske klesarske radionice* iz prve polovine 9. stoljeća na hrvatski teritorij. U skladu s ekskluzivnim karakterom radionice, njezina su djela i krajem 8. i u prvoj polovini 9. stoljeća, kada se također klešu uglavnom mramorni spomenici, osim u Splitu, zastupljena i na vladarskom, odnosno kneževskom lokalitetu u Hrvatskoj, na Putalju u blizini Splita.[27] Splitski klesari mogli su namještaj za crkvu sv. Jurja izrađivati na samom Putalju ako je on doista izrađen od mramornih antičkih sarkofaga koji su postojali na lokalitetu i čiji su manji ulomci sačuvani. Ranosrednjovjekovni mramorni namještaj u pravilu je izrađivan od antičkih spomenika jer u ranom srednjem vijeku zamire trgovina mramorom. Izvrstan primjer predstavlja čuvena oltarna ograda s Koločepa, koja je izrađena od antičkih sarkofaga na samom otoku, pri čemu je na poleđini zabata zadržan originalni reljef.[28]

According to this interpretation, the marble church furnishings at Putalj did not originally belong to Mislav's church. A more plausible solution may be to associate the furnishings from Putalj with the Split stonemason workshop while also considering Putalj itself as their original location. Under such an interpretation, the Split stonemason workshop, during the reign of Duke Mislav, would have produced the furnishings for the Church of St. George at Putalj while simultaneously carving, in a closely related manner, the furnishings for the churches of Split, particularly the cathedral—hence the noted similarities.[26] The Split stonemason workshop may have drawn on models from Istria and Italy, just as it had earlier, at the end of the 8th century, crafted sarcophagi and church furnishings under the influence of Italic monuments. If this line of reasoning is accepted, one might speak of a certain dispersal of monuments by the Split stonemason workshop of the first half of the 9th century onto Croatian territory. In keeping with the exclusive character of the workshop at the end of the 8th and throughout the first half of the 9th century, a period during which predominantly marble monuments were carved, the works of this workshop appear, besides Split, also at a ruler's estate of a duke in Croatia, namely at

[26] Pišući o mramornim pilastrima iz Splita, koji su kao spolije ugrađeni u više katove zvonika splitske katedrale, A. Piteša pripisuje ih *Splitskoj klesarskoj radionici* iz sredine 9. stoljeća. Ta radionica vjerojatno predstavlja kontinuitet dobro definirane rane predromaničke radionice koja je u posljednjim desetljećima 8. stoljeća izradila namještaj za splitsku katedralu. O tome da je riječ o kontinuitetu iste radionice svjedoči izvrsna kvaliteta novih spomenika, koji su, kao i ranija splitska djela, uglavnom izrađeni od mramora. S ovim Pitešinim definiranjem *Splitske klesarske radionice* iz sredine 9. stoljeća svakako se treba složiti, s tim da se datacija može pomaknuti u nešto ranije vrijeme, u drugu četvrtinu 9. stoljeća. Toj radionici može se pripisati mramorni namještaj s Putalja, datiran u vrijeme kneza Mislava. O radionici usp. Piteša 2012, str. 17.

[27] Radionica je, prema dosad prepoznatim spomenicima, ograničena na Split (usp. Piteša 2012, str. 17).

[28] O sarkofazima s Koločepa, koji su poslužili kao materijal srednjovjekovnim klesarima, usp. Cambi 1988, str. 129–137. Natpis s arhitrava i zabata koločepske oltarne ograde, izuzetnog povijesnog značenja, obradila je V. Delonga (usp. Delonga 2007, str. 199–211).

in the paper. In his later comprehensive publication of the material from Putalj (2001), T. Burić presents four largely reconstructed pilasters and two smaller fragments. In the exhibition catalogue by A. Milošević and N. Uroda, the selected monuments from Putalj are described as probably originating from the Cathedral of Split and dated to the end of the 8th century. Cf. Milošević, Uroda 2018, cat. nos. 65.1, 65.2, 67.1, 67.2, 80.

[26] In his discussion on the marble pilasters from Split, incorporated as spolia into the upper storeys of the cathedral bell tower in Split, A. Piteša attributes them to the stonemason workshop of Split of the mid-9th century. This workshop most likely represents a continuation of the well-defined early pre-Romanesque workshop that produced the furnishings of the Cathedral of Split in the final decades of the 8th century. The high quality of the new monuments, which are, like the earlier works in Split, executed predominantly in marble, attests to the continuity of the same workshop. One should certainly agree with Piteša's defining of this mid-9th century workshop of Split, although its chronology may also be placed somewhat earlier, in the second quarter of the 9th century. The marble furnishings from Putalj, dated to the time of Duke Mislav, may be attributed to this workshop. On the workshop, cf. Piteša 2012, p. 17.

Problematika klesarskih radionica na hrvatskom teritoriju

Približno u isto vrijeme, tijekom prve polovine 9. stoljeća, u suvremenoj se literaturi datira djelovanje jedne značajne klesarske radionice koja je prepoznata na nekoliko istaknutih lokaliteta na hrvatskom teritoriju. Riječ je o *Radionici Majstora koljanskog pluteja*, nazvanoj prema reprezentativnom i dobro sačuvanom spomeniku s lokaliteta Crkvina u Koljanima Gornjim. Djela koja se pripisuju istom radioničkom krugu potječu s Crkvine u Biskupiji kod Knina, s Crkvine u Galovcu, Bijaća kod Trogira, Rižinica te s još nekoliko lokaliteta na koje su, smatra se, naknadno dospjela.[29] Popis lokaliteta sugerira djelatnost ove značajne radionice na hrvatskom teritoriju, izvan bizantskih dalmatinskih gradova. To predstavlja novost u odnosu na dosad razmatrane radioničke cjeline iz prve polovine 9. stoljeća, koje su najuže vezane za gradove Zadar, Trogir i Split, te je u tim gradovima opravdano vidjeti središta radioničke djelatnosti iz kojih su majstori klesari mogli povremeno odlaziti i na udaljenije lokacije ako je to olakšavalo realizaciju naručenih djela.[30] Druga izrazita razlika između *Radionice Majstora koljanskog pluteja* i prethodno spomenutih klesarskih opusa u sjevernoj i srednjoj Dalmaciji uočava se u izboru motiva. *Zadarska*, *Splitska* i *Trogirska klesarska radionica* u velikoj mjeri koriste kršćansko-simboličke i biljne motive, dok *Radionica Majstora koljanskog pluteja* preferira pleternu mrežu kojom prekriva plohe spomenika nastojeći što gušće ispuniti podlogu. To je osobito vidljivo na plutejima i pilastrima, čiji su cjelovitiji primjerci poznati ponajprije s dvaju lokaliteta: Koljana i Biskupije – Crkvine, dok su ostatci kamenog namještaja iz Galovca uglavnom vrlo fragmentirani (sl. 5), što ipak ne priječi mogućnost rekonstrukcije cjeline motiva. Riječ je o ujednačenim pleternim kompozicijama u kojima i mali fragmenti omogućuju rekonstrukciju cjeline.[31] Od tog načela

[29] *Radionicu Majstora koljanskog pluteja* definirao je Nikola Jakšić, koji je o njoj najviše pisao. Usp. Jakšić 1984, str. 243–252; Jakšić 2015, str. 221–266.

[30] O problematici lokacija klesarskih radionica u ranom srednjem vijeku usp. Beghelli 2023.

[31] Ovdje je samo načelno ukazano na obilježja skulpture koja se pripisuje *Majstoru koljanskog pluteja*. Za detaljniji uvid i prikaz pojedinačnih spomenika usp. citirane objave N. Jakšića te radove J. Belošević, A. Jurčevića i I. Josipovića. Osobito usp. Belošević 1992, str. 177–215; Belošević 1996, str. 149–204; Jurčević Putalj near Split.[27] The stonemasons of Split may have carved the furnishings for the Church of St. George at Putalj on site itself, if indeed they were carved from ancient marble sarcophagi once present at the site and preserved today only in smaller fragments. Early medieval marble furnishings were generally carved from ancient monuments, as the trade in marble had virtually ceased during the early medieval period. An excellent example is provided by the famous altar screen from Koločep, carved from ancient sarcophagi on the island itself, with the original relief preserved on the reverse side of the gable.[28]

The problem of stonemason workshops within Croatian territory

Modern literature dates the activity of another important stonemason workshop, identified at several prominent sites within Croatian territory, to approximately the same period, i.e. from the first half to the mid-9th century. This is the so-called Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus, named after the representative and well-preserved monument from the site of Crkvina at Koljane Gornji. Works attributed to the same workshop circle originate from Crkvina at Biskupija near Knin, Crkvina at Galovac, Bijaći near Trogir, Rižinice, and several additional sites where they are believed to have been transferred to at a later point of time.[29] The list of sites suggests that this significant workshop was active in Croatian territory itself, i.e. outside the Byzantine Dalmatian cities. This is what distinguishes it from the workshop groups considered above, all of which date to the first half of the 9th century and are most closely tied to the cities of Zadar, Trogir and Split. These cities may justifiably be regarded as the principal centres of sculptural production, from which master stonemasons may oc-

[27] The workshop, as identified from the monuments recognised to date, is confined to Split; cf. Piteša 2012, p. 17.

[28] On the sarcophagi from Koločep, which served as material for medieval stonemasons, cf. Cambi 1988, pp. 129–137. The inscription on the architrave and the gable of the altar screen from Koločep, which are of exceptional historical importance, were studied by V. Delonga; cf. Delonga 2007, pp. 199–211.

[29] The Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus was defined by Nikola Jakšić, who has written most extensively about it. Cf. Jakšić 1984, pp. 243–252; Jakšić 2015, pp. 221–240; Jakšić 2015, pp. 241–266.



Sl. 5 - Galovac – Crkvina, fragment crkvenog namještaja iz druge predromaničke faze (foto: Z. Alajbeg)
Fig. 5 – Galovac–Crkvina, fragment of furnishing from the 2nd pre-Romanesque phase (photo: Z. Alajbeg)

korištenja gustih pleternih mreža odstupa plutej s otoka Ugljana, otkriven u novije vrijeme, koji donosi sofisticiranu kompoziciju troprutih kružnica prepletenih dijagonalno postavljenim nizom manjih polukružnica s pticama u međusegmentima.[32] Prije pronalaska ovog pluteja u Kalima navedena kompozicija bila je poznata isključivo u dalmatinskim gradovima, a čini se da se koristila na reljefima tijekom cijelog ranosrednjovjekovnog razdoblja, jer je prisutna kako na ranim plutejima iz prve polovine 9. stoljeća tako i na kasnijim djelima, sve do kraja 11. stoljeća.[33] Plutej s Ugljana također bi se mogao

2009, str. 55–84; Jurčević 2016, str. 71–114; Josipović 2010, str. 7–18.

32 Josipović, Magaš Mesić 2013, str. 23–36.

33 Usp. Piteša 2012, str. 84–85, s popisom lokaliteta na kojima su pronađeni pluteji s opisanom kompozicijom. Osim u Dalmaciji, kompozicija je prisutna na plutejima u Istri i Italiji. Ovdje se može spomenuti jedan plutej koji se nije sačuvao, a poznat je po crtežu Mijata Sabljara, koji prikazuje varijaciju navedene kompozicije. Na tom izgubljenom pluteju kompozicija se razvija oko dijagonalno postavljenih dvostrukih troprutih traka iz kojih se oblikuju četiri veće međusobno učvorene troprute kružnice. Kružnice su presječene središnjim rombom. U segmentima dviju kružnica nalaze se manje rozete, a unutar drugih dviju male triquetre. Bočno od opisane kompozicije, s obiju strana, nalazi se perec-motiv koji tvore učvorene troprute trake. Taj plutej nalazio se na otoku Rabu, prema podatcima M. Sabljara, u razrušenoj crkvi sv. Lucije u Banjolu, dakle unutar bizantske Dalmacije. Mogao bi se datirati u ranije predromaničko doba, posebno zbog motiva trostruke petlje – triquetre. U knjizi o rapskoj skulpturi plutej je datiran nešto kasnije zbog komparacije sa splitskim plutejem iz vestibula Dioklecijanove

casionally have travelled to more distant locations, if this facilitated the realisation of commissioned works.[30] A second pronounced difference between the Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus and the previously discussed stone sculptures of northern and central Dalmatia is visible in the choice of motifs. The Zadar, Split and Trogir stonemason workshops predominantly used Christian-symbolic and vegetal motifs, whereas the Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus preferred interlace patterns that covered the surface of the monuments in an effort to fill the background as dense as possible. This is particularly evident on the plutei and pilasters, the most complete examples of which are known especially from the two sites of Koljane and Biskupija–Crkvina. By contrast, the remains of church furnishings from Galovac are largely fragmentary (Fig. 5), although this does not prevent the reconstruction of the original compositions, since the interlace schemes are highly uniform and even small fragments suffice for the reconstruction of the complete ornamental pattern.[31] The recently discovered pluteus from the island of Ugljan departs from this principle of dense interlace networks, presenting a sophisticated composition of triple-strand circles interlaced with a diagonally arranged series of smaller semicircles, with birds in the interspaces.[32] Prior to the discovery of this pluteus in Kali, the composition in question was known exclusively in the Dalmatian cities. It appears to have remained in use throughout the entire early medieval period, since it is attested both on early plutei from the first half of the 9th century and on later works dating up to the end of the 11th century.[33] The pluteus

30 On the problem of the locations of stonemason workshops in the early medieval period, cf. Beghelli 2023.

31 Only a general indication of the characteristics of the sculpture attributed to the Master of the Koljane Pluteus is given here; for a detailed survey with individual monuments, cf. the cited publications of N. Jakšić and the studies of J. Belošević, A. Jurčević and I. Josipović. In particular, cf. Belošević 1992, pp. 177–215; Belošević 1996, pp. 149–204; Jurčević 2009, pp. 55–84; Jurčević 2016, pp. 71–114; Josipović 2010, pp. 7–18.

32 Josipović, Magaš Mesić 2013, pp. 23–36.

33 Cf. Piteša 2012, pp. 84–85, with a list of sites at which plutei with the described composition have been found. In addition to Dalmatia, the composition appears on plutei from Istria and Italy. One such pluteus, which has not been preserved but is known from a drawing by Mijat Sabljar, presented a variation of said composition. On this lost pluteus, the composition develops

smatrati djelom vezanim za gradsku sredinu s obzirom na to da je otok Ugljan bio dio zadarskog teritorija u antici i ranom srednjem vijeku. Međutim, kako je izneseno u objavi tog spomenika, on se na Ugljanu vjerojatno našao u sekundarnom položaju, a izvorno je pripadao nekom drugom lokalitetu. S obzirom na stilska obilježja po kojima se plutej prepoznaje kao djelo *Radionice Majstora koljanskog pluteja*, autori objave pretpostavljaju da je izvorno pripadao crkvenom namještaju u Galovcu, odnosno fazi koja se pripisuje toj radionici.[34] Taj je lokalitet, naime, najbliži Ugljanu među lokalitetima na kojima je utvrđeno djelovanje te radionice. Kao potvrdu za tu tezu autori navode arhivske podatke o povezanosti jedne zadarske plemićke obitelji s Galovcem i Kalima na Ugljanu upravo u vrijeme kada je plutej na Ugljanu upotrijebljen u sekundarnoj funkciji. Ta je podudarnost svakako vrlo zanimljiva i dobro istaknuta, ali ostaje pitanje zašto bi se iz ipak udaljenog Galovca prenosio jedan kameni predromanički plutej kako bi bio ugrađen kao građevinski materijal, sa zakrivenom reljefnom stranom, u kasnosrednjovjekovnoj crkvici. Pretpostavka da ugljanski plutej potječe iz Galovca prvenstveno je bazirana na već istaknutoj činjenici da je Galovac najbliži Ugljanu od svih lokaliteta na kojima je prepoznato djelovanje *Radionice Majstora koljanskog pluteja*, a u prilog toj pretpostavci mogli su se iznijeti i zanimljivi arhivski podatci te neka razmišljanja o mogućoj funkciji spomenika u Galovcu.[35] Ako spomenik doista potječe iz Galovca, mjesta koje je u ranom srednjem vijeku pripadalo hrvatskom naseobinskom području, tada je kompozicija tipična za dalmatinske gradove prenesena na liturgijsku opremu jedne izvangradske građevine. To i ne bi trebalo čuditi jer su predromaničke kompozicije u pravilu prisutne posvuda u Dalmaciji, neovisno o tadašnjim političkim granicama. Zapravo je prisutnost kompozicije s ugljanskog spomenika isključivo u gradovima bizantske Dalmacije bila prilično začudna s obzirom na obilježja predromaničke skulpture i činjenicu da su različiti majstori i radionice preuzimali kompozicijske obrasce. Ipak, unatoč uvjerlji-

palače, što je također moguće. Usp. Jarak 2017, str. 131–132.

34 Josipović, Magaš Mesić 2013.

35 Autori iznose zapažanja o mjerama ploče koja bi mogla predstavljati plutej parapeta krstionice u Galovcu. Tim zanimljivim opažanjima osnažuju tezu o galovačkom podrijetlu predromaničkog reljefa otkrivenog na Ugljanu.

from Ugljan may likewise be regarded as a work connected with an urban centre, since the island of Ugljan was part of the territory of Zadar, both in antiquity and in the early medieval period. However, as stated in the publication of this monument, it was most probably on Ugljan in a secondary context, having originally belonged to some other site. On the basis of stylistic features identifying it as a work of the Koljane workshop, the authors of the publication proposed that it originally formed part of the church furnishing in Galovac, specifically to the phase attributed to the Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus.[34] Galovac is, indeed, the closest to Ugljan among the locations where the activity of the aforementioned workshop has been identified. In support of this thesis, the authors cite archival evidence about the links of a certain noble family from Zadar with Galovac and with Kali on Ugljan precisely during the period when the pluteus was reused on Ugljan in a secondary function. The coincidence is certainly intriguing and has been convincingly emphasized; however, the question remains as to why a stone pre-Romanesque pluteus would have been transported from the relatively distant Galovac to be incorporated as building material—with its carved relief surface concealed—into a late medieval church. The assumption that the pluteus from Ugljan originated from Galovac rests primarily on the fact that Galovac is the closest of all sites where the activity of the Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus has been recognized. Additional support for this interpretation derives from the aforementioned archival evidence and from considerations regarding the possible original

around diagonally arranged double three-strand bands from which four larger interwoven three-strand circles are formed. The circles are intersected by a central rhombus. Within two of the circles are small rosettes, and within the other two small triquetrae. On either side of the central composition is the motif of interwoven triple-strand bands forming a pretzel pattern. According to Sabljar's notes, this pluteus was located on the island of Rab, in the ruined church of St. Lucy in Banjol, thus within Byzantine Dalmatia. It could be dated to the early pre-Romanesque period, especially in view of the triple-loop motif (triquetra). In the monograph on the sculpture of Rab, the pluteus is dated somewhat later on the basis of comparison with the pluteus from the vestibule of Diocletian's Palace in Split, which is also possible. Cf. Jarak 2017, pp. 131–132.

34 Josipović, Magaš Mesić 2013.

voj interpretaciji podrijetla ugljanskog spomenika iznesenoj u njegovoj objavi, galovačku provenijenciju ne možemo smatrati dokazanom. Činjenica da stilski podudarni spomenici dosad nisu pronađeni u dalmatinskim gradovima ne znači da ondje nisu postojali, te je moguće da ugljanski spomenik potječe iz Zadra i da je odande prebačen na Ugljan. Tomu se ne protive ni arhivski podatci koji povezuju izgradnju crkvice u Kalima sa zadarskom obitelji koja je, među ostalim posjedima, imala i posjede u Galovcu. Pomorski put od Zadra do Ugljana znatno je kraći od puta iz Galovca do Ugljana. Izmještanje kamenih spomenika iz Zadra potvrđeno je i drugim primjerima, poput nalaza ulomaka ambona u Neviđanima na Pašmanu. Stoga bi za konačno prihvaćanje galovačkog podrijetla reljefne ploče iz Kali na Ugljanu trebalo još nepobitnih argumenata te ovdje ostavljamo mogućnost da reljef potječe iz Zadra ili sa samog otoka Ugljana, gdje je mogao biti izrađen za neku danas nepoznatu crkvu.[36]

Osim problematike pluteja s Ugljana pripisanog *Radionici Majstora koljanskog pluteja*, o toj predromaničkoj radionici moguće je iznijeti još neka zapažanja ili otvorena pitanja. Prvenstveno je zanimljiva problematika njezina datiranja. Kao što je već navedeno, njezina djela karakterizira prevladavanje geometrijskih pleternih kompozicija koje u gustom rasporedu prekrivaju plohe spomenika. Na njima nema kršćansko-simboličkih kompozicija s križevima u središtu, okruženim biljnim motivima poput palmeta i vitica, koje su karakteristične za pluteje triju istaknutih ranih predromaničkih radionica u Dalmaciji – *Zadarske*, *Trogirske* i *Splitske*. Te su radionice djelovale većim dijelom u prvoj polovini 9. stoljeća te je u našoj literaturi razdoblje do sredine 9. stoljeća općenito okarakterizirano kao vrijeme u kojem još nema dominacije geometrijskih pleternih kompozicija koje bi skulpturi tog doba davale prevladavajući pečat.[37] Djelovanje *Radionice Majstora koljanskog pluteja* također se datira u prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća, pri čemu se ponekad spominje sam početak 9. stoljeća ili njegova prva desetljeća, a javljaju se i datacije bliže sredini tog stoljeća.[38]

[36] Možda bi dodatni argumenti mogli proizići iz petrografskih analiza galovačkih spomenika i usporedbe s ugljanskim reljefom. Te su analize predviđene u okviru projekta HRZZ-a „Radionička proizvodnja i uvoz u 8. i 9. stoljeću na području sjeverne Dalmacije“, kojem je voditeljica autorica ovog teksta.

[37] Rapanić 1987, str. 87–91.

[38] Ovdje je izostavljena prvotna datacija u 10. stoljeće,

function of the monument in Galovac.[35] If the monument does indeed originate from Galovac, a place that in the early medieval period belonged to the settlement territory of the Croats, then a composition typical of the Dalmatian cities was here transferred to the liturgical furnishing of a non-urban structure. Such a circumstance should not, in fact, be surprising, given that pre-Romanesque compositions were generally present throughout Dalmatia, regardless of certain political boundaries. Rather, it would be more unexpected if the composition represented on the Ugljan monument were limited exclusively to the cities of Byzantine Dalmatia, given the characteristics of pre-Romanesque sculpture and the adoption of compositional patterns by various masters and workshops. Nevertheless, despite the convincing interpretation of the monument's origin presented in its publication, its attribution to Galovac cannot be considered definitively proven. The fact that stylistically comparable monuments have not yet been identified in Dalmatian cities does not necessarily mean that they never existed there. It therefore remains possible that the monument from Ugljan originated in Zadar and was later transferred to the island. The archival evidence does not contradict such a possibility, since it links the construction of the small church in Kali to a Zadar noble family that, among other possessions, held estates in Galovac. In addition, the sea route from Zadar to Ugljan would have been considerably shorter and more practical than transporting the monument from Galovac to Ugljan. The relocation of stone monuments from Zadar is well attested in other cases, such as the discovery of fragments of an ambon at Neviđane on the island of Pašman. Consequently, the definitive acceptance of a Galovac origin for the relief panel from Kali on Ugljan requires further incontrovertible evidence, and the possibility must remain open that the relief originated either from Zadar or from the island of Ugljan itself, where it may have been made for some unknown church.[36]

[35] The authors offer observations on the dimensions of the slab, which could represent a pluteus of a parapet in the baptistery at Galovac. These intriguing observations reinforce the thesis of the Galovac origin of the pre-Romanesque relief discovered on Ugljan.

[36] Additional arguments might emerge from petrographic analyses of the monuments in Galovac and their comparison with the relief from Ugljan. Such analyses are planned within the project of the Croatian Science Foundation entitled 'Workshop production and import

S obzirom na karakter samih djela i izražen *horror vacui*, čini se da bi ih kronološki trebalo smjestiti nakon razdoblja prevladavanja drukčije koncepcije ukrašavanja crkvenog namještaja ili pri završetku tog razdoblja, odnosno potkraj prve polovine 9. stoljeća. U prilog takvom datiranju govori situacija na pojedinim lokalitetima na kojima su zastupljena djela *Radionice Majstora koljanskog pluteja*. Isto tako, disperzija spomenika na hrvatskom teritoriju, uz općeniti izostanak djela te radionice u dalmatinskim gradovima, govori u prilog nešto kasnijem datiranju. Bez obzira na to je li radionica djelovala posve neovisno o dalmatinskim gradovima ili je njezino ishodište ipak bilo u jednom od njih, širenje predromaničke skulpture duboko u hrvatsko zaleđe, na kninsko i cetinsko područje, može se povezati s uznapredovalom kristijanizacijom i znatnim usponom hrvatske elite koja je stajala iza narudžbi crkvenog namještaja za središnje sakralne građevine svoje kneževine. U kontekstu poznatih povijesnih podataka to bi odgovaralo kasnijem razdoblju vladavine kneza Mislava, nakon što su klesari iz Trogira i Splita izradili crkveni namještaj u Bijaćima i na Putalju. Od ranih radionica jedino je *Trogirska klesarska radionica* bila angažirana i na kninskom području, u Pađenama. *Splitska* je teritorijalno bila vrlo ograničena, a *Zadarska*, unatoč zastupljenosti na mnogim lokalitetima u sjevernoj Dalmaciji, čini se, nije bila prisutna na kninskom području. Njezina je prisutnost ondje možda na neki način ostvarena kroz djela pripisana anonimnom Majstoru koljanskog pluteja. Njegova vještina klesanja i uvođenje novih kompozicijskih rješenja svakako su rezultat dobre klesarske škole i težnje za promjenama u ukupnom izgledu skulpture. Ta je skulptura na dvama lokalitetima, koji su bili najudaljeniji od dalmatinskih gradova, na Crkvini u Biskupiji kod Knina i na Crkvini u Gornjim Koljanima, bila namijenjena novim starohrvatskim trobrodnim bazilikama, dok je na drugim lokalitetima riječ o obnovljenim kasnoantičkim kompleksima. Pritom se na svim trima lokalitetima s kasnoantičkim kontinuitetom – Galovcu, Bijaćima i Rižinicama – djela *Majstora koljanskog pluteja* mogu datirati prema sredini 9. stoljeća te su vjerojatno kasnija od skulpture iste radionice iz Biskupije – Crkvine i Koljana. Na potonjim lokalitetima ta su djela u suvremenoj literaturi povezana s vremenom izgradnje dviju bazilika

koja je bila predložena za jednu skupinu zabata iz Crkvine u Biskupiji kod Knina. O toj dataciji i kasnijem drukčijem datiranju usp. Jakšić 2015, str. 237–238.

Apart from the issue of the pluteus from Ugljan attributed to the Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus, several additional observations and open questions may be raised regarding this pre-Romanesque workshop. Of primary interest is the problem of its dating. As already noted in the present paper, its works are characterised by the predominance of geometric interlace compositions densely covering the surfaces of the monuments. There are no Christian-symbolic compositions with crosses at the centre, surrounded by vegetal motifs of palmettes, tendrils and the like, which constitute the defining feature of the plutei associated with the three principal early pre-Romanesque workshops of Dalmatia—those of Zadar, Trogir and Split. These workshops were active largely during the first half of the 9th century, and in Croatian literature, the period up to the mid-9th century is generally characterised as one in which geometric interlace compositions had not yet come to dominate or become the defining feature of sculptural decoration of the era.[37] The activity of the Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus is also dated to the first half of the 9th century, in some studies more specifically to its very beginning, the first decades, while other scholars place it closer to the middle of the century.[38] Given the character of these works and their pronounced *horror vacui*, it would appear more plausible to place these works chronologically to a period after the predominance of a different decorative conception of church furnishings, or at least to the final phase of that tradition, that is, toward the end of the first half of the 9th century. Such a dating is supported by the archaeological circumstances at several sites where works of the Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus have been identified. Moreover, the distribution of the monuments across Croatian territory, together with the general absence of works attributable to this workshop within the Dalmatian cities, also suggests a somewhat later dating. Regardless of whether the workshop operated entirely independently of the Dalmatian cities or whether its origins lay nonetheless in one of

in the 8th and 9th centuries in the territory of northern Dalmatia' and directed by the author of the present article.

37 Rapanić 1987, pp. 87–91.

38 The initial dating to the 10th century, proposed for one group of gables from Crkvina at Biskupija near Knin, is omitted here. On this dating and its subsequent revision, cf. Jakšić 2015, pp. 237–238.

vrlo sličnih tipoloških obilježja, koje se i na temelju ukupnog arheološkog konteksta, odnosno starohrvatskih grobova s karolinškim nalazima, datiraju u približno isto vrijeme. Moguće je da su stilske promjene, *novum* vidljiv u djelima *Radionice Majstora koljanskog pluteja*, osmišljene upravo za narudžbe novih kneževskih bazilika u Biskupiji – Crkvini i Koljanima. To bi se moglo pripisati iskusnim klesarima koji su održavali kontakte s dalmatinskim gradskim radionicama i bili upoznati s karolinškim predlošcima. U literaturi je već istaknuto da su ti klesari možda pripadali *Zadarskoj predromaničkoj klesarskoj radionici*.[39] Brojni klesari u Zadru tijekom prve polovine 9. stoljeća već su imali veliko iskustvo, a bili su povezani i s radionicama u Italiji, te je neki od zadarskih majstora mogao osmisliti novi stilski izraz koljanskih i biskupijskih skulptura. Zadarska katedrala i druge gradske crkve bile su tada opremljene nešto ranije izrađenim namještajem drukčijeg stila, pa njegova zamjena nije bila potrebna. Neke naznake novog stila u samom Zadru možda se naziru na novootkrivenom pluteju s Ugljana, koji bi mogao potjecati iz Zadra. Ipak, osim visoke kvalitete klesanja, nema dovoljno argumenata za smještanje *Radionice Majstora koljanskog pluteja* u Zadar. Naprotiv, mogu se iznijeti argumenti u prilog njezinoj hrvatskoj provenijenciji. Ti su klesari ujedno bili i graditelji bazilika u Biskupiji – Crkvini i Koljanima, a te se građevine tipološki razlikuju od bazilika u dalmatinskim gradovima i odražavaju karolinške utjecaje. I novi geometrijski stil vidljiv na crkvenom namještaju tih bazilika mogao se razviti pod izravnim utjecajem karolinških predložaka, a da ti predlošci prethodno nisu bili udomaćeni u dalmatinskim gradskim radionicama. Moglo bi se zaključiti da su klesari ove radionice baštinili znanje i vještinu klesanja iz tradicija dalmatinskih gradskih radionica, da su neki od majstora vjerojatno radili u Zadru, ali i da je radionica imala svoju „hrvatsku" komponentu te se formirala kao zasebna klesarska radionica. Nastanak novog stila bio je potaknut velikim narudžbama na hrvatskom teritoriju te se i nakon prvih realizacija slična skulptura kleše na starohrvatskim lokalitetima – u Galovcu, Bijaćima i Rižinicama.

[39] J. Belošević pripisivao je skulpturu iz Galovca zadarskim klesarima. Slična razmišljanja o radioničkom podrijetlu ranih ciborija na hrvatskom teritoriju – u Galovcu i Biskupiji – Crkvini – iznio je P. Vežić. Usp. Belošević 1993, str. 205, 214; Vežić, Lončar 2009, str. 62–63.

those cities, the spread of pre-Romanesque sculpture deep into the Croatian hinterland, particularly into the Knin and Cetina regions, can be linked to the advanced process of Christianisation and the significant rise of a Croatian elite responsible for commissioning church furnishings for the principal sacred buildings of their principality. Within the framework of known historical circumstances, this would correspond to the later period of Duke Mislav's reign, following the production of church furnishings at Bijaći and Putalj by stonemasons from Trogir and Split. Among the early workshops, only the workshop of Trogir appears to have been active in the area of Knin, specifically at Pađene. The workshop of Split was territorially very restricted, while the one in Zadar, despite its presence at numerous sites in northern Dalmatia, seems not to have been directly present in the Knin region. Alternatively, its influence may have been manifested through works attributed to the anonymous master of the Koljane pluteus, whose carving skill and introduction of new compositional solutions undoubtedly reflect both a sound workshop training and an aspiration toward changes in the overall appearance of sculpture. At two sites that were the most distant from the Dalmatian cities, namely Crkvina in Biskupija near Knin and Crkvina in Gornje Koljane, this sculpture was intended for the new early Croatian three-aisled basilicas, whereas at the remaining sites it formed part of renovated late antique complexes. At all three sites with late antique continuity, Galovac, Bijaći and Rižinice, the works of the Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus can be dated towards the mid-9th century and are probably later than the sculpture of the same workshop at Biskupija–Crkvina and Koljane, where these works are linked in current scholarship to the time of construction of both basilicas, which are very similar in typological features and are dated, on the basis of the overall archaeological context (early Croatian graves with Carolingian finds) to approximately the same period. It is possible that the stylistic innovations, the *novum* evident in the works of the Koljane Workshop, were conceived precisely for the major commissions of the new ducal basilicas at Biskupija–Crkvina and Koljane. These innovations may be attributed to some experienced stonemasons who maintained contacts with workshops in the Dalmatian cities and were familiar with Carolingian models. It has already been

O tome da skulpturu *Radionice Majstora koljanskog pluteja* na Crkvini u Galovcu treba datirati najranije oko sredine 9. stoljeća svjedoči njezina pripadnost drugoj fazi ranosrednjovjekovnog crkvenog namještaja na tom lokalitetu.[40] Prva ranosrednjovjekovna faza ima klasična obilježja rane *Zadarske predromaničke radionice*, a kako je riječ o lokalitetu u zaleđu, ta se faza teško može datirati prije samog kraja 8. odnosno početka 9. stoljeća. Drukčije rečeno, ta skulptura nije mogla nastati prije stilski srodnog namještaja iz zadarske katedrale, kojem pripada i čuveni veliki mramorni plutej s križevima i biljnim viticama. Lijepo dekoriran namještaj prve faze u Galovcu sigurno nije zamijenjen neposredno nakon što je izrađen. Da namještaj druge galovačke faze nije prepoznat kao dio ostvarenja *Majstora koljanskog pluteja*, ta bi se faza vjerojatno datirala u kasnije predromaničko doba, možda u 10. stoljeće. Kao djelo s obilježjima koljanske skulpture namještaj druge predromaničke faze u Galovcu morao se staviti u raspon djelovanja *Radionice Majstora koljanskog pluteja*, koja, kako je već spomenuto, počinje s radom vjerojatno u drugoj četvrtini 9. stoljeća. Trajanje pojedinih predromaničkih radionica odnosno određenih stilskih izraza unutar radioničkih produkcija najčešće se ograničava na razdoblje od dva do tri desetljeća. Stoga bi galovačka druga predromanička faza mogla biti datirana u sredinu ili najkasnije na početak druge polovine 9. stoljeća.

O dataciji djelâ *Majstora koljanskog pluteja* u Bijaćima i njihovoj kronološkoj poziciji u odnosu na druge stilske faze na tom lokalitetu pisao je N. Jakšić, koji je i prepoznao prisutnost tog majstora u Bijaćima.[41] Jakšić ne daje konačno određenje odnosa *Trogirske klesarske radionice* i *Radionice Majstora koljanskog pluteja* u Bijaćima. Moguće je da je *Radionica Majstora koljanskog pluteja* preklesavala ranije spomenike tzv. rustičnih obilježja tek nakon što je *Trogirska radionica* izradila namještaj, ali moguće je i da je to učinjeno ranije.[42] Ako su geometrijske kompozicije u stilu *Majstora koljanskog pluteja* nastale kasnije, to bi odgovaralo dataciji predloženoj u ovom radu, to jest kraju prve polovine 9. stoljeća.

proposed in the literature that these craftsmen may have belonged to the pre-Romanesque stonemason workshop of Zadar.[39] Many stonemasons working in Zadar during the first half of the 9th century already had considerable experience and were also connected with Italian workshops. It is possible that one of the masters from Zadar devised the new stylistic expression of the sculptures in Koljane and Biskupija. At that time, the Cathedral of Zadar and other churches in the city had already been furnished with somewhat earlier church furnishings executed in a different style, the replacement of which was not necessary. Certain indications of this new stylistic direction within Zadar itself may perhaps be discerned in the recently discovered pluteus from Ugljan, which may originate from Zadar. Nevertheless, apart from the high quality of execution, there is insufficient evidence to localize the Koljane workshop in Zadar. On the contrary, arguments may be advanced in support of its Croatian provenance. These stonemasons were also the builders of the basilicas at Biskupija–Crkvina and Koljane, buildings that differ typologically from the basilicas of the Dalmatian cities and reflect Carolingian influences. The new geometric style visible in the church furnishings of these basilicas could have developed directly through Carolingian models, without those models having first been assimilated by the Dalmatian urban workshops. One may conclude that the stonemasons of the Koljane workshop inherited the knowledge and carving skills from the traditions of the Dalmatian urban workshops, and that some of the masters had probably worked in Zadar, but that the workshop also had its 'Croatian' component and constituted a distinct stonemason workshop in its own right. The emergence of the new style was prompted by the large-scale commissions in Croatian territory, and after its initial realisations similar sculpture continued to be produced at early Croatian sites — in Galovac, Bijaći and Rižinice.

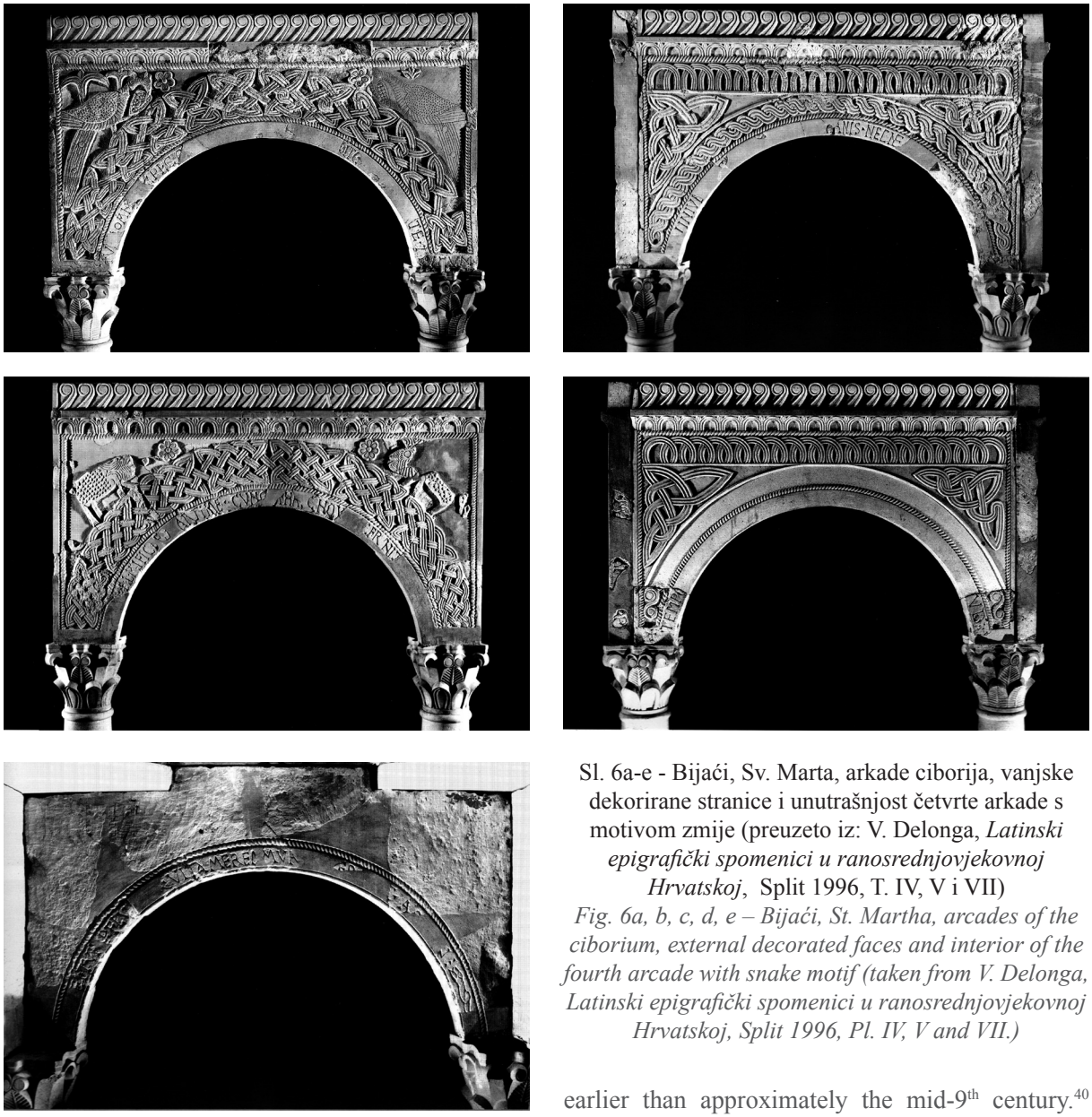
Its attribution to the second phase of early medieval furnishings at that site suggests that the sculpture of the Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus at Crkvina in Galovac should be dated no

40 O ranosrednjovjekovnom namještaju u Galovcu i njegovim različitim fazama usp. citirane radove J. Belošević.

41 Jakšić 2015, str. 241–266.

42 Jakšić 2015, str. 255.

39 J. Belošević attributed the sculpture from Galovac to stonemasons from Zadar. Similar views regarding the workshop origin of the early ciboria on Croatian territory — at Galovac and Biskupija–Crkvina — were expressed by P. Vežić. Cf. Belošević 1993, p. 205, 214; Vežić, Lončar 2009, pp. 62–63.



Sl. 6a-e - Bijaći, Sv. Marta, arkade ciborija, vanjske dekorirane stranice i unutrašnjost četvrte arkade s motivom zmije (preuzeto iz: V. Delonga, *Latinski epigrafički spomenici u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj*, Split 1996, T. IV, V i VII)

Fig. 6a, b, c, d, e – Bijaći, St. Martha, arcades of the ciborium, external decorated faces and interior of the fourth arcade with snake motif (taken from V. Delonga, Latinski epigrafički spomenici u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj, Split 1996, Pl. IV, V and VII.)

N. Jakšić je *Majstoru koljanskog pluteja* pripisao i čuveni ciborij iz Bijaća (sl. 6). U svojoj analizi navodi i niz elemenata u izgledu ciborija koji nisu tipični za *Radionicu Majstora koljanskog pluteja*, no to tumači kreativnošću i uvođenjem novih rješenja u postojeći repertoar.[43] Ranije je ciborij iz Bijaća promatran u vezi s nekim djelima iz Italije pa se zaključivalo da je nastao prema rimskim predlošcima ili čak da je uvezen kao gotovo djelo.[44] Najviše je tumačenju ciborija doprinijela Vedrana Delonga, koja je prva objavila cijeli tekst njegova

earlier than approximately the mid-9th century.[40] The first early medieval phase displays the characteristics of the early pre-Romanesque workshop of Zadar, and since Galovac is nonetheless a site in the hinterland, this phase can hardly be dated before the very end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century — or, to put it differently, it cannot have preceded the stylistically related furnishings of the Cathedral of Zadar, which is represented by the famous large marble pluteus with crosses and vegetal tendrils. The elegantly decorated furnishings of the first phase in Galovac were certainly not replaced immediately after they were made. Had the furnishings of the second phase of Galovac not been identified as a work of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus,

43 Jakšić 2015, str. 256–262.

44 Delonga 2004, str. 287–318; Vežić, Lončar 2009, str. 161.

40 On the early medieval furnishings at Galovac and their different phases, cf. the cited studies of J. Belošević.

dugačkog i vrlo fragmentarnog natpisa.[45] Pokazala je da tekst velikim dijelom upućuje na obred krštenja i da spominjanje sv. Marte ne treba biti prepreka tumačenju ciborija kao krstioničke instalacije. Razlozi zbog kojih se na krstioničkom ciboriju spominje ime jedne svetice mogli bi proizlaziti iz konteksta lokaliteta kojem je ciborij pripadao. Sv. Marta postala je titular ranosrednjovjekovne crkve u Bijaćima posredovanjem franačkih misionara koji su provodili kristijanizaciju na hrvatskom teritoriju. Zato je u natpisu izričito spomenuta sv. Marta, franačka svetica, čime je odano priznanje franačkim misionarima.

U interpretaciji likovnih komponenti ciborija V. Delonga istaknula je više analogija s područja Italije. Kompozicije na arkadama ciborija usporedive su sa sličnim prikazima na različitim rimskim ciborijima. Ovdje izdvajamo samo neke od zapaženih analogija. Obrubni motiv tordiranog užeta, prisutan na svim arkadama bijaćkog ciborija, često se javlja na rimskim ciborijima. V. Delonga navodi primjere iz S. Stefano Rotondo, Terme di Caracalla i SS. Bonifacio e Alessio.[46] Motiv učvorenih, nasuprotno postavljenih pereca, izveden na pročelnoj arkadi bijaćkog ciborija, vrlo je omiljen u Italiji. U vezi s njegovom pojavom na akvilejskom području navodi se da je riječ o stereotipnom motivu tijekom prve polovine 9. stoljeća.[47] Drugi dominantni geometrijski preplet na ciboriju iz Bijaća nalazi se na njegovoj trećoj arkadi, s lavovima u kutovima. Riječ je o mreži gusto isprepletenih troprutih traka koje tvore ritmički raspoređene izdvojene segmente. V. Delonga je kao blisku analogiju navela geometrijsku mrežu na jednoj arkadi ciborija iz pulske krstionice[48] (sl. 7). Možemo dodati da je sličan ritmički raspored većeg broja isprepletenih troprutih traka vidljiv i na jednoj arkadi šesterostranog ciborija iz rapske katedrale. Nije riječ o posve istoj izvedbi kao na pulskoj arkadi, ali je sličnost vidljiva u ponavljanju izdvojenih segmenata složenih prepleta troprutih traka. Oba navedena ciborija datiraju se u ranije 9. stoljeće.

this second phase would probably have been dated to the later pre-Romanesque period, perhaps to the 10th century. As a work bearing the characteristics of the sculpture of the Koljane workshop, the furnishings of the second pre-Romanesque phase in Galovac necessarily fall within the period of activity of the Koljane workshop; and this workshop, as already noted, most likely began its activity in the second quarter of the 9th century. Given that individual pre-Romanesque workshops, or particular stylistic expressions within workshop productions, typically spanned periods of two to three decades, the second pre-Romanesque phase in Galovac may be dated to the mid-century or at the latest to the beginning of the second half of the 9th century.

The dating of the works of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus at Bijaći and their chronological relationship to the other stylistic phases at that site was addressed by N. Jakšić, who also identified the presence of the master of Koljane at Bijaći.[41] Jakšić does not offer a conclusive interpretation of the relationship between the Trogir and Koljane workshops at Bijaći. It is possible that the Koljane workshop re-carved earlier monuments of the so-called rustic character only after the workshop of Trogir had completed the church furnishings, although such interventions may also have taken place at an earlier stage.[42] If the geometric compositions in the style of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus were made later, this would conform with the dating proposed in the present article, towards the end of the first half of the 9th century.

N. Jakšić has also attributed the famous ciborium from Bijaći (Fig. 6) to the Koljane stonemason workshop. In his analysis, he identified several features of the ciborium that diverge from the otherwise characteristic repertoire of the Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus, interpreting them as evidence of creative innovation and the introduction of new solutions into the existing repertoire.[43] Earlier scholarship examined the ciborium from Bijaći in connection with certain works from Italy, leading to the conclusion that it was executed following Roman models or even that it was imported as a completed piece.[44] The most significant

45 Delonga 1996, str. 48–50; Delonga 2004, str. 292–313. U drugoj objavi natpisa, u *Starohrvatskoj prosvjeti*, V. Delonga dala je brojne prijedloge popunjavanja nedostajućih dijelova teksta te komentare o njegovu značenju i analogije iz drugih ranosrednjovjekovnih natpisa i rukopisa.

46 Delonga 2004, str. 293, bilj. 13.

47 Tagliaferri 1981, str. 186.

48 Delonga 2004, str. 294.

41 Jakšić 2015, pp. 241–266.

42 Jakšić 2015, p. 255.

43 Jakšić 2015, pp. 256–262.

44 Delonga 2004, pp. 287–318; Vežić, Lončar 2009, p. 161.





Sl. 7a-b - Pula, dvije arkade ciborija iz pulske krstionice (preuzeto iz: P. Vežić, M. Lončar, *Hoc tigmen: Ciboriji ranoga srednjeg vijeka na tlu Istre i Dalmacije*, Zadar 2009, str. 50)

Fig. 7a, b – Pula, two arcades of the ciborium from the baptistery in Pula (taken from P. Vežić, M. Lončar, Hoc tigmen. Ciboriji ranoga srednjeg vijeka na tlu Istre i Dalmacije, Zadar 2009, p. 50.)

Motivi u kutovima bijaćkih arkada također imaju analogije u Italiji i Istri. Obrada tijela paunova točkastim rovašenjem slična je obradi paunova na ciboriju iz rimske crkve S. Andrea Catabarbara datiranom u rano 9. stoljeće.[49] Zaista je riječ o izrazitoj sličnosti s bijaćkim ciborijem. Uz paunovo točkasto tijelo, na rimskom se spomeniku nalaze usporedive rozete i lučni pojas (sl. 8). Za motive u kutovima druge arkade iz Bijaća, velike trokutaste geometrijske preplete, Delonga navodi analogiju na ciboriju iz rimske crkve sv. Bazilija.[50] Geometrijski preplet na ciboriju iz Bijaća zapravo predstavlja varijaciju standardnog motiva triquetre. Riječ je o proširenju jednostavnog trokutastog prepleta, pri čemu je i u proširenoj varijanti ostvaren neprekinuti slijed linija koje oblikuju motiv s trima istaknutim vrhovima (sl. 9). Razlozi takvog proširenja standardne triquetre vjerojatno su praktične naravi. Budući da je to jedini motiv u kutovima arkade, proširenje je uvjetovano željom za potpunim ispunjavanjem plohe tog dijela ciborija. Zanimljivo je da se triquetre različitih veličina javljaju na nekoliko arkada već spominjanog krstioničkog ciborija iz Pule. To dodatno učvršćuje povezanost bijaćkog ciborija s pulskim spomenikom. Triquetre se javljaju na još nekim arkadama ciborija u Dalmaciji i Istri, primjerice na arkadi iz Sv. Krševana u Zadru i arkadi iz Sv. Felicite u Puli. Taj se motiv pojavljuje i na drugim dijelovima crkvenog namještaja. Izvorno vjerojatno irskog podrijetla, triquetra je omiljen motiv u karolinškom umjetničkom i obrtničkom krugu pa se

[49] Delonga 2004, str. 292.

[50] Delonga 2004, str. 293.

contribution to the interpretation of the ciborium was made by Vedrana Delonga, who published for the first time the complete text of its lengthy and very fragmentary inscription.[45] She showed that the text largely refers to the rite of baptism and that the mention of St. Martha does not preclude the interpretation of the monument as a baptismal ciborium. The reasons why a female saint is named on a baptismal ciborium may instead be explained by the specific context of the site to which it belonged. St. Martha became the titular of the early medieval church at Bijaći through the mediation of Frankish missionaries who were conducting Christianisation on Croatian territory. It is for this reason that the inscription explicitly names St. Martha, a Frankish saint, thereby paying tribute to the Frankish missionaries.

In her interpretation of the visual components of the ciborium, V. Delonga emphasized numerous analogies from Italy. The compositions on the arcades of the ciborium are comparable with similar representations on various Roman ciboria. Only some of the noted analogies are highlighted here. The framing motif of a twisted rope, present on all the arcades of the ciborium from Bijaći, frequently appears on Roman ciboria. V. Delonga cites examples from San Stefano Rotondo, the Baths of Cara-

[45] Delonga 1996, pp. 48–50; Delonga 2004, pp. 292–313. In the second publication of the inscription, in the journal Starohrvatska prosvjeta, V. Delonga proposed numerous reconstructions of the missing parts of the text and provided comments on the meaning and analogies from other early medieval inscriptions and manuscripts.



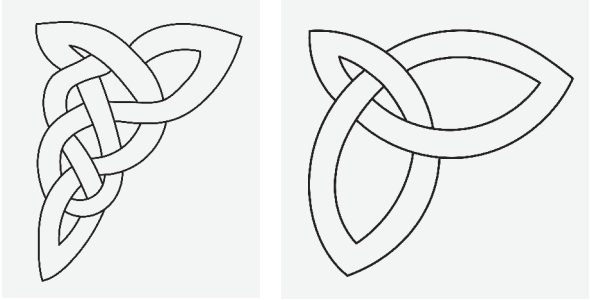
Sl. 8 - Rim, arkada ciborija iz crkve S. Andrea Catabarbara (preuzeto iz: *Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, VII, Spoleto 1974, T. I, tab. V)
Fig. 8 – Rome, arcade from the ciborium from the Church of Sant'Andrea Cata Barbara (taken from Corpus della scultura altomedievale, Spoleto 1974, VII, Pl. I, Tav. V.)

često pojavljuje na metalnim predmetima, poput Tasilova kaleža, na kojem je višestruko zastupljena i u standardnoj i u zoomorfnoj varijanti.[51] Motiv simbolizira Trojstvo te je stoga vrlo omiljen u karolinško doba. Ako je na bijaćkom ciboriju zaista mišljena proširena triquetra, to se izvrsno uklapa u naglašenu ulogu Svetog Trojstva na tom lokalitetu. U natpisu na ciboriju spomenuto je Trojstvo (*Trinum*), a na arhitravnoj gredi upisan je trostruki *Sanctus*. Naglašavanjem štovanja Trojstva bijaćki bi se ciborij mogao dovesti u vezu s *Trogirskom klesarskom radionicom* jer je toj radionici pripisana izrada arhitrava s navedenim natpisom. *Trogirska klesarska radionica* povezana je s Italijom i Istrom s obzirom na preuzimanje načina ukrašavanja arhitrava, pa je moguće pretpostaviti da su i drugi predlošci preuzeti iz tih područja, o čemu svjedoče navedene analogije za bijaćki ciborij.

Još je jedan motiv s ciborija vrlo zanimljiv i ukazuje na poseban izbor predložaka za taj spomenik. Riječ je o urezanom prikazu zmije na unutrašnjoj strani posljednje arkade ciborija, kojim završava natpis. V. Delonga nalazi analogiju na jednom pilastru iz Akvileje.[52] Osim toga, poznati su i drugi prikazi zmije na kamenim spomenicima iz Italije. Ti se prikazi znatno razlikuju od primjera iz Bijaća, no mogli su utjecati na izbor samog motiva.

[51] O triquetrama na Tasilovu kaležu i njihovoj rasprostranjenosti i značenju usp. Pesch 2019, str. 321–335.

[52] Delonga 2004, str. 297.



Sl. 9 - Shematski prikaz triquetre i njezine proširene varijante s ciborija iz Bijaća (crtež: M. Rončević)
Fig. 9 – Schematic drawing of the triquetra and its expanded variant on the ciborium at Bijaći (drawing: M. Rončević)

calla, and Santi Bonifacio e Alessio.[46] The motif of opposed knotted pretzels, executed on the frontal arcade of the ciborium from Bijaći, was very popular in Italy. In connection with its occurrence in the Aquileian region, it has been described as a stereotypical motif during the first half of the 9th century.[47] Another dominant geometric interlace on the ciborium from Bijaći appears on its third arcade, with lions in the corners. It features a network of densely interwoven triple-strand bands, arranged into rhythmically repeated segments. As a close analogy, V. Delonga cited the geometric network on one arcade of the ciborium from the baptistery in Pula.[48] (Fig. 7) It may be added that a similar rhythmic arrangement of multiple interwoven triple-strand bands is visible on one arcade of the hexagonal ciborium from the Cathedral of Rab. The execution is not identical to that of the arcade in Pula, but the similarity is apparent in the repeated individual segments consisting of complex interlace with triple-strand bands. Both ciboria are dated to the earlier 9th century.

The motifs in the corners of the arcades from Bijaći also have analogies in Italy and Istria. The execution of the peacocks' bodies with dotted notching is similar to the treatment of peacocks on the ciborium from the Roman church of Sant'Andrea Cata Barbara from the early 9th century.[49] The resemblance to the ciborium from Bijaći is indeed striking. In addition to the peacocks with dotted bodies, the Roman monument bears comparable rosettes and an arched band (Fig. 8). For the motifs in the corners of the second arcade from Bijaći,

[46] Delonga 2004, p. 293, fn. 13.

[47] Tagliaferri 1981, p. 186.

[48] Delonga 2004, p. 294.

[49] Delonga 2004, p. 292.

Na kraju se valja osvrnuti na još jedan lokalitet sa spomenicima različitog radioničkog podrijetla. U Rižinicama je poznat samo jedan spomenik koji se pripisuje *Radionici Majstora koljanskog pluteja*. Riječ je o većem ulomku arkade ciborija, pronađenom tijekom novijih arheoloških istraživanja na lokalitetu.[53] Na ulomku je sačuvan vijenac s kukama koje posve odgovaraju kukama tipičnim za *Radionicu Majstora koljanskog pluteja*. To su kuke s velikom zavojnicom na niskoj jednoprutoj nozi. Kimatij je istog tipa kao na šesterostranom ciboriju iz Galovca, tvore ga dvoprute arkadice. Glavna ploha ispunjena je gusto koncipiranom i vješto isprepletenom geometrijskom mrežom.[54] Ulomak se stoga opravdano povezuje s *Radionicom Majstora koljanskog pluteja*. Budući da su odavno poznati nalazi kamenog namještaja s Rižinica sigurno datirani u doba kneza Trpimira, na lokalitetu je, vjerojatno primarno, djelovala Trpimirova radionica. Naime, dobro poznati pisani izvori govore o Trpimirovu utemeljenju samostana koji se, prema arheološkoj slici, nalazio u Rižinicama.[55] Kao utemeljitelj, knez Trpimir dao je izraditi prvi ranosrednjovjekovni namještaj, koji nosi obilježja radionice datirane u njegovo doba. S obzirom na datiranje Trpimirove radionice u sredinu 9. stoljeća, najraniji mogući termin angažmana druge klesarske radionice, *Radionice Majstora koljanskog pluteja*, također je doba kneza Trpimira. Moguće je da je ta radionica izradila ciborij u isto vrijeme kada je u Rižinicama djelovala Trpimirova radionica, ili nešto kasnije, početkom druge polovine 9. stoljeća. Tako situacija u Rižinicama, kao i u Galovcu i Bijaćima, upućuje na to da

[53] Zekan 2011, str. 637–642. Dio arkade ciborija pronađen je u funkciji poklopnice groba. U izvještaju M. Zekan spominje da je uz ulomak ciborija pronađen i ulomak pluteja. Također opisuje nalaz dvaju mramornih pilastara na kojima je bio položen sekundarno upotrijebljeni antički sarkofag. Pilastri su ukrašeni motivom lozice s virovitim rozetama i koncentričnim kružnicama. Navodi se da je riječ o troprutom pleteru Trpimirova vremena.

[54] Motivi i njihova izvedba na ulomku ciborija iz Rižinica usporedivi su i sa šesterostranim ciborijem iz Biskupije – Crkvine, o čemu usp. Jurčević 2016, str. 71–102. Šesterostrani biskupijski ciborij danas je predmet detaljne analize M. Matijace, koji je o njemu održao izlaganje na znanstvenom skupu HAD-a u Kninu 2025. godine.

[55] U prilog tomu govori i novoistraženo groblje na središnjoj terasi lokaliteta, datirano od sredine 9. do kraja 11. stoljeća (usp. Tojčić, Curić 2024, str. 299–364).

i.e. large triangular geometric interlaces, Delonga cites an analogy on the ciborium from the Roman church of San Basilio.[50] The geometric interlace on the ciborium from Bijaći is in fact a variation of the standard triquetra motif. It constitutes an expansion of the simple triangular interlace, while still preserving within this enlarged variant a continuous sequence of uninterrupted lines forming a motif with three prominent points (Fig. 9). The reasons for this expansion of the standard triquetra is probably practical. Since it is the only motif in the corners of the arcade, the expansion was motivated by the desire to fill completely the surface area of that part of the ciborium. It is noteworthy that triquetrae of varying dimensions appear on several arcades of the aforementioned baptismal ciborium from Pula, which further strengthens the connection between the ciborium from Bijaći and the monument from Pula. Triquetrae appear also on several other ciborium arcades in Dalmatia and Istria, like for example on an arcade from St. Chrysogonus in Zadar and one from St. Felicitas in Pula. Furthermore, there are examples of this motif appearing also on other elements of church furnishings. Probably of Irish origin, the triquetra became a favoured motif within Carolingian artistic and artisanal circles and frequently appears on metalwork, such as the Tassilo Chalice, where it occurs repeatedly in both the standard and zoomorphic variants.[51] The motif symbolises the Trinity and is accordingly very popular in the Carolingian period. If the motif on the ciborium from Bijaći was indeed intended as an expanded triquetra, this would correspond perfectly with the pronounced role of the Holy Trinity at this site. The Trinity — *Trinum* — is mentioned in the inscription on the ciborium, while the architrave beam bears the inscription of the triple *Sanctus*. Through this strong emphasis on the veneration of the Trinity, the ciborium from Bijaći may be connected with the Trogir stonemason workshop, since that workshop has been attributed with creating the architrave bearing the aforementioned inscription. The Trogir stonemason workshop is linked to Italy and Istria through its adoption of decorative schemes for architraves, making it plausible to assume that other models from these regions were likewise adopted,

[50] Delonga 2004, p. 293.

[51] On the triquetrae on the Tassilo Chalice, their distribution and their significance, cf. Pesch 2019, pp. 321–335.

bi na tim lokalitetima trebalo nešto kasnije datirati djelovanje klesarske radionice povezane s namještajem u Koljanima i Biskupiji – Crkvini, gdje je ta radionica vjerojatno ostvarila svoja prva djela.

Klesarska radionica iz vremena kneza Trpimira slična je *Radionici Majstora koljanskog pluteja* po zastupljenosti na hrvatskom teritoriju. Djela te radionice zastupljena su na dosta velikom broju lokaliteta na području sjeverne i srednje Dalmacije.[56] Nedostaju, međutim, spoznaje o istovrsnim djelima u bizantskim dalmatinskim gradovima. *Radionica iz vremena kneza Trpimira* odlikuje se vrlo kvalitetnim klesarskim ostvarenjima, a njezine se kompozicije i izbor motiva prilično razlikuju od onih *Radionice Majstora koljanskog pluteja*. Umjesto prepleta troprutih traka, u Trpimirovoj radionici prevladavaju različite rozete, česti su križevi i elegantno oblikovane ptice. Čini se kao da su klesari ove radionice nastojali zadržati osnovne kompozicijske okvire ranih predromaničkih radionica iz dalmatinskih gradova, o kojima je bilo riječi ranije u ovom tekstu. Utoliko je moguće da *Klesarska radionica iz vremena kneza Trpimira* ima ishodište u nekom od dalmatinskih gradova, na što upućuje i kvaliteta njezinih djela. Nedostatak istovrsne skulpture u gradovima može se objasniti na isti način kao i u slučaju *Radionice Majstora koljanskog pluteja*. Sredina 9. stoljeća bila je vrijeme intenzivnog opremanja crkava na hrvatskom teritoriju, no gradske su crkve tada već bile opremljene nešto ranije izrađenim crkvenim namještajem. Stoga, bez obzira na mogućnost da je *Radionica iz vremena kneza Trpimira* bila povezana s gradskim sredinama, njezina djela nisu morala biti prisutna u tim gradovima. Nešto kasnije, u doba kneza Branimira, dvije definirane radionice djelovale su ponajviše na hrvatskom teritoriju, ali su sada potvrđeni nalazi skulpture iz tih radionica i u dalmatinskim gradovima, vjerojatno zato što se u drugoj polovini 9. stoljeća ondje javila potreba za novim crkvenim namještajem.[57]*

as suggested by the cited analogies for the ciborium from Bijaći.

Another motif on the ciborium is also very interesting and points to the special models selected for this monument. This is the incised depiction of a snake on the inner side of the last arcade of the ciborium, at which point the text of the inscription ends. V. Delonga identified an analogy on a pilaster in Aquileia.[52] There are also other examples of snake representations on stone monuments in Italy, which, though differing considerably from the example in Bijaći, may have influenced the choice of the motif itself.

In conclusion, attention should be directed to one additional site with monuments of diverse workshop provenance. In Rižinice, only one monument is known to be attributed to the Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus. This is a larger fragment of a ciborium arcade discovered during recent archaeological investigations at the site.[53] The fragment preserves a cornice with hooks that correspond exactly to those typical of the Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus, i.e. hooks with a large volute on a low, single-strand stem. The cymatium is of the same type as on the hexagonal ciborium from Galovac, formed by double-strand small arcades. On the main surface is a densely conceived, skilfully interwoven geometric network.[54] The fragment is justifiably associated with the Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus. Since the finds of stone furnishing from Rižinice, long known in scholarship, are securely dated to the reign of Duke Trpimir, the primary activity at the

[56] Usp. kartu rasprostranjenosti u Jakšić 2015, str. 313. Radionicu je prepoznao i imenovao N. Jakšić, autor velikog broja temeljnih članaka o predromaničkim klesarskim radionicama u Hrvatskoj.

[57] Usp. karte lokaliteta Branimirove *Dvorske* i *Benediktinske klesarske radionice* koje donosi N. Jakšić (2015, str. 335, 375).

* Ovaj je rad nastao u sklopu istraživačkog projekta HRZZ-a „Radionička proizvodnja i uvoz u 8. i 9. stoljeću na području sjeverne Dalmacije“ (IP-2024-05-4611).

[52] Delonga 2004, p. 297.

[53] Zekan 2011, pp. 637–642. A section of the ciborium arcade was found in use as a grave cover. M. Zekan's report notes that a fragment of a pluteus was also discovered alongside a fragment of the ciborium. He further describes the discovery of two marble pilasters, on which a secondarily reused ancient sarcophagus had been placed. The pilasters are decorated with a tendril motif with whirling rosettes and concentric circles and are described as triple-strand interlace of the Trpimir period.

[54] The motifs and their execution on the ciborium fragment from Rižinice are also comparable with the hexagonal ciborium from Biskupija–Crkvina; cf. Jurčević 2016, pp. 71–102. The hexagonal ciborium from Biskupija is currently the subject of a detailed study by M. Matijaca, who presented a paper on it at the conference of the Croatian Archaeological Society (HAD) in Knin in 2025.

site may reasonably be associated with the Workshop from the time of Duke Trpimir. Well-known written sources record Trpimir's foundation of a monastery, which, according to the archaeological evidence, was located at Rižinice.[55] As the founder, Duke Trpimir commissioned the first early medieval furnishings there, which bear the characteristics of the workshop dated to his time. Given that Trpimir's workshop is dated to the mid-9th century, the earliest possible date for the engagement of the second stonemason workshop, i.e. the Master of the Koljane Pluteus, is likewise the time of Duke Trpimir. It is possible that this latter workshop produced the ciborium at the same time as Trpimir's workshop was active at Rižinice, or even somewhat later, at the beginning of the second half of the 9th century. The evidence from Rižinice, but also from Galovac and Bijaći, thus indicates a somewhat later date of the sculpture of the stonemason workshop associated with the furnishings from Koljane and Biskupija–Crkvina, where the workshop most probably executed its earliest works.

The Workshop from the time of Duke Trpimir is similar to the Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus in terms of its representation within Croatian territory. Its works appear at a fairly large number of sites in northern and central Dalmatia,[56] yet there is no knowledge of comparable works within the Byzantine Dalmatian cities. The Workshop from the Time of Duke Trpimir is distinguished by works of very high quality, and the compositions and choice of motifs differ considerably from those of the Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus. Instead of interlaces composed of three-strand bands, Trpimir's workshop preferred various rosette forms and used frequently crosses and elegantly rendered birds. It seems that the stonemasons of this workshop sought to keep the basic compositional framework of the early pre-Romanesque workshops from the Dalmatian cities discussed earlier in this article. It is therefore possible that the Workshop from the time of Duke Trpimir had its origins in one of the Dalmatian cities, as also indicated by the quality of the works. The absence of comparable sculpture in the cities may be explained in the same way as in the case of the Workshop of the Master of the Koljane Pluteus. The mid-9th century was a time of intensive furnishing of churches within Croatian territory, while at the same time the churches in the urban centres had already been equipped with somewhat earlier made church furnishing. Regardless of the possibility that the Workshop from the time of Duke Trpimir was connected with the urban centres, its works need not necessarily have been represented there. Somewhat later, in the time of Duke Branimir, two defined workshops were active primarily within Croatian territory. In this case, however, some finds of sculpture from these workshops have also been identified in Dalmatian cities, probably because the demand for new furnishings also arose in the cities in the second half of the 9th century.[57] *

[55] Supporting evidence is provided by the newly excavated cemetery on the central terrace of the site, dated from the mid-9th to the end of the 11th century; cf. Tojčić, Curić 2024, pp. 299–364.

[56] Cf. the distribution map in N. Jakšić 2015, p. 313. The workshop was identified and named by N. Jakšić, the author of numerous fundamental papers on pre-Romanesque stonemason workshops in Croatia.

[57] Cf. the site maps for the Court's Workshop from the Time of Duke Branimir and the Benedictine Workshop provided by N. Jakšić 2015, pp. 335, 375.

* This paper was produced within the framework of the research project HRZZ IP–2024–05–4611, ''Workshop production and import in the 8th and 9th centuries in the territory of northern Dalmatia'.

Skraćenice / *Abbreviations*

ARR	Arheološki radovi i rasprave, Zagreb
GZM	Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja, Sarajevo
HAG	Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak, Zagreb
HAM	Hortus artium medievalium, Zagreb-Motovun
Radovi IPU	Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb
RFFZd	Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Zadar
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split
VAMZ	Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Zagreb

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