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Uloga crkvenog namještaja
u komuniciranju identiteta u
ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj

The role of church furniture in
the communication of identity
in early medieval Croatia

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Sažetak

Ranosrednjovjekovna Hrvatska Kneževina nastala je i razvijala se u tijesnoj vezi s Franačkim Carstvom, a u takvom se kontekstu formirao i novi identitet lokalne elite dalmatinskoga zaleđa. U ranijem razdoblju ključnu ulogu u njegovu komuniciranju imali su luksuzni predmeti karolinške provenijencije prilagani u grobove, no od središnje trećine 9. stoljeća takva praksa uglavnom prestaje. U ovome se članku detaljno raspravlja o onome što je uslijedilo. Primarno o vremenu i kontekstu formiranja i razvoja Hrvatske Kneževine, o kneževskoj vlasti i njezinom nasljeđivanju. Navedeni se period pokazuje kao prilično turbulentan, s nerijetko nesigurnim položajem vladara i unutar vlastite države. U takvom kontekstu oslonac se tražio u Crkvi. Budući da se upravo na

Summary

The early medieval Croatian Duchy emerged and developed in a close relation with the Frankish Empire, and the new identity of the local elite in the Dalmatian hinterland was also formed within this context. In the earlier period, the key role in its communication was played by luxury items of Carolingian origin deposited in graves, but such practices generally ceased by the middle third of the 9th century. This paper contains a detailed discussion of what followed, primarily the time and context of the formation and development of the Croatian Duchy and ducal authority and its succession. This period was rather turbulent, with rulers often finding themselves in a precarious position even within the confines of their own state. Under such conditions, they often looked to the Church

crkvenom namještaju nerijetko spominju imena vladara i drugih pripadnika elite, ali i etničke oznake, može se tvrditi kako je dio prakse komuniciranja njihova identiteta preseljen upravo u ovaj novi medij. U tom svjetlu analizira se izgradnja predromaničkih crkava, a osobito kamene oltarne ograde i njihove česte izmjene tijekom 9. stoljeća.

Ključne riječi: ranosrednjovjekovna Hrvatska, Karolinzi, identitet, predromanika, predromanička arhitektura, crkveni namještaj

for support of their authority. Since the names of rulers and other members of the elite, as well as ethnic designations, are indeed carved into church furniture, it may be asserted that one component of the communication of their identity was in fact conveyed to this medium. In this light, the construction of pre-Romanesque churches will be analysed, particularly the stone altar screens and their frequent alteration during the 9th century.

Key words: early medieval Croatia, Carolingians; identity; pre-Romanesque; pre-Romanesque architecture; church furniture

Uvod

Ostaci predromaničkoga crkvenog graditeljstva i skulpture spadaju među najbrojnije nalaze s područja ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske, a uz grobne nalaze svakako su nam najvažniji postojeći izvor za proučavanje tadašnje materijalne kulture i njezine uloge u onodobnom društvu. Donatori, inicijatori gradnje i uređenja ranosrednjovjekovnih crkava, bili su pripadnici tadašnje kako crkvene, tako i svjetovne elite – biskupi, opati, svećenici misionari, knezovi, župani i drugi velikodostojnici. Sačuvani natpisi na oltarnim ogradama brojnih crkava ukazuju na različite povode njihova naručivanja. Riječ je o vrlo širokoj temi, koja je predmetom proučavanja praktički od samih začetaka hrvatske medievistike. Na ovome mjestu neće stoga biti prikazan detaljniji pregled cjelokupnih dosadašnjih istraživanja niti će se ulaziti u složenu problematiku preduvjeta i temelja te različitih utjecaja koji su uvjetovali njihov nastanak i konačnu formu, kao ni odnosa naručitelja, projektanta i izvedbe samoga djela.¹ U fokusu će biti jedno u nas manje istraženo područje, odnosno analiza uloge ovih spomenika u formiranju i komuniciranju identiteta ranosrednjovjekovne svjetovne elite dalmatinskoga zaleđa.² Na početku je, međutim, nužno propitati povijesni kontekst unutar kojega su nastajali.

Hrvati, Karolinzi i formiranje kneževine

Nakon slabo poznatog najvećeg dijela 7. i 8. stoljeća na samom kraju potonjega te u prvim desetljećima 9. stoljeća dolazi do prilično velikog zanimanja za istočnojadranski prostor i njegovo zaleđe iskazanog u pisanim izvorima. Podaci su ponajviše vezani uz franačku ekspanziju prema području nekadašnje rimske provincije Dalmacije i čitav niz važnih događaja i transformacija koje je ona proizvela.³ Ubrzo je, međutim, uslijedilo novo zatišje

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- 1 Za širi pregled navedenih tema v. Rapanić 1984; Rapanić 1987; Rapanić 2008; Jurković 1992a; Delonga 1996; Maraković, Jurković 2007; Marasović 2008; Jarak 2013; Jakšić 2015.
 - 2 Ovaj je rad dijelom prerađeno i dopunjeno posljednje poglavlje moje doktorske disertacije: Bilogrivić 2016, str. 152-182.
 - 3 Na ovome mjestu nije moguće detaljno se posvetiti navedenim temama pa stoga upućujem na samo neke od radova koji se njima opširnije bave: Milošević 2000a; Budak 2001; Dzino 2010, str. 176-189. V. također Bilogrivić 2016, str. 106-116.

Introduction

The remains of pre-Romanesque church architecture and sculpture are among the most numerous finds from the territory of early medieval Croatia, and alongside grave goods they are the most important existing source for the study of the material culture of the time and its role in society. The donors who initiated the construction and furnishing of early medieval churches were members of the ecclesiastical but also secular elite of that period: bishops, abbots, missionary priests, dukes, *župans* and other dignitaries. The preserved inscriptions on the altar screens of many churches reflect the differing reasons for why they were commissioned. This is a very broad topic, which has practically been the object of research since the very beginnings of Croatian medieval studies. Thus, a detailed overview of all previous research shall not be provided herein, nor shall the complex problems surrounding their preconditions and foundations, and various influences which influenced their emergence and ultimate form, nor the relationship between the patron, the architect and the production of the actual structure be broached.¹ The focus shall remain on an aspect far less examined in Croatian scholarship: the role of these monuments in the formation and communication of the identity of the early medieval secular elites of the Dalmatian hinterland.² First, however, it will be necessary to examine the historical context in which they emerged.

The Croats, the Carolingians and formation of the duchy

After the rather scanty known majority of the 7th and 8th centuries, at the very end of the latter and in the first decades of the 9th century, considerable interest in the eastern Adriatic region and its hinterland emerged, as reflected in written sources. The data are mostly tied to Frankish expansion toward the territory of the former Roman province of Dalmatia and the entire series of momentous events and transformations spurred thereby.³ Soon afterward, however, the sources once more became silent until almost the

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- 1 For a broader view of these topics, see Rapanić 1984; Rapanić 1987; Rapanić 2008; Jurković 1992a; Delonga 1996; Maraković, Jurković 2007; Marasović 2008; Jarak 2013; Jakšić 2015.
 - 2 This paper is the partially reworked and expanded final chapter of my doctoral dissertation: Bilogrivić 2016, pp. 152-182.
 - 3 It would be impossible to delve more deeply into these topics here, so I shall cite just a few works that deal with them in greater detail: Milošević 2000a; Budak

u izvorima gotovo do sredine 9. stoljeća. Guduskani, prva poznata skupina, odnosno “uži” rano-srednjovjekovni skupni identitet u dalmatinskome zaleđu, se nakon početka ustanka donjopanonskoga kneza Ljudevita više ne spominju, a nasljednik njihovog vođe, kneza Borne, Ladislav, svoj je prvi i posljednji spomen u izvorima doživio prilikom vlastitoga imenovanja knezom (Dalmacije i Liburnije) 821. godine. No čini se da upravo u tom razdoblju zatišja u izvorima dolazi do promjene u unutarnjim političkim odnosima u dalmatinskome zaleđu s dolaskom na čelo nove skupine kao regionalne sile, a time i novog identiteta koji će doskora prevladati nad svima ostalima. Riječ je, naravno, o Hrvatima.

Prvi nam sigurnije poznati vladar nakon Ladislava jest Mislav, koji se spominje u kronici Ivana Đakona, nastaloj oko 1000. godine, u kontekstu sklapanja mira s venecijanskim duždem Petrom Tradenikom 839. godine.⁴ Dužd je prvotno krenuo u napad protiv slavenske zemlje, odnosno Sklavinije, no zatim je ipak sklopio mir s njihovim vladarom (*illorum principe Muisclavo*).⁵ Ovi su Slaveni različiti od Neretvana (*Narrentani Sclavi*),⁶ slavenske skupine smještene između rijeka Cetine i Neretve, a koji svojim gusarenjem dolaze u česte sukobe s Venecijancima.⁷ Prvi sigurni spomen Hrvata u pisanim izvorima potječe pak iz dobro poznate darovnice kneza Trpimira, tradicionalno datirane u 852. godinu, a sačuvane u najstarijem prijepisu iz 16. stoljeća.⁸ U toj se darovnici Trpimir spominje kao knez Hrvata (*dux Chroatorum*), a Mislav kao njegov prethodnik (*antecessor noster Mislauius*)⁹ te se stoga Mislav opravdano može smatrati prvim sigurno poznatim hrvatskim knezom. Postoje i mišljenja prema kojima bi se u razdoblje između Ladislava i Mislava mogla smjestiti vladavina kneza

mid-9th century. The Guduscani, the first known, or rather “narrower,” early medieval group identity in the Dalmatian hinterland, were no longer mentioned after the beginning of the rebellion staged by the Lower Pannonian Duke Ljudevit, and Ladislav, the successor to the Guduscan leader, Duke Borna, was mentioned for the first and only time in sources upon his elevation to the post of duke (of Dalmatia and Liburnia) in 821. However, it would appear that it was precisely during this period of silence in the sources that changes had occurred in internal political relations in the Dalmatian hinterland, with the ascendance of a new group as a regional power, and thereby a new identity that would soon prevail over all others. These were, of course, the Croats.

The first more certain known ruler after Ladislav was Mislav, who is mentioned in the chronicle of John the Deacon, written around the year 1000, within the context of the conclusion of a treaty with the Venetian doge Pietro Tradonico in 839.⁴ The doge had initially launched an attack on the Slav lands, i.e., a Scлавinia, but then nevertheless concluded a peace with their ruler (*illorum principe Muisclavo*).⁵ These Slavs were different from the Narentians (*Narrentani Sclavi*),⁶ a Slav group situated between the Rivers Cetina and Neretva, whose piracy often put them into conflict with the Venetians.⁷ The first certain mention of the Croats in written sources comes from the well-known charter of Duke Trpimir, traditionally dated to 852, and preserved in its oldest transcription from the 16th century.⁸ In this charter, Trpimir is identified as the duke of the Croats (*dux Chroatorum*), and Mislav as his predecessor (*antecessor noster Mislauius*),⁹ so Mislav may justifiably be considered the first certainly known Croatian duke. According to some views, the reign of Duke Višeslav may be placed in the

4 Budak 1994, str. 19; Goldstein 1995, str. 184-186.

5 *Iohannis diaconi chronicon*, str. 17.

6 *Iohannis diaconi chronicon*, str. 17.

7 Detaljno o problematici Neretvana raspravlja Ančić 2011, str. 252-270, koji smatra kako njihovo ime nije samoidentifikacijska oznaka, već da se zapravo radi o stanovništvu (rano)srednjovjekovne Humske Kneževine.

8 Za detaljnu jezičnu analizu darovnice v. Perić 1984, gdje se utvrđuje postojanje kasnijih preinaka, ali i autentičnost jezgre dokumenta. Također i Budak 1994, str. 75-76; Budak 1997, str. 16. Za nešto raniju dataciju, između 840. i 844., v. Margetić 1993.

9 *Codex diplomaticus I*, str. 4-5.

2001; Dzino 2010, pp. 176-189. See also Bilogrivić 2016, pp. 106-116.

4 Budak 1994, p. 19; Goldstein 1995, pp. 184-186.

5 *Iohannis diaconi chronicon*, p. 17.

6 *Iohannis diaconi chronicon*, p. 17.

7 More details on the problems of the Narentians are discussed by Ančić 2011, pp. 252-270, who believes that their name was not a mark of self-designation, but rather that they were actually the population of the (early) medieval Duchy of Hum.

8 For a detailed linguistic analysis of the charter, see Perić 1984, where the existence of later modifications, as well as the authenticity of the core document, have been ascertained. Also Budak 1994, pp. 75-76; Budak 1997, p. 16. For a somewhat earlier dating, between 840 and 844, see Margetić 1993.

9 *Codex diplomaticus I*, pp. 4-5.

Višeslava,¹⁰ no kako se on spominje jedino na mramornom krsnom zdencu za koji se s više ili manje sigurnosti tek pretpostavlja da potječe iz Nina, njegovo točno pozicioniranje na geopolitičkoj i kronološkoj karti ranosrednjovjekovnog dalmatinskog zaleđa nije u potpunosti moguće.¹¹

Točan način prevladavanja Hrvata nad Guduskanima i njihova dolaska na čelo slavenskih skupina u dalmatinskome zaleđu nije poznat. No kako ističu brojni autori, Bornina i Ladislavova vlast bila je čvrsto uključena u karolinške strukture te izravno podređena furlanskome markgrofu.¹² Velik udarac takvome ustrojstvu zadao je pohod Bugara u Panoniju 827. godine, koji je rezultirao porazom furlanskoga markgrofa Baldrika te konačno ukidanjem njegove markgrofovije 828. godine.¹³ Teritorij koji je nekoć uključivala podijeljen je na četiri dijela, a svakim od njih vladao je zasebni *comes*; kako navodi N. Budak, moguće je da su jedno od ta četiri područja činile Dalmacija i Liburnija zajedno. Kako je nedugo potom Hrvatska pripadala kraljevstvu Italije, pretpostavlja i da je Mislav bio zapravo *comes* u franačkome sustavu.¹⁴ Tako je navedeno područje, koje će uskoro biti u izvorima poznato kao *regnum Chroatorum*,¹⁵ i dalje ostalo pod franačkom prevlašću, unutar reorganiziranog sustava. Upravo u toj teritorijalnoj reorganizaciji, odnosno posljedicama bugarskog upada u Panoniju, D. Dzino vidi i kraj moći dotadašnjih franačkih saveznika Guduskana, koje su zamijenili hrvatski vođe Mislav pa zatim Trpimir, kao novi vladari

period between Ladislav and Mislav,¹⁰ but since he is only mentioned on a marble baptismal font which, with greater or lesser certainty, is assumed to have come from Nin, his position on the geopolitical and chronological map of the Dalmatian hinterland cannot be fully ascertained.¹¹

The exact manner in which the Croats overcame the Guduscani and their ascendance to the head of the Slav groups in the Dalmatian hinterland is not known. But as many scholars have stressed, the reigns of Bornina and Ladislav were firmly incorporated into Carolingian structures and directly subordinate to the margrave of Friuli.¹² A major blow to this structure was inflicted by the Bulgarian incursion into Pannonia in 827, which ended in defeat for the Friulian margrave Baldrich and ultimately the termination of his margraviate in 828.¹³ The territory which it once encompassed was divided into four parts, and each was ruled by a separate *comes*; as stated by Neven Budak, it is possible that one of these four areas jointly consisted of Dalmatia and Liburnia. Since Croatia belonged to the Kingdom of Italy not long afterward, he also assumes that Mislav was in fact a *comes* in the Frankish system.¹⁴ So this territory, which would soon be known in the sources the *regnum Chroatorum*,¹⁵ remained under Frankish suzerainty within the reorganized system. It was precisely in this territorial reorganization, i.e., the consequences of the Bulgarian incursion into Pannonia, that Danijel Dzino sees the end of the power of the Guduscani, until then Frankish allies, who were replaced by the Croatian leaders Mislav and then Trpimir, as the new rulers of Dalmatia and Liburnia, also most likely under direct Frankish patronage.¹⁶

10 Takvo je mišljenje prvi iznio Gunjača 1973, str. 137-141, datirajući Višeslavovu krstionicu u kraj trećeg desetljeća 9. stoljeća. Gunjačino viđenje podržava i nastoji dodatno argumentirati Posavec 1996, osobito str. 26-28.

11 Za detaljan pregled o problematici Višeslava i njegove krstionice v. Matijević Sokol 2007. Autorica podrobno argumentira datiranje krstionice na početak 9. stoljeća. V. također Jakšić 2015, str. 387-416, gdje autor ponovno obrazlaže i nastoji dodatno argumentirati datiranje krstionice u posljednju četvrtinu 9. st., kao i tumačenje da je njezina izrada naručena u Veneciji, koju nije ni napustila sve do 20. stoljeća.

12 V. Bilogrivić 2016, str. 108-116 i ondje navedenu literaturu.

13 *Annales regni Francorum*, s. a. 827, 828, str. 173-174; Dzino 2010, str. 187.

14 Budak 1997, str. 16; v. također Basić 2015, str. 444.

15 *Codex diplomaticus I*, str. 5.

10 Such a view was first put forth by Gunjača 1973, pp. 137-141, by dating the baptismal font of Višeslav to the end of the third decade of the 9th c. Gunjača's view supports and further backs Posavec 1996, esp. pp. 26-28.

11 For a detailed overview of the problems of Višeslav and his baptismal font, see Matijević Sokol 2007. The author persuasively argued for the dating of the font to the beginning of the 9th c. See also Jakšić 2015, pp. 387-416, wherein the author once more explained and attempted to further argue for the font's dating to the final quarter of the 9th c., as well as the interpretation that it was commissioned in Venice, which it did not leave until the 20th c.

12 See Bilogrivić 2016, pp. 108-116 and the references cited therein.

13 *Annales regni Francorum*, s. a. 827, 828, pp. 173-174; Dzino 2010, p. 187.

14 Budak 1997, p. 16; see also Basić 2015, p. 444.

15 *Codex diplomaticus I*, p. 5.

16 Dzino 2010, pp. 187-189. Dzino also believed that the Guduscani retained a certain independence even under the new system which would have been reflected in

Dalmacije i Liburnije, također najvjerojatnije pod izravnim franačkim pokroviteljstvom.¹⁶

Promatramo li ih na taj način, Hrvate bismo mogli vidjeti kao jednu od lokalnih slavenskih skupina koja je tijekom 8. stoljeća bila dominantna unutar određenog manjeg područja u dalmatinskome zaleđu. Njihovo pretpostavljeno preuzimanje vodeće uloge od Guduskana svakako implicira da su do tada već bili dobro organizirani, a zasigurno i povezani s Francima. Da nespominjanje Hrvata u pisanim izvorima prije sredine 9. stoljeća tome ne protuslovi, mogao bi indicirati i natpis na ulomku arhitrava oltarne ograde pronađenom na lokalitetu crkve sv. Marte u Bijaćima kod Trogira. Premda sačuvan tek fragmentarno (T. II. 1), nerijetko se uzima kao mogući najraniji spomen Hrvata na predromaničkim spomenicima, budući da se vidljivi dio riječi ATORV zajedno s ostatkom restituira kao [...Chro?]ATORV(m) ET IVPA[nus (-ano?)...].¹⁷ Datacija ovog ulomka i natpisa je nesigurna, budući da je njegova ornamentika vrlo rustično i netipično izvedena, pa su stoga predlagane i različite mogućnosti. N. Cambi ga je prilikom objave datirao u 12./13. stoljeće, najvjerojatnije na temelju Karamanove datacije cjelokupne skupine rustično klesanog crkvenog namještaja iz crkve sv. Marte na sam kraj 12. stoljeća.¹⁸ T. Burić pak smatra kako se zapravo radi o skulpturi iz razdoblja nakon ranokršćanske faze, a prije razvijene predromaničke te ju je datirao u prvu polovinu 7. stoljeća, s time da smatra da je natpis uklesan naknadno, najkasnije u prvom ili drugom desetljeću 9. stoljeća.¹⁹ Takvu dataciju

If considered in this manner, the Croats could be seen as one of the local Slavic groups which was dominant within in a certain smaller area in the Dalmatian hinterland during the 8th century. Their assumed takeover of the leading role from the Guduscani certainly implies that by that point they had already been well organized, and certainly linked to the Franks. That the absence of any mention of the Croats in written sources prior to the 9th century does not contradict this might be indicated by the inscription on an architrave fragment of an altar screen found at the Church of St. Martha in Bijaći near Trogir. Although preserved only fragmentarily (Pl. II. 1), this is often taken as the earliest mention of the Croat name on a pre-Romanesque monument, since the visible portion of the word ATORV together with the rest has been restituted as [...Chro?]ATORV(m) ET IVPA[nus (-ano?)...].¹⁷ The dating of this fragment and inscription is uncertain, since its ornamentation is quite rustic and atypically rendered, so several possibilities have been proposed. Upon its publication, Nenad Cambi dated it to the 12th/13th century, most likely on the basis of Karaman's dating of the entire group of rustically sculpted furniture from the Church of St. Martha to the end of the 12th century.¹⁸ T. Burić, however, believes that it was actually a sculpture from the period after the Early Christian phase, and prior to the high pre-Romanesque, and dated it to the first half of the 7th century, although he thinks that the inscription was engraved subsequently, in the first or second decades of the 9th century at the latest.¹⁹ Such dating is also accepted by V. Delonga.²⁰ Not long afterward, A. Milošević persuasively linked this sculpture primarily to the artistic expression of Italy's territory during the 8th century. He considers it a reflection of events in

16 Dzino 2010, str. 187-189. Dzino također smatra kako su Guduskani i u novom sustavu zadržali određenu neovisnost koja bi se zrcalila u kasnijem spomenu izdvojenih ličkih županija pod vlašću bana. Takav zaključak, međutim, ovisi o smještaju izvornog guduskanskog teritorija na to područje, no u novije su vrijeme prisutne i drugačije interpretacije, koje ga smještaju na bibrirsko-skradinsko područje. Usp. Bilogrivić 2016, str. 108-111.

17 Delonga 1996, str. 52, T. VIII. 10. Autorica smatra kako se radi o dedikacijskom natpisu nepoznatog hrvatskog župana. Prilikom objave ovog ulomka N. Cambi ga je pročitao u obratnom smjeru: IVPA[NVS ili NO / CHRO ?]ATORV(M) ET [?. Cambi 1968, str. 67, T. II/3. Na istome mjestu autor također pretpostavlja kako je iza ET slijedilo ime još jedne etnije. Moguće čitanje dijela natpisa kao *iupanus Chroatorum* predlaže i Katičić 2007, str. 357.

18 Cambi 1968, str. 67; Karaman 1930, str. 76, 116.

19 Burić 1992, str. 180-182, 186.

the later mention of separate Lika counties (*županija*) under the rule of a *ban*. Such a conclusion, however, depends on placing the original Guduscani territory in this region, although more recently different interpretations have appeared, placing it in the Bribir-Skradin area. Cf. Bilogrivić 2016, pp. 108-111.

17 Delonga 1996, p. 52, Pl. VIII. 10. The author believes that it was a dedicatory inscription of an unidentified Croatian *župan*. Upon publication of this fragment, N. Cambi read it in the reverse direction: IVPA[NVS or NO / CHRO ?]ATORV(M) ET [?. Cambi 1968, p. 67, Pl. II/3. In that same position, he also assumed that the ET was followed by the name of another ethnic group. A possible reading of this part of the inscription as *iupanus Chroatorum* was also proposed by Katičić 2007, p. 357.

18 Cambi 1968, p. 67; Karaman 1930, pp. 76, 116.

19 Burić 1992, pp. 180-182, 186.

20 Delonga 1996, p. 52.

prihvaća i V. Delonga.²⁰ Nedugo potom A. Milošević je uvjerljivo povezoao ovu skulpturu s likovnim izričajem prvenstveno na području Italije tijekom 8. stoljeća. Smatra je odrazom tadašnjih zbivanja u europskoj umjetnosti i datira na sam kraj 8. ili početak 9. stoljeća. Pogotovo je karakterističan motiv vitice s trolistom, izveden na brojnim ulomcima crkvenog namještaja iz Sv. Marte.²¹ Također ističe kako ne postoje indicije naknadnog uklesavanja natpisa na postojeći arhitrav u nekom kasnijem razdoblju te da se ovdje radi o za sada najranijem poznatom kamenom spomeniku sa zabilježenim spomenom hrvatske etnije, kao i najranijem zabilježenom spomenu instituta župana u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj.²²

Zbog krajnje fragmentiranosti ovog nalaza teško je sa sigurnošću reći prethodi li u izvornom natpisu županovo ime imenu Hrvata ili pak slijedi iza njega. Logičnijim se čini da je dio natpisa u gornjem polju arhitrava, dakle spomen župana, došao na kraju, nakon što je popunjeno donje, glavno natpisno polje. Upravo se to dogodilo na jednome arhitravu s istoga lokaliteta, u kojemu tekst o ispunjenju zavjeta teče središnjim natpisnim poljem te zbog nedostatka mjesta završava u gornjem desnom uglu.²³ Slično je i s natpisima na arhitravima kasnog 9. stoljeća iz Gornjeg Muća i Otrisa, u kojima se spominje knez Branimir. Kod prvoga (T. II. 2) je završetak datacije "prešao" na donju stranu grede,²⁴ dok je kod potonjega (T. III. 3) spomen sv. Križa stisnut ispod glavnoga teksta na samom završetku arhitrava.²⁵ Navedeni tijekom natpisa na arhitravu iz Bijaća također bi prema brojnim analogijama iz druge polovine 9. stoljeća u tom slučaju pretpostavljao spomen druge titule ispred hrvatskoga imena, kao što je primjerice *dux*. Ta se pretpostavka na žalost ne može dokazati, no uz definitivni spomen župana upućuje na visok stupanj organiziranosti Hrvata već početkom 9. stoljeća, što uz grobne i druge arheološke nalaze dodatno potkrjepljuje tvrdnju o postojanju različitih

European art at the time and dated it to the very end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century. The motif with vines and trefoil leaves is particularly typical, rendered on numerous fragments of church furniture from St. Martha's.²¹ He also stressed that there were no indications of subsequent carving of the inscription on the existing architrave in a later period, and that this is for now the earliest known stone monument with a recorded mention of the Croatian ethnics, and the earliest recorded mention of the institution of the *župan* in early medieval Croatia.²²

Due to the extremely fragmentary nature of this find, it is difficult to state with any certainty whether the *župan*'s name preceds the Croat name or rather follows it. It would appear more logical that part of the inscription in the upper section of the architrave, i.e., where the *župan* is mentioned, came at the end, after the lower, main inscription field was filled. This is precisely what happened to an architrave from the same site, on which the text on the fulfilment of a vow runs across the central inscription field and then due to a lack of space ends in the upper right-hand corner.²³ The inscriptions on the late 9th-century architraves from Gornji Muć and Otres, both mentioning Duke Branimir, are similar. On the first one (Pl. II. 2), the end of the dating "passes over" to the lower side of the beam,²⁴ while on the latter (Pl. III. 3) the mention of the Holy Cross is squeezed beneath the main text at the very end of the architrave.²⁵ In this case, the course of the inscription on the architrave from Bijaći would, based on numerous analogies from the latter half of the 9th century, also imply the mention of another title before the Croatian name, such as, for example, *dux*. This supposition cannot, unfortunately, be proven, but the definitive mention of a *župan* points to a high degree of organization by the Croats already at the beginning of the 9th century, which together with grave goods and other archaeological finds additionally backs the hypothesis on the existence of different (ethnic) groups under the leadership of local elites in the territory of the Dalmatian hinterland in the Early

20 Delonga 1996, str. 52.

21 Milošević 2004, str. 243-257. Jakšić 2015, str. 197, smatra da lukove prve oltarne ograde s ovoga lokaliteta treba datirati u 8. stoljeće, radije nego u 9. st.

22 Milošević 2004, str. 256-257. Autor također pretpostavlja kako dva slova vidljiva u prvom retku natpisa (...CA...) možda predstavljaju fragment županova imena (Milošević 2004, str. 257, bilj. 85), detalj koji ostali ovdje citirani autori zanemaruju.

23 Delonga 1996, str. 51, T. VIII. 8/2.

24 Delonga 1996, str. 123, T. XLII. 91.

25 Delonga 1996, str. 217, T. LXXI. 182/3.

21 Milošević 2004, pp. 243-257. Jakšić 2015, p. 197, believes that the arches of the first altar screen from this site should be dated to the 8th c. rather than the 9th c.

22 Milošević 2004, pp. 256-257. The author also speculated that the two letters visible in the first line of the inscription (...CA...) may be a fragment of the *župan*'s name (Milošević 2004, p. 257, note 85), a detail which the other scholars cited herein have neglected.

23 Delonga 1996, p. 51, Pl. VIII. 8/2.

24 Delonga 1996, p. 123, Pl. XLII. 91.

25 Delonga 1996, p. 217, Pl. LXXI. 182/3.

(etničkih) skupina pod vodstvom lokalnih elita na području dalmatinskoga zaleđa u ranom srednjem vijeku, jedna od kojih su bili i Hrvati.²⁶

Kada prvi put u pisanim izvorima doznajemo za njih, njihov je identitet već jasno formiran, kao što je i Hrvatska Kneževina pod vodstvom Trpimira, iako i dalje u procesu formacije, po svemu sudeći sasvim čvrsto strukturirana politička tvorevina u kojoj su očiti brojni franački utjecaji. U Trpimirovoj se darovnici spominju župani, koji su upravitelji županija, ali i pripadnici kneževa dvora, u čemu se možda odražava franački sustav uveden sredinom 9. stoljeća, s položajem kneza između grofova i kraljevske palače. Navode se dvorska kapela te kapelani, što također upućuje na franačke uzore.²⁷ Kao tragove reprezentativnog vladarskog dvora u fizičkom smislu A. Milošević tumači upravo ostatke arhitektonskog sklopa u Bijaćima zajedno s crkvom sv. Marte.²⁸ M. Ančić pak drži da je riječ o društvenom i vjerskom sjedištu lokalne zajednice, smještenom unutar kliške *curtis*, te da je primarna uloga tog sklopa bila gospodarska, odnosno da se ondje prikupljao višak uroda s okolnih zemljišta i višak stočarskih i lovno-sakupljačkih aktivnosti. Posjed je bio pod jurisdikcijom kliškog župana, koji se spominje kao jedan od svjedoka u istoj darovnici.²⁹ I sama *curtis* je oblik organizacije većih posjeda koji se širi s uspostavom karolinške vlasti, a u ranom 9. stoljeću bijaćkim su posjedom najvjerojatnije upravljali svećenici Gumpert (prvotno đakon) i Gracijoz/Gracijan, koji se spominju na nadvratnicima tamošnjih objekata kao nalogodavci njihova uređenja ili (pre)gradnje.³⁰

Gumpertovo ime prvo je u nizu imena germanskih svećenika, opata i redovnika koja će ostati zabilježena na oltarnim ogradama crkava te u pisanim izvorima iz različitih dijelova ranosrednjovjekovne

Middle Ages, one of which would have been the Croats.²⁶

When we first learn about them in the written sources, their identity had already been clearly formed, just as the Croatian Duchy under Trpimir's leadership was, although still in a formational process, by all indications a strongly structured polity in which numerous Frankish influences were apparent. Trpimir's charter mentions *župans*, who are the administrators of *županijas* (counties), but also members of the duke's court, which may have been a reflection of the Frankish system introduced in the 9th century, with the post of dukes between counts and the royal palace. The court chapel and chaplains are mentioned, which also indicates Frankish models.²⁷ Indeed, A. Milošević interpreted the architectural complex in Bijaći together with the Church of St. Martha as traces of a representative ruler's court in the physical sense.²⁸ M. Ančić, however, maintains that this is the social and religious seat of a local community, situated within the *curtis* of Klis, and that the primary role of this complex was economic, i.e., surplus crops from the surrounding lands and surpluses from animal husbandry and hunter/gatherer activities were collected there. The property was under the jurisdiction of the Klis *župan*, who was mentioned as one of the witnesses in that same charter.²⁹ The *curtis* itself was an organizational form for larger estates that spread with the establishment of Carolingian authority, and in the early 9th century the Bijaći estate was probably administered by the priests Gumpert (initially a deacon) and Graciosus/Gratianus, who are mentioned on the lintels of the local buildings as those who commissioned their furnishing or (re) construction.³⁰

Gumpert's name is the first in a series of names of Germanic priests, abbots and monks that would remain recorded on altar screens of churches and in

26 Dodatnu zanimljivost pridaje i navedena Cambijeva pretpostavka o nesačuvanom spomenu druge etnije uz Hrvate. Spomenuti grobni i drugi nalazi u navedenom su kontekstu detaljno obrađeni u: Bilogrivić 2016, str. 88-151.

27 Budak 1997, str. 17; Ančić 2005, str. 216-218; Ančić 2016, str. 227.

28 Milošević 2007, str. 87-92. Opširno je o temi vladarskog dvora u Bijaćima pisao već i Karaman 1930, str. 149-178. Pregled dosadašnjih istraživanja i spoznaja o ovome lokalitetu, s iscrpnim popisom literature, donosi Marasović 2011, str. 157-172.

29 Ančić 2004, str. 210-212. O sustavu *curtis* v. također Ančić 2005, str. 223-225; Ančić 2016, str. 235-237.

30 Ančić 2004, str. 208, 217.

26 Cambi's aforementioned speculation on the unreserved mention of another ethnic group besides the Croats makes this all the more intriguing. The grave goods and other finds noted in this context were thoroughly analysed in: Bilogrivić 2016, pp. 88-151.

27 Budak 1997, p. 17; Ančić 2005, pp. 216-218; Ančić 2016, p. 227.

28 Milošević 2007, pp. 87-92. Already Karaman 1930, pp. 149-178 had written more extensively on the topic of a ruler's court in Bijaći. An overview of previous research and findings on this site, with an exhaustive bibliography, was provided by Marasović 2011, pp. 157-172.

29 Ančić 2004, pp. 210-212. On the *curtis* system, see also Ančić 2005, pp. 223-225; Ančić 2016, pp. 235-237.

30 Ančić 2004, pp. 208, 217.

Hrvatske,³¹ a ona su samo dio brojnih potvrda presudne franačke uloge u ranoj fazi kristijanizacije Hrvata i ostalog stanovništva u dalmatinskome zaleđu. Taj je proces započeo sigurno na samom početku 9. stoljeća, a možda već i krajem 8. st.³² Iz aspekta materijalne kulture o ranim počecima franačkih misija mogli bi svjedočiti nalazi poput kadiionice iz Cetine kod Vrlike te dvaju prijenosnih relikvijara iz Nina,³³ a možda i pojedini nalazi ostruga i drugih predmeta s kršćanskom simbolikom u grobovima istog horizonta.³⁴ Franački su utjecaji očiti i u crkvenoj arhitekturi 9. stoljeća – u troapsidalnom svetištu, građenju nemalog broja crkava prema izravnim arhitektonskim uzorima s područja Franačkog Carstva, a svakako i u formiranju zapadnog zdanja po uzoru na *westwerk*.³⁵

Osim crkve sv. Marte i arhitektonskog kompleksa u Bijaćima, slični se građevinski sklopovi nalaze i na drugim lokacijama unutar Hrvatske Kneževine. M. Ančić je tako predložio analognu situaciju na Mastirinama u Kašiću te na Mijovilovcu/Manastirinama u Pridragi. Na oba su lokaliteta pronađeni ostaci nekadašnjih antičkih kompleksa (*villae rusticae*), koji su u ranome srednjem vijeku, odnosno sredinom 9. stoljeća, dograđeni te su u sklopu njih podignute šesterolisne crkve. Prema Ančiću, svaki od ovih kompleksa predstavljao je na taj način središnji dio po jedne *curtis*.³⁶ Sličan se oblik posjeda nedvojbeno nalazio i na području Kosova polja kod Knina, s vjerojatnim središtem negdje u Biskupiji. Na Crkvini je na mjestu ranijega groblja podignuta crkva sv. Marije, s izravnim analogijama upravo na franačkome području, najbliže u Guranu u karolinškoj Istri, ali i dalje na zapadu.³⁷ Uz nju je otkriven i veliki kompleks različitih prigradnji, koje

written sources in various parts of early medieval Croatia,³¹ and they are only a part of the numerous confirmations of the crucial Frankish role in the early phase of the christianisation of the Croats and other populations in the Dalmatian hinterland. This process certainly began at the very onset of the 9th century, and perhaps even at the end of the 8th century.³² From the standpoint of material culture, finds such as a censer from Cetina, near Vrlika, and two transportable reliquaries from Nin,³³ and perhaps also the finds of spurs and other items with Christian symbols in graves from the same horizon³⁴ may testify to the early beginnings of Frankish missions. Frankish influences were also obvious in the church architecture of the 9th century: in the triapsidal sanctuaries, the construction of a not insignificant number of churches modelled directly on those from the territory of the Frankish Empire, and certainly in the formation of the western massive based on the *westwerk* model.³⁵

Besides the Church of St. Martha and the architectural complex in Bijaći, similar architectural complexes can be found at other sites within the Croatian Duchy. M. Ančić thus proposed Mastirine in Kašić and Mijovilovac/Manastirine in Pridraga as analogous situations. The remains of former Roman-era complexes (*villae rusticae*) were found at both sites, and these were reconstructed in the early Middle Ages, i.e., in the mid-9th century, with hexaconch churches built in them. According to Ančić, each of these complexes thus constituted the central part of a *curtis*.³⁶ A similar form of estate was also undoubtedly located in the area of Kosovo polje near Knin, with a likely seat somewhere in Biskupija. The Church of St. Mary was erected at Crkvina at the site of an earlier cemetery, with direct analogies precisely in Frankish territory, the closest in Guran in Carolingian Istria, but also

31 Rapanić 1987, str. 136; Delonga 1996, str. 307-308; Maraković, Jurković 2007, str. 361.

32 Usp. Budak 1994, str. 87-92; Budak 1996; Belošević 1998, str. 110, 112-130; Ančić 2005, str. 218-221; Vedriš 2015a, str. 193-196.

33 Milošević 2000, str. 251-253 (IV. 119), 288-290 (IV. 182-183). Doduše, datacija ovih predmeta u kasno 8., odnosno početak 9. stoljeća, ne mora nužno određivati i isključivo vrijeme njihova korištenja.

34 Usp. Bilogrivić 2016, str. 131-133; Bilogrivić (u tisku).

35 Jarak 1998; Jarak 2013, str. 130-145; Jurković 1987; Jurković 1995; Jurković 1995a; Jurković 1997; Jurković 2000; Maraković, Jurković 2007, str. 366-368; Marasović 2008, str. 393-395.

36 Ančić 2007, str. 203-208.

37 Jurković 1987, str. 79-81; Jurčević 2009, str. 69; Jarak 2013, str. 193.

31 Rapanić 1987, p. 136; Delonga 1996, pp. 307-308; Maraković, Jurković 2007, p. 361.

32 Cf. Budak 1994, pp. 87-92; Budak 1996; Belošević 1998, pp. 110, 112-130; Ančić 2005, pp. 218-221; Vedriš 2015a, pp. 193-196.

33 Milošević 2000, pp. 251-253 (IV. 119), 288-290 (IV. 182-183). Of course, the dating of these items to the late 8th or early 9th c. need not define the exclusive period of their use.

34 Cf. Bilogrivić 2016, pp. 131-133; Bilogrivić (in press).

35 Jarak 1998; Jarak 2013, pp. 130-145; Jurković 1987; Jurković 1995; Jurković 1995a; Jurković 1997; Jurković 2000; Maraković, Jurković 2007, pp. 366-368; Marasović 2008, pp. 393-395.

36 Ančić 2007, pp. 203-208.

su dozidane nakon što je crkva već bila podignuta.³⁸ Jedna od takvih prigradnji jest i *westwerk*, u okviru kojega su pronađeni i sarkofazi pa se taj dio stoga najčešće tumači kao vladarski mauzolej.³⁹ Precizna datacija njegove gradnje nije potpuno moguća, no svakako je uslijedila nakon izgradnje crkve, koja se pak nedvojbeno može datirati u prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća, u posljednje vrijeme čak i s preciznijim nastojanjima, otprilike u njegovo treće ili četvrto desetljeće.⁴⁰ Jednako je tako morao biti podignut i prije polaganja sarkofaga pronađenog u južnoj prostoriji prizemlja, a u kojemu se nalazila pokojnica s jednojagodnim sljepoočničarkama. One se datiraju od druge polovine 9. stoljeća, ali također i u 10. stoljeće, kao i u ranije 11. st.⁴¹ Prema cjelokupnoj slici koju pružaju grobovi na Crkvini, vjerojatnijom se ipak čini datacija ovoga groba u raniji dio navedenog raspona.⁴² Na temelju toga te na temelju tumačenja ukopa u sarkofagu iz sjeverne prostorije *westwerka* kao očito starijega od arhitekture,⁴³ možemo pretpostaviti da je zapadna dogradnja crkve uslijedila tek nakon sredine 9. stoljeća, odnosno u njegovoj drugoj polovini.⁴⁴ U svakom slučaju, gradnjom *westwerka* čiji je prizemni dio očito bio namijenjen ukopu pripadnika najvišeg sloja elite, možda i samih vladara, iznad ranijih grobova, uspostavljena je izravna veza s prethodnim pokojnicima na ovome lokalitetu, a ne može se isključiti ni čin

farther west.³⁷ A large complex with various expansions, which were added after the church had already been raised, were discovered next to it.³⁸ One of these expansions was also the *westwerk*, inside of which sarcophagi were also discovered, so that this part is most often interpreted as a rulers' mausoleum.³⁹ The precise dating of its construction has not been entirely possible, but it certainly followed after the church's construction, which can undoubtedly be dated to the first half of the 9th century, and more recently efforts at greater precision, to roughly its third or fourth decade, have been made.⁴⁰ It likewise had to have been built prior to the instalment of the sarcophagus found in the southern room of the ground floor, in which there was a deceased woman wearing single-bead temple ornaments. They are dated to the latter half of the 9th century, but also into the 10th and the early 11th centuries.⁴¹ Based on the overall picture offered by the graves at Crkvina, the dating of this grave to the earlier part of this range would seem the most probable.⁴² Based on this and on the interpretation of the interment in the sarcophagus from the northern room of the *westwerk* as obviously older than the architecture,⁴³ we may assume that the western expansion of the church followed only after the mid-9th century, thus some time in its latter half.⁴⁴ In any case, the construction of a

38 Gunjača 1953, str. 20-32.

39 Gvozdanović 1976, str. 5-10; Goss 2006, str. 165-167, 176-178; Goss 2012, str. 142-145; Jurković 1995a, str. 67-69; Milošević 2000b, str. 123; Milošević 2002, str. 202; Milošević 2011, str. 87; Sokol 2009, str. 160-165.

40 Jurčević 2009, str. 68-70; Jurčević 2014, str. 130-137, 153; Jarak 2013, str. 192-193.

41 Petrinec 2009, str. 208-211.

42 Podrobno o ovome sarkofagu s obrazloženjem datacije u kasno 9. stoljeće: Petrinec 2012, str. 98-99.

43 Za detaljno objašnjenje v. Bilogrivić 2016, str. 128-131, s navedenom ranijom literaturom.

44 Datiranje gradnje i crkve i mauzoleja već na početak 9. stoljeća, ili čak završetak 8., čini se puno preranim. Takvog je mišljenja Milošević 2004, str. 259; Milošević 2007, str. 94; Milošević 2011, str. 90. Slično i Marasović 2009, str. 539, 548-549. Marasović, doduše, smatra kako je prvo građen mauzolej, a potom crkva, oslanjajući se time na prvotni Miloševićev prijedlog (Milošević 2000b, str. 123), koji je navedeni autor u međuvremenu napustio. Isti redosljed zagovara, pak, u najnovije vrijeme M. Ančić (2016, str. 225-226). U svakom slučaju, protiv takve datacije govore i grobovi koji se nalaze ispod arhitekture, kao i skulptura iz same crkve, koja se teško može datirati tako rano.

37 Jurković 1987, pp. 79-81; Jurčević 2009, p. 69; Jarak 2013, p. 193.

38 Gunjača 1953, pp. 20-32.

39 Gvozdanović 1976, pp. 5-10; Goss 2006, pp. 165-167, 176-178; Goss 2012, pp. 142-145; Jurković 1995a, pp. 67-69; Milošević 2000b, p. 123; Milošević 2002, p. 202; Milošević 2011, p. 87; Sokol 2009, pp. 160-165.

40 Jurčević 2009, pp. 68-70; Jurčević 2014, pp. 130-137, 153; Jarak 2013, pp. 192-193.

41 Petrinec 2009, pp. 208-211.

42 Extensive analysis of this sarcophagus and an explanation of its dating to the 9th c.: Petrinec 2012, pp. 98-99.

43 For a detailed explanation, see Bilogrivić 2016, pp. 128-131, with the earlier literature cited.

44 Dating the construction of both the church and the mausoleum already to the beginning of the 9th c., or even the end of the 8th c., seems excessively early. This is the view of Milošević 2004, p. 259; Milošević 2007, p. 94; Milošević 2011, p. 90. Similar also in Marasović 2009, pp. 539, 548-549. Marasović, though, believes that the mausoleum was built first, and then the church, thus relying on Milošević's initial suggestion (Milošević 2000b, p. 123), which that scholar abandoned in the meantime. The same order has been advocated more recently by M. Ančić (2016, pp. 225-226). In any case, this dating is refuted by graves situated beneath the architecture, as well as sculpture from the church itself, which can hardly be dated that early.

njihova naknadnog formalnog pokrštenja.⁴⁵ Na taj je način ujedno i monumentalizirano ranije mjesto ukopa. Kao paralela iz užega karolinškog područja može se navesti primjer Pipina Malog, koji se dao pokopati ispred praga crkve Saint-Denis, a nad čijim je grobom kasnije njegov sin Karlo Veliki dao podići *augmentum*.⁴⁶ Slični slučajevi poznati su i na drugim lokalitetima s područja ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske, od kojih je najbliži onaj na Crkvini u Gornjim Koljanima, gdje je također na mjestu bogatih grobova s karolinškim ostrugama (možda i mačem), podignuta crkva srodnoga prostornog rasporeda i skulpture, a time i datacije, kao i Sv. Marija na Crkvini u Biskupiji.⁴⁷ Usporediva je svakako i situacija na Begovači u Biljanima Donjim, gdje je nedugo nakon ukopa dva groba u improviziranim "sarkofazima" sagrađena manja crkva čija se skulptura u najnovije vrijeme veže uz vladavinu kneza Mislava.⁴⁸

Što se tiče ostatka sklopa na Crkvini u Biskupiji, njegova datacija je nesigurnija, a nepoznata je i izvorna funkcija. Ponuđeno je više opcija, od one da je riječ o samostanu (iz 9. ili kasnijih stoljeća ranoga srednjeg vijeka)⁴⁹ do pretpostavke o dvoru hrvatskoga biskupa građenome u drugoj polovini 11. stoljeća uz crkvu sv. Marije, koja bi tada bila prenamijenjena u katedralu. Najnovija je pak teza A. Miloševića da cijeli kompleks predstavlja vladarski dvor izgrađen u 9. stoljeću po uzoru na karolinške vladarske dvore, unutar kojega je crkva mogla služiti i kao svojevrsna *aula regia*, odnosno

westwerk in which the ground floor was obviously intended for the interment of members of the highest level of the elite, perhaps even the rulers themselves, above earlier graves established a direct tie with the previous deceased at this site, and the act of their retroactive formal baptism cannot be excluded.⁴⁵ The earlier burial site was also monumentalised in this manner. The example of Pippin the Short may be cited as a parallel from the narrower Carolingian territory: he arranged for his own interment in front of the threshold of the Church of Saint-Denis, and his son Charlemagne later had an *augmentum* raised above that grave.⁴⁶ Similar cases are known at other sites from the territory of early medieval Croatia, of which the closest is that at Crkvina in Gornji Koljani, where, at a site of wealthy graves containing Carolingian spurs (and perhaps a sword as well), a church was built with a similar spatial layout and sculpture, and thus also similar dating, as the Church of St. Mary at Crkvina in Biskupija.⁴⁷ The situation at Begovača in Biljani Donji is also comparable. There a small church was built not long after the interment of two graves in improvised "sarcophagi", and its sculpture has rather recently been linked to the reign of Duke Mislav.⁴⁸

As to the remains of the complex at Crkvina in Biskupija, its dating is less certain, while its original function is also unknown. Several options have been considered, from the suggestion that it was a monastery (from the 9th or later centuries of the early Middle Ages)⁴⁹ to speculation that it was the palace of a Croatian bishop built in the latter half of the 11th century next to the Church of St. Mary, which was then repurposed into a cathedral. The latest hypothesis, by

45 Milošević 2000b, str. 123-124; Petrinec 2006, str. 27. Pitanje naknadnog pokrštenja ovisi o tumačenju grobova podno *westwerka* kao kršćanskih ili poganskih, a ono je moglo biti provedeno već i gradnjom same crkve. Za kontinuitet pokapanja v. također Ančić 2016, str. 225-226.

46 Gvozdanović 1976, str. 9; Jarak 2013, str. 82. Navođenjem ovog primjera ne impliciram nužno i isti povod za gradnju aneksa nad mjestom ukopa u oba slučaja.

47 Usp. Jurčević 2009; Milošević 2009, str. 359-360.

48 Za različita mišljenja o crkvi iz koje potječe predromanička skulptura s Begovače v. Bilogrivić 2016, str. 138-140, i ondje navedenu raniju literaturu; za pripisivanje skulpture vremenu kneza Mislava v. Josipović 2012a.

49 Pretpostavka o samostanu iz 9. stoljeća slaže se s tumačenjem prizemlja *westwerka* kao mauzoleja, budući da su bili potrebni redovnici koji bi skrbili za duše tamošnjih pokojnika. Usp. Jurković 1995a, str. 67; Jurković 1997, str. 31.

45 Milošević 2000b, pp. 123-124; Petrinec 2006, p. 27.

The question of retroactive baptism depends on the interpretation of the graves underneath the *westwerk* as Christian or pagan, and it may have already been done with the construction of the church itself. On the continuity of interment see also Ančić 2016, pp. 225-226.

46 Gvozdanović 1976, p. 9; Jarak 2013, p. 82. Citing this example does not necessarily imply the same grounds for construction of the annex above the interment site in both cases.

47 Cf. Jurčević 2009; Milošević 2009, pp. 359-360.

48 For different views on the church in which the pre-Romanesque sculpture from Begovača originated, see Bilogrivić 2016, pp. 138-140 and the earlier literature cited therein; on the attribution of the sculpture to the time of Duke Mislav, see Josipović 2012a.

49 The hypothesis on a 9th c. monastery fits with the interpretation of the ground floor of the *westwerk* as a mausoleum, since monks to care for the souls of the deceased interred there were needed. Cf. Jurković 1995a, p. 67; Jurković 1997, p. 31.

dvorana za primanja važnih uzvanika i gostiju.⁵⁰ Iako je Miloševićovo tumačenje vrlo privlačno, o stvarnoj funkciji arhitektonskog sklopa na Crkvi ni teško je donijeti čvršći zaključak budući da ne postoje praktički nikakvi jasni podaci o namjeni prostorija sa sjeverne strane crkve.⁵¹ Nastavak razvoja ovoga lokaliteta prema karolinškim uzorima i nakon prestanka ukapanja s prilozima mačeva i ostruga je, međutim, neupitan.

Izneseni primjeri pokazuju da je oslanjanje na Franačko Carstvo predstavljalo ključan segment u razvoju identiteta elite na području ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske i tijekom posljednje dvije trećine 9. stoljeća. Karolinško oružje zasigurno je i dalje igralo važnu ulogu kao statusni simbol i pokazatelj tog identiteta, no kako njegovo prilaganje u grobove prestaje, ne možemo više o tome suditi na isti način kao u ranijem razdoblju.⁵² S druge strane, javljaju se novi statusni simboli, kao što su položaji na vladarskome dvoru, koje je knez mogao dodjeljivati svojim podložnicima.⁵³ Također, pokazivanje pripadnosti novoj eliti i vladarskome sloju, a s time i komuniciranje identiteta, pronašlo je novo područje u izgradnji, obnovi i opremanju crkava.⁵⁴

O titulama i kneževskoj vlasti

No prije negoli se više posvetimo tom problemu, valja istaknuti još jednu činjenicu. Unatoč vazalnom odnosu prema Franačkome Carstvu i karolinškim modelima korištenima za stvaranje i komuniciranje novog identiteta, hrvatski su vladari ipak bili velikim dijelom samostalni u odnosu na Franke. Trpimirova darovnica je tako s jedne strane datirana prema Lotaru i njegovu kraljevanju u Italiji, što pokazuje Trpimirov formalno podređeni položaj, no navod da je za kneza Hrvata postavljen

A. Milošević, is that the entire complex constituted a ruler's court built in the 9th century and modelled after the Carolingian rulers' courts, within which the church may have served as a sort of *aula regia*, a hall for receiving important dignitaries and guests.⁵⁰ Even though Milošević's interpretation is enticing, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions on the actual function of the architectural complex at Crkvina, since there are practically no clear data on the use of the rooms on the northern side of the church.⁵¹ The continuation of development of this site according to Carolingian models even after the end of interments with swords and spurs as grave goods is, however, indisputable.

These examples show that reliance on the Frankish Empire constituted a crucial segment in the development of elite identity in the territory of early medieval Croatia also during the final two thirds of the 9th century. Carolingian weaponry certainly continued to play a major role as a status symbol and indicator of this identity, but since its depositing in graves ceased, nothing more about this can be assessed in the same manner as in the earlier period.⁵² On the other hand, new status symbols appeared, such as posts in the ruler's court, which the duke could confer to this subjects.⁵³ Moreover, the demonstration of belonging to the new elite and the ruling class, and thus the communication of identity, found a new field in the construction, restoration and furnishing of churches.⁵⁴

On titles and the duke's authority

But before dealing with that topic, it would be worthwhile to highlight yet another fact. Despite the vassal relationship with the Frankish Empire and the Carolingian models used to create and communicate their new identity, Croatian rulers were nevertheless largely independent in relation to the Franks. Trpimir's

50 Milošević 2002, str. 202-206; Milošević 2007, str. 92-95. Također i Ančić 2016, str. 226. Za opsežan pregled dosadašnjih istraživanja i promišljanja o ovome lokalitetu v. Marasović 2009, str. 536-550; Petrincec, Jurčević 2015.

51 I najnovija revizijska arheološka istraživanja lokaliteta, koja su u tijeku, iznjedrila su za sada o tome vrlo malo podataka. Usp. Petrincec, Jurčević 2015.

52 Usp. Bilogrivić (u tisku). Za usporedno rijetke primjerke ostruga u grobovima kasnog 9. te 10. stoljeća v. Petrincec 2012.

53 Ančić 2005, str. 217; Ančić 2016, str. 228.

54 Usp. Jurković 1995a, str. 72-75, o Crkvi i državi kao neodvojivim sastavnicama moći te značenju crkvene arhitekture u tom kontekstu; također i Maraković, Jurković 2007; Ančić 2004, str. 220-223.

50 Milošević 2002, pp. 202-206; Milošević 2007, pp. 92-95. Also in Ančić 2016, p. 226. For an extensive overview of previous research and consideration of this site, see Marasović 2009, pp. 536-550; Petrincec, Jurčević 2015.

51 Even the most recent revisionary archaeological excavations of the site, which are under way, have thus far yielded very little data. Cf. Petrincec, Jurčević 2015.

52 Cf. Bilogrivić (in press). For comparatively rare examples of spurs in graves from the late 9th and 10th c., see Petrincec 2012.

53 Ančić 2005, p. 217; Ančić 2016, p. 228.

54 Cf. Jurković 1995a, pp. 72-75, on the Church and state as indivisible components of power and the significance of church architecture in this context; also in Maraković, Jurković 2007; Ančić 2004, pp. 220-223.

Božjom pomoću, što će reći da njegova moć dolazi prvenstveno od Boga, upućuje na određenu neovisnost.⁵⁵ Kako je već spomenuto, hrvatsko područje, područje Trpimirove vlasti, u istoj je ispravi navedeno kao *regnum Chroatorum*. Na njegovom je pak dvoru oko godine 846. do 848. boravio i prognani franački redovnik i teolog Gottschalk, koji je ostavio nekoliko zapisa o tome boravku.⁵⁶ Trpimira Gottschalk navodi kao kralja Slavena (*Tripemirus rex Sclavorum*), dodajući kako ga njegovi podanici oslovljavaju s kraljevstvo (*regnum*).⁵⁷ S obzirom na navedeno, kao i na to da je u *Čedadskom evanđeliju* zabilježen kao *domnus*, N. Budak zaključuje kako je Trpimirova pozicija doista bila pozicija kralja, uspoređujući ga sa suvremenim kraljevima Beneventa, Spoleta i Bretanje.⁵⁸

Zanimljivo je da Gottschalk navodi Trpimira kao kralja Slavena, a njegovu zemlju naziva Dalmacijom, ne spominjući uopće Hrvate, premda je zasigurno bio dobro upoznat sa stvarnom situacijom. Tim više što navodi i druge identitetske oznake pa tako stanovnike Dalmacije naziva *Dalmatini*, podanike grčkoga/bizantskoga cara *Latini*, a opisuje također i rat koji je Trpimir poveo protiv “naroda Grka” (*contra gentem Graecorum*).⁵⁹ Uobičajeno se tumači da pod prvima misli na stanovnike dalmatinskoga zaleđa, dok bi *Latini* bili stanovnici bizantskih obalnih gradova. Posljednje spomenuti Grci najčešće se smatraju također Bizantincima, bez obzira je li riječ o stanovnicima istih gradova ili možda čak o vojnoj ekspediciji iz središta Carstva.⁶⁰ M. Ančić oslovljavanje Trpimira kraljem Slavena tumači kao posljedicu uobičajenog pisanja učenih autora pod utjecajem karolinške renesanse, a koji su često prenosili provincijska imena novim lokalnim vladarima. U samoj kraljevskoj tituli naspram

charter was therefore dated according to Lothair and his royal rule in Italy, which demonstrated Trpimir’s formally subordinate status, but the statement that he was installed as duke by God’s grace, meaning that his power ensued primarily from God, points to a certain measure of independence.⁵⁵ As already noted, Croatian territory, the territory of Trpimir’s authority, was referred to in that same document as *regnum Chroatorum*. The exiled Frankish monk and theologian Gottschalk even resided in his court from roughly 846 to 848, leaving behind several records on this stay.⁵⁶ Gottschalk called Trpimir the king of the Slavs (*Tripemirus rex Sclavorum*), adding that his subjects addressed him as kingdom (*regnum*).⁵⁷ Given this, and that in the *Gospel of Cividale* he was recorded as *domnus*, N. Budak concluded that Trpimir’s status was truly that of a king, comparing him to the contemporary kings of Benevento, Spoleto and Brittany.⁵⁸

It is interesting that Gottschalk referred to Trpimir as the king of the Slavs, and his country as Dalmatia, without mentioning the Croats at all, even though he was certainly well-apprieved of the actual situation. All the more so since he cited other identity designations, so that he referred to the residents of Dalmatia as *Dalmatini*, the subjects of the Greek/Byzantine emperor as *Latini*, and he also described a war Trpimir waged against the “nation of Greeks” (*contra gentem Graecorum*).⁵⁹ It is usually interpreted that the first referred to the residents of the Dalmatian hinterland, while the *Latini* would have been the residents of the Byzantine coastal cities. These Greeks are most often considered Byzantines, regardless of whether they were the residents of those same cities or perhaps even a military expedition from the seat of the Empire.⁶⁰ M. Ančić interpreted the addressing of Trpimir as king of the Slavs as a consequence of the customary writing of

55 Budak 1997, str. 16; Budak 2015, str. 86.

56 V. Rapanić 2013, str. 27-70, najnoviji rad posvećen temi Gottschalkova boravka na Trpimirovu dvoru, u kojemu autor donosi i pregled ranijih istraživanja.

57 Katić 1932, str. 8-9.

58 Budak 1997, str. 16 i bilj. 41. V. također Goldstein 1995, str. 241-243, koji smatra da nije riječ o stvarnome stanju, nego o Gottschalkovu izražavanju zahvalnosti za Trpimirovo gostoprimstvo. Detaljnije o titulama hrvatskih ranosrednjovjekovnih vladara raspravlja Goldstein 1983, o Trpimirovom slučaju osobito str. 145-146, 149-150. Najnoviji pregled problematike vladarskih titula i njihovoga značenja u Hrvatskoj Kneževini donosi Karbić 2015.

59 Katić 1932, str. 8-9.

60 V. Katičić 2007, str. 340-349; Budak 2008, str. 234; Rapanić 2013, str. 29-31 i dalje.

55 Budak 1997, p. 16; Budak 2015, p. 86.

56 See Rapanić 2013, pp. 27-70, the most recent work dedicated to the topic of Gottschalk’s stay at Trpimir’s court, on which this scholar provided an overview of earlier research.

57 Katić 1932, pp. 8-9.

58 Budak 1997, p. 16 and note 41. See also Goldstein 1995, pp. 241-243, who believes that it was not a matter of the actual situation, but rather Gottschalk’s expression of gratitude for Trpimir’s hospitality. More details on the titles of Croatian early medieval rulers are discussed in Goldstein 1983, on Trpimir’s case in particular, pp. 145-146, 149-150. The most recent overview of the problems of rulers’ titles and their meaning in the Croatian Duchy is in Karbić 2015.

59 Katić 1932, pp. 8-9.

60 V. Katičić 2007, pp. 340-349; Budak 2008, p. 234; Rapanić 2013, pp. 29-31 ff.

kneževskoj u drugim izvorima vidi i mogući raskorak između različitih pogleda na tadašnju realnost od strane dvora te ostatka društva.⁶¹ S druge strane, isti autor u kasnijem radu navodi i mogućnost da se pri tome, kao i kod korištenja različitih titula za iste ličnosti, radi o nesporazumu, odnosno jednostavnoj pogrešci, kao što je i slučaj s natpisima na oltarnim ogradama u Branimirovo vrijeme, na kojima se spominje i *dux Cruatorum* i *dux Sclavorum* i *dux Clavitnorum*.⁶² Možda doista treba posegnuti za jednostavnim rješenjem, odnosno ne pridavati posebno veliku važnost takvim pojavama.

Dijelom na sličan način Gottschalkov tekst tumači i Ž. Rapanić, koji ističe da je ovaj prije svega teolog i da su u njegovu spisu osvrtni na stvarne događaje, poveznice sa stvarnim životom i ostali slični umetci uvijek u službi obrazlaganja teološke misli. Rapanić donosi pregled šireg dijela teksta od nekoliko odlomaka koji su uobičajeno u fokusu hrvatske historiografije, iz kojega proizlazi da su Gottschalku i Venecijanci *homines Latini*, jednako kao i Dalmatin(c)i, odnosno da su i jedni i drugi Romani. Stoga zaključuje da ih je odredio tako na temelju jezika kojim govore, latinskoga, a ne u smislu etničke odrednice.⁶³ Nazivanje pak Trpimira kraljem Slavena tumači u kontekstu uobičajene terminologije karolinških pisaca, koji titulom *rex* nazivaju vladare “barbarskih” područja, odnosno vođe Francima susjednih *gentes*. Nespominjanje Hrvata također je zapravo sasvim uobičajeno, budući da se njihovo ime ne nalazi ni u drugim frančkim izvorima. Rapanić napominje i kako se i inače manje zajednice koje još nisu izrasle do znatnijih političkih tvorevina rijetko spominju, jer se često pokazuju nevažnima, a Hrvatska se upravo u

learned writers under the influence of the Carolingian Renaissance, who often conveyed provincial names to new local rulers. He saw in the royal title vis-à-vis the ducal title in other sources a possible discrepancy between differing views of the reality of the time by the court and the remainder of society.⁶¹ On the other hand, in a later work the same scholar also noted the possibility that in that regard, as in the use of different titles for the same person, it may have been a misunderstanding, a simple error, as was the case in the inscriptions on altar screens during Branimir’s time, on which *dux Cruatorum* and *dux Sclavorum* and *dux Clavitnorum* can all be seen.⁶² Perhaps one truly has to seek the simple solution, and not accord any great importance to such phenomena.

Gottschalk’s text is, in part, similarly interpreted by Ž. Rapanić, who stresses that he was first and foremost a theologian and that in his writing any references to actual events, ties to actual life and other, similar passages were always in the service of explaining his theological ideas. Rapanić provided an overview of a sample of the text that is broader than the few excerpts normally examined by Croatian historiography, from which it follows that to Gottschalk the Venetians were *homines Latini*, just like the Dalmatians, i.e., they were both Romans. He therefore concluded that Gottschalk classified them so on the basis of the language that they spoke, Latin, and not in the sense of ethnic designation.⁶³ The reference to Trpimir as the king of the Slavs he interpreted in the context of the standard terminology of Carolingian writers, who used the title *rex* to refer to the rulers of “barbarian” territories, i.e., the leaders of the *gentes* which neighboured the Franks. The lack of any mention of Croats is likewise actually nothing out of the ordinary, since their name does not appear in any other Frankish sources. Rapanić also

61 Ančić 2000, str. 94-95.

62 Ančić 2005, str. 220-221. U najnovijemu radu u kojemu se osvrće na ovu problematiku, Ančić (2016, str. 230-231) je doduše nešto drugačijeg mišljenja te osobito ističe poteškoće s kojima su se tadašnji autori tekstova i natpisa susretali prilikom prevođenja lokalne društvene stvarnosti u drugi (latinski) jezični kod. Gottschalkovo nazivanje kneza Trpimira kraljem smatra naizgled formalnom pogreškom, no zaključuje i kako je teolog prilikom boravka na Trpimirovu dvoru proveo svojevrsno “etnografsko istraživanje”, na kojemu je temeljio zapisana opažanja. Smatra da se stoga doista mogao susresti s impersonalnim oslovljavanjem vladara, za koje mu se najprikladnijim latinskim terminom učinio *regnum*. Problematiku titula na epigrafskim natpisima iz vremena kneza Branimira ostavlja, pak, otvorenom.

63 Rapanić 2013, str. 39-46.

61 Ančić 2000, pp. 94-95.

62 Ančić 2005, pp. 220-221. In his most recent paper dealing with this problem, Ančić (2016, pp. 230-231) has a somewhat different opinion, though, and particularly stresses the difficulties with which the writers of texts and inscriptions at the time encountered when translating local social realities into another (Latin) linguistic code. He considers Gottschalk’s reference to Duke Trpimir as a king an apparently formal error, but also concludes that during his stay at Trpimir’s court the theologian conducted a sort of “ethnographic research” on which he based his written observations. He believes that Gottschalk therefore truly could have encountered an impersonal addressing of the ruler for which the most suitable Latin term he found in *regnum*. The problem of titles in epigraphic inscriptions from the time of Duke Branimir has, however, been left open.

63 Rapanić 2013, pp. 39-46.

to vrijeme oblikuje kao politički entitet.⁶⁴ Možemo se svakako složiti s autorovim riječima da je Gottschalk “uvijek samo teolog; u svakome izlaganju pa čak i u svakoj rečenici, nastoji pronaći most između svoje pretpostavke i nekih slika kojima bi ju potvrdio, pri čemu, osim doživljenih ili poznatih anegdota, obilato koristi riječi učenih prethodnika i njihova domišljanja te, naravno, Bibliju. Tu su mu prava polazišta i argumenti”.⁶⁵ Takvo tumačenje, pogotovo uzevši u obzir druge dostupne izvore, od pisanih do arheoloških, nipošto ne umanjuje moć koju je Trpimir tada imao, kako nad Hrvatima, tako i nad ostalim slavenskim i drugim skupinama i njihovim elitama unutar svoje kneževine. Dapače, Rapanić nasuprot dodjeljivanju titule *rex* susjedima Carstva ističe kako je *dux* naslov rezerviran za franačke područne upravitelje, njihove saveznike i slične,⁶⁶ što bi moglo ići u prilog tezi o većoj Trpimirovoj neovisnosti u odnosu na Franke.

U svakom slučaju, Trpimirovi nasljednici u drugoj polovini 9. stoljeća, knezovi Domagoj, Branimir i Muncimir, nisu nazivani kraljevima, no i njihov je položaj unatoč priznavanju franačke prevlasti bio prilično nezavisan.⁶⁷ Koliko god ta prevlast bila ili ne bila očitovana u stvarnosti,⁶⁸ ona sasvim prestaje u kasnijem razdoblju vladavine kneza Branimira, kada se uostalom i raspada karolinško Franačko Carstvo. Posljednji karolinški car čitavoga Carstva, Karlo III. Debeli, umro je u siječnju 888. godine pa neki autori u tome svjetlu promatraju natpis na arhitravu oltarne ograde iz crkve sv. Petra u Gornjem Muću, na kojoj se spominje knez Branimir i datacija upravo tom godinom. Moguće je da iste godine dolazi i do objedinjavanja ninske biskupije i splitske nadbiskupije pod ninskim biskupom

noted that small communities that had not yet grown into more significant polities were normally not mentioned, because they often proved unimportant, and Croatia was only just being formed as a political entity precisely at that time.⁶⁴ We may certainly agree with this scholar’s observation that Gottschalk “was always only a theologian; in every statement, indeed in every sentence, he attempted to find the bridge between his suppositions and some illustration that would confirm them, wherein besides his own experiences or anecdotes familiar to him, he made abundant use of the words and insights of his learned predecessors and, of course, the Bible. Herein lay his true points of departure and arguments.”⁶⁵ Such an interpretation, particularly taking into account other available sources, from written to archaeological, by no means diminish the power which Trpimir had at the time, whether over the Croats, or over other Slavs and other groups and their elites within his duchy. Indeed, Rapanić stressed that while the title *rex* was accorded to the Empire’s neighbours, *dux* was reserved for Frankish regional administrators, their allies and so forth,⁶⁶ which may back the hypothesis about Trpimir’s greater independence in relation to the Franks.

In any case, Trpimir’s successors in the latter half of the 9th century, Dukes Domagoj, Branimir and Muncimir were not called kings, but their status, despite recognizing Frankish suzerainty, was rather independent.⁶⁷ However much that suzerainty did or did not manifest itself in reality,⁶⁸ it halted entirely in the later period of Duke Branimir’s reign, when the Carolingian Empire had in fact collapsed. The last Carolingian emperor of the entire Empire, Charles III (the Fat), died in January 888, so it is in this light that some scholars view the inscription on the architrave of the

64 Rapanić 2013, str. 50-52. Donekle sličnu pretpostavku iznio je već i Budak 1994, str. 78, bilj. 99, navodeći kako se hrvatsko ime možda počelo javljati kao oznaka etnije upravo u to vrijeme te da je stoga Gottschalku bilo nepoznato. V. također Raukar 2007, str. 140, koji smatra kako sredinom i u drugoj polovini 9. stoljeća širi slavenski te uži hrvatski identitet još nisu bili jasno razgraničeni, a u zapadnim je izvorima općenito proširena upotreba imena *slavenski* naspram ostalima.

65 Rapanić 2013, str. 39.

66 Rapanić 2013, str. 51.

67 Oslovljavani su s *dux*, *gloriosus dux*, *comes*, *princeps* i sl. Budak 1997, str. 17-18. Za istovremenu upotrebu različitih titula u Hrvatskoj Kneževini v. Goldstein 1983, str. 149-156. Filipec 2015, str. 71, bilj. 186, navodi titulu *princeps* kao indicaciju neovisnosti različitih lokalnih vladara o Francima.

68 Usp. Ančić 2001, str. 317-318.

64 Rapanić 2013, pp. 50-52. A somewhat similar hypothesis had already been put forth by Budak 1994, p. 78, note 99, stating that the Croatian name may have begun to appear as a designation of an ethnic group precisely at that time, which is why it had been unknown to Gottschalk. See also Raukar 2007, p. 140, who believes that in the mid- and latter half of the 9th c. the wider Slav and narrower Croatian identities had not yet been clearly delineated, and in Western sources the use of the name *Slavic* as opposed to others was simply widespread.

65 Rapanić 2013, p. 39.

66 Rapanić 2013, p. 51.

67 They were addressed as *dux*, *gloriosus dux*, *comes*, *princeps* etc. Budak 1997, pp. 17-18. On the simultaneous use of different titles in the Croatian Duchy, see Goldstein 1983, pp. 149-156. Filipec 2015, p. 71, note 186, cites the title *princeps* as an indication of the independence of various local rulers from the Franks.

68 Cf. Ančić 2001, pp. 317-318.

Teodozijem pa bi tako oltarna ograda iz Muća bila svojevrsno spomen-obilježje upravo u povodu ovih značajnih događaja.⁶⁹ Unatoč činjenici da je Hrvatska Kneževina bila čvrsto strukturirana, s jasnom hijerarhijom i dvorom, knezom, županima pa i vlastitim biskupom od 860-ih godina,⁷⁰ položaj vladara unutar vlastite kneževine nije bio ni blizu siguran, što ilustriraju događaji druge polovine 9. stoljeća.

Trpimir se posljednji put spominje 852. godine, a sljedeći poznati knez, Domagoj, tek 864. Pretpostavljena se smjena vlasti dogodila negdje unutar tog razdoblja, a u historiografiji se obično smješta bliže kasnijoj godini. Nije poznato kako je Domagoj došao na vlast niti je li pripadao Trpimirovu rodu ili nekom drugom, no kako Trpimira nisu naslijedili njegovi sinovi, pretpostavlja se da je potjecao iz drugog roda.⁷¹ Nije isključeno ni da je Domagoj protjerao Trpimirove sinove iz Hrvatske, a oni se sklonili u Konstantinopol, budući da će nakon Domagojeve smrti upravo odande pristići pripadnik Trpimirova roda Zdeslav.⁷² Kako god bilo, iz dvaju pisama pape Ivana VIII. datiranih oko 874./875. godine doznaje se da je protiv Domagoja pripremana urota. Jednog je urotnika knez već dao ubiti pa ga Papa moli da poštedi eventualne ostale.⁷³ S obzirom na okolnosti, vjerojatno je da su urotnici djelovali uz pomoć Bizanta.⁷⁴ Domagoj je umro u razdoblju između navedene 875. te 878. godine, kada Zdeslav, stigavši iz Konstantinopola pod carskom zaštitom, stupa na vlast i šalje u progonstvo Domagojeve

altar screen from the Church of St. Peter in Gornji Muć, which mentions Duke Branimir and the dating precisely in that year. It is possible that the Nin Diocese and the Split Archdiocese were merged in that year under Nin bishop Theodosius, so that the altar screen from Muć would have thus been something of a memorial marker for these significant events.⁶⁹ Despite the fact that the Croatian Duchy was firmly structured, with a clear hierarchy and court, duke, *župans* and even its own bishops since the 860s,⁷⁰ the status of the ruler inside his own duchy was not even close to secure, which was illustrated by events in the latter half of the 9th century.

Trpimir was mentioned the last time in 852, and the next known duke, Domagoj, was only mentioned in 864. The assumed succession of authority occurred sometime in that period, and it has usually been placed closer to the later year in historiography. How Domagoj ascended to authority and whether he belonged to Trpimir's kin or another are not known, but since Trpimir was not succeeded by his sons, it is assumed that Domagoj was from a different kin.⁷¹ The possibility that Domagoj expelled Trpimir's sons from Croatia and that they fled to Constantinople for refuge cannot be discounted, since after Domagoj's death a member of Trpimir's family, Zdeslav, arrived precisely from that city.⁷² Whatever the matter, two letters of Pope John VIII dated to roughly 874/875 indicate that a conspiracy against Domagoj had been plotted. The duke had already had one of the conspirators killed, so the pope asked him to spare anyone else.⁷³ Given the circumstances, it is likely that

69 Budak 1997, str. 17-18; Ančić 2001, str. 305, 319 i bilj. 51-52. Možda bi u tome svjetlu trebalo vidjeti i četiri ulomka arhitrava oltarne ograde koji potječu iz Splita, a dovodi ih se u vezu sa splitskom katedralom. Ulomci su istog radioničkog podrijetla kao i arhitrav iz Gornjeg Muća. V. Rapanić 1971, str. 283-285; Piteša 2012, str. 13-14; Josipović 2013, str. 176, 181. Premda je natpis vrlo fragmentaran, zanimljivo je da se na jednome od ulomaka navodi broj 80: [...?]TOS POST OMM (?) OCTOGIN[TA...]. Cambi 1968, str. 65, T. I/3. Nešto drugačije čitanje, ...TOS POST OM(NI)A OCTOGIN..., predlaže Rapanić 1971, str. 285.

70 Za problematiku osnivanja ninske biskupije v. Budak 1994, str. 92-94; Vedriš 2015, str. 210-211.

71 Usp. Klaić 1975, str. 244-245; Budak 1994, str. 22-25; Goldstein 1995, str. 252-253.

72 Budak 1994, str. 25.

73 *Codex diplomaticus I*, str. 10-11. Opširnije o uroti protiv Domagoja i širem političkom kontekstu unutar kojega se odvijala v. u: Goldstein 1995, str. 255; Ančić 1998, str. 18-20; Ančić 2001, str. 312.

74 Klaić 1975, str. 247; Goldstein 1995, str. 255; Budak 1997, str. 17.

69 Budak 1997, pp. 17-18; Ančić 2001, pp. 305, 319 and notes 51-52. The four altar-screen architrave fragments originating from Split, associated with the Split cathedral, should perhaps also be viewed through this prism. The fragments have the same workshop origin as the architrave from Gornji Muć. See Rapanić 1971, pp. 283-285; Piteša 2012, pp. 13-14; Josipović 2013, pp. 176, 181. Although the inscription is rather fragmentary, it is interesting that on one the number 80 is cited: [...?]TOS POST OMM (?) OCTOGIN[TA...]. Cambi 1968, p. 65, Pl. I/3. A somewhat different reading, ...TOS POST OM(NI)A OCTOGIN..., was proposed by Rapanić 1971, p. 285.

70 On the problem of the establishment of the Nin Diocese, see Budak 1994, pp. 92-94; Vedriš 2015, pp. 210-211.

71 Cf. Klaić 1975, pp. 244-245; Budak 1994, pp. 22-25; Goldstein 1995, pp. 252-253.

72 Budak 1994, p. 25.

73 *Codex diplomaticus I*, pp. 10-11. For more on the conspiracy against Domagoj and the broader political context inside which it proceeded, see: Goldstein 1995, p. 255; Ančić 1998, pp. 18-20; Ančić 2001, p. 312.

sinove.⁷⁵ Potpora Zdeslavu i njegovo postavljanje na vlast bili su dio politike cara Bazilija I. koja je stremila povratku Dalmacije pod bizantsku kontrolu.⁷⁶ Efekti tih nastojanja nisu, međutim, dugo potrajali. Zdeslava je već 879. godine ubio Branimir, još jedan knez “nepoznata roda”, te “uzurpirao njegovu kneževinu”.⁷⁷ Čini se da ni Branimirova vladavina, barem u početku, na unutrašnjem planu nije bila sasvim mirna. Papa Ivan VIII. mu u pismu upućenom iste godine piše kako mu podaruje blagoslov ne bi li pobijedio svoje neprijatelje i buntovne protivnike. Možda se radi o pristašama Zdeslava, možda i o nekim drugim urotnicima.⁷⁸ Čini se da je Branimir doskora doista nadjačao svoje protivnike, budući da se slične latentne prijetnje više ne spominju. Na vlasti ga je, po svemu sudeći mirnim putem, između 888. i 892. godine naslijedio Trpimirov sin Muncimir. Pretpostavlja se da se njegova vladavina proteže i u početak 10. stoljeća, premda posljednji spomen ovoga kneza potječe s oltarne ograde iz Uzdolja kod Knina, datirane 895. godinom.⁷⁹

Prema prikazanim okolnostima očito je da većim dijelom druge polovine 9. stoljeća u Hrvatskoj Kneževini nije bilo sigurnog i uređenog procesa nasljeđivanja,⁸⁰ kao što nije uvijek bila sigurna ni pozicija aktualnoga vladara. Nerijetko se u hrvatskoj historiografiji ističe kako Domagoj i Branimir nisu bili iz roda Trpimirovića, koji se smatra legitimom hrvatskom vladarskom dinastijom. Možemo se, međutim, zapitati, koliko je, i je li uopće, princip nasljedne vlasti u Hrvatskoj 9. stoljeća bio (jedini)

the conspirators acted with Byzantine assistance.⁷⁴ Domagoj died in the period between 875 and 878, when Zdeslav, having arrived from Constantinople under imperial protection, assumed authority and sent Domagoj's sons into exile.⁷⁵ The support for and installation of Zdeslav to power were a part of the policies implemented by Emperor Basil I, who aspired to return Dalmatia to Byzantine control.⁷⁶ The effects of these efforts did not, however, endure very long. Already in 879, Zdeslav was killed by Branimir, yet another duke from an “unidentified kin,” who “usurped his duchy.”⁷⁷ It would appear that internal affairs during Branimir's reign, at least at the beginning, were not entirely tranquil. Pope John VIII, in a letter sent in that same year, gave him his blessing in order to overcome his enemies and seditious opponents. Perhaps these were Zdeslav's supporters, or perhaps some other conspirators.⁷⁸ It would appear that Branimir soon truly overcame his adversaries, since similar latent threats were no longer mentioned. Authority was then inherited, by all indications peacefully, by Trpimir's son Muncimir between 888 and 892. It is assumed that his reign lasted into the 10th century, although the last mention of this duke is from an altar screen from Uzdolje near Knin, dated to 895.⁷⁹

Based on these circumstances, it is apparent that there was no secure and orderly succession process in the Croatian Duchy during most of the latter half of the 9th century,⁸⁰ just as the position of the actual ruler

75 *Iohannis diaconi chronicon*, str. 20-21; Klaić 1975, str. 248; Goldstein 1995, str. 256.

76 Usp. Goldstein 1992, str. 180-182; Budak 1997, str. 17; Budak 2014, str. 52-53; Ančić 1998, str. 18-20.

77 *Iohannis diaconi chronicon*, str. 21: *His diebus quidam Sclavus nomine Brenamir, interfecto Sedescavo ipsius ducatum usurpavit.*

78 *Codex diplomaticus I*, str. 14; *Branimirova Hrvatska* 1990, str. 11; Matijević Sokol, Sokol 2005, str. 39-44.

79 Usp. Goldstein 1995, str. 269-270. Za natpis na oltarnoj ogradi iz Uzdolja v. Delonga 1996, str. 156-157, T. LII. Zbog činjenice da su na ovome lokalitetu pronađeni temeljni ostaci prilično malene crkve i brojni ulomci vjerojatno četiri različite predromaničke oltarne ograde, otvoreno je pitanje njihova izvornog podrijetla, odnosno crkve kojoj su pripadali. Usp. Gudelj 2005, str. 55-58; Jakšić 2013.

80 O problemima nasljeđivanja u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj v. Goldstein 1995, str. 247-249. Također i Karbić 2015, str. 106-107, koji smatra da se nasljedni princip vlasti ustalio na kraju 9. stoljeća, no da je prisutan već od vremena prvih poznatih vladara.

74 Klaić 1975, p. 247; Goldstein 1995, p. 255; Budak 1997, p. 17.

75 *Iohannis diaconi chronicon*, pp. 20-21; Klaić 1975, p. 248; Goldstein 1995, p. 256.

76 Cf. Goldstein 1992, pp. 180-182; Budak 1997, p. 17; Budak 2014, pp. 52-53; Ančić 1998, pp. 18-20.

77 *Iohannis diaconi chronicon*, p. 21: *His diebus quidam Sclavus nomine Brenamir, interfecto Sedescavo ipsius ducatum usurpavit.*

78 *Codex diplomaticus I*, p. 14; *Branimirova Hrvatska* 1990, p. 11; Matijević Sokol, Sokol 2005, pp. 39-44.

79 Cf. Goldstein 1995, pp. 269-270. For the inscription on the altar screen from Uzdolje, see Delonga 1996, pp. 156-157, Pl. LII. Due to the fact that the remains of the foundations of a rather small church and numerous fragments of probably four different pre-Romanesque altar screens were found at this site, the question of their original location, i.e., the church to which they belonged, remains open. Cf. Gudelj 2005, pp. 55-58; Jakšić 2013.

80 On the problems of succession in early medieval Croatia, see Goldstein 1995, pp. 247-249. Also Karbić 2015, pp. 106-107, who believes that the hereditary principle of authority had become established at the end of the 9th c., but that it had already been present since the first known rulers.

legitiman?⁸¹ Pri početku ovoga članka je navedeno kako se u Trpimirovoj darovnici Mislav spominje kao njegov prethodnik, iz čega se može pretpostaviti da mu je možda bio i otac, no to sa sigurnošću ne možemo znati. Izravno pak povezati Mislava s Ladislavom i Bornom nije moguće, ni po rodovskoj liniji, ni prema etničkoj skupini kojom su vladali. Jedino se za Zdeslava jasno navodi kako je bio iz Trpimirova roda.⁸² Možda je doista, kako se obično smatra, i bio njegov sin, no mogao mu je biti primjerice i nećak ili unuk poput Ladislava Borna.⁸³ Unatoč tome, je li njegovo pravo na poziciju hrvatskoga kneza bilo veće negoli Domagojevo ili njegovog nasljednika Branimira, odnosno, možemo li ga takvim ocijeniti? Ivan Đakon u svojoj *Kronici* piše kako je Branimir uzurpirao Zdeslavovu kneževinu, no na istome je mjestu prilikom opisa Zdeslavova dolaska na vlast rečeno kako je i ovaj kneževinu prigrabio, odnosno ščepao (*ducatum arripuit*), a uz to je i protjerao Domagojeve sinove.⁸⁴ Prema I. Goldsteinu nasljedni princip nije u to vrijeme u Hrvatskoj bio sasvim legitiman, jer bi inače Branimir trebao biti smatran uzurpatorom i od strane svojih suvremenika, a tomu nije bilo tako.⁸⁵ Ne čini se stoga osobito važnim što je Branimir bio iz “nepoznata roda”. Uostalom, u trenutku njegova dolaska na vlast i Trpimirov je rod “poznat” u pisanim izvorima tek tridesetak godina.

U takvoj društveno-političkoj realnosti hrvatskom je vladaru trebala dodatna institucionalna potpora u legitimaciji njegove vladavine, kakvu je mogao pronaći u Crkvi.⁸⁶ Najjasnije se to očituje u

was not always secure. It is not infrequently stressed in Croatian historiography that Domagoj and Branimir were not from the Trpimirović kin, which is deemed the legitimate Croatian ruling dynasty. However, one might ask whether the principle of hereditary rule was even (or solely) legitimate in Croatia in the 9th century, or to what extent.⁸¹ Near the beginning of this paper, it was noted that Mislav is mentioned in Trpimir’s charter as his predecessor, from which it may be assumed that he might have been the latter’s father, but there is no way of knowing for certain. Directly linking Mislav to Ladislav and Borna is impossible, neither by familial lineage nor based on the ethnic group which they ruled. Only Zdeslav is clearly specified as being of Trpimir’s kin.⁸² Perhaps he truly was, as is normally believed, his son, but he may have also been, for example, his nephew or grandson, as Ladislav was to Borna.⁸³ Despite this, was his right to the position of Croatian duke greater than Domagoj’s or of the latter’s successor Branimir, i.e., may we deem it so? John the Deacon, in his Chronicle, wrote that Branimir usurped Zdeslav’s duchy, but in that same place, when describing Zdeslav’s ascension to authority, he noted that the latter seized, or even snatched the duchy (*ducatum arripuit*), and furthermore exiled Domagoj’s sons.⁸⁴ According to I. Goldstein, the hereditary principle was not entirely legitimate in Croatia at the time, because otherwise Branimir would have to have been deemed a usurper even by his contemporaries, but this was not the case.⁸⁵ It therefore does not appear particularly important that Branimir was of an “unidentified kin.” After all, at the time of his ascension to authority, Trpimir’s kin had only been “known” in the written sources for only about thirty years.

81 Ladislavovo nasljeđivanje Borne 821. godine odvija se u drugačijem kontekstu i, u konačnici, unutar druge i drugačije kneževine.

82 *Iohannis diaconi chronicon*, str. 21: (...) *Sedesclavus, Tibimiri ex progenie* (...).

83 Zanimljivo je da je u *Čedadskom evangelijaru*, fol. 23, kao Trpimirov sin naveden samo Petar (*Petrus filius domno Tripemero*). U istome su evangelijaru, ali na sasvim drugim mjestima upisani i stanoviti *Zidizlau* i *Sedesclao*. Prvi je upisan na istome foliju kao i Branimir (fol. 102'), a drugi na fol. 145. Već je F. Rački smatrao kako je malo vjerojatno da se tu radi o hrvatskom knezu Zdeslavu, budući da uz njegovo ime ne stoji nikakva titula. *Documenta historiae croaticae*, str. 383-384, 386.

84 *Iohannis diaconi chronicon*, str. 21: (...) *imperiali fultus presidio Constantinopolim veniens, Scavorum ducatum arripuit, filiosque Domogoi exilio trusit*.

85 Goldstein 1995, str. 248.

86 Usp. Jurković 1997, str. 36; Ančić 2004, str. 220-223; Berend 2007, str. 14-15; Delogu 2008, str. 562.

81 Ladislav’s succession of Borna in 821 occurred in a different context and, ultimately, within another and different duchy.

82 *Iohannis diaconi chronicon*, p. 21: (...) *Sedesclavus, Tibimiri ex progenie* (...).

83 It is interesting that in the Gospel of Cividale, fol. 23, only Petar is listed as Trpimir’s son (*Petrus filius domno Tripemero*). In that same source, but at entirely different places, a certain *Zidizlau* and *Sedesclao* are also listed. The former was recorded in the same folium as Branimir (fol. 102'), while the latter is in fol. 145. F. Rački already believed that it is unlikely that this was the Croatian duke Zdeslav, since no title accompanies the name. *Documenta historiae croaticae*, pp. 383-384, 386.

84 *Iohannis diaconi chronicon*, p. 21: (...) *imperiali fultus presidio Constantinopolim veniens, Scavorum ducatum arripuit, filiosque Domogoi exilio trusit*.

85 Goldstein 1995, p. 248.

vrijeme kneza Branimira, iz kojega je sačuvano nekoliko pisama papa Ivana VIII. i Stjepana VI. upućenih kako samome knezu, tako i njegovu puku te ninskom biskupu Teodoziju, a istodobno se ostvaruju i brojni projekti gradnje novih te obnove i uređenja postojećih crkava diljem Hrvatske Kneževine.⁸⁷ U sklopu svojih nastojanja izgradnje nove crkvene hijerarhije između Jadrana i Dunava te uspostave izravne crkvene jurisdikcije Rima na prostoru od Moravske preko Hrvatske do Bugarske, papa Ivan VIII. je u navedene zemlje slao svoga izaslanika, svećenika Ivana, koji je višekratno i dulje vrijeme boravio i u Hrvatskoj. Kako tumači M. Ančić, Branimir je u tome mogao vidjeti priliku za legitimaciju svoje vladavine, pogotovo stoga što je ona započela ubojstvom prethodnika mu Zdeslava.⁸⁸ Tako pružajući potporu papi zauzvrat dobiva njegovu javnu potporu, a izgradnjom crkvene hijerarhije u svojoj kneževini osigurava “da njegova još uvijek sirova moć konačno postane općeprihvatljiva”.⁸⁹ Ranije spomenuto ujedinjenje ninske biskupije i splitske nadbiskupije s ninskim biskupom Teodozijem na čelu negdje između 886. i 888. godine svakako je vrhunac takve politike hrvatskih vladara. Međutim, njihovo oslanjanje na crkvene strukture te legitimiranje položaja i statusa nove elite unutar tog društvenog okvira započelo je vjerojatno već puno ranije. Time se vraćamo na već spomenutu važnost crkava i crkvenog namještaja za demonstriranje statusa i moći te izražavanje identiteta.

Crkveni namještaj – sistematizacija i kronologija

Logično je započeti s ulomcima pluteja iz Pridrage, izvorno iz crkve sv. Martina. Riječ je o ranokršćanskoj trolisnoj crkvi, koja se u ranome srednjem vijeku preuređuje postavljanjem novog crkvenog namještaja. Jedan ulomak sadrži prikaz ratnika pješaka s okruglim štitom i isukanim mačem, na drugome je prikazan konjanik s kopljem i okruglim štitom, a na trećemu scena lova na jelena, također s kopljanikom na konju (T. I). Uobičajena datacija ulomaka jest završetak 8. ili sam početak 9. stoljeća.⁹⁰ Ulomci su iznimno važni jer se radi

In such a socio-political reality, a Croatian ruler required additional institutional support in the legitimization of his rule, which could be found in the Church.⁸⁶ This was most clearly manifested during Duke Branimir's reign, from which there are several preserved letters from two popes, John VIII and Stephen VI, written to the duke himself and to his people and Nin bishop Theodosius, while at the same time numerous projects to construct new, or restore and furnish existing churches throughout the Croatian Duchy were implemented.⁸⁷ As a part of his efforts to develop a new ecclesiastical hierarchy between the Adriatic Sea and the Danube River and establish Rome's direct ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the territory from Moravia across Croatia down to Bulgaria, Pope John VIII sent his envoy, a priest named John, to these lands, and he resided in Croatia on several occasions through an extended period. As interpreted by M. Ančić, Branimir could have seen in this an opportunity to legitimate his rule, particularly because it commenced with the murder of his predecessor Zdeslav.⁸⁸ By thereby offering his support to the pope, he received the latter's public support in return, and the development of an ecclesiastical hierarchy in his duchy ensured “that his still coarse power would become generally accepted.”⁸⁹ The earlier mentioned merger of the Nin Diocese and the Split Archdiocese with Nin bishop Theodosius at its head sometime between 886 and 888 was certainly the culmination of this policy by Croatian rulers. However, their reliance on ecclesiastical structures and the legitimization of the position and status of the new elite within this social framework probably began much earlier. We thereby return to the already mentioned importance of churches and church furniture for the demonstration of status and power and the expression of identity.

Church furniture – systemization and chronology

The logical place to begin is the pluteus fragments from Pridraga, originally from the Church of St. Martin. This is an Early Christian triconch church, which in the early Middle Ages was refurnished with the installation of new church furniture. The first fragment bears a scene of an infantry soldier holding a round shield and unsheathed sword, the second features a

87 Usp. *Branimirova Hrvatska* 1990; Matijević Sokol, Sokol 2005; Ančić 2001; Jakšić 2002; Jurković 1992a, str. 30-33.

88 Ančić 2001, str. 309-316; v. također Rapanić 1993, str. 22, 25-26.

89 Ančić 2001, str. 316-317.

90 V. Josipović 2016, s navedenom relevantnom ranijom literaturom. Predromaničke ulomke iz crkve sv.

86 Cf. Jurković 1997, p. 36; Ančić 2004, pp. 220-223; Berend 2007, pp. 14-15; Delogu 2008, p. 562.

87 Cf. *Branimirova Hrvatska* 1990; Matijević Sokol, Sokol 2005; Ančić 2001; Jakšić 2002; Jurković 1992a, pp. 30-33.

88 Ančić 2001, pp. 309-316; see also Rapanić 1993, pp. 22, 25-26.

89 Ančić 2001, pp. 316-317.

o najstarijoj sačuvanoj likovnoj reprezentaciji nove ratničke elite, odnosno, kako piše Nikola Jakšić, odrazu njihovog svjetonazora i samopropagandi unutar crkvenog interijera.⁹¹ Takvi su prikazi u potpunosti u skladu s onime što je poznato putem nalaza iz grobova o ulozi oružja i ratničke opreme u formiranju i komuniciranju identiteta.⁹² Vrlo je indikativan i prikaz lova na jelena, kao dodatna potvrda važnosti ove aktivnosti u tadašnjemu društvu, pogotovo unutar najvišeg sloja.⁹³ U cjelini, ulomci pluteja iz Pridrage jasan su pokazatelj otvaranja novog područja za afirmaciju i demonstraciju položaja i statusa, a time i novog identiteta lokalnih elita dalmatinskoga zaleđa.

Sličnih prikaza neće biti tijekom daljnjih više od 200 godina, sve do ponovne pojave ljudskog lika na crkvenome namještaju sredinom te u drugoj polovini 11. stoljeća.⁹⁴ Tijekom 9. i 10. stoljeća prevladat će različiti motivi i geometrijski uzorci najčešće troprutog pletera, vegetabilna ornamentika, prikazi ptica i druga religijska simbolika. Uz likovnu stranu, važan segment na arhitravima i zabatima oltarnih ograda činilo je i natpisno polje, s različitim oblicima najčešće posvetnih i zavjetnih natpisa. U nekima od njih javljaju se imena i titule dedikanata, odnosno naručitelja gradnje crkve ili njezina uređenja, a ponekad i etnonimi. Na temelju likovnih značajki, primjerci skulpture s različitih lokaliteta mogu se povezati u pojedine klesarske radionice, a kako su pojedine osobe navedene u natpisima poznate i iz preciznije datiranih pisanih izvora,

cavalryman holding a lance and round shield, and the third has a scene of a deer hunt, also with a man on horseback brandishing a spear (Pl. I). The standard dating of the fragments is the end of the 8th or very beginning of the 9th century.⁹⁰ The fragments are exceptionally important, because they feature the oldest preserved artistic depiction of the new warrior elite, or, as Nikola Jakšić wrote, a reflection of their worldview and self-propaganda in the interior of a church.⁹¹ Such scenes fully comply with what is known from grave goods on the role of weapons and military gear in the formation and communication of identity.⁹² The deer hunt scene is also very indicative as an additional confirmation of the importance of this activity in society at that time, particularly among the highest social class.⁹³ As a whole, the pluteus fragments from Pridraga are clear indicators of the opening of a new area for the affirmation and demonstration of position and status, and thereby also the new identity of local elites in the Dalmatian hinterland.

Similar scenes would not appear again for over 200 years, until the new appearance of a human figure on church furniture in the mid- and latter half of the 11th century.⁹⁴ During the 9th and 10th centuries, various motifs and geometric patterns predominated, mostly of the three-band interlace, plant ornaments, images of birds and other religious symbols. Besides the artistic element, a vital segment on altar screen architraves and pediments was the inscription field, with various types of most often dedicatory and

Martina u Pridragi Josipović pripisuje *Majstoru zadarskih ambona*. Miljenko Jurković je pak nedavno predložio nešto preciznije određenje vremena djelovanja ove radionice, u prvo desetljeće 9. stoljeća. Jurković 2015, str. 48.

- 91 Jakšić, Hilje 2008, str. 90. Za ove te pojedine druge rijetke prikaze ratnika i lovaca na ranosrednjovjekovnoj crkvenoj skulpturi v. i Jakšić 2015, str. 128-130.
- 92 Detaljno u Bilogrivić 2016, str. 116-151, s navedenom relevantnom literaturom.
- 93 Scena na ulomku s kopljanikom na konju i jelenom uobičajeno se tumači kao prikaz lova na jelena. Nedavno je drugačije viđenje, u kontekstu starih slavenskih vjerovanja, ponudio Milošević 2013, str. 27-30, 76-80. U najnovijemu radu o ovome ulomku I. Josipović (2016a, osobito str. 296-297) govori jednostavno o prikazu konjanika kopljonoše, koji ne lovi jelena, nego ubija zmiju. Nudi i njegovo tumačenje u kršćanskom kontekstu.
- 94 Primjerice prikaz velikodostojnika s mačem o pojasi na tranzeni iz crkve sv. Marije na Crkvini u Biskupiji kod Knina. Jurković 1992a, str. 39, 111-112.

90 See Josipović 2016, with the relevant earlier scholarly literature cited therein. The pre-Romanesque fragments from the Church of St. Martin in Pridraga have been attributed to *The Master of the Zadar ambonas*. Miljenko Jurković recently suggested a somewhat more precise determination of the time of this workshop's operation, in the first decade of the 9th c. Jurković 2015, p. 48.

91 Jakšić, Hilje 2008, p. 90. For this and other rare individual finds of warriors and hunters on early medieval church sculpture, see also Jakšić 2015, pp. 128-130.

92 More details in Bilogrivić 2016, pp. 116-151, with the relevant literature cited therein.

93 The scene on the fragment with the spear-holder on horseback and a deer has usually been interpreted as a deer hunt. Recently a different view in the context of old Slavic beliefs, has been put forward by Milošević 2013, pp. 27-30, 76-80. In the most recent paper on this fragment, I. Josipović (2016a, esp. pp. 296-297) writes simply that shows a spear-holding rider, who is not hunting a deer, but rather a serpent. He also provided an interpretation in a Christian context.

94 For example, the depiction of a dignitary with a sword at his belt in the transenna from the Church of St. Mary at Crkvina in Biskupija near Knin. Jurković 1992a, pp. 39, 111-112.

moćna je i sigurnija datacija velikog korpusa skulpture. Budući da je problematika ranosrednjovjekovnih kamenoklesarskih radionica u nas temeljito obrađivana i jasno razrađena u posljednjih više od pola stoljeća, ovdje ću tek sumarno istaknuti one najvažnije za temu ovoga članka, dok za detaljniji pregled upućujem na citiranu literaturu.

Nekoliko je ključnih spomenika koji su poslužili za sistematizaciju i dataciju kamenog crkvenog namještaja 9. stoljeća na spomenuti način. Već je naveden ulomak arhitrava iz Gornjeg Muća, otkriven još 1871. godine, s natpisom koji spominje kneza Branimira i točnom datacijom u 888. godinu (T. II. 2).⁹⁵ Srodna su mu i dva fragmentirana arhitrava iz crkve sv. Mihovila u Ninu (T. II. 3),⁹⁶ dok iz Otreša potječe niz ulomaka gotovo cjelovite trabeacije oltarne ograde, odnosno arhitravi i zabat (T. III).⁹⁷ Ovi su spomenici pripisani tzv. *Benediktinskoj klesarskoj radionici iz vremena kneza Branimira*, čija su djela identificirana na petnaestak lokaliteta.⁹⁸ S njom se povezuje i trabeacija oltarne ograde pronađena u Uzdlolju kod Knina, na kojoj se spominje knez Muncimir i datacija 895. godinom (T. IV. 1).⁹⁹ Branimirovo se ime pojavljuje na još dvije trabeacije oltarnih ograda – onoj iz Šopota kod Benkovca (T. IV. 2)¹⁰⁰ te iz Ždrapnja u Piramatovcima kod

votive inscriptions. In some of them, the names and titles of the dedicants, the persons who commissioned construction of a church or its furnishing, and sometimes even ethnonyms appear. Based on the artistic features, examples of sculpture from various sites may be linked to individual stonemason workshops, and since some persons mentioned in inscriptions are known from more precisely dated written sources, the dating of large body of sculpture is possible and more certain. Since the theme of early medieval stonemason workshops has been thoroughly covered and clearly analysed in Croatian scholarship over the past half-century, here I shall only summarily highlight those most relevant to the topic of this paper, while the cited scholarly literature may be consulted for a more detailed overview.

There are several key monuments which have been used to systemize and date the stone church furniture from the 9th century in this manner. The architrave fragment from Gonji Muć, discovered in 1871, with an inscription that mentions Duke Branimir and the exact dating to 888 (Pl. II. 2) has already been noted.⁹⁵ Similar to it are two fragmented architraves from the Church of St. Michael in Nin (Pl. II. 3),⁹⁶ while a number of fragments of an almost complete trabeation of an altar screen, i.e., architraves and a pediment, come from Otres (Pl. III).⁹⁷ These monuments have been attributed to the so-called *Benedictine Stonemason Workshop From the Time of Duke Branimir*, the products of which have been identified at approximately fifteen sites.⁹⁸ With it is also associated the altar screen trabeation found in Uzdlolje near Knin, on which Duke Muncimir and the year 895 are mentioned (Pl. IV. 1).⁹⁹

95 Delonga 1996, str. 123, T. XLII: [...] BRANIMIRI ANNOR(vm) CHR(ist)I SACRA DE VIRG(ine) CARNE VT SV(m)PS(it) S(vnt) DCCCLXXX ET VIII Q(ue) INDIC(tio).

96 Delonga 1996, str. 207-208, T. LXVIII: 1. [...] EMPORIBUS DOM(i)NO B[ra]NNIMERO DUX SLCAUORUM[...]ORIT HU[...], 2. EGO TEUDEBERTUS ABBA[s] PRO REMEDIO ANIME MEE FIERI ROG[avi] / [...quis] IJEGET ORET PRO ME PECCATOR[e].

97 Delonga 1996, str. 217-218, T. LXXI: + IN N(omine) D(omi)NI TE(m)POR[e] DOMNO [Br]ANNI[mero] DVCI EGO C[ede]DRA[go] [ad ho]NORE(m) BEATI PETRI ET S(an)C(ta)E MARIE S(an)C(t)I GEORGII S(an)C(t)I STEFANI S(an)C(t)I MARTINI S(an)C(t)I GRISOGONI S(an)C(t)aE CRVCIS.

98 Jakšić 2000, str. 208-212; Jakšić 2002, str. 113-117; Jakšić 2013, str. 141-148; Jakšić 2015, str. 347-376; Jarak 2007; Josipović 2013, str. 169-191.

99 Delonga 1996, str. 156-157, T. LII: 1. + OCTINGENTI [non]AGINTA ET Q(ui)NQ[ue] [an]NOR(um) D(omi)NI FERRE T(er) DE[n ?...], 2. [hu]NC BENE CO(m)PSIT OPVS PRINCEPS NA(m)Q(ue) MUNCIMYR [...]. Za likovni aspekt v. Jakšić 2013, str. 141-142; Jurković 1992a, str. 33.

100+ BRANIMIRO COM[...] DVX CRVATORV(m) COGIT[avit...]. Natpis je donesen prema Delonga 1996, str. 166-167, T. LV, s razlikom što ovdje

95 Delonga 1996, p. 123, Pl. XLII: [...] BRANIMIRI ANNOR(vm) CHR(ist)I SACRA DE VIRG(ine) CARNE VT SV(m)PS(it) S(vnt) DCCCLXXX ET VIII Q(ue) INDIC(tio).

96 Delonga 1996, pp. 207-208, Pl. LXVIII: 1. [...] EMPORIBUS DOM(i)NO B[ra]NNIMERO DUX SLCAUORUM[...]ORIT HU[...], 2. EGO TEUDEBERTUS ABBA[s] PRO REMEDIO ANIME MEE FIERI ROG[avi] / [...quis] IJEGET ORET PRO ME PECCATOR[e].

97 Delonga 1996, pp. 217-218, Pl. LXXI: + IN N(omine) D(omi)NI TE(m)POR[e] DOMNO [Br]ANNI[mero] DVCI EGO C[ede]DRA[go] [ad ho]NORE(m) BEATI PETRI ET S(an)C(ta)E MARIE S(an)C(t)I GEORGII S(an)C(t)I STEFANI S(an)C(t)I MARTINI S(an)C(t)I GRISOGONI S(an)C(t)aE CRVCIS.

98 Jakšić 2000, pp. 208-212; Jakšić 2002, pp. 113-117; Jakšić 2013, pp. 141-148; Jakšić 2015, pp. 347-376; Jarak 2007; Josipović 2013, str. 169-191.

99 Delonga 1996, pp. 156-157, Pl. LII: 1. + OCTINGENTI [non]AGINTA ET Q(ui)NQ[ue] [an]NOR(um) D(omi)NI FERRE T(er) DE[n ?...], 2. [hu]NC BENE CO(m)

Bribira (T. IV. 3).¹⁰¹ Riječ je o djelima najplodnije kamenoklesarske produkcije s područja Hrvatske Kneževine, prisutne na više od 20 lokaliteta i prozvana *Dvorskom klesarskom radionicom iz vremena kneza Branimira*.¹⁰² Osim Branimira i Muncimira sačuvan je i spomen kneza Trpimira, na zabatu iz Rižinica kod Solina (T. V. 1).¹⁰³ Premda ovaj natpis ne nosi preciznu dataciju godinom, srodna se skulptura (trabeacije, pluteji, pilastri, itd.) može datirati u šire vrijeme oko njegove vladavine te je pripisana tzv. *Klesarskoj radionici iz vremena kneza Trpimira*, a njezina su djela utvrđena na više od 10 lokaliteta.¹⁰⁴ Naposljetku tu su i djela *Majstora koljanskog pluteja*, čija je ostavština poznata s otprilike sedam lokaliteta, no svi su bili važna mjesta unutar Hrvatske Kneževine te izravno povezani s vladajućom elitom.¹⁰⁵ Premda na djelima ove radionice nema sačuvanih imena vladara ili drugih velikodostojnika, relativnokronološki datira se u prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća,¹⁰⁶ jednako kao i posljednja radionica koju ću ovdje izdvojiti. To je tzv. *Trogirska*

Branimir's name appears on two other altar screen trabeations: from Šopot near Benkovac (Pl. IV. 2)¹⁰⁰ and from Ždrapanj in Piramatovci near Bribir (Pl. IV. 3).¹⁰¹ These are products of the most productive stonemason production in the territory of the Croatian Duchy, present at over 20 sites and proclaimed the *Court Stonemason Workshop From the Time of Duke Branimir*.¹⁰² Besides Branimir and Muncimir, the mention of Duke Trpimir has also been preserved, on a pediment from Rižinice near Solin (Pl. V. 1).¹⁰³ Although this inscription does not bear the precise dating in terms of the year, similar sculpture (trabeations, plutei, pilasters, etc.) can be dated to the broader period around his reign and they have been ascribed to the so-called *Stonemason Workshop From the Time of Duke Trpimir*, and its products have been ascertained at over 10 sites.¹⁰⁴ Finally there are the works by *The Master of the Koljani Pluteus*, whose legacy is known from about seven sites, but all were vital places within the Croatian Duchy and directly linked to the ruling elite.¹⁰⁵ Although the products of this workshop do not bear the preserved names of rulers or other

ostavljam titulu COM nenadopunjenom, u skladu s novim saznanjima o ovome natpisu kako ih donosi Josipović 2015. Više će riječi o njemu biti u daljnjem dijelu članka.

- 101 Delonga 1996, str. 252, T. LXXXI. 228: [Br]ANIMERO DVCE(m) CLAVITNORV(m) EGO PRISTI[na] IVPANUS C[...].
- 102 Petricioli 1980; Burić 1995; Jakšić 1995; Jakšić 2000, str. 212-213; Jakšić 2002, str. 112-113; Jakšić 2015, str. 315-336; Josipović 2013, str. 149-168.
- 103 Delonga 1996, str. 128, T. XLIII. 94: PRO DVCE TREPIME[ro...].
- 104 Jakšić 1997, str. 41-42, 47; Jakšić 2000, str. 207-208; Jakšić 2015, str. 295-314; Josipović 2013, str. 103-143. Josipović 2012a pokazuje izgledno djelovanje ove radionice i ranije, u vrijeme kneza Mislava, što podržava i Jakšić 2015, str. 310-311, predlažući čitanje Mislava imena i na jednom ulomku arhitrave oltarne ograde iz crkve sv. Martina u Pridragi.
- 105 To su Crkvine u Gornjim Koljanima, Biskupiji i Galovcu, Bijaći – Sv. Marta, Rižinice te Uzdolje i Kapitul kod Knina. O ukupnom broju lokaliteta s kojih potječu nalazi ove radionice postoje različita mišljenja. Josipović 2013, str. 78-79, navodi četiri lokaliteta; Jurčević 2014, str. 136, navodi sedam; Jakšić, Josipović 2015, str. 151-152, 161-163, spominju pet sigurnih i još možda dva nepoznata lokaliteta.
- 106 Jakšić 1984; Jakšić 2015, str. 221-266; Jurčević 2009; Jurčević 2014, str. 130-138; Josipović 2010; Josipović 2013, str. 57-83; Jakšić, Josipović 2015.

PSIT OPVS PRINCEPS NA(m)Q(ue) MUNCIMYR [...]. For the artistic aspect, see Jakšić 2013, pp. 141-142; Jurković 1992a, p. 33.

- 100+ BRANIMIRO COM[...] DVX CRVATORV(m) COGIT[avit...]. The inscription has been cited according to Delonga 1996, pp. 166-167, Pl. LV, with the only difference being that here I left the title COM unexpanded, in line with newer insights into the inscription provided by Josipović 2015. More will be said about it further in this paper.
- 101 Delonga 1996, p. 252, Pl. LXXXI. 228: [Br]ANIMERO DVCE(m) CLAVITNORV(m) EGO PRISTI[na] IVPANUS C[...].
- 102 Petricioli 1980; Burić 1995; Jakšić 1995; Jakšić 2000, pp. 212-213; Jakšić 2002, pp. 112-113; Jakšić 2015, pp. 315-336; Josipović 2013, pp. 149-168.
- 103 Delonga 1996, p. 128, Pl. XLIII. 94: PRO DVCE TREPIME[ro...].
- 104 Jakšić 1997, pp. 41-42, 47; Jakšić 2000, pp. 207-208; Jakšić 2015, pp. 295-314; Josipović 2013, pp. 103-143. Josipović 2012a demonstrated the likely operation of this workshop even earlier, during the time of Duke Mislav, which was also supported by Jakšić 2015, pp. 310-311, suggesting the reading of Mislav's name also on a fragment of an altar screen architrave from the Church of St. Martin in Pridraga.
- 105 These are the Crkvine in Gornji Koljani, Biskupija and Galovac, then Bijaći/St. Martha, Rižinice and Uzdolje and Kapitul near Knin. There are differing views on the total number of sites from which finds of this workshop originated. Josipović 2013, pp. 78-79, specified four sites; Jurčević 2014, p. 136, noted seven; Jakšić, Josipović 2015, pp. 151-152, 161-163, mentioned five certain and two possible further unidentified sites.

klesarska radionica, čija je produkcija poznata sa sveukupno manje od 10 lokaliteta.¹⁰⁷

Postoje i pojedine druge predromaničke klesarske radionice, no njihovi su radovi velikim dijelom poznati iz obalnih gradova ili s otoka bizantske Dalmacije i time su izvan uže teme ovoga članka. Umjesto toga posvetit ću se nekim pitanjima koja nameće njihova kronologija. Upravo se gradske radionice obično najranije datiraju, u razdoblje od kasnijeg 8. st. do početka 9. st.,¹⁰⁸ a vidjeli smo da se na okolnom slavenskom području jednako može datirati i prva predromanička skulptura iz crkve sv. Marte u Bijaćima te ulomci pluteja iz crkve sv. Martina u Pridragi. U isto razdoblje se prema I. Josipoviću treba datirati i dio skulpture iz Biograda i Galovca, koju autor pripisuje tzv. *Radionici plutejâ zadarske katedrale*.¹⁰⁹ Nakon "zadarskih" radionica slijedi *Trogirska klesarska radionica*, koju se obično datira u ranija desetljeća 9. stoljeća,¹¹⁰ a u bliskome razdoblju djeluje i *Majstor koljanskog pluteja*.¹¹¹ Sljedeće radioničke aktivnosti poznate su iz šireg razdoblja oko sredine 9. stoljeća (vladavina knezova Mislava i Trpimira) te iz njegovih posljednjih desetljeća (u vrijeme Branimira i Muncimira). U 10. stoljeće sigurno je datirana jedino produkcija iz vremena kralja Držislava (o. 969.-997.) (T. V. 2),¹¹² a zatim slijede ranoromaničke radionice iz šire sredine 11. stoljeća.

dignitaries, they have been relatively chronologically dated to the first half of the 9th century,¹⁰⁶ just like the final workshop that I shall highlight here. That is the so-called *Trogir Stonemason Workshop*, whose products are known from a total of less than 10 sites.¹⁰⁷

There were also other pre-Romanesque stonemason workshops, but their products are largely known from the coastal cities or from the islands of Byzantine Dalmatia, so they are outside of the narrower scope of this paper. I shall instead accord attention to certain questions imposed by their chronology. The urban workshops are usually dated the earliest, to the period from the late 8th century to the beginning of the 9th century,¹⁰⁸ and we have seen that the first pre-Romanesque sculptures in the surrounding Slavic area from the Church of St. Martha in Bijaći and the pluteus fragments from the Church of St. Martin in Pridraga may be similarly dated. According to I. Josipović, some of the sculpture from Biograd and Galovac should be dated to the same period, those he ascribed to the so-called *Workshop of the Zadar Cathedral Plutei*.¹⁰⁹ The "Zadar" workshops are followed by the *Trogir Stonemason Workshop*, usually dated to the earlier decades of the 9th century,¹¹⁰ while *The Master of the Koljani Pluteus* operated in a proximate period.¹¹¹ Subsequent workshop activities are known from the broader period around the mid-9th century (reign of dukes Mislav and Trpimir) and its final decades (the time of Branimir and Muncimir).

107 Jakšić 2000, str. 206-207; Jakšić 2004; Jakšić 2015, str. 267-294; Josipović 2011; Josipović 2013, str. 85-102.

108 Usp. Jarak 2013, str. 231-232, 240-250; Josipović 2013, str. 33-35, 53-56, i ondje citiranu literaturu.

109 Josipović 2014.

110 Jakšić 2000, str. 206-207; Jakšić 2004, str. 284-285; Josipović 2011, str. 103-104. Nedavno su oba autora u zajedničkom radu (Jakšić, Josipović 2015, str. 147, 154) ovu radionicu datirali nešto kasnije, prema sredini 9. stoljeća. Uvjerljivijom se ipak čini datacija u ranije razdoblje istoga stoljeća, kako su ju donedavno pretpostavljali i navedeni autori, na što ukazuju i likovne značajke, ali i činjenica da se uz zabate u sklopu produkcije ove radionice često javljaju i lukovi, karakteristični upravo za ranije razdoblje. Tomu u prilog ide i relativna kronologija na pojedinim lokalitetima, o čemu dalje u tekstu.

111 Jurčević 2009, str. 66-68; Jakšić 2015, str. 238. Nedavno je predloženo relativnokronološko pozicioniranje djelovanja ovoga majstora nakon *Trogirske*, barem na lokalitetu u Bijaćima. Jakšić, Josipović 2015, osobito str. 154-155.

112 Ponajprije se misli na nalaze s Kapitula kod Knina, među kojima se ističu ogradne ploče stubišta ambona na kojima se spominje Držislav i vjerojatno Svetoslav. Delonga 1996, str. 108-109, T. XXXV:

106 Jakšić 1984; Jakšić 2015, pp. 221-266; Jurčević 2009; Jurčević 2014, pp. 130-138; Josipović 2010; Josipović 2013, pp. 57-83; Jakšić, Josipović 2015.

107 Jakšić 2000, str. 206-207; Jakšić 2004; Jakšić 2015, pp. 267-294; Josipović 2011; Josipović 2013, pp. 85-102.

108 Cf. Jarak 2013, pp. 231-232, 240-250; Josipović 2013, pp. 33-35, 53-56, and the literature cited therein.

109 Josipović 2014.

110 Jakšić 2000, pp. 206-207; Jakšić 2004, pp. 284-285; Josipović 2011, pp. 103-104. Recently both scholars, in a jointly-authored paper (Jakšić, Josipović 2015, pp. 147, 154), dated this workshop somewhat later, toward the mid-9th c. Dating to the earlier period of the same century nonetheless seems more convincing, as until recently assumed also by the aforementioned scholars, which is indicated by artistic features as well as the fact that the pediments produced by this workshop are often accompanied by arches, typical precisely of the earlier period. The relative chronology at individual sites also supports this, about which more shall be said further in this paper.

111 Jurčević 2009, pp. 66-68; Jakšić 2015, p. 238. Recently the relative chronological positioning of this master's work after that of the *Trogir workshop* has been proposed, at least in Bijaći. Jakšić, Josipović 2015, esp. pp. 154-155.

Sve u svemu, primjetna je velika neproporcionalnost u produkciji 9. stoljeća u odnosu na kasnija razdoblja pa je nužno zapitati se koji je tomu razlog. S jedne strane, nepobitna je već spomenuta činjenica da je prva polovina 9. stoljeća vrijeme ekspanzivne kristijanizacije dalmatinskoga zaleđa, velikim dijelom pod vodstvom franačkih misionara. Logična posljedica tog procesa je gradnja novih i renoviranje te opremanje postojećih crkava. U drugoj polovini istoga stoljeća dolazi i do organizacije nove crkvene hijerarhije na ovome prostoru, uz što se također mogu očekivati slični zahvati. Navedeni razlozi ipak teško mogu obuhvatiti sve slučajeve postavljanja novoga crkvenog namještaja, pogotovo na onim lokalitetima gdje dolazi do zamjene postojećega unutar samo nekoliko desetljeća pa možda i manje.

Hrvati, crkve i identitet

Kao najzorniji primjer ističe se svakako crkva sv. Marije na Crkvini u Biskupiji. Još je N. Jakšić, u vrijeme početaka definiranja pojedinih predromaničkih klesarskih radionica, uočio četiri različite skupine oltarnih ograda, datirane između 9. i 11. stoljeća.¹¹³ Utvrđeno je zatim i djelovanje jedne romaničke radionice, a nedavno i dodatni manji zahvati vjerojatno u kasnijem 12. stoljeću. Sveukupno je na ovome lokalitetu identificirano šest faza uređenja crkvenog namještaja, od kojih se pet odnosi na postavljanje potpuno novih oltarnih ograda.¹¹⁴ Tri faze pripadaju 9. stoljeću, u kojemu su djelovali *Majstor koljanskog pluteja* (ujedno i vrijeme izgradnje crkve) te *Dvorska* i *Benediktinska klesarska radionica iz vremena kneza Branimira*.¹¹⁵ U Bijaćima nedostaju (rano)romaničke faze, no

Only production that proceeded during the time of King Držislav (ca. 969-997) (Pl. V. 2) has certainly been dated to the 10th century,¹¹² followed by the early Romanesque workshops from the broader mid-11th century.

All in all, a great disproportion in production in the 9th century in comparison to later periods is noticeable, so it is necessary to pose the question of why. On the one hand, there is no disputing the already mentioned fact that the first half of the 9th century was a time of expanding Christianization of the Dalmatian hinterland, largely under the leadership of Frankish missionaries. A logical consequence of this process was the construction of new and the renovation of existing churches. The organization of a new ecclesiastical hierarchy in this area proceeded in the latter half of that same century, alongside which similar undertakings could be expected. These reasons nonetheless can hardly encompass all cases of installation of new church furniture, particularly at those sites where existing furniture was changed within only a few decades or even less.

Croats, churches and identity

The Church of St. Mary at Crkvina in Biskupija stands out as the plainest example. N. Jakšić, at the time when individual pre-Romanesque stonemason workshops were being defined, observed four different groups of altar screens, dated between the 9th and 11th centuries.¹¹³ The products of a Romanesque workshop have also been ascertained, and so have, more recently, additional smaller works probably made in the late 12th century. In all, six installation phases of church furniture have been identified, of which five pertain to the installation of entirely new altar

[...Svetos]CLV DVX HROATOR(um) IN TE(m)PVS DIRZISCLV DVCE(m) MAGNV(m). O zanimljivom novom tumačenju natpisa v. Karbić 2015, str. 113. Drugačije viđenje ovih ploča izložio je nedavno Sokol 2009, str. 161-162. Autor smatra kako izvorno potječu s Crkvine u Biskupiji, gdje su nekoć služile kao poklopci grobne edikule u prizemlju *westwerka*. Premda je ova teza zanimljiva, za nju ne postoje dovoljni argumenti, ni u pogledu podrijetla ploča, ni u pogledu njihove funkcije.

113 Jakšić 1980.

114 Usp. Jurčević 2014, i ondje navedenu raniju literaturu.

115 Tijekom posljednjih tridesetak godina faze uređenja crkve u 9. stoljeću nerijetko su različito određivane, no u posljednje je vrijeme ovakav slijed općeprihvaćen. Usp. Jurčević 2009; Jurčević 2014; Jakšić 2015, str. 219-220.

112 This primarily refers to the finds from Kapitul near Knin, among which railing plates of an ambo staircase mentioning Držislav and perhaps Svetoslav stand out. Delonga 1996, pp. 108-109, Pl. XXXV: [...Svetos]CLV DVX HROATOR(um) IN TE(m)PVS DIRZISCLV DVCE(m) MAGNV(m). For an interesting new interpretation of the inscription, see Karbić 2015, p. 113. A different view of these plates was recently put forth by Sokol 2009, pp. 161-162. This author believes that they originally came from Crkvina in Biskupija, where they were once used as lids for a tomb aedicule in the ground level of the *westwerk*. Although this hypothesis is interesting, it lacks sufficient evidence to back it, both in terms of the origin of the plates and in terms of their function.

113 Jakšić 1980.

predromaničke su jednako brojne, ali i vremenski međusobno bliže. Prema najnovijemu radu N. Jakšića i I. Josipovića tri predromaničke faze mogu se datirati unutar samo pedesetak godina, a možda i manje. Prva je već spominjana skupina skulpture kasnog 8. ili početka 9. stoljeća. Tada je postavljena cjelovita oltarna ograda. Slijedile bi preinake od strane *Trogirske klesarske radionice*, koje se odnose isključivo na trabeaciju oltarne ograde, dok pluteji i pilastri ostaju netaknuti. Naposljetku je djelima *Majstora koljanskog pluteja* zamijenjen veći dio te trabeacije, kao i pojedini pilastri. Istoj je produkciji pripisan i četverostrani ciborij na kojemu se spominje i titularka crkve.¹¹⁶ Sličan broj promjena oltarnih ograda vjerojatno je prisutan i na Uzdoľju, za koji lokalitet A. Jurčević navodi nalaze djela *Majstora koljanskog pluteja*, a zatim i *Klesarske radionice iz vremena kneza Trpimira* te obiju radionica iz Branimirova vremena.¹¹⁷ Djela istih četiriju radionica utvrđena su i na Kapitolu kod Knina, a s tog lokaliteta potječe i spomenuta skulptura druge polovine 10. stoljeća, kao i manji broj ranoromaničkih ulomaka.¹¹⁸ Na većini drugih lokaliteta prisutne su uglavnom produkcije jedne do dviju, eventualno triju radionica. U potonjem se slučaju najčešće radi o dvjema radionicama iz Branimirova vremena te jednoj prethodnoj.

Vratimo se sada na početno pitanje, odnosno moguće razloge ovako učestalim promjenama oltarnih ograda tijekom 9. stoljeća. Mnogobrojni su radovi hrvatskih povjesničara umjetnosti i arheologa do

screens.¹¹⁴ Three phases were in the 9th century, during which *The Master of the Koljani Pluteus* (also the time of the church's construction) and the *Court and Benedictine Stonemason Workshops From the Time of Duke Branimir* functioned.¹¹⁵ (Early) Romanesque phases are lacking in Bijaći, but the pre-Romanesque phases are equal in number and chronologically closer to one another. According to the latest paper by N. Jakšić and I. Josipović, three pre-Romanesque phases may be dated within approximately fifty years, and perhaps less. The first is the already mentioned group of sculpture from the late 8th or early 9th century. An entire altar screen was installed at the time. Next would be the modifications by the *Trogir Stonemason Workshop*, which were exclusively limited to the altar screen trabeation, while the plutei and pilasters remained untouched. Finally the works of *The Master of the Koljani Pluteus* replaced most of the trabeation, as well as individual pilasters. The four-sided ciborium on which the church's titular saint is mentioned were attributed to the same production.¹¹⁶ A similar number of changes to the altar screen are also present at Uzdoľje, a site which A. Jurčević characterized as having works by the *The Master of the Koljani Pluteus*, and then also the *Stonemason Workshop from the Time of Duke Trpimir* and both workshops from Branimir's time.¹¹⁷ The products of these same four workshops have also been ascertained at Kapitul near Knin, and the aforementioned sculpture from the latter half of

116 Jakšić, Josipović 2015. Autori sami ističu (str. 155) kako nije potpuno pouzdano utvrđeno koja je točno radionica zaslužna za drugu, a koja za treću fazu te da tako predloženi slijed treba shvatiti uvjetno.

117 Jurčević 2014, str. 136, 138-139. Već je navedeno kako je N. Jakšić iznio posve drugačije mišljenje, prema kojemu bi sva predromanička skulptura pronađena na Uzdoľju zapravo potjecala s drugih lokaliteta u Kosovu polju, poput Crkvine i Lopuške glavice u Biskupiji. Jakšić 2013. Takav je prijedlog prilično uvjerljivo pobio Jurčević 2014, str. 138-139, ističući među ostalim i poprilična odstupanja u širini arhitrava istih radionica s Uzdoľja i onih s Crkvine, što upućuje na pripadnost različitim oltarnim ogradama. Također, Jurčević pretpostavlja (str. 159, bilj. 86) da se na Uzdoľju nalazila neka dosad neotkrivena predromanička crkva kojoj je ta skulptura izvorno pripadala.

118 Usp. katalog skulpture koji donosi Burić 1988; v. također Josipović 2013, str. 68-69, 108, 184; Jurčević 2014, str. 136. Navedeni autori u svojim radovima ističu i probleme koji se javljaju kod pojedinih ulomaka skulpture s Kapitula, za koje nije sasvim sigurno jesu li izvorno s toga lokaliteta ili iz Knina.

114 Cf. Jurčević 2014, and the earlier scholarly literature cited therein.

115 During the past roughly three decades, the phases of the church's furnishing in the 9th c. have often been differently determined, but in recent years this sequence has been generally accepted. Cf. Jurčević 2009; Jurčević 2014; Jakšić 2015, pp. 219-220.

116 Jakšić, Josipović 2015. The authors themselves stress (p. 155) that it has not been reliably determined which workshop deserves credit for the second phase and which for the third phase, so that the suggested sequence should be understood only conditionally.

117 Jurčević 2014, pp. 136, 138-139. It has already been noted that N. Jakšić expressed a very different opinion, according to which all pre-Romanesque sculpture found in Uzdoľje actually originated at other sites in Kosovo polje, such as Crkvina and Lopuška glavica in Biskupija. Jakšić 2013. Such an idea was rather persuasively refuted by Jurčević 2014, pp. 138-139, stressing among other things the considerable deviations in the width of architraves made by the same workshops from Uzdoľje and those from Crkvina, which points to their belonging to different altar screens. Furthermore, Jurčević speculated (p. 159, n. 86) that there was some thus far undiscovered pre-Romanesque church in Uzdoľje to which this sculpture originally belonged.

danas posvećeni oltarnim ogradama i različitoj problematici vezanoj uz njih, brojnim tipološkim, ikonografskim i funkcionalnim temama.¹¹⁹ Međutim, kad se raspravlja o njihovim izmjenama, najčešće se tek ustvrđuje da su se one dogodile, bez pokušaja utvrđivanja određenog razloga.¹²⁰ Tek se posljednjih godina javljaju objašnjenja u tom smjeru, ponajviše u vezi s produkcijom klesarskih radionica iz Branimirova vremena. Naime, vladavina kneza Branimira (o. 879.-892.) najplodnije je razdoblje izgradnje crkava i uređenja njihovih interijera u Hrvatskoj Kneževini općenito, s više od 30 lokaliteta na kojima je potvrđena djelatnost navedenih radionica.¹²¹ Obradujući nekoliko lokaliteta iz bribirske okolice, N. Jakšić je istaknuo slučaj Otresa, gdje je oltarna ograda *Trogirske klesarske radionice* zamijenjena onom *Benediktinske*. Budući da ove dvije radionice na svojim djelima izvode potpuno različite ikonografske programe, autor moguću motivaciju za promjenom vidi u potrebi za osuvremenjivanjem likovnog prikaza, a možda i u svjesnoj želji ili potrebi da se istakne Branimirovo ime.¹²² Uz to upućuje i na poznato pismo pape Stjepana VI. iz godine 887./888., poslano ninskom biskupu Teodoziju. Papa je Teodozija prihvatio kao splitskoga nadbiskupa, dodajući da po palij treba doći u Rim, te ga moli “da se sve Crkve, koje su barbarskim bijesom razorene, obnove, tako da se ne dogodi u uspostavi novih Crkava da zaboraviš na stare”.¹²³ Pod time Jakšić smatra obnovu ranokršćanskih crkava stradalih vjerojatno tijekom 7. i 8. stoljeća, ali možda i stradavanje crkava u nekoj nepoznatoj povijesnoj

the 10th century originated at the same site, as well as a smaller number of early Romanesque fragments.¹¹⁸ At most other sites, the products of one or two, and sometimes three, workshops were present. In the latter case, these most often pertain to the two workshops from Branimir’s time and one preceding one.

Now to return to the initial question, i.e., the possible reasons for such frequent changes of altar screens during the 9th century. Many studies by Croatian art historians and archaeologists up to the present have been dedicated to altar screens and the various problems associated with them, the numerous typological, iconographic and functional themes.¹¹⁹ However, when their replacement is discussed, most often it is simply noted that such replacements had occurred, without attempts to ascertain the reasons.¹²⁰ Explanations in this vein have only begun to appear in recent years, mostly pertaining to the production of stonemason workshops during Branimir’s time. Duke Branimir’s reign (ca. 879-892) was the most fertile period for the construction of churches and the decoration of their interiors in the Croatian Duchy in general, with over 30 sites at which the works of the aforementioned workshops have been confirmed.¹²¹ When analysing several sites in the vicinity of Bribir, N. Jakšić stressed the case of Otres, where an altar screen of the *Trogir Stonemason Workshop* was replaced with one from the *Benedictine Workshop*. Since these two workshops rendered entirely different iconographic repertoires on their products, the author saw the need to modernize the artistic portrayal as a possible motive for the change, as well as, possibly, the conscious desire or even need to highlight Branimir’s

119 Uz radove navedene u ovome članku i posvećene stilskim te radioničkim pitanjima mogu se istaknuti i zasebne studije o drugačijim aspektima oltarnih ograda, kao primjerice Rapanić 1987, str. 175-187; Marasović 2007; Marasović 2008, str. 321-333.

120 T. Burić je posvetio zaseban rad upravo trajanju oltarnih ograda, no autor se u njemu usredotočuje na konačno njihovo uklanjanje iz crkava i nerijetko kasnije korištenje u vidu spolija. Burić 1997.

121 Budući da se pokazalo kako *Benediktinska klesarska radionica* djeluje i u vrijeme kneza Muncimira, dio produkcije na tim lokalitetima možda se može pripisati i njegovoj vladavini, no i dalje je ona najizraženija u Branimirovo vrijeme.

122 Jakšić 2009, str. 37-38.

123 *Codex diplomaticus I*, str. 22: (...) *et omnes ecclesie, que barbarorum rabie destructe sunt, assiduis precibus, ut restaurentur, imploramus, ita tamen ut in novarum ecclesiarum restauratione neglectus non proveniat antiquarum*. Prijevod prema Matijević Sokol, Sokol 2005, str. 60-61.

118 Cf. the sculpture catalogue provided by Burić 1988; see also Josipović 2013, pp. 68-69, 108, 184; Jurčević 2014, p. 136. In their works, these authors also underscored the problems that emerge for individual sculpture fragments from Kapitul, for which it is not entirely certain whether they were originally from that site or from Knin.

119 Besides the studies cited herein dedicated to questions of style and workshops, also noteworthy are separate studies on different aspects of altar screens, for example Rapanić 1987, pp. 175-187; Marasović 2007; Marasović 2008, pp. 321-333.

120 T. Burić dedicated a separate paper precisely to the duration of altar screens, but in it he focused on their ultimate removal from churches and frequent later use as spolia. Burić 1997.

121 Since it has been shown that the *Benedictine Stonemason Workshop* also operated during the reign of Duke Muncimir, a part of the production at these sites may also be ascribed to his rule, but it was still the most notable in Branimir’s time.

epizodi tijekom 9. stoljeća.¹²⁴ I neki drugi autori ovo su Papino pismo tumačili kao poticaj na obnovu uništenih crkvenih građevina,¹²⁵ no u novije vrijeme prevladava mišljenje da se radi ponajprije o oživljavanju ugaslih biskupija, od kojih će neke biti spomenute i na crkvenom saboru u Splitu 928. godine.¹²⁶

Jakšićevoj se interpretaciji priklonio I. Josipović, koji k tome uočava kako je većina crkvenog namještaja što ga je izradila *Klesarska radionica iz vremena kneza Trpimira* zamijenjena (ili popravljena) od strane radionica iz Branimirova vremena. Autor stoga zaključuje kako se radi o obnovi crkava uništenih vjerojatno nedugo prije slanja Papina pisma pa razlog traži u ekspediciji bizantske flote pod vodstvom Nikete Orifa godine 871., koja je poharala istočnu obalu Jadrana, razrušila neke utvrde i mnoštvo stanovnika odvela u ropstvo.¹²⁷ Kako se u pismu franačkoga cara Ludovika II. upućenom bizantskome caru Baziliju I., iz kojega se i doznaje o pohodu, spominju tek, ne pobliže određeno, stanovnici Ludoviku podložne sklavinije i “njegovi Slaveni” (*populis Sclaveniae nostrae; Sclavenis nostris*),¹²⁸ različiti se autori razilaze u mišljenjima je li ovdje riječ o Neretvanima i njihovoj oblasti i/ili pak o Hrvatima i Hrvatskoj.¹²⁹ Sve kada bi se i moglo pouzdano tvrditi da je bizantska vojna ekspedicija poharala Hrvatsku, teško je očekivati da bi bila zaslužna za uništenje barem 13 crkava, uz

name.¹²² He additionally pointed to the well-known letter from Pope Stephen VI from 887/888, sent to Nin bishop Theodosius. The pope accepted Theodosius as the archbishop of Split, adding that he had to come to Rome for his pallium, and he requested “that all Churches, destroyed by the barbarian rampage, be reconstructed, so that it does not happen that when establishing new Churches you forget the old ones.”¹²³ Jakšić believed that this meant the reconstruction of Early Christian churches destroyed probably during the 7th and 8th centuries, but possibly also the destruction of churches in some unknown historical episode during the 9th century.¹²⁴ Some other authors have also interpreted this papal letter as the impetus for the reconstruction of destroyed ecclesiastical buildings,¹²⁵ but more recently the prevailing view has been that this was primarily a reference to the revival of abolished dioceses, of which some would be mentioned at the synod held in Split in 928.¹²⁶

Jakšić’s interpretation was favoured by I. Josipović, who furthermore observed that the majority of the church furniture made by the *Stonemason Workshop from the Time of Duke Trpimir* was replaced (or repaired) by the workshops from Branimir’s time. He thus concluded that this was a case of restoring churches that had been destroyed probably not long before the papal letter was sent, so he sought the reason in the expedition of the Byzantine fleet under the leadership of Niketas Oryphas in 871, as a result of which the eastern Adriatic coast was ravaged, certain fortresses were demolished and many residents were taken captive and enslaved.¹²⁷ Since the letter from Frankish Emperor Louis II to Byzantine Emperor Basil I, which provides information on this raid, only mentions – not very specifically – the inhabitants of a Sclavinia subject to Louis and “his Slavs” (*populis Sclaveniae nostrae; Sclavenis nostris*),¹²⁸ various authors differ in opinion as to

124 Jakšić 2009, str. 38.

125 Usp. Jurković 1992, str. 71; Jurković 1997, str. 28; Zekan 1993, str. 418; Rapanić 1996, str. 59-60, 62; Katičić 2007, str. 328-329.

126 Budak 1997, str. 18. V. također Ančić 2001, str. 318-319; Matijević Sokol, Sokol 2005, str. 14, 60; Vedriš 2009, str. 239.

127 Josipović 2013, str. 140-143.

128 *Ludovici II. imperatoris epistola*, str. 392.

129 Klaić 1975, str. 246-247, Ludovikovim Slavenima smatra Hrvate. Hrvatski se teritorij navodi i u *Branimirova Hrvatska* 1990, str. 7-8, a Hrvatima ih drži i Karbić 2015, str. 93. Goldstein 1992, str. 181, pak drži kako se radi o Neretvanima. Isto je mislio i Ančić 1998, str. 18, dok u nedavnom radu (Ančić 2011, str. 269) navodi Humljane, u skladu s vlastitim novim promišljanima o problematici Neretvana, kako je spomenuto na početku ovoga članka. Budak 1994, str. 23, navodi i neretvansko i hrvatsko područje, u Budak 1997, str. 17, samo hrvatsko, dok u novijemu radu (Budak 2008, str. 234) podrazumijeva samo Neretvane.

122 Jakšić 2009, pp. 37-38.

123 *Codex diplomaticus I*, p. 22: (...) *et omnes ecclesie, que barbarorum rabie destructe sunt, assiduis precibus, ut restaurentur, imploramus, ita tamen ut in novarum ecclesiarum restauratione neglectus non proveniat antiquarum*. Croatian translation based on Matijević Sokol, Sokol 2005, pp. 60-61.

124 Jakšić 2009, p. 38.

125 Cf. Jurković 1992, p. 71; Jurković 1997, p. 28; Zekan 1993, p. 418; Rapanić 1996, pp. 59-60, 62; Katičić 2007, pp. 328-329.

126 Budak 1997, p. 18. See also Ančić 2001, pp. 318-319; Matijević Sokol, Sokol 2005, pp. 14, 60; Vedriš 2009, p. 239.

127 Josipović 2013, pp. 140-143.

128 *Ludovici II. imperatoris epistola*, p. 392.

temeljito razbijanje kamenih oltarnih ograda na male fragmente.¹³⁰

S druge strane, zanimljiva je Josipovićeva interpretacija kamenoga namještaja iz crkve sv. Bartula s Crkvine u Galovcu te onoga iz Biograda, koji je većim dijelom pripadao (kasnijoj) ranosrednjovjekovnoj katedrali, dok za pojedine ulomke nisu poznati ni točno mjesto ni okolnosti nalaza. I u jednom i u drugom slučaju radi se o izvorno rano-kršćanskim crkvama, a prvu predromaničku skulpturu s ovih lokaliteta autor, kako je već navedeno, pripisuje *Radionici plutejâ zadarske katedrale*, koja se datira u kraj 8. ili sam početak 9. stoljeća. Smatra također kako ona svjedoči o vremenu kada su i Zadar i ovi lokaliteti pripadali istoj dijecezi, ali i bili unutar istog političkog entiteta, bez obzira je li riječ o Bizantu ili pak kratkotrajnoj franačkoj vladavini prije 812. godine.¹³¹ Tek koje desetljeće kasnije oltarna ograda crkve u Galovcu zamijenjena je novom, koju je izradio *Majstor koljanskog pluteja*, istodobno postavljajući i novi šesterostrani ciborij. Pri tome nikako nije nevažno što se Galovac nalazio na graničnome području slavenskog, odnosno hrvatskog, zaleđa prema zadarskome teritoriju.¹³² Jednako tako je važan i spomenuti podatak da je *Majstor koljanskog pluteja* djelovao samo na lokalitetima koji se mogu povezati s hrvatskim vladarskim slojem, kao i činjenica da je crkva u Galovcu bila posvećena upravo sv. Bartolomeju/Bartulu, čiji se kult tumači kao kraljevska, odnosno vladarska opcija.¹³³ U toj izmjeni i obnovi crkvenoga namještaja mogao bi se stoga vidjeti namjerni simbolički čin kojim se iskazuje moć nove vladajuće elite na tom području. Sasvim je moguće i da je upravo naručitelj tog projekta bio pokopan u sarkofagu bez priloga, koji je otkriven uz crkvu te pokazuje analogije sa sarkofagom s Crkvine u Biskupiji pa se ponekad pretpostavlja i da ga je

whether this is a reference to the Narentians and their province and/or the Croats and Croatia.¹²⁹ Even if it could be reliably ascertained that the Byzantine military expedition ravaged Croatia, it would be difficult to expect that it had destroyed at least 13 churches, including the thorough demolition of stone altar screens into tiny fragments.¹³⁰

On the other hand, Josipović presented an interesting interpretation of the stone furniture from the Church of St. Bartholomew at Crkvina in Galovac and those from Biograd, which largely belonged to the (later) early medieval cathedral, while neither the precise location nor circumstances of the discovery are known for certain pieces. In both cases, it is matter of originally Early Christian churches, and Josipović attributed the first pre-Romanesque sculptures from these sites, as already noted, to the *Workshop of the Zadar Cathedral Plutei*, which is dated to the end of the 8th or very beginning of the 9th century. He also believed that it testifies to the time when both Zadar and these sites had belonged to the same diocese, but were also in the same political entity, regardless of whether this was Byzantium or the short-lived Frankish rule prior to 812.¹³¹ Only a decade or two later, the altar screen in the church in Galovac was replaced with a new one, which was made by *The Master of the Koljani Pluteus*, while installing a new hexagonal ciborium at the same time. A not insignificant fact is that Galovac was situated in the boundary area of the Slavic, or rather Croatian, hinterland facing Zadar's territory.¹³² Equally important is also the already mentioned information that *The Master of the Koljani*

130 Josipović 2013, str. 140, kao jedan od argumenata svoje teze navodi upravo znatna oštećenja i veliku fragmentiranost namještaja iz Trpimirova vremena. To bi podrazumijevalo doista namjerno njihovo "usitnjavanje", što je teško pripisati kratkotrajnoj vojnoj ekspediciji.

131 Josipović 2014, str. 56-57.

132 Usp. Josipović 2010; Josipović, Magaš Mesić 2013, str. 29. Za katalog skulpture iz Galovca, uz nešto drugačiju interpretaciju i dataciju nalaza, v. Belošević 1997a.

133 Budak 1999. Sv. Bartolomeju/Bartulu bile su posvećene i crkve na Kapitolu kod Knina te u Ždrapnju u Piramatovcima kod Bribira. Za važnost crkve u Galovcu v. Jakšić 2000a, str. 43-46 i dalje.

129 Klaić 1975, pp. 246-247, considers Louis' Slavs to be Croats. Croatian territory was also specified in *Branimirova Hrvatska* 1990, pp. 7-8, and they are also considered Croats by Karbić 2015, p. 93. Goldstein 1992, p. 181, however maintained that they were Narentians. This view was also shared by Ančić 1998, p. 18, while in a recent work (Ančić 2011, p. 269) he cited the Chulmians, in line with his more recent views on the problems surrounding the Narentians, as noted at the beginning of this paper. Budak 1994, p. 23, mentioned both Narentian and Croatian territory, but in Budak 1997, p. 17, only Croatian, while in a more recent work (Budak 2008, p. 234) he implied only the Narentians.

130 Josipović 2013, p. 140, stated as one of the arguments to back his hypothesis precisely the considerable damage and high fragmentation of the furniture from Trpimir's time. This would truly imply their "crushing," which is difficult to ascribe to a brief military expedition.

131 Josipović 2014, pp. 56-57.

132 Cf. Josipović 2010; Josipović, Magaš Mesić 2013, p. 29. For the catalogue of sculpture from Galovac, with

izradila ista radionica.¹³⁴ Druge izmjene crkvenog namještaja kojima se ovdje posvećujem događaju se unutar istog političkog entiteta, no razlozi za provedbu jednog dijela njih mogli su biti vrlo slični.

U Biogradu do izmjene crkvenog namještaja dolazi nešto kasnije, uz velike promjene i u arhitekturi same crkve. Obično se smatra kako je trobrodna i troapsidalna crkva s oblim kontraforima sagrađena sredinom ili u drugoj polovini 9. stoljeća, na mjestu nekadašnje manje jednoapsidalne crkve (bilo ranokršćanske, bilo iz sredine 8. stoljeća), koja je inkorporirana u njezin sjeveroistočni dio.¹³⁵ Nedavno je drugačije tumačenje ponudio P. Vežić, prema kojemu bi već izvorna ranokršćanska crkva bila trobrodna i troapsidalna. U ranome srednjem vijeku, najvjerojatnije u vrijeme kneza Branimira, na njezinoj bi osnovi bila podignuta potpuno nova troapsidalna crkva dvoranskoga tipa.¹³⁶ Ako se složimo s Vežićevom interpretacijom odnosa ranokršćanske i predromaničke crkve, pitanje datacije izgradnje potonje ostaje donekle otvorenim. Naime, iako su ulomci skulpture iz Biograda vrlo fragmentirani i ne osobito brojni, jedan ulomak pluteja te kapitel s dijelom stupića oltarne ograde prilično su sigurno pripisani *Klesarskoj radionici iz vremena kneza Trpimira*, dok se dva druga ulomka pluteja te jedan pilastar pripisuju *Dvorskoj klesarskoj radionici iz vremena kneza Branimira*. Dakle, ako je predromanička crkva s oblim kontraforima izgrađena u vrijeme kneza Branimira, kako se obično pretpostavlja, to bi značilo da je skulpturom prethodne klesarske

Pluteus only worked at sites that may be linked to the Croatian ruling class, as is the fact that the church in Galovac was dedicated precisely to St. Bartholomew (Bartul), whose cult has been interpreted as the royal, or rather rulers' option.¹³³ One may therefore see this replacement and renewal of church furniture as an intentional symbolic act to demonstrate the power of the new ruling elite in this area. It is entirely possible that the individual who commissioned this project was buried in the sarcophagus without accompanying goods that was discovered next to the church and which is analogous to the sarcophagus from Crkvina in Biskupija, so it is sometimes assumed to have been made by the same workshop.¹³⁴ The other replacements of church furniture to which I turn my attention here occurred inside the same political entity, but the reasons for carrying out a part of them may have been very similar.

Changes of church furniture came somewhat later in Biograd, with considerable alterations to the architecture of the church itself. It is usually believed that a triple-nave and triapsidal church with rounded buttresses was built in the mid- or latter half of the 9th century, at the site of a former, smaller single apsidal church (either Early Christian, or from the mid-8th century), which was incorporated into

134 Jakšić 2000, str. 205; Jurčević 2014, str. 136-137. Da je takva situacija izglednija na Crkvini u Galovcu, negoli u Biskupiji, indicira položaj sarkofaga. Za razliku od duboko ukopanog i u odnosu na crkvu s odmakom orijentiranog biskupijskoga, u Galovcu je ukrašen sarkofag od antičkih spolija pronađen unutar pastoforije, označene kao prostorija "A". Bio je ukopan samo 20 cm ispod njezina poda te pravilno orijentiran u odnosu na južni zid crkve. V. Belošević 1996, str. 328; također i plan lokaliteta s ucrtanim položajem grobova u: Belošević 1992. Belošević, doduše, smatra kako su i ovaj i drugi sarkofag iz Galovca (ukopan uz jugozapadni ugao nartekse crkve, na dubini od 80 cm i lagano zakošen prema jugoistoku, također bez nalaza) kasnoantički, preputrijebljeni u ranome srednjem vijeku. Također pretpostavlja da su izvorno stajali na nekom vidljivijem mjestu, vjerojatno u prostoriji dozidanoj ispred nartekse, te potom tijekom 7. ili 8. stoljeća ukopani u zemlju. Belošević 1996, str. 332, 336-337; Belošević 1997, str. 304, 314.

135 Usp. Buškariol 1988, str. 48-52; Uroda 2005, str. 11-12; Marasović 2009, str. 426-431.

136 Vežić 2009, str. 198-202, 204.

a somewhat different interpretation and dating of the finds, see Belošević 1997a.

133 Budak 1999. The churches in Kapitul near Knin and Ždrapanj in Piramatovci near Bribir were also dedicated to St. Bartholomew/Bartul. On the importance of the church in Galovac, see Jakšić 2000a, pp. 43-46 ff.

134 Jakšić 2000, p. 205; Jurčević 2014, pp. 136-137. That such a situation was more likely at Crkvina in Galovac rather than in Biskupija is indicated by the position of the sarcophagus. As opposed to the deeply buried sarcophagus in Biskupija, which was oriented away from the church, in Galovac the decorated sarcophagus made of Roman-era spolia was found inside the pastophoria, designated as room 'A'. It was buried only 20 cm beneath its floor and oriented straight in relation to the church's southern wall. See Belošević 1996, p. 328; also a schematic of the site with the indicated positions of graves in: Belošević 1992. Belošević, though, believed that both this and the other sarcophagus from Galovac (buried adjacent to the south-western corner of the church's narthex at a depth of 80 cm and slightly skewed toward the south-east, also without goods) were from Late Antiquity, and reused in the early Middle Ages. He also speculated that they had originally rested at some more visible point, probably in a room added in front of the narthex, and then buried into the ground during the 7th or 8th c. Belošević 1996, pp. 332, 336-337; Belošević 1997, str. 304, 314.

radionice bila preuređena još uvijek postojeća ranokršćanska crkva, koja se za Branimira ruši te se gradi potpuno nova velebna građevina. Ako pak skulptura *Klesarske radionice iz vremena kneza Trpimira* indicira i gradnju crkve u tome nešto ranijem vremenu,¹³⁷ onda je za Branimirove vladavine tek njezina oltarna ograda zamijenjena novom. Ni takav slijed događaja ne može se isključiti, pogotovo stoga što su slične zamjene namještaja utvrđene na nekoliko lokaliteta. Na žalost, pitanje točnih faza razvoja arhitekture i s njom povezane skulpture biogradske predromaničke crkve s oblim kontraforima, poslije katedrale, teško da će ikada biti sasvim jasno riješeno, budući da je dokumentacija arheoloških istraživanja s početka 20. stoljeća manjkava, a svi ostaci arhitekture su nedugo potom temeljito uklonjeni, čime je onemogućena suvremena revizija lokaliteta.¹³⁸

Možda se slično viđenje ovdje izneseno za Galovac može primijeniti i na lokalitete na trogirsko-solinskome području. Iz Rižinica potječe ranije spomenuti ulomak zabata s imenom kneza Trpimira, a i ostala skulptura odavno poznata s ovoga lokaliteta pripada istoj radionici. Zbog toga se Rižinice povezuju s podacima iz Trpimirove darovnice o dovodenju benediktinskih redovnika te se uvriježilo mišljenje kako je upravo tamo kasnoantički arhitektonski kompleks prenamijenjen za njihov samostan.¹³⁹ Nedavnim je, međutim, arheološkim istraživanjima otkriven veći ulomak stranice ciborija što ga je izradio *Majstor koljanskog pluteja*.¹⁴⁰

its north-eastern part.¹³⁵ Recently a different interpretation was put forward by P. Vežić, according to whom the original Early Christian church would already have been triple-nave and triapsidal. In the early Middle Ages, most likely during the reign of Duke Branimir, an entirely new triapsidal church of the hall type would have been built on its foundations.¹³⁶ If we were to agree with Vežić's interpretation of the relationship between the Early Christian and pre-Romanesque church, the question of dating the latter's construction remains open to some extent. Namely, even though the fragments of sculpture from Biograd are rather fragmentary and not particularly numerous, one piece of a pluteus and a capital with part of an altar screen post have rather certainly been attributed to the *Stonemason Workshop from the Time of Duke Trpimir*, while two other pluteus fragments and one pilaster were attributed to the *Court Stonemason Workshop from the Time of Duke Branimir*. So, if the pre-Romanesque church with rounded buttresses was built during the time of Duke Branimir, as usually assumed, this would mean that the sculpture of the previous stonemason workshop was used to redecorate the still extant Early Christian church, which was then demolished during Branimir's time and then a new monumental building was constructed. If, however, the sculpture of the *Stonemason Workshop from the Time of Duke Trpimir* also indicates the construction of a church in this somewhat earlier period,¹³⁷ then during Branimir's reign only its altar screen had been replaced with a new one. Even such a sequence of events cannot be discounted, particularly because similar replacements of furniture have been ascertained at a number of sites. Unfortunately, it is highly unlikely that the question of precise developmental phases of architecture and the associated sculpture of the pre-Romanesque church with rounded buttresses in Biograd, later the cathedral, will ever be entirely

137 Iako veći dio crkava s oblim kontraforima, pa i biogradske katedrale najrodnija crkva sv. Cecilije na Stupovima u Biskupiji kod Knina, potječe nedvojbeno iz Branimirova vremena, navedena se mogućnost ne može potpuno isključiti, tim više što je crkva na Lopuškoj glavici u Biskupiji definitivno izgrađena u vrijeme kneza Trpimira te se može smatrati i svojevrsnom "rodonačelnicom" crkava s oblim kontraforima. Petricioli 1984, str. 224; Jurković 1992, str. 68; Jakšić 1997, str. 42-43, 49-50; Jarak 1998, str. 122. Možda bi se tako i biogradska crkva mogla tumačiti kao izravni uzor za crkvu sv. Cecilije u Biskupiji.

138 O iskopavanjima biogradske katedrale v. Buškariol 1988, str. 40-42, 44-47.

139 Usp. Jurković 1992a, str. 28; Delonga 1996, str. 127; Katičić 2007, str. 323-324; Raukar 2007, str. 294. Za sažeti pregled dosadašnjih istraživanja i navedenu raniju literaturu v. Marasović 2011, str. 200-204.

140 Navedeni ulomak pronađen je u sekundarnoj upotrebi, kao pokrovna ploča groba. Zekan 2012, str. 638-639. Za raspravu o njegovim stilskim značajkama v. Jurčević 2014, str. 133-134; Jakšić, Josipović 2015, str.

135 Cf. Buškariol 1988, pp. 48-52; Uroda 2005, pp. 11-12; Marasović 2009, pp. 426-431.

136 Vežić 2009, pp. 198-202, 204.

137 Even though most churches with rounded buttresses, including the one most similar to the Biograd cathedral, the Church of St. Cecilia at Stupovi in Biskupija near Knin, undoubtedly date to Branimir's time, the aforementioned possibility cannot be entirely discounted, all the more so since the church at Lopuška glavica in Biskupija was definitely built during the reign of Duke Trpimir and may also be deemed something of the "progenitor" of churches with rounded buttresses. Petricioli 1984, p. 224; Jurković 1992, p. 68; Jakšić 1997, pp. 42-43, 49-50; Jarak 1998, p. 122. Perhaps the Biograd church might thus also be interpreted as a direct model for the Church of St. Cecilia in Biskupija.

Dok se ne objave cjeloviti rezultati istraživanja, ne mogu se donositi nikakvi čvrsti zaključci pa možemo samo otvoriti pitanje je li u Trpimirovo vrijeme potpuno zamijenjen raniji crkveni namještaj ili je samo obnovljen, odnosno nadopunjen. U svakom slučaju, čini se da je u Rižinicama postojala funkcionirajuća crkva i prije sredine 9. stoljeća. S obzirom na upošljavanje "vladarskog klesara"¹⁴¹ i činjenicu da je lokalitet smješten u neposrednoj blizini splitskoga teritorija, sličnosti s galovačkim slučajem ne mogu se isključiti.

Isto se odnosi i na crkvu sv. Marte u Bijaćima, koja je smještena na zapadnome rubu Kaštelanskoga polja, nadomak Trogiru. Na ovome su lokalitetu, kako je navedeno, tijekom prve polovine 9. stoljeća mijenjane gotovo isključivo samo trabeacije oltarnih ograda, od kojih je posljednju izveo *Majstor koljanskog pluteja*. Time je uklonjena trabeacija datacijski vrlo bliske *Trogirske klesarske radionice* pa teško može biti sumnje u namjeran čin s važnim simboličkim značenjem. Tako i N. Jakšić i I. Josipović navode kako je očito novi donator htio ostaviti svoje ime na novim elementima namještaja.¹⁴² Naravno, to je mogao postići i otklesavanjem staroga te uklesavanjem novog natpisa,¹⁴³ no snažniji je efekt postignut novim ikonografskim programom, kruna kojega je svakako raskošni ciborij na

clarified, since the documentation from the archaeological research at the beginning of the 20th century is unreliable, while all architectural remains were then thoroughly removed, thereby preventing a modern revision of the site.¹³⁸

Perhaps a view similar to the one expressed herein for Galovac may also apply to sites in the Trogir-Solin area. The previously mentioned pediment fragment bearing the name of Duke Trpimir comes from Rižinice, while the remaining sculpture long known from this site is from the same workshop. Because of this, Rižinice is associated with information from Trpimir's charter on the introduction of Benedictine monks and the prevalent view is that the Late Antique complex there was repurposed into their monastery.¹³⁹ During recent archaeological excavations, however, a large fragment of a ciborium side made by *The Master of the Koljani Pluteus* was discovered.¹⁴⁰ Until the complete results of these excavations are published, no firm conclusions may be drawn so we can only pose the question as to whether the earlier church furniture was completely replaced in Trpimir's time or simply restored or enhanced. In any case, it would appear that there was a functioning church in Rižinice even before the mid-9th century. Given the employment of the "ruler's stone-cutter"¹⁴¹ and the fact that the site is located in the immediate vicinity of Split's territory, similarities to the Galovac case can not be excluded.

The same pertains to the Church of St. Martha in Bijaći, which is situated on the western edge of the Kaštela Plain, close to Trogir. At this site, as noted, virtually only the altar screen trabeations were changed during the first half of the 9th century, of which the last was done by *The Master of the Koljani Pluteus*. This involved the removal of the chronologically rather

151-152. Jakšić i Josipović iznose (str. 161-163) i mogućnost koja se, doduše, ne može za sada dokazati, ali ni sasvim isključiti, da s istoga lokaliteta možda potječe i ulomak pluteja ili ciborija nepoznate provenijencije koji se čuva u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu i može se pripisati istome majstoru.

141 Usp. Josipović, Magaš Mesić 2013, str. 29.

142 Jakšić, Josipović 2015, str. 149.

143 Upravo se na trabeacijama oltarnih ograda *Trogirske klesarske radionice* na različitim lokalitetima ponekad susreće namjerno otklesavanje natpisa pa je Jakšić 2004, str. 265, 267, 271, pretpostavio da se radi o činu *damnatio memoriae*, odnosno namjernom uklanjanju ranijega donatorova imena. Pogotovo je očit takav slučaj na lokalitetu crkve sv. Lovre u šibenskome Donjem polju, gdje je na mjesto otklesanoga natpisa bila uklesana datacijska formula najvjerojatnije s imenom vladara. Jakšić, Krnčević 1997, str. 100, 107. Delonga 1996, str. 147, iznosi pretpostavku da se možda radi o knezu Domagoju te predlaže sljedeće čitanje natpisa: [...t]EM[pori]BVS DOMNO D[omagoi?...]]. Zanimljivo je istaknuti da u Pađenima primjerice nije izbrisano ime stanovitoga Rastimira, mogućeg donatora, dok jest drugi dio natpisa. Možda je brisan upravo spomen ranijeg vladara. Za skulpturu iz Pađena v. Delonga 1996, str. 219-222, T. LXXII-LXXIII; Marasović 2009, str. 490-491 i sl. 595.

138 On excavations of the Biograd cathedral, see Buškariol 1988, pp. 40-42, 44-47.

139 Cf. Jurković 1992a, p. 28; Delonga 1996, p. 127; Katičić 2007, pp. 323-324; Raukar 2007, p. 294. For a concise overview of previous research and the cited earlier scholarly literature, see Marasović 2011, pp. 200-204.

140 This fragment was found in secondary use, as the cover lid of a grave. Zekan 2012, pp. 638-639. For a discussion of its stylistic features, see Jurčević 2014, pp. 133-134; Jakšić, Josipović 2015, pp. 151-152. Jakšić and Josipović also suggested (pp. 161-163) a possibility which, to be sure, cannot be proven for now, but also cannot be discounted, that the fragment of a pluteus or ciborium of unknown origin kept in the Archaeological Museum in Split and can be attributed to the same craftsman may have come from the same site.

141 Cf. Josipović, Magaš Mesić 2013, p. 29.

kojemu se spominje sv. Marta. M. Ančić se također dotaknuo ovih izmjena, u svojoj opsežnoj raspravi o kompleksu u Bijaćima i kliškoj *curtis*. Autor važnost čina gradnje crkava u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj promatra u kontekstu legitimacije novoga društvenog poretka prilikom stvaranja kneževine, odnosno rane države.¹⁴⁴ Ulogu su tada i dalje igrali pojedini stariji misaoni obrasci, kao što je darivanje, koje je osiguravalo društveni prestiž te donosilo moć i utjecaj, pa Ančić stoga drži kako je novi vlasnik smatrao da mora svoju poziciju potvrditi činom darivanja Bogu i sv. Marti.¹⁴⁵ Takvo se objašnjenje može primijeniti i na pojedine druge lokalitete, pogotovo na one koji su očito imali posebnu simboličku ili stratešku važnost.

Moglo bi se, međutim, dodati da u nekim slučajevima možda nije bio presudan sam čin darivanja Bogu ili nekome od svetaca, bez obzira radi li se o potvrđivanju i legitimaciji društvenog položaja ili pak jednostavnom činu osobne pobožnosti, zavjetovanja ili slično. Ponegdje se možda radi o simboličkom činu nadjačavanja svoga konkurenta ili prethodnika, njegova uklanjanja iz aktivnog sjećanja, čime se isticala vlastita moć i legitimirao položaj vlasti. Indikativan je primjer kneza Branimira. Već je istaknuto kako su upravo u njegovo vrijeme najbrojnija preuređenja i (pre)gradnje crkava, a na djelima klesarskih radionica iz njegova vremena ime ovoga kneza potvrđeno je za sada u pet slučajeva, nekoliko puta zajedno s etnonimima.¹⁴⁶

144 V. također Jurković 1997, str. 36, koji u tome smislu osobito ističe važnost tzv. privatnih crkava, čiji su donatori bili župani i drugi velikodostojnici, te *westwerk* kao element ovih građevina kojim se osobito isticala moć i vlast.

145 Ančić 2004, str. 221-224; v. također Ančić 2016, str. 232-233.

146 Nedavno je objavljen i šesti natpis s imenom kneza Branimira. Otkriven je na lokalitetu crkve sv. Martina u Lepurima kod Benkovca, na ulomcima za koje se pretpostavlja da potječu od nekadašnjeg okvira vrata, izrađenog pak od starijega sarkofaga. Jakšić 2012. Prije dvije godine na Bribirskoj je glavici pronađen i sedmi primjerak. Tek je preliminarno objavljen, uz pretpostavku da je riječ o situaciji analognoj onoj u Lepurima. Ghica *et al.* 2016, str. 21-22, 35-36. Kako ulomci ne nose nikakvu dekoraciju, izostavljeni su ovdje iz broja natpisa pripisanih klesarskim radionicama iz Branimirova vremena, premda se ne može isključiti da je neka od njih zaslužna i za izradu ovih okvira.

close trabeation made by the *Trogir Stonemason Workshop*, so there can hardly be any doubt that this was a deliberate act with considerable symbolic meaning. Thus both N. Jakšić and I. Josipović stated that obviously the new donor wished to leave his name on the new furniture elements.¹⁴² Naturally, this could also have been accomplished by removing the old inscription and carving in a new one,¹⁴³ but a far more powerful effect was achieved with a new iconographic program, of which the luxurious ciborium mentioning St. Martha was the crowning stroke. M. Ančić also touched upon these changes in his extensive discussion of the complex in Bijaći and the Klis *curtis*. He observed the importance of building churches in early medieval Croatia in the context of legitimation of the new social order during the creation of the duchy, i.e., the early state.¹⁴⁴ Individual older ideational patterns still played some role at the time, such as gift-giving, which ensured social prestige and conveyed power and influence, so Ančić therefore maintained that the new owner believed he must confirm his status with an act of giving to God and St. Martha.¹⁴⁵ Such an explanation may also be applied to certain other sites, particularly those which obviously had special symbolic or strategic importance.

142 Jakšić, Josipović 2015, p. 149.

143 It is precisely on the altar screen trabeations of the *Trogir Stonemason Workshop* at various sites that one may occasionally encounter the intentional removal of inscriptions, so Jakšić 2004, pp. 265, 267, 271, assumed that these were cases of *damnatio memoriae*, i.e., the intentional removal of an earlier donor's name. A case of this is particularly obvious in the Church of St. Lawrence in Šibenik's Donje polje, where at the place of a removed inscription a dating formula, probably with the name of a ruler, was carved in Jakšić, Krnčević 1997, pp. 100, 107. Delonga 1996, p. 147, suggests that this may have been duke Domagoj, and proposed the following reading of the inscription: [...t]EM[pori] BVS DOMNO D[omagoi?...]]. It is noteworthy that in Pađene, for example, the name of a certain Rastimir, a possible donor, was not erased, while the second part of the inscription was. Perhaps precisely the record of an earlier ruler was removed. On the sculpture from Pađene, see Delonga 1996, pp. 219-222, Pl. LXXII-LXXIII; Marasović 2009, pp. 490-491 and fig. 595.

144 See also Jurković 1997, p. 36, who in this regard particularly stressed the importance of so-called private churches, whose donors were *župans* and other high dignitaries, and *westwerk* as an element of these buildings which particularly underscored power and authority.

145 Ančić 2004, pp. 221-224; see also Ančić 2016, pp. 232-233.

Branimirovi natpisi otvaraju mnoga pitanja i o njima postoje različita razmišljanja i tumačenja.¹⁴⁷ Jedan od “kontroverznijih” je natpis iz Šopota (T. IV. 2), gdje se na početku lijevog arhitrava navodi BRANIMIRO COM[...], a na zabatu DVX CRVATORVM. Pokušalo se s dodatnim ulomkom arhitrava, na kojemu su ostaci natpisa MES, izravno povezati ova dva dijela, no nedavno je pokazano da takav spoj fizički nije moguć.¹⁴⁸ Budući da je Branimirovo ime navedeno u ablativnom obliku kao sredstvo datacije, a knez Hrvata u nominativu, Ž. Rapanić je izložio pretpostavku da je potonji možda bio netko drugi, tim više što se spominju i dvije različite titule (*comes* i *dux*). Oslonac mu je pružio natpis iz Nina u kojemu se također navodi DOMNO BRANNIMERO, u adnominalnom dativu, te DUX SLCAUORUM, u nominativu. Prema tome bi knez Hrvata, odnosno Slavena, bio neka druga osoba, podređena komesu/gospodaru Branimiru.¹⁴⁹

Nedavno je N. Jakšić pokazao da se možda radi tek o udaljavanju od klasičnog latiniteta, budući da na natpisu iz Lepura također pretpostavljeno Branimirovo ime dolazi u adnominalnom dativu, a neposredno iza njega titula *dux* u nominativu. Stoga bi i u Ninu i u Lepurima bila riječ o jednoj osobi, knezu (Slavena ili Hrvata) Branimiru.¹⁵⁰ U slučaju Šopota po svemu sudeći nedostaje povelik dio trabeacije oltarne ograde između prvoga arhitrava i zabata pa tako i pitanje točne interpretacije natpisa mora ostati otvoreno.¹⁵¹ Osim moguće razlike između ranosrednjovjekovnoga i klasičnog latiniteta, valja računati i s potencijalnim nesporazumima ili naprosto pogreškama, kao što je već navedeno u pogledu titula *dux* i *rex*, ali i različitih etnonima navođenih u Branimirovim natpisima. Najočitiya je zamjena

It may be added, however, that in some cases the very act of giving to God or one of the saints was not crucial, regardless of whether it was a matter of validation and legitimation of social standing or a simple act of personal piety, a vow or something similar. Sometimes it may have involved the symbolic act of overcoming a competitor or predecessor, eliminating him from active memory, thereby underscoring one’s own power and legitimating the position of authority. The example of Duke Branimir is indicative. It has already been stressed that the remodelling or reconstruction of churches was most frequent precisely during his reign, and this duke’s name has thus far been confirmed in five cases on the products of the stonemason workshops of his time, several times in conjunction with an ethnonym.¹⁴⁶

Branimir’s inscriptions prompt many questions and there are different ideas and interpretations about them.¹⁴⁷ One of the more “controversial” is the inscription from Šopot (Pl. IV. 2), where at the beginning of the left-hand architrave it reads BRANIMIRO COM[...], and on the pediment DVX CRVATORVM. Attempts have been made to directly connect these two parts by using an additional piece of an architrave, containing the remains of the inscription reading MES, but it has recently been shown that such a reconstruction is physically impossible.¹⁴⁸ Since Branimir’s name is cited in the ablative form as a means for dating, while ‘duke of the Croats’ is in the nominative, Ž. Rapanić hypothesized that the latter may have been someone else, all the more so since two different titles are mentioned (*comes* and *dux*). He based this on an inscription from Nin which contains references to DOMNO BRANNIMERO, in the

147 Za širi pregled v. Rapanić 1981; Zekan 1993; Delonga 1996; Matijević Sokol, Sokol 2005, str. 63-74. U navedenim se radovima donosi i ostala relevantna literatura.

148 Josipović 2015. Autor donosi i svu raniju literaturu o ovome natpisu.

149 Rapanić 1981, str. 184-190.

150 Predloženo čitanje natpisa iz Lepura glasi: [temporib] VS ... B(rani)MIRO DVX ... EGO TEO[debertus...]. Jakšić 2012, str. 218-219. V. također Katičić 2007, str. 351-355, gdje se opširnije obrazlaže vjerojatna gramatička neuređenost ovih i sličnih navoda u izvorima. Mišljenja da se radi o istoj osobi, s dvostrukom titulaturom, je i Basić 2015, str. 444-445.

151 Usp. Josipović 2015, str. 136-137.

146 Recently a sixth inscription bearing Duke Branimir’s name was published. It was discovered at the site of the church of St. Martin in Lepuri near Benkovac, on fragments which are assumed to have been part of a former door-frame, made in turn from an older sarcophagus. Jakšić 2012. A seventh example was found at Bribirska glavica two years ago. It has only been preliminarily published, with the assumption that this was a situation analogous to the one in Lepuri. Ghica *et al.* 2016, pp. 21-22, 35-36. Since the fragments do not bear any decorations, they were here left out of the number of inscriptions attributed to the stonemason workshops from Branimir’s time, although the possibility that some of them deserve credit for the production of these frames cannot be excluded.

147 For a broader overview, see Rapanić 1981; Zekan 1993; Delonga 1996; Matijević Sokol, Sokol 2005, pp. 63-74. The other relevant scholarly literature is cited in these works.

148 Josipović 2015. He also cited all of the earlier literature on this inscription.

mjesta slova C i L u natpisu iz Nina, a još je drastičniji oblik CLAVITNORUM u Ždrapanju.¹⁵²

Naravno da nije naručitelj svih projekata bio vladar osobno, pa tako ni svih ovih na kojima se spominje njegovo ime. Na nekima se jasno kao donatori navode župani (Ždrapanj, Cetina – Sv. Spas) i opati (Nin, Lepuri). Jedini natpis 9. stoljeća u kojemu je kao donator nedvosmisleno naveden vladar jest Muncimirov na arhitravu i zabatu iz Uzdolja. Vjerojatno se isto može reći i za Branimirov natpis iz Šopota, no to ovisi o varijanti čitanja koja se prihvati. I na zabatu oltarne ograde *Dvorske klesarske radionice* s Crkvine u Biskupiji spominje se mogući donator u nominativu, stanoviti DVX GLO(riosus),¹⁵³ kao i na arkadi ciborija *Benediktinske klesarske radionice iz Lepura, (Chroatorium?) dvx* (T. V. 4).¹⁵⁴ U oba bi slučaja mogla biti riječ o Branimiru. U svakom slučaju, vlast kneza i njezino efikasno provođenje ovisili su upravo o županima, koji su kontrolirali manje dijelove kneževine, kao i drugim pripadnicima dvora i hijerarhije ispod vladara. S druge strane, i pripadnici elite svjesnim su izborom i upošljavanjem ovih radionica te navođenjem Branimira mogli javno pokazivati pristajanje uz kneza te vlastiti položaj u društvu.

152 Više je pozornosti ovome natpisu nedavno posvetio D. Dzino (2010, str. 198-199), koji iznosi pretpostavku da se možda radi o zasebnom identitetu, skupini naziva *Clavitni*. Oni bi tako mogli biti osnovna baza Branimirove moći, možda njegov klan, a navodi se i njihova sličnost s različitim latinskim oblicima pisanja Hlivnjana, odnosno Livna. Na kraju autor ipak ostavlja pitanje Klavitna otvorenim. U ranijemu radu bio je pak skloniji tumačenju izraza *Clavitnorum* kao iskrivljenog oblika slavenskog imena (Dzino 2009, str. 42, bilj. 42). Moglo bi se ovdje navesti još jedno neuobičajeno mišljenje o Branimirovim natpisima. Naime, T. Lienhard je u kratkom tekstu posvećenom arhitravu i zabatu iz Šopota istaknuo snagu, moć i važnost kneza Branimira u formiranju ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske i Hrvata kao etničke skupine općenito, međutim navodi kako je u pisanim izvorima između 9. i 11. stoljeća posvjedočeno više Branimira pa nije sasvim sigurno s kojim od njih bi trebalo povezati natpis iz Šopota. Lienhard 2008, str. 580. Datacija natpisa iz Gornjeg Muća te stilističke analize drugih spomenika takve dvojbe ipak otklanjaju.

153 Delonga 1996, str. 64, T. XIII. 25.

154 Delonga 1996, str. 198, T. LXV. 168. Autorica na citiranom mjestu ne donosi prijedlog za čitanje prve riječi, no u drugome radu predlaže [...Chroat]OR[(um)]D[vx]A(me)N(?). Delonga 1995, str. 317-318. Isto čitanje podupire i Josipović 2012, str. 56-57.

adnominal dative, and DUX SLCAUORUM, in the nominative. Accordingly, the duke of the Croats, or Slavs, would be someone else, subordinate to the *comes*/lord Branimir.¹⁴⁹

Recently N. Jakšić showed that this may have simply been a matter of moving away from classical Latin, since the inscription from Lepuri also contains what is assumed to be Branimir's name in the adnominal dative, followed by the title *dux* in the nominative. Therefore, in both Nin and in Lepuri, it would be a reference to a single person, the duke (of the Slavs or Croats) Branimir.¹⁵⁰ In the case of Šopot, by all indications a rather large portion of the altar screen trabeation is missing between the first architrave and pediment, so the question of an accurate interpretation of the inscription must remain open.¹⁵¹ Besides possible differences between early medieval and classical Latin, potential misunderstandings or simple errors should also be considered, as already noted with regard to the titles *dux* and *rex*, as well as the different ethnonyms mentioned in Branimir's inscriptions. The most obvious was the switch between the letters C and L in the inscription from Nin, and the form CLAVITNORUM in Ždrapanj is even more drastic.¹⁵²

149 Rapanić 1981, pp. 184-190.

150 The proposed reading from Lepuri reads: [temporib] VS ... B(rani)MIRO DVX ... EGO TEO[debertus...]. Jakšić 2012, pp. 218-219. See also Katičić 2007, pp. 351-355, where the probable grammatical degradation in these and similar texts in the sources are more extensively explained. The opinion that it is the same person, with two titles, is shared by Basić 2015, pp. 444-445.

151 Cf. Josipović 2015, pp. 136-137.

152 Recently D. Dzino accorded greater attention to this inscription (2010, pp. 198-199), speculating that it may refer to a separate identity, a group called the *Clavitni*. They thus may have been Branimir's powerbase, perhaps his clan, and their similarity to various Latin forms of writing the name of the *Chleuliani*, as well as of Livno is noted. Ultimately the author left the question of the *Clavitni* open. In an earlier work, however, he favoured the interpretation that the expression *Clavitnorum* was a corrupted form of the Slavic name (Dzino 2009, p. 42, note 42). Another unusual view of Branimir's inscriptions may be noted here. T. Lienhard, in a brief text dedicated to the architrave and pediment from Šopot, stressed the power, might and importance of Duke Branimir in the formation of early medieval Croatia and the Croats as an ethnic group in general, although he noted that in the written sources between the 9th and 11th centuries several Branimirs are mentioned, so that it is not entirely certain to whom the inscription from Šopot should be linked. Lienhard 2008, p. 580. The dating of the inscription from Gornji Muć and stylistic analyses of other monuments eliminate such doubts.

Zanimljivo je da je crkvenim namještajem klesarskih radionica iz Branimirova vremena na nemalom broju lokaliteta zamijenjen upravo namještaj *Klesarske radionice iz vremena kneza Trpimira*. Osim u Biogradu, takva je situacija vidljiva i u Korlatu i Lepurima kod Benkovca, crkvi sv. Mihovila u Pridragi te Kapitolu, Plavnome i Uzdolju kod Knina. U Otresu i Pađenima zamijenjene su pak ranije oltarne ograde *Trogirske klesarske radionice*, kao najvjerojatnije i na lokalitetu crkve sv. Lovre u šibenskom Donjem polju.¹⁵⁵ Između djelovanja potonje radionice i Branimirova vremena prošlo je otprilike pola stoljeća, između njega i djelovanja one iz Trpimirova vremena još i manje. U tako kratkom razdoblju kamene se oltarne ograde nisu mogle “potrošiti”, a već je pokazano da je teško prihvatljivo objašnjenje njihove zamjene rušilačkim pohodom bizantske vojne ekspedicije. Naravno, ne može se sasvim isključiti djelovanje potresa ili neka slična neprilika, no takvi podaci su nažalost nepostojeći za promatrano razdoblje i područje. Čini se stoga da razlog za postavljanje barem dijela crkvenog namještaja u vrijeme kneza Branimira treba tražiti u gore opisanim društveno-političkim okolnostima, kako njegova dolaska na vlast, tako i tijekom narednih desetak godina.

Vrlo je indikativno u tom smislu djelovanje klesarskih radionica Branimirova vremena na području Biskupije kod Knina. Na Bukorovića podvornici sagrađena je manja crkva s oblim kontraforima (tzv. *četvrta crkva*),¹⁵⁶ opremljena namještajem *Dvorske klesarske radionice*, a fragmenti iste produkcije pronađeni su i oko današnje parohijalne crkve sv. Trojice iz 18. stoljeća,¹⁵⁷ na čijem se mjestu najvjerojatnije nalazila i predromanička. Iz iste je radionice potekla i nova oltarna ograda crkve sv. Marije na Crkvini, sa spomenutim fragmentom natpisa na zabatu, *dvx gloriosus*. Postavljanje nove oltarne ograde u ovoj crkvi moralo je imati osobitu simboličku važnost, pogotovo kada se uzme u obzir da su na tom lokalitetu pokopani pripadnici elite s kraja 8. i početka 9. stoljeća. Je li upravo u Branimirovo vrijeme sagrađen i *westwerk* s vladarskim mauzolejom, teško je reći, no

To be sure, the ruler did not commission all of the projects personally, not even all those which bear his name. On some, *župans* (Ždrapanj, Cetina – Holy Saviour) and abbots (Nin, Lepuri) are clearly specified as the donors. The only inscription from the 9th century in which the ruler is unambiguously specified as the donor is Muncimir’s on the architrave and pediment form Uzdolje. The same may probably be said of Branimir’s inscription from Šopot, but this depends on the variant of its reading that is accepted. The altar screen pediment by the *Court Stonemason Workshop* from Crkvina in Biskupija also contains mention of a possible donor in the nominative, a certain DVX GLO(riusus),¹⁵³ as does the inscription on the ciborium arcade of the *Benedictine Stonemason Workshop* from Lepuri, (*Chroatorum?*) *dvx* (Pl. V. 4).¹⁵⁴ In both cases it might be Branimir. In any case, the duke’s authority and its effective enforcement depended precisely on the *župans*, who controlled smaller parts of the duchy, as well as on other members of the court and hierarchy beneath the ruler. On the other hand, the members of the elite could publicly demonstrate their support for the duke and their own status in society by deliberately choosing and employing these workshops and mentioning Branimir’s name.

It is interesting that the church furniture made by the stonemason workshops of Branimir’s time replaced precisely the furniture made by the *Stonemason Workshop from the Time of Duke Trpimir* at a not insignificant number of sites. Besides Biograd, such a situation is also apparent in Korlat and Lepuri near Benkovac, in the church of St. Michael in Pridraga and in Kapitul, Plavno and Uzdolje near Knin. In Otres and Pađene, the earlier altar screens of the *Trogir Stonemason Workshop* were replaced, as they most likely were at the site of the St. Lawrence Church in Šibenik’s Donje polje.¹⁵⁵ Roughly a half-century passed between the operation of the latter workshop and Branimir’s time, and even less time transpired since the operation of the workshop from Trpimir’s time. Altar screens could not have become “worn” over such a short period, and the explanation of their replacement due to a destructive Byzantine military expedition has been shown difficult to accept. Naturally, the consequences of an earthquake or

155 Za radioničko određenje skulpture s navedenih lokaliteta v. Josipović 2013.

156 Gunjača 1952. Za novija tumačenja uz popis relevantne literature v. Marasović 2009, str. 526-528.

157 Za opis lokaliteta i nalaza uz popis relevantne literature v. Marasović 2009, str. 524-525.

153 Delonga 1996, p. 64, Pl. XIII. 25.

154 Delonga 1996, p. 198, Pl. LXV. 168. This author did not propose a reading for the first word in the cited work, but in another she proposed [...Chroat]OR[(um)] D[vx] A(me)N(?). Delonga 1995, pp. 317-318. The same reading was supported by Josipović 2012, pp. 56-57.

155 For the workshop classification of sculpture from these sites, see Josipović 2013.

ne može se ni sasvim isključiti takva mogućnost.¹⁵⁸ Očitu simboličku važnost ovoga mjesta pokazuje i činjenica da je oltarna ograda *Dvorske klesarske radionice* zamijenjena onom *Benediktinske*, dakle prilično brzo nakon postavljanja prve. Možda je do nove zamjene došlo već u Branimirovo vrijeme, naprosto zbog želje za upošljavanjem kvalitetnije radionice ili iz nekog drugog razloga. Ipak, budući da je u novije vrijeme pokazano djelovanje *Benediktinske klesarske radionice* i tijekom Muncimirove vladavine, vjerojatnijim se čini da je upravo tada, dakle na samom kraju 9. stoljeća, eventualno početkom 10., provedena ova promjena.¹⁵⁹ Dakle još je jedan vladar možda uklonio spomen svoga prethodnika.¹⁶⁰ Zanimljivo je u kontekstu brojnih gradnji i promjena crkvenog namještaja u Biskupiji tijekom posljednja dva desetljeća 9. stoljeća da na crkvi na Lopuškoj glavici nisu zamijećene nikakve intervencije.¹⁶¹ S druge strane, na Stupovima je sagrađena impozantna trobrodna i troapsidalna bazilika sv. Cecilije s *westwerkom* i aksijalnim zvonikom, ojačana masivnim oblim kontraforima.¹⁶² Riječ je o najvećoj dosad poznatoj crkvi sagrađenoj u

similar disaster cannot be entirely discounted, but any information to confirm such an event is unfortunately non-existent for the period and area under observation. It would therefore appear that the reason for the installation of at least some of the furniture during Duke Branimir's time should be sought in the aforementioned socio-political circumstances, either upon his ascension to authority or over roughly the next ten years.

The functioning of the stonemason workshops of Branimir's time in the territory of Biskupija, near Knin, is quite indicative in this regard. At Bukorovića podvornica, a small church with rounded buttresses (the so-called *fourth church*)¹⁵⁶ was constructed and furniture made by the *Court Stonemason Workshop* was installed, while fragments of that same workshop's products were also found around the current parochial Church of the Holy Trinity from the 18th century,¹⁵⁷ which most likely stands on the site of the pre-Romanesque building. The new altar screen of the Church of St. Mary at Crkvina, with the aforementioned fragment of an inscription on its pediment reading, *dvx gloriosus*, originated in the same workshop. The installation of the new altar screen in this church must have had particular symbolic importance, particularly if one takes into consideration that the members of the elite of the end of the 8th and early 9th century were interred at this site. Whether or not the *westwerk* with the rulers' mausoleum was also constructed precisely during Branimir's time is difficult to say, but such a possibility cannot be entirely discounted, either.¹⁵⁸ The obvious symbolic importance of this site is also shown by the fact that the altar screen of the *Court Stonemason Workshop* was replaced by one made by the *Benedictine Workshop*, thus rather soon after the installation of the first one. Perhaps the new replacement had already been made in Branimir's time, simply due to the desire to employ a higher quality workshop or some other reason. However, since in recent years the operation of the *Benedictine Stonemason Workshop* has been shown also during Muncimir's reign, it seems more likely that this change had been made precisely at that time, i.e., at the very end of the 9th century, or possibly the beginning of the 10th.¹⁵⁹ Thus, yet another ruler may

158 Takvu pretpostavku iznosi Petrinec 2012, str. 99.

159 U tom kontekstu primamljivo djeluje teza da je Muncimir postavio oltarnu ogradu sa svojim imenom i godinom 895., no pokazano je kako je Jakšićeva pretpostavka o Crkvini kao izvornoj lokaciji arhitrava i zabata pronađenih na Uzdoľju nedostatno utemeljena. Tome u prilog možemo pridodati činjenicu da se i ulomci zabata koje je Jakšić prvi pripisao ovoj fazi oltarne ograde s Crkvine koncepcijom ukrasa prilično razlikuju od Muncimirova s Uzdoľja. Najočitiya razlika je nepostojanje natpisnoga polja, umjesto kojega se nalazi gusti tropruti pleter. Usp. Jakšić 1980, str. 101, sl. 7-8.

160 Možda se slično tumačenje može primijeniti i na situaciju u Kuli Atlagića, gdje su pronađeni ulomci skulpture i *Dvorske* i *Benediktinske klesarske radionice*. Na ulomku jednoga zabata potonje radionice nalazi se dio osobnog imena koje se čita kao [...B]VDIMER[ius...] i poistovjećuje s Budimerijem ili Budimirom koji se spominju kao dvorski župan, odnosno župan kneginje u Muncimirovoj darovnici iz 892. godine. Delonga 1996, str. 192-193, T. LXIII. 160. Zbog navedenoga, ali i na temelju likovnih značajki samoga zabata, Jakšić 2015, str. 357-359, veže produkciju *Benediktinske klesarske radionice* s ovoga lokaliteta uz vrijeme vladavine kneza Muncimira. Na ulomku arhitrava iste radionice zabilježeno je još jedno osobno ime, [...Go?] DIDRAGO E[...], također vjerojatno pripadnika svjetovne ili crkvene elite. Delonga 1996, str. 194-195, T. LXIV. 163. V. također Maraković, Jurković 2007, str. 361-363.

161 Usp. Gunjača 1954; Marasović 2009, str. 519-523.

162 Usp. Gunjača 1956; Marasović 2009, str. 529-535.

156 Gunjača 1952. For newer interpretations with a list of the relevant literature, see Marasović 2009, pp. 526-528.

157 For a description of sites and finds with the relevant scholarly literature, see Marasović 2009, pp. 524-525.

158 Such a hypothesis was suggested by Petrinec 2012, p. 99.

159 In this context, the hypothesis that Muncimir had the altar screen installed with his name and the year 895 is

Hrvatskoj Kneževini općenito, za koju je *Benediktinska klesarska radionica* izradila i adekvatno kvalitetnu skulpturu. Ako je biogradska predromanička crkva, buduća katedrala, izgrađena u Trpimirovo vrijeme, u gradnji Sv. Cecilije može se vidjeti nadilaženje uzora i time Branimirov simbolički čin *par excellence*.

Osim Biskupije i Kosova polja u cjelini intenzivna gradnja i uređenje crkava u Branimirovo doba obilježili su i ravnokotarski prostor, osobito između Bribira i Benkovca, gdje se nalaze gotovo svi lokaliteti na kojima su pronađeni ulomci oltarnih ograda i drugih elemenata s Branimirovim imenom te oni s navedenim etnonimima iz istog razdoblja.¹⁶³ Iz Ždrapnja nedaleko od Bribira to je natpis koji spominje Branimira kao kneza Slavena, u Otresu je datiran vremenom kneza Branimira, kao i u Lepurima, gdje se na drugom spomeniku možda spominje i knez Hrvata. Vrlo vjerojatni spomen Hrvata potječe i iz Kule Atlagića (T. V. 3),¹⁶⁴ dok je na arhitravu i zabatu iz Šopota kod Benkovca naveden *comes* Branimir (i) knez Hrvata. Doista se radi o prilično velikoj koncentraciji na relativno malom području, pogotovo ako se usporedi netom spomenuti biskupijski prostor. Može se stoga postaviti pitanje zašto do pojave ovih natpisa dolazi upravo tamo? Naravno, uzrok nerazmjera može biti sasvim jednostavan, poput slučajno različitog stanja sačuvanosti. S druge strane, zbog njihove velike koncentracije na prvome području znalo se pomišljati da su Ravni kotari možda bili Branimirov rodni kraj, odnosno njegov zavičaj.¹⁶⁵ Također se ponekad ističe kako

have removed any mention of his predecessor.¹⁶⁰ It is intriguing in the context of the extensive construction and changes of church furniture in Biskupija during the final two decades of the 9th century that no interventions of any type were observed on the church on Lopuška glavica.¹⁶¹ On the other hand, the imposing triple-nave, triapsidal basilica of St. Cecilia was built at Stupovi, with a *westwerk* and an axial bell tower, and reinforced with massive rounded buttresses.¹⁶² This is the largest thus far known church built in the Croatian Duchy in general, for which the *Benedictine Stonemason Workshop* also made sculpture of corresponding quality. If the pre-Romanesque Biograd church, the future cathedral, was built during Trpimir's time, the surpassing of this model may be seen in the construction of St. Cecilia's, a *par excellence* symbolic act on Branimir's part.

Besides Biskupija and Kosovo polje as a whole, the intensive construction and furnishing of churches during Branimir's time also marked the Ravni Kotari area, particularly between Bribir and Benkovac, where almost all sites at which fragments of altar screens and other elements bearing Branimir's name and those with the specification of ethnonyms from

enticing, but it has been shown that Jakšić's assumption about Crkvina as the original location of the architrave and pediment found in Uzdolje has insufficient grounds. To this we may add the fact that the pediment fragments which Jakšić first attributed to this phase of the altar screen at Crkvina considerably differ in terms of decorative conception from Muncimir's in Uzdolje. The most apparent difference is the absence of an inscription field, instead having a dense three-band interlace. Cf. Jakšić 1980, p. 101, Figs. 7-8.

160 Perhaps a similar interpretation may be applied to the situation in Kula Atlagića, where fragments of sculpture made by both the *Court* and *Benedictine Stonemason Workshops* were found. A fragment of a pediment made by the latter workshop features part of a personal name which has been read as [...B]VDIMER[ius...] and equated with either Budimerius or Budimir, who are mentioned as a court *župan*, and the *župan* of the duchess, respectively in Muncimir's charter of 892. Delonga 1996, pp. 192-193, Pl. LXIII. 160. Because of this and also the artistic traits of the pediment itself, Jakšić 2015, pp. 357-359, linked the production of the *Benedictine Stonemason Workshop* from this site with the reign of Duke Muncimir. An architrave fragment from the same workshop contains yet another personal name, [...Go?]DIDRAGO E[...], also probably a member of the secular or ecclesiastical elite. Delonga 1996, pp. 194-195, Pl. LXIV. 163. See also Maraković, Jurković 2007, pp. 361-363.

161 Cf. Gunjača 1954; Marasović 2009, pp. 519-523.

162 Cf. Gunjača 1956; Marasović 2009, pp. 529-535.

163 Jedine su iznimke više puta spomenuti natpis opata Teudeberta iz Nina s navođenjem Branimira kao kneza Slavena (*dux Slavorum*) te arhitrav iz Gornjeg Muća.

164 Na ulomku zabata može se pročitati fragmentirani natpis [...Chroa]TORV(m) F[ecit (?)...]. Delonga 1996, str. 194, T. LXIV. 162. U najnovije se vrijeme, kao što je navedeno, ovaj ulomak veže uz vrijeme vladavine kneza Muncimira (v. bilj. 160 gore), no to ne umanjuje važnost spomena hrvatskog imena na njemu u mogućem svjetlu ovdje predloženih tumačenja.

165 Delonga 1996, str. 323. Slično navodi i Budak 1994, str. 26. Isti autor, međutim, smatra (str. 35) kako je državno središte u Branimirovo vrijeme bilo na kninskome području. Nedavno je predloženo i drugačije viđenje Branimirova zavičaja. Milošević, Peković 2009, str. 230-232 i bilj. 410, iznose teško dokazivu pretpostavku da su župan Gostiha i njegova majka Nemira, koji se spominju na oltarnoj ogradi crkve Svetog Spasa u Cetini, bili ujedno i Branimirovi brat i majka te da stoga možda Branimirovo podrijetlo treba tražiti u gornjem cetinskom kraju.

se upravo to područje u kasnijim srednjovjekovnim izvorima naziva “Hrvati”, odnosno u 16. stoljeću se za njega javlja izraz *v Hrvatih*, te da bi s obzirom na taj podatak i ranosrednjovjekovne natpise upravo ondje bila jezgra njihove kneževine.¹⁶⁶

Mogli bismo, međutim, pomišljati i na drugačiji prijedlog. Naime, kako je pokazano, sredina i druga polovina 9. stoljeća vrijeme su rasta moći hrvatskoga kneza i jačanja njegove države, no isto tako i osiguravanja njezina političkog položaja, kao i nerijetkih razdoblja nesigurnosti te borbi za vlast, osobito u godinama nakon Domagojeve smrti i početkom Branimirove vladavine. Uzevši sve navedeno u obzir, možda bi se u građevinskim projektima i postavljanju natpisa na bribirsko-benkovačkom području moglo stoga vidjeti namjerno isticanje moći i vlasti od strane Branimira i njegovih najbližih pripadnika elite. Oni su time mogli iskazivati svoje svrstavanje uz kneza naspram drugim hrvatskim skupinama, na možda posebno “problematičnom” i nemirnom prostoru. Ne može se, također, isključiti ni to da su Branimirovi protivnici možda pripadali nekoj drugoj skupini, koja nije prihvaćala hrvatski identitet i nastojala je doći na vlast.¹⁶⁷ Ako je takvih pokušaja bilo, oni očito nisu uspjeli i hrvatski identitet je prevladao te su se u narednom razdoblju sa širenjem teritorija pod vlašću hrvatskoga kralja stvarali preduvjeti i za njegovo postupno prihvaćanje na širem prostoru.

Zaključak

Sumirajući raspravu ovoga članka, može se zaključiti da su tijekom posljednje dvije trećine 9. stoljeća elita dalmatinskoga zaleđa s crkvenim strukturama činili važnu komponentu u razvoju

that same period are located.¹⁶³ This includes an inscription which mentions Branimir as the duke of the Slavs from Ždrapanj, near Bribir; one from Otres has been dated by the reign of Duke Branimir, as has one in Lepuri, where another monument perhaps mentions the duke of the Croats. A very likely mention of the Croats also came from Kula Atlagića (Pl. V. 3),¹⁶⁴ while the *comes* Branimir (and) duke of the Croats can be seen on an architrave and pediment from Šopot near Benkovac. This is truly a rather large concentration in a very small area, particularly if it is compared with the Biskupija area discussed above. The question that may be posed is why did these inscription appear in precisely this area? To be sure, the cause of the discrepancy may be entirely simple, such as different states of preservation due entirely to chance. On the other hand, their high concentration in the first area has led to speculation that perhaps Ravni Kotari was Branimir’s native region.¹⁶⁵ It is occasionally further stressed that in later medieval sources precisely this area is called ‘*Hrvati*’ (Croats), i.e., in the 16th century the term *v Hrvatih* (‘at the Croats’) appeared to refer to it, and given this aspect and the early medieval inscriptions, the core of their duchy would have indeed been here.¹⁶⁶

We could, however, consider a different proposal. Namely, as shown, the mid- and latter half of the 9th

163 The only exceptions are the oft-mentioned inscription of Abbot Teudebert from Nin which mentions Branimir as the duke of the Slavs (*dux Slavorum*) and the architrave from Gornji Muć.

164 The fragmentary inscription [...Chroa]TORV(m) F[ecit (?)...] may be read on the pediment fragment. Delonga 1996, p. 194, Pl. LXIV. 162. Most recently, as noted, this fragment is associated with the reign of Duke Muncimir (see note 160 above), but this does not diminish the importance of the Croatian name mentioned on it in the potential light of the interpretations proposed herein.

165 Delonga 1996, p. 323. Budak 1994, p. 26 made a similar statement. The same author, however, believes (p. 35) that the state center in Branimir’s time was in the Knin area. Recently a different view of Branimir’s homeland was proposed. Milošević, Peković 2009, pp. 230-232 and note 410, offers a hypothesis, difficult to prove, that the *župan* Gostiha and his mother Nemira, who are mentioned on an altar screen of the Church of the Holy Saviour in Cetina, were also Branimir’s brother and mother, so that Branimir’s origins should possibly be sought in the upper Cetina region.

166 Delonga 1996, p. 323; Ančić 2008, pp. 46-47; Dzino 2010, pp. 188-189. Just the architrave fragment from the Church of St. Martha in Bijaći with the possibly earliest mention of the Croats indicates their early presence outside of this area.

166 Delonga 1996, str. 323; Ančić 2008, str. 46-47; Dzino 2010, str. 188-189. Već i ulomak arhitrava iz crkve sv. Marte u Bijaćima s mogućim najranijim spomenom Hrvata ukazuje na njihovu ranu nazočnost izvan ovog područja.

167 U tom smislu valja imati na umu mogućnost da je upravo na tom području bilo središte Guduskana i kneza Borne (v. bilj. 16 gore). Usp. također Fine 2006, str. 39, gdje se navodi kako je Branimir vjerojatno imao problema s učvršćivanjem svoje vlasti nad podanicima, od kojih su neki mogli biti Hrvati i identificirati se s njima, dok bi se drugi razlikovali i smatrali Slavenima. Autor doduše drži kako tadašnja kneževina nije bila jasno određena kao Hrvatska, s čime se nije moguće složiti. Budak 2014, str. 55, smatra kako se u drugoj polovini 9. stoljeća radi o borbi međusobno suprotstavljenih hrvatskih klanova.

tadašnjeg društva. Gradnja, opremanje i darivanje crkava (svakako i samostana) moraju se promatrati ponajprije u kontekstu tadašnjeg razvoja novoga religijskog okruženja i sustava. Međutim, neosporno su bili i jedna od ključnih sastavnica identiteta elite, time i identiteta Hrvata. Isticanje osobnih imena velikodostojnika i vladara zajedno s etnonimima to jasno potvrđuje. Činjenica jest i da je takvo izražavanje karakteristično upravo za 9. stoljeće, dok kasnije jenjava. Tijekom 10. stoljeća vlast hrvatskih knezova prijeći će u kraljevsku, a Hrvati i Hrvatska od sredine tog stoljeća postaju prepoznati i stalno prisutni i u stranim izvorima.¹⁶⁸ Borbe za prijestolje i tada se događaju, što je posebno posvjedočeno nedugo prije sredine te na završetku 10. stoljeća. U prvome je slučaju Miroslava ubio ban Pribina, no zatim nije sam zasjeo na prijestolje ili doveo nekog “vanjskog” kandidata, već Miroslavova brata Krešimira II.¹⁶⁹ Na završetku stoljeća, nakon smrti kralja Držislava (o. 997. godine), došlo je do borbi i ratovanja za prijestolje među njegovim sinovima – Svetoslavom na jednoj te Krešimirom i Gojslavom na drugoj strani.¹⁷⁰ Za razliku od prethodnog stoljeća, dakle, urote, svrgavanja i nasljeđivanja događaju se unutar iste obitelji, odnosno roda. Istodobno, nastojanja hrvatskih kraljeva usmjerena su k dalmatinskim obalnim gradovima, čijim crkvama i samostanima dodjeljuju zemlju kako bi učvrstili veze s njima.¹⁷¹ Promjene crkvenog namještaja događat će se i dalje, ali puno rjeđe negoli u prethodnom stoljeću. U crkvi sv. Marije na Crkvini u Biskupiji do obnova i izmjena će doći tek u 11. stoljeću, ali i tada dva puta unutar njegove druge polovine. Bez obzira je li na tome mjestu doista bila postavljena katedrala i rezidencija hrvatskoga biskupa ili pak nije, navedena činjenica dodatno ukazuje na trajnu važnost ovoga mjesta, čime ujedno osnažuje ranije iznesene pretpostavke.

century were a time when the Croatian duke’s power grew and his state gained strength, but also a time of securing its political position, as well as not infrequent periods of unrest and power struggles, particularly in the years after Domagoj’s death and the beginning of Branimir’s reign. Taking all of this into account, perhaps the construction projects and installation of inscriptions in the Bribir-Benkovac area may be seen as the deliberate expression of power and authority by Branimir and the members of the elite closest to him. They could have thereby demonstrated their support for the duke as opposed to other Croatian groups, in what may have possibly been a particularly “problematic” and restless area. The possibility that Branimir’s opponents may have belonged to some other group who did not accept the Croatian identity and endeavoured to seize authority cannot be discounted, either.¹⁶⁷ If such attempts had existed, they obviously did not succeed, and the Croatian identity prevailed, and in the subsequent period the conditions for its gradual acceptance over a wider space were created with the expansion of the territory under the rule of the Croatian king.

Conclusion

In summarizing the discussion in this paper, it may be concluded that during the final two thirds of the 9th century, relations between the elite in the Dalmatian hinterland and ecclesiastical institutions constituted a vital component in the development of society at the time. The construction, furnishing and donation of churches (and certainly abbeys) must be seen primarily within the context of the development of a new religious environment and system at the time. However, they were also one of the key components of elite, and thereby also Croatian, identity. The emphasis on personal names of dignitaries and rulers together with ethnonyms clearly confirms this. The fact is also that such expression was typical of the 9th century in particular, while it faded later. During the 10th century, the

168 Usp. Budak 2008, str. 240; Budak 2014, str. 51-52, 55.

169 *De administrando imperio*, str. 150-151; Budak 1994, str. 33-34; Goldstein 1995, str. 303, 306. Nedavno je predloženo i drugačije tumačenje ove vijesti iz 31. poglavlja *DAI*, prema kojemu bi Miroslav bio unuk kneza Trpimira i vladao prije Tomislava, odnosno prije 925. godine. V. Komatina 2010. Slično, ali ipak sa zadržkom o toliko ranijoj dataciji vladavine Miroslava: Lončar 2010.

170 Goldstein 1995, str. 249, 340-343.

171 Budak 2007.

167 In this sense, it is worth bearing in mind the possibility that precisely this area had been the seat of the Gudusciani and Duke Borna (see note 16 above). Cf. also Fine 2006, p. 39, wherein he stated that Branimir probably had problems reinforcing his authority over his subjects, among whom some may have been Croats and identified with them, while others were different and considered themselves Slavs. The author, though, maintained that the duchy of that time had not been clearly determined as Croatia, with which I cannot agree. Budak 2014, p. 55, believes that in the latter half of the 9th century there was a struggle between mutually opposing Croatian clans.

authority of the Croatian dukes would become royal, and the Croats and Croatia became recognized by the middle of that century and were constantly present in foreign written sources, too.¹⁶⁸ Power struggles occurred even then, which became particularly apparent not long before the mid-10th century and then at that century's close. In the first case, Miroslav was killed by *ban* Pribina, but then the latter did not sit on the throne himself or bring in some "external" candidate, instead opting for Miroslav's brother, Krešimir II.¹⁶⁹ At the end of that century, after the death of King Držislav (ca. 997), there were struggles and warfare over the throne among his sons: Svetoslav on one side, and Krešimir and Gojslav on the other.¹⁷⁰ As opposed to the preceding century, then, conspiracies, overthrows and succession occurred within a single family, or kinship unit. At the same time, the Croatian kings focused their efforts on the Dalmatian coastal cities, granting their churches and abbeys land in order to reinforce ties with them.¹⁷¹ Changes in church furniture would continue, but this practice became far less common than in the preceding century. The Church of St. Mary at Crkvina in Biskupija would only be restored and altered in the 11th century, but even then twice in its latter half. Regardless of whether or not a cathedral and Croatian bishop's residence had been installed at that location, this fact alone further demonstrates the ongoing importance of this place, and thereby reinforces the hypotheses posed above.

168 Cf. Budak 2008, p. 240; Budak 2014, pp. 51-52, 55.

169 *De administrando imperio*, pp. 150-151; Budak 1994, pp. 33-34; Goldstein 1995, pp. 303, 306. Recently a different interpretation of this account from chapter 31 of *DAI* has been proposed, according to which Miroslav was the grandson of Duke Trpimir and ruled prior to Tomislav, i.e., prior to 925. See Komatina 2010. Similarly, but with some reserve of such an earlier dating of Miroslav's reign: Lončar 2010.

170 Goldstein 1995, pp. 249, 340-343.

171 Budak 2007.

T. I / Pl. I



Sl. 1. Pridraga – Sv. Martin. Ulomak pluteja s prikazom ratnika pješaka (Milošević 2000, str. 323, IV. 218)
Fig. 1. Pridraga – St. Martin. Fragment of pluteus with image of infantry soldier (Milošević 2000, p. 323, IV. 218)



Sl. 2. Pridraga – Sv. Martin. Ulomak pluteja s prikazom konjanika (foto: G. Bilogrivić)
Fig. 2. Pridraga – St. Martin. Fragment of pluteus with image of cavalryman (photo: G. Bilogrivić)



Sl. 3. Pridraga – Sv. Martin. Ulomak pluteja s prikazom lova na jelena (Jakšić, Hilje 2008, str. 24, sl. 029)
Fig. 3. Pridraga – St. Martin. Fragment of pluteus with deer hunt scene (Jakšić, Hilje 2008, p. 24, Fig. 029)

T. II / Pl. II



Sl. 1. Bijaći – Sv. Marta. Ulomak arhitrava oltarne ograde (Delonga 1996, T. VIII/10)
Fig. 1. Bijaći – St. Martha. Fragment of altar screen architrave (Delonga 1996, Pl. VIII/10)

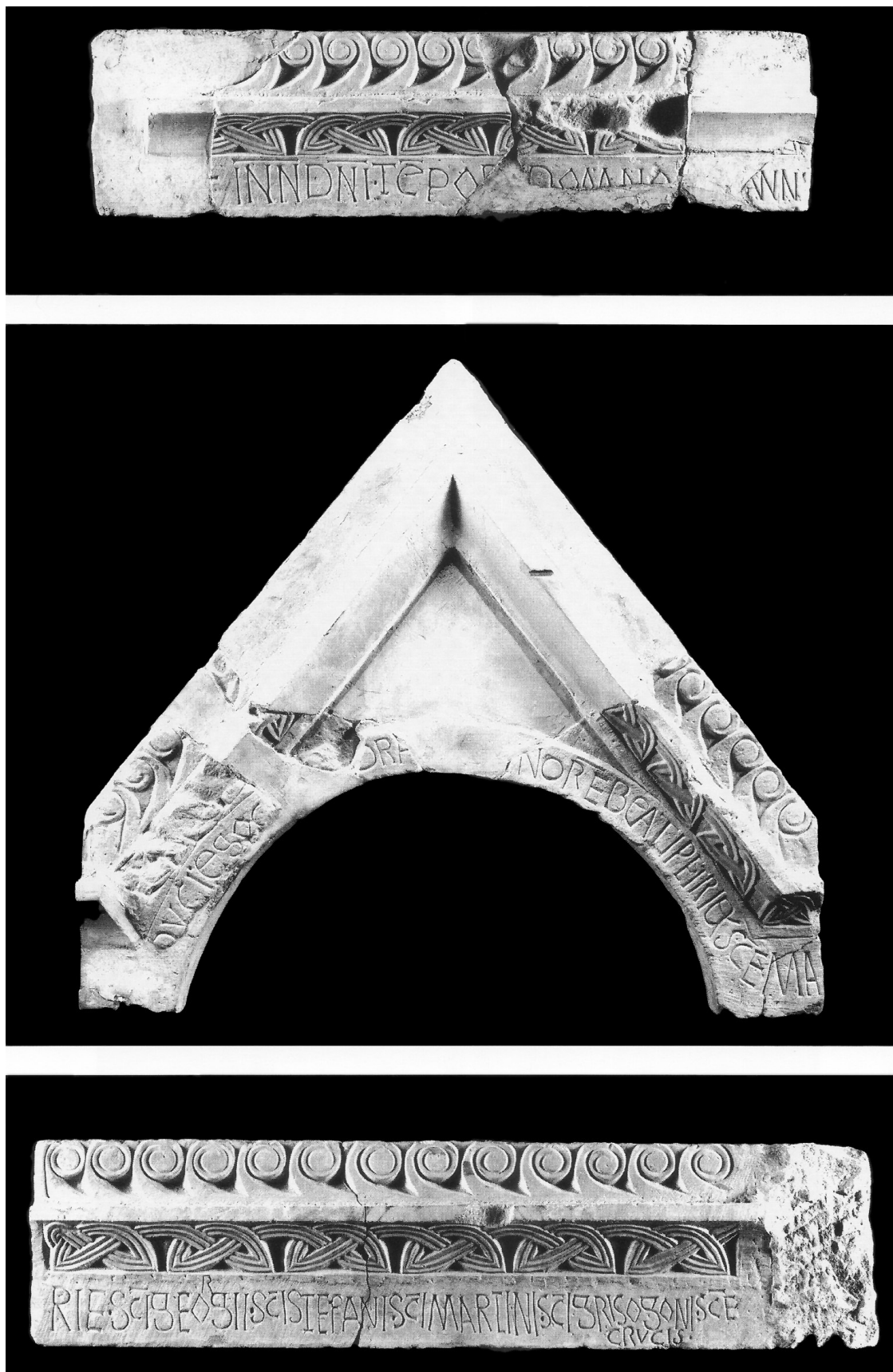


Sl. 2. Gornji Muć. Arhitrav oltarne ograde (Delonga 1996, T. XLII/91)
Fig. 2. Gornji Muć. Altar screen architrave (Delonga 1996, Pl. XLII/91)



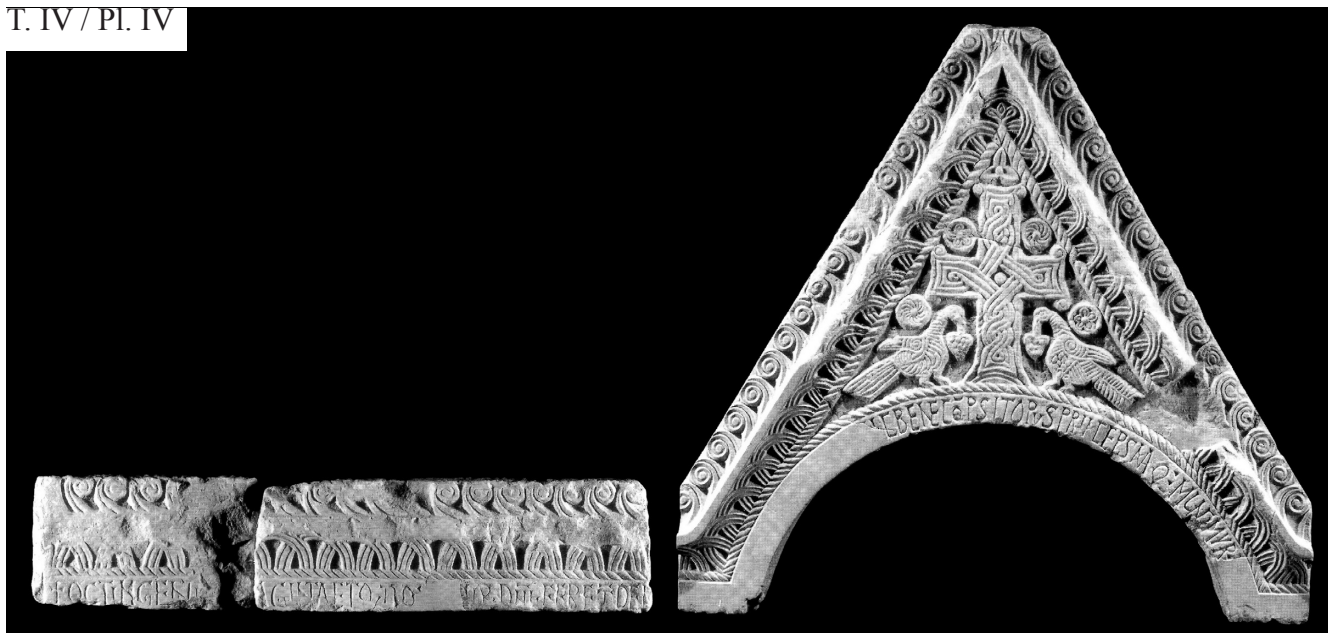
Sl. 3. Nin – Sv. Mihovil. Arhitravi oltarne ograde (Delonga 1996, T. LXVIII/174)
Fig. 3. Nin – St. Michael. Altar screen architraves (Delonga 1996, Pl. LXVIII/174)

T. III / Pl. III



Sl. 1-3. Otres. Arhitravi i zabat oltane ograde (Delonga 1996, T. LXXI/182)
Fig. 1-3. Otres. Alar screen architraves and pediment (Delonga 1996, Pl. LXXI/182)

T. IV / Pl. IV



Sl. 1. Uzdolje. Arhitrav i zabat oltarne ograde (prema: Delonga 1996, T. LII/118)
Fig. 1. Uzdolje. Altar screen architrave and pediment (after: Delonga 1996, Pl. LII/118)



Sl. 2. Šopot. Arhitrav i zabat oltarne ograde (Lienhard 2008, str. 581)
Fig. 2. Šopot. Altar screen architrave and pediment (Lienhard 2008, p. 581)



Sl. 3. Ždrapanj. Ulomci arhitrava oltarne ograde (Delonga 1996, T. LXXXI/228)
Fig. 3. Ždrapanj. Fragment of altar screen architrave (Delonga 1996, Pl. LXXXI/228)

T. V / Pl. V



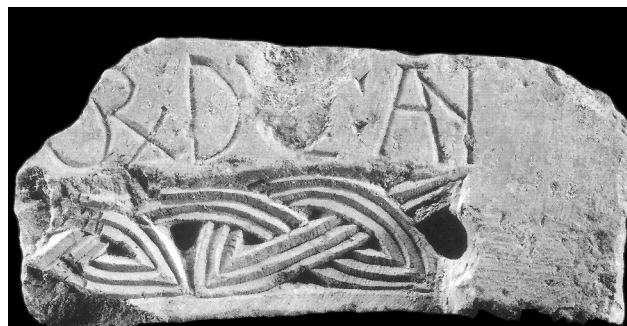
Sl. 1. Rižinice. Ulomak zabata oltarne ograde
 (Piteša 2012, str. 125)

Fig. 1. Rižinice. Fragment of altar screen pediment
 (Piteša 2012, p. 125)



Sl. 2. Knin – Kapitul. Ogradne ploče stubišta ambona (Delonga 1996, T. XXXV/73)

Fig. 2. Knin – Kapitul. Rail plates for ambo stairs (Delonga 1996, Pl. XXXV/73)



Sl. 4. Lepuri. Ulomak arkade ciborija (Delonga 1996, T. LXV/168)

Fig. 4. Lepuri. Fragment of ciborium arcade
 (Delonga 1996, Pl. LXV/168)

Sl. 3. Kula Atlagića. Ulomak zabata oltarne ograde
 (Delonga 1996, T. LXIV/162)

Fig. 3. Kula Atlagića. Fragment of altar screen
 pediment (Delonga 1996, Pl. LXIV/162)

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