

# Prispevek k opredelitvi in dataciji prostorskega križa na Gradišču pri Krkavčah v istrski Sloveniji

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*The author analyses the recent attempt to date the spatial cross in Gradišče near Krkavče in Istrian Slovenia made by J. Puhar and A. Pleterški. Their attempt relies on analogies, primarily that from Prague, assuming the existence of Sv. Križ (Holy Cross) Church near Gradišče and the erroneous attribution of the patron of Sv. Štefan (St. Stephen) Church near Gradišče. In conclusion, the author touches upon the discovery of the milestone of Emperor Titus near Krkavče and the association of the relief in Gradišče to the god Mitra by prof. F. Zerri.*

Poskus interpretacije prostora pri Krkavčah, ki sta ga predstavila Jana Puhar in Andrej Pleterški, temelji na razporeditvi 4 cerkva v širši okolici osrednje točke. Ne le to, pač pa tudi kronološka stratigrafija, ki sta jo nakazala, nas spodbuja k razmisleku.

Povzetek njunih sklepov in hkrati povzetek njunega metodološkega približevanja k zbirki podatkov, ki sta jih zbrala na terenu in v literaturi, poskušamo prikazati v naslednjih točkah.

1. Osrednja točka prostorskih konotacij obravnavanega terena je Gradišče pri Hribu oziroma mesto postavitve dvostranskega reliefa - Kamna - na obrobju Gradišča.
2. Na tem mestu je moč slišati zvonjenje od treh cerkva v širši okolici.
3. Mesto postavitve reliefa je odigralo določeno vlogo v obredju procesije. Reliefni kamen ima (naj bi imel v preteklosti) določeno moč pri ozdravitvah oziroma pri plodnosti. Na zahodnem reliefu sta razpoznavna falus in vulva.
4. Vsebina prostora okoli Gradišča in Kamna naj bi izražala bodisi zmago dobrega nad zlim bodisi obratno, ali pa kombinacijo obeh principov.
5. V kombinaciji z nekaterimi sakralnimi objekti se povezovalne linije med njimi in Kamnom sekajo pri Kamnu pod pravim kotom.
6. Če te linije zamejimo z najbližjimi cerkvami, vzremo na zemljevidu latinski križ, zasukan za polovico pravega kota od smeri sever-jug.
7. Skoraj identično situacijo glede usmeritve križa avtorja prepoznata v Pragi, delno tudi drugod.
8. Nastanek krkavškega križa avtorja datirata po arheoloških ostankih cerkve sv. Štefana in analogijah v 12. stoletje, torej naj bi reliefni Kamen stal na približno istem mestu že poprej.

V pričujočem tekstu se bomo posvetili le dataciji, ki jo avtorja predlagata za nastanek križa. Po ugotovitvi, da jima razpoložljivi podatki o Kamnu in prostorskem križu ne morejo razložiti, katera od možnosti glede vloge Kamna (zmaga dobrega nad zlim ali

obratno ali kombinacija obeh principov) bi obveljala, se odločita, da so v nekem trenutku s postavitvijo okolnih cerkva v križ in z zvonjenjem zvonov skušali tedanji prebivalci zmanjšati nezaželene moči Gradišča in Kamna. V razpravi ta trenutek opredelita v 12. stoletje, zelo oprezno pa se izjasnita glede naročnika del. Po njunem ni mogel biti nižji po rangu od koprškega škofa, lahko pa da je bil celo sam oglejski patriarh. Seveda je nedvomno njun sklep, da je pred postavitvijo prostorskega križa na Gradišču že stal »moteči« Kamen. Za datacijo nastanka križa jima služijo analogije, dopolnilno ime za isto cerkev ter usmeritev in ime cerkve sv. Štefana.

Prepričljive analogije s prostorskim križem najdeta že v 7. st. na bajuvarskih grobiščih Altenerding in Lauterhofen (Pleterski 2003, sl. 286; Pleterski, Belak 2004, Fig. 4), pa tudi v pisnih virih 11. in 12. stoletja (Puhar, Pleterski 2005, 67) za skupine cerkva, zlasti v mestih. Kot avtorja ugotavljata, omenjene skupine cerkva ne stojijo povsem geometrijsko pravilno. Ob tem navajata še posebno prepričljiv primer iz Prage, kjer se vezne črte sečajo skoraj natančno pravokotno. Na sečišču stoji cerkev sv. Križa. Usmeritev in razmerja krakov križa so skoraj identični kot v krkvškem primeru. Ko navajata krkvški primer, se posebej ustavita ob izginuli cerkvi sv. Štefana ob poti iz Krkvč proti Pučam (Naldini 1700, 420). Kardinal A. Valier leta 1579 nekoliko nejasno našteva med cerkvami pri Krkvčah tudi cerkev sv. Štefana in cerkev sv. Mavra in Štefana.<sup>1</sup> Na sicer odlični vojaški avstrijski karti iz leta 1804<sup>2</sup> (Rajšp, Trpin 1997) je na tem področju cerkev označena kot S. Croce in ne kot Sv. Štefan: ta izjema je več kot dobrodošla za upoštevanje praške analogije. V razpravi tudi poudarita, da je cerkev sv. Štefana nastala pred postavitvijo prostorskega križa in pred dopolnilnim poimenovanjem po sv. Križu. Ko bi bila nastala po istem programu kot prostorski križ, bi jo postavili natančno na Gradišče, vodilno poimenovanje pa bi ne bilo po sv. Štefanu.

Vloga prostorskega križa pri Krkvčah je po avtorjih strukturirana okoli Gradišča oziroma Kamna predvsem z namenom, da utiša »nezaželene« moči. A kdaj se je to zgodilo?

Ostanke cerkve sv. Štefana papeža južno od današnjega pokopališča je Vinko Šribar delno izkopal<sup>3</sup> in tudi prepričljivo opredelil v 14. stoletje (Šribar 1956, 67; 1957ab; 1967), medtem ko J. Puhar in A. Pleterski arhitekturo še dodatno datirata po prostorski orientaciji zidov z azimutom 55°. To naj bi bila smer vzhajajočega oziroma zahajajočega božičnega sonca, praktično enako kot tudi 26. decembra, ko je dan sv. Štefana (Puhar, Pleterski 2005, 68).<sup>4</sup> Usmerjanje cerkva proti geografskemu vzhodu bi se naj začelo v 12. stoletju, prej je veljalo datumsko usmerjanje. Po avtorjih so v obdobju med okoli 1125 in začetkom 13. stoletja cerkve že usmerjene bolj ali manj proti vzhodu, pozneje pa postajajo odkloni spet bolj pogosti. Avtorja se pri dataciji cerkve odločita za zgodnejšo varianto, to je, da je zasnova cerkve sv. Štefana z usmeritvijo po božičnem soncu nastala pred 12. stoletjem. Šele pozneje, ob nastanku ali po nastanku prostorskega križa s štirimi cerkvami, je dobila dodatno ime po sv. Križu. Kamen bi tako stal v območju Gradišča že prej, torej pred 12. stoletjem.

<sup>1</sup> A. Lavrič (1986, 103, in op. 155-156) domneva, da leži prva cerkev ob Dragonji, druga z dvema zavetnikoma pa naj bi bila cerkev, sicer poznana kot sv. Maver. Dopuščam, da se je Valierju zapisalo in je treba "dvojno" poimenovanje razvezati v dve cerkvi.

<sup>2</sup> Avtorja pomotoma navajata letnico 1797.

<sup>3</sup> Izkopavanja dr. J. Kastelica je na terenu vodil V. Šribar (Vilhar 1953).

<sup>4</sup> Avtorja na str. 65 sicer zapišeta, da gre za Štefana papeža.

Dokazovanje se zdi v več pogledih šibko. Konotacija s sv. Križem je pozna in kljub verodostojnosti karte nekoliko neverjetna, usmeritev po zavetnikovem dnevu in posledična datacija pred 12. stoletje pa napačna. Zavetnik cerkve je drug sv. Štefan, mučenec in papež, ki ne goduje takoj po Božiču, pač pa 2. avgusta. Škof P. Naldini našteva cerkve v okolici Krkavč v opisu (svoje) koprške škofije (Naldini 1700, 419-420): »... *Le prime sono di Santo Steffano Protomartire alle sponde della Dragogna, di S. Mauro Abbate sùl Colle à fronte del Castello, e di S. Steffano Papa, e Martire sù la strada di Puzzole.*« Trdim, da je treba, glede na zanesljivost vira opustiti svetniško atribucijo in datiranje obeh avtorjev. Tako ostaja v veliki meri zgraditev prostorskega križa nedatirana, vsaj ne s pomočjo arhitekture oziroma usmeritve cerkve sv. Štefana, mučenca in papeža. Cerkev drugega Štefana, prvomučenca, stoji na koncu JZ podaljška prostorskega križa ob Dragonji. Sklepanje, da je Kamen s spornimi močmi stal na Gradišču že pred postavitvijo prostorskega križa, postaja z datacijskimi nedorečenostmi še bolj nezanesljivo. Tudi zdravilno zvonjenje pred 13. stoletjem ni dosti verjetno, se pa je lahko uglasilo v trio v poznejših časih.

Ne glede na datacijo »po izgradnji Sv. Štefana« avtorja pripisujeta izgradnjo križa koprskim škofom 12. stoletja, torej jo postavljata v čas nastanka tudi praške strukture. Tržaško-koprski oziroma koprski škofje 12. stoletja (Mihelič 2005, 36: Ditmar, Artvik, Bernard, Ulrik, sin Štefana iz Devina, Aldigerij, Alderik ...) so bili vsaj od srede 12. stoletja zaposleni z izgradnjo stolnice v Kopru. Veliko posvetilno in gradbeno aktivnost na podeželju izkaže šele škof Absalon v začetku 13. stoletja, ki posveti tudi bližnji cerkvi sv. Jurija v Pomjanu in sv. Marije v Šmarjah, komaj uro hoda stran. Vendar s tem že uhajamo iz zastavljenih okvirov.

Za zaključek le dve omembi: odkritje miljnika cesarja Tita pri Krkavčah.<sup>5</sup> Posledično je v igri prav potek rimske ceste mimo Gradišča, ki je nato dolga stoletja tudi odrejala prostorske vrednote območja (Župančič 2005) in celo izoblikovanje šavrinskega dialekta slovenskega jezika (Crevatin 2005, 8). Preblisk: »Dio Mithra!« danes žal že pokojnega prof. Federica Zerrija ob pogledu na oba reliefa, posebej vzhodnega, na Kamnu, ob njegovem obisku v Istri, pa nalaga nove interpretacije. Zaradi njegove prerane smrti ni prišlo do objave.

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<sup>5</sup> Na tem mestu moram popraviti svojo napačno atribucijo miljnika Vespazijanu (Župančič 2005) in se zahvaljem kologama F. Mainardis in C. Zaccariju za popravek.

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#### **A Contribution to the Definition and Dating of the Spatial Cross in Gradišče near Krkavče in Istrian Slovenia**

*Matej Župančič*

The attempt at spatial interpretation of the area near Krkavče as presented by Jana Puhar and Andrej Pleterski is based on the spatial distribution of four surrounding churches from the central reference point, which may not necessarily yield an accurate result. A separate fact that calls for a re-consideration of their interpretation is the indicated chronological stratigraphy.

Their conclusions as well as their methodological approach to the data collected through fieldwork and a study of literature are summarized in the following points.

1. The central point of spatial connotations of the examined area is Gradišče, near Hrib; i.e., the location of a two-sided relief – the 'Kamen' (*Stone*) – on the outskirts of Gradišče.
2. Bell tolls from three churches located in the surrounding area can be heard at this location.
3. The location where the relief was erected had a role in the rituals of the procession. The 'Kamen' relief has (or was supposed to have had in the past) healing powers and stimulates fertility. The western relief displays a phallus and a vulva.

4. The proximate area radiating from Gradišče and the 'Kamen' is considered to either represent the victory of good over evil, or vice versa, or a combination of both principles.
5. Combined with some sacral buildings, the lines linking the churches with the 'Kamen' intersect at its location at right angles.
6. If the length of these lines is delimited with the closest churches, a Latin cross appears on the map, turned by half a right angle from the north-south direction.
7. The two authors observed an almost identical situation regarding the orientation of the cross in Prague, and partly in other locations as well.
8. The origin of the Krkavče cross is dated according to archeological remains of Sv. Štefan Church and analogies to the 12<sup>th</sup> century – therefore, the relief 'Kamen' is supposed to have been standing approximately in the current location, only earlier.

The present text exclusively focuses on the dating of the origin of the cross suggested by the two authors. After realizing that the available data on the 'Kamen' and the spatial cross are insufficient to provide a clear explanation for the role of the 'Kamen' (the victory of good over evil, or vice versa, or combination of both), the authors assumed that the construction of the surrounding churches in a cross-like shape and the bell tolls represented an attempt made by the local population at a defined moment to reduce the unwanted powers of Gradišče and the 'Kamen'. This moment is dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, yet the hypothesis regarding who might have ordered the construction remains highly tentative. In their opinion, he could not have been anybody of lower status than the Bishop of Koper and they suggest it might have been the Patriarch of Aquileia himself. The statement that the disturbing 'Kamen' had been standing there even before the construction of the spatial cross in Gradišče is not questioned.

The dating that the two authors propose for the origin of the spatial cross relies on analogies, a supplementary denomination of Sv. Štefan Church mentioned earlier, as well as its orientation and name.

Convincing analogies to the spatial cross were found as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> century in the Bajuvarian burial sites Altenerding and Lauterhofen (Pleterski 2003, Fig. 286; Pleterski, Belak 2004, Fig. 4), and written sources from the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries (Puhar, Pleterski 2005, 67) for groups of churches, especially in towns. As the authors assert these groups of churches are not positioned in entirely accurate geometrical relations, though a particularly convincing example presented is that from Prague where the linking lines intersect at nearly exact right angles. The intersecting point is the location of Holy Cross Church. The orientation and relations between the arms of the cross are identical to those found in the spatial cross of Krkavče. Analyzing the latter, the two authors highlight the role of the missing Sv. Štefan Church located along the way from Krkavče to Puče (Naldini 1700, 420). In 1579, Cardinal A. Valier somewhat uncertainly mentioned the churches of Sv. Štefan as well as Sv. Maver and Štefan (St. Maurus and St. Stephen) among the churches near Krkavče.<sup>6</sup> An excellent Austrian military map from 1804<sup>7</sup> (Rajšp, Trpin 1997) de-

<sup>6</sup> A. Lavrič (1986, 103 and notes 155-156) assumes that the former is the church lying along the Dragonja River and the latter, with two patrons, the church known as Sv. Maver Church. Valieri's slip of the pen might have caused the mistake and thus the 'double' denomination actually indicates two separate churches.

<sup>7</sup> The authors cite the year 1797.

picts a church in this area called S. Croce (Holy Cross) and not Sv. Štefan, which provides an exception that is more than welcome to justify the analogy to the Prague cross. In the discussion the authors emphasize that the origins of Sv. Štefan Church can be dated to before the erection of the spatial cross and the supplementary denomination of Holy Cross. However, had it been constructed according to the same program as the spatial cross, it would have been located precisely in Gradišče while its main patron would not be St. Stephen.

The authors also believe that the role of the spatial cross near Krkavče was to silence the 'unwanted' powers of Gradišče or the 'Kamen', and thus was structured such that they lay in the centre. But when did that happen?

The remains of Sv. Štefan Church south from today's cemetery have been partly excavated<sup>8</sup> by V. Šribar, who also reliably dated them to the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Šribar 1956, 67; 1957ab; 1967), while Puhar's and Pleterski's dating includes an additional element – the dating according to the spatial orientation of the walls at an azimuth of 55°, which is supposed to indicate the direction of the rising or setting Christmas sun, coinciding as well to the day of St. Stephen – 26<sup>th</sup> December – (Puhar, Pleterski 2005, 68).<sup>9</sup> The practice of the orientation of churches toward the geographical east is supposed to have begun in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, while orientation by date had been used earlier. According to the two authors, as early as approximately between 1125 and the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century the churches were oriented toward the east while deviations from this rule could be observed again more frequently in later periods. Dating the church, the authors opt for the earlier alternative – that construction of Sv. Štefan Church, oriented according to the Christmas sun, began before the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Only later, with the construction of the spatial cross with the four churches, or even later, was it given the additional name of Holy Cross. Therefore, the 'Kamen' would have been located in the Gradišče area even earlier, before the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

Their discussion displays several weaknesses. The connotation related to the Holy Cross is late and despite the authenticity of the map somehow unlikely. In addition, the orientation by the day of the patron and consequent dating before the 12<sup>th</sup> century do not seem to be credible. The patron of the church is actually a different St. Stephen – the martyr and Pope – whose day is not immediately after Christmas, rather on 2<sup>nd</sup> August. Bishop P. Naldini lists the churches in the surrounding of Krkavče in the description of (his) Diocese of Koper (Naldini 1700, 419-420): "...*Le prime sono di Santo Steffano Protomartire alle sponde della Dragogna, di S. Mauro Abbate sùl Colle à fronte del Castello, e di S. Steffano Papa, e Martire sù la strada di Puzzole.*" In my opinion, given the reliability of this source, the attribution of the patron and the dating suggested by the two authors should be dismissed. As a consequence, the construction of the spatial cross remains largely undated (at least by means of architecture or the orientation of the church of St. Stephen's, martyr and Pope). The church of the other Stephen, the first martyr, is located at the end of the southwestern prolongation of the spatial cross along the Dragonja River. Given the vagueness of the dating, the assumption that the 'Kamen' with its controversial powers had been standing in Gradišče even before the construction of the spatial cross becomes even more unreliable. Furthermore, the use of healing bell tolls before the 13<sup>th</sup> century is highly unlikely; they probably were tuned into a trio at a later time.

<sup>8</sup> The field leader was V. Šribar, the responsible dr. J. Kastelic (Vilhar 1953).

<sup>9</sup> The authors actually relate it to the name of St. Stephen the Pope on the page 65.

Irrespective of the dating 'after the construction of Sv. Štefan', the authors attribute the construction of the cross to 12<sup>th</sup> century Koper bishops and hence date it to the time of the construction of the Prague structure. However, the Trieste-Koper and/or Koper bishops of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Mihelič 2005, 36: Dietmarus, Artuichus, Warnardus, Odoricus, filius Stephani de Duino, Aldigerius, Aldericus...) were – at least up to the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century – occupied with the construction of the Koper cathedral. Intense consecration and construction activities in the countryside were only performed by Bishop Absalon at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, when two churches in the proximity – Sv. Jurij (St. George) in Pomjan and Sv. Marija (St. Mary) in Šmarje, only an hour away by walk – were consecrated. This, however, leads us astray from our purpose.

In conclusion, I would like to add two comments: one refers to the discovery of the milestone of Emperor Titus near Krkavče<sup>10</sup> that also draws the route of the Roman road past Gradišče. The road not only determined the spatial values of the area for many centuries (Župančič 2005) but also significantly contributed to the formation of the Šavrini dialect of the Slovene language (Crevatin 2005, 8). And finally, the insight: "Dio Mithra!" reached by the late prof. Federico Zerri after he had laid his eyes on both reliefs on the 'Kamen', in particular the east one, during his visit to Istria, provides new challenges for interpretation. Unfortunately, his premature death made publication of his thoughts and conjectures impossible.

<sup>10</sup> At this point my erroneous attribution of the milestone to Emperor Vespasian (Župančič 2005) should be corrected and I would like to thank my colleagues F. Mainardis and C. Zaccaria for their help.

