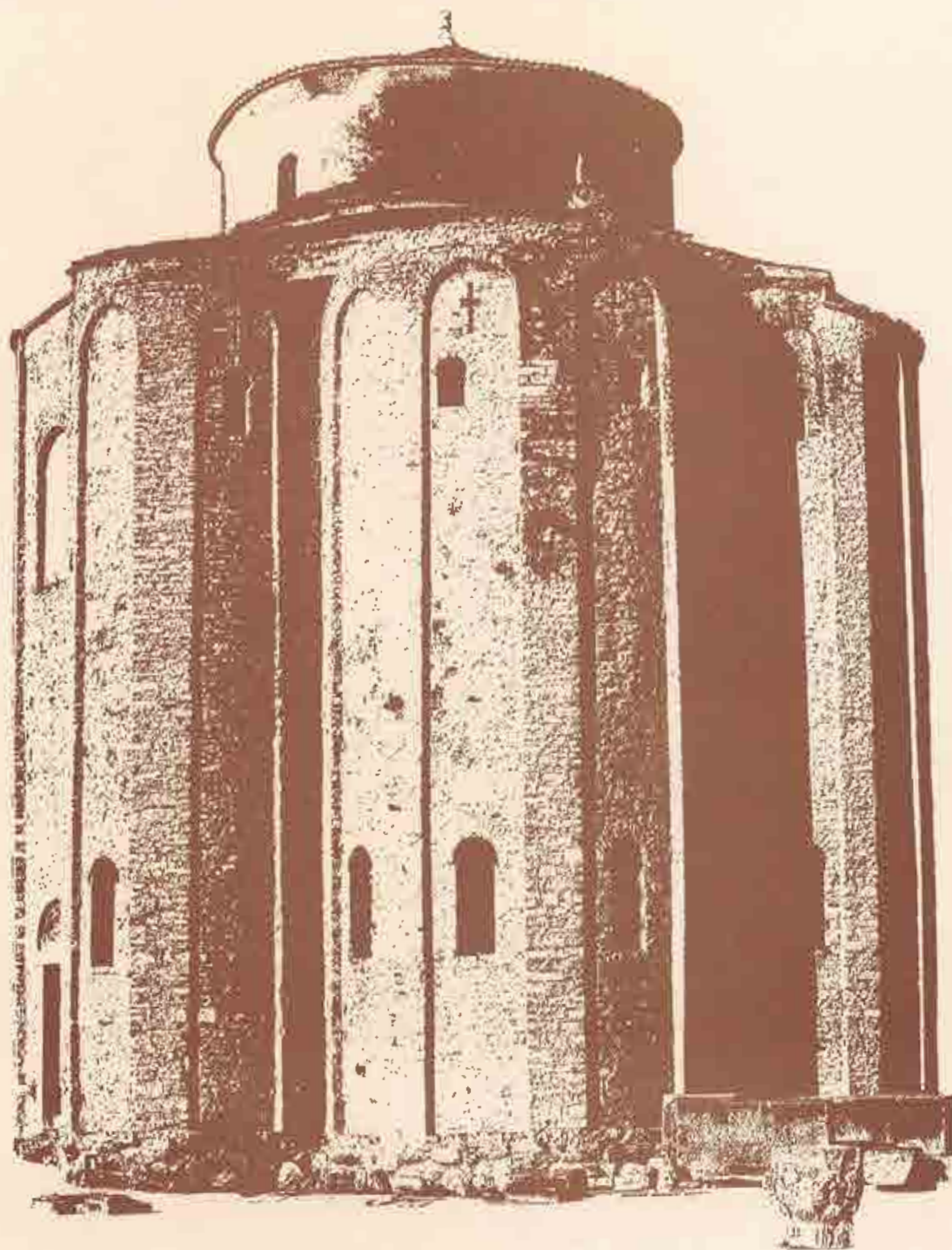




VLADIMIR P. GOSS

PREDROMANIČKA PRE-ROMANESQUE
ARHITEKTURA ARCHITECTURE
U HRVATSKOJ IN CROATIA

ART STUDIO AZINović

PREDROMANIČKA
ARHITEKTURA
U HRVATSKOJ

PRE-ROMANESQUE
ARCHITECTURE
IN CROATIA

EDICIJA LIKOVNIH MONOGRAFIJA

nakladnik
ART STUDIO AZINović

za nakladnika
MIRKO AZINović

PREDROMANIČKA
ARHITEKTURA
U HRVATSKOJ

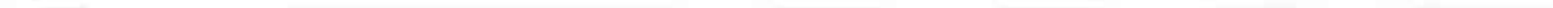
PRE-ROMANESQUE
ARCHITECTURE
IN CROATIA

VLADIMIR P. GOSS

arhitektonski nacrti *measured drawings*
SREBRENKA SEKULIĆ-GVOZDANOVIĆ

urednik, predgovor, ilustracije *editor, foreword, illustrations*
ANDRIJA MUTNJAKOVIĆ

ART STUDIO AZINOVIĆ



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KULTURA I ARHITEKTURA PODRUČJA HRVATSKE DO PREDROMANIKE

CULTURE AND ARCHITECTURE OF CROATIAN LANDS BEFORE THE PRE-ROMANESQUE

Reljef s likom vladara na
krstionici katedrale u Splitu
(vjerojatno iz crkve Sv. Petra
i Mojsija u Solinu).

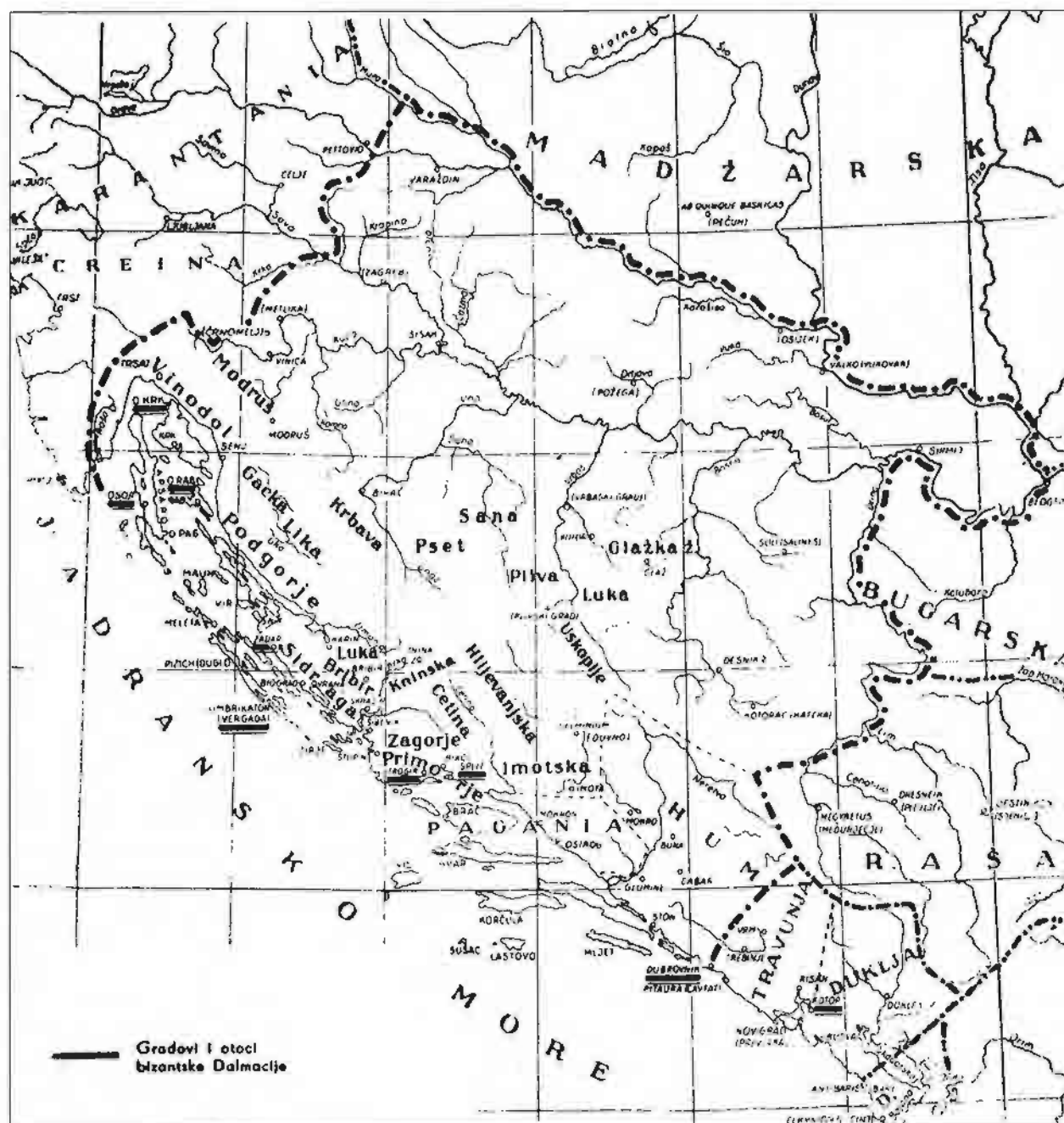
*King's Panel (believed by
some to be from SS. Petar
and Mojsije in Solin).
Baptistery, Split.*

Having visited the Eastern Adriatic, the English architect Thomas Graham Jackson published a study of local Byzantine, Pre-Romanesque, and Romanesque buildings in a publication by the Royal Society of London (Jackson 1887). Describing numerous Pre-Romanesque churches he concluded to have discovered the smallest cathedrals in the world. This poignant statement should be complemented with later and current research in the Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia, which has established the existence, at the coast but now also in the continent, of some 200 more or less preserved buildings, about thirty of which have retained their original form. This multitude of Pre-Romanesque monuments in Croatia (7th – 11th century) deserves the attention paid to it by this book.

Conceptual and spatial determination of the territory under discussion, which both expanded and shrank throughout history, is made possible by identifying the situation in the Antiquity, during the Pre-Romanesque period, through the Renaissance papal testimonies, and the current situation. During the centuries of the Antique period the territory determined by the northern coast of the Adriatic, the Danube, Drava, and Drina rivers, and the Eastern Alps, was called Illyricum, after the name of the people that lived there. In the Pre-Romanesque times, a Croatian state came into being. It had almost the same frontiers, confirmed also by the style of architecture. The name "Illyricum" was used in the Vatican documents until the 20th century, and when the High Papal Court decided to define Illyricum in 1669, a map was made confirming the above mentioned borders. This "Map of Illyricum" contained five provinces: Istria and Dalmatia by the sea, named after the Illyrian tribes of the Histri and Delmati, the continental units of Croatia and Bosnia,

Engleski arhitekt Thomas Graham Jackson kao rezultat studijskog putovanja duž hrvatske obale Jadrana objavio je u izdanju Kraljevskog društva u Londonu (Jackson, 1887.) prikaz tamošnjih bizantskih, predromaničkih i romaničkih građevina. Opisujući brojne predromaničke crkve zaključio je da je ondje našao najmanje katedrale na svijetu. Ovu pregnatnu konstataciju valja dopuniti kasnijim i aktualnim istraživanjima predromaničke crkvene arhitekture u Hrvatskoj kojima je utvrđena rasprostranjenost ove arhitekture i u kontinentalnom zaleđu na preko 200 više ili manje sačuvanih građevina, od kojih je tridesetak crkvi do danas zadržalo izvorni izgled. Ova brojnost predromaničkih crkvi u Hrvatskoj, izgrađenih od 7. do 11. stoljeća, i postojanje originalnih primjeraka, zaslužuje pažnju predloženu ovom knjigom.

Pojmovno i prostorno omeđivanje razmatranog teritorija na sjevernoj obali Mediterana – širenog i sužavanog tijekom milenijskih povijesnih događanja – moguće je na osnovi antičke identifikacije, stanja u doba predromanike, renesansnog papinskog svjedočanja i recentne situacije. Tijekom vijekova antičke civilizacije područje približno omeđeno sjevernom obalom Jadranskog mora, rijekama Dunavom, Dravom, Drinom i istočnim obroncima Alpa, nazivalo se Ilirik (Illyricum) prema imenu starosjedilaca (Ilira). U doba predromanike oformljena je hrvatska država. Njezine su granice ili utjecajne sfere obuhvaćale gotovo iste granice, dodatno identificirano istovjetnom arhitekturom. Naziv Ilirik za ovo područje zadržao se u vatikanskim dokumentima sve do 20. stoljeća, a kada se sredinom 17. stoljeća pokazala potreba da se definira obuhvat Ilirika vrhovni papinski sud (Sveta Rimska Rota) dao je 1669. godine izraditi zemljopisnu kartu Ilirika kojom su ponovno potvr-



Prostor Hrvatske u doba predromanike.

The Map of Croatia during the Pre-Romanesque period.

dene klasične granice. Karta je nazvana Illyricum i obuhvaća pet regija: uz more su Istria i Dalmatia, nazvane prema ilirskim plemenima Istri i Dalmati, na njih se u kontinentu naslanjaju Bosna i Croatia, nazvana po slavenskom plemenu Hrvata (Croata), te još dublje u kontinentu nalazi se Slavonia, nazvana po skupnom nazivu Slavena. Recentno stanje uspostavljeno je nakon 1945. godine, kada se vjekovno područje Ilirika razdijelilo u dvije državne zajednice: Hrvatsku, te Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Ovom knjigom obrađena je predromanička arhitektura na području Hrvatske.

named after the Slavic nation of the Croats, and even deeper in the hinterland, Slavonia, after the generic name for the Slavs. The recent division was established in 1945, establishing two political units – Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. This book deals with the Pre-Romanesque architecture of Croatia.

Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia is based on the earlier achievements of the omnipresent Mediterranean civilization. The earliest traces of human presence have been established at the Šandalja cave in Istria (ca. 1.000.000 years old), the remains of



Sveta Rimska rota, Ilirik
(Blaeu, I., 1669.).

Sacred Roman Rota,
Illyricum (Blaeu, J., 1669).

the bones of the Neanderthals from early Paleolithic were found at Hušnjakovo near Krapina, ornamented bone artifacts have been discovered at Šandalja II (20,000 years old), and numerous Neolithic pottery workshops have been identified in Slavonia (Vučedol), Bosnia (Butmir), and Dalmatia (Hvar). However, we should center on the humanization of the territory in question as it entered the historic world of European civilization.

The primary ethnic stock of today's Croatian territory represent various tribes called Illyrians by Ancient

Afirmacija predromaničke arhitekture u Hrvatskoj temelji se na prethodnom supstratu intenzivno prisutne mediteranske civilizacije. Zanimajući postojanje najstarijih tragova europskih praljudi nadenih u špilji Šandalja (Istra) od prije milijun godina, nalaze koštanih ostataka neandertalaca iz epohe starijeg paleolita u špilji Hušnjakovo nada- leko od Zagreba, nalaze ukrašenih koštanih artefa- kata od prije dvadesetak tisuća godina (Šandalja II), otkriće brojnih neolitskih keramičarskih radionica u Slavoniji (Vučedol), Bosni (Butmir) i Damaciji (Hvar), zanimajući i niz drugih kreativnih nala-



Gradina Monkodonja.

"Gradina" Monkodonja.

za iz doba pračovjeka, potrebno je usmjeriti pažnju samo na humanizaciju promatranoga područja u doba ulaska u povijesno vrijeme stvaranja europske civilizacije.

Primarnu povijesnu etničku osnovu hrvatskoga teritorija sačinjavaju srodna plemena nazvana po antičkim piscima Iliri (Illyrii), a grčki pjesnik Alkman spominje ih već u 7. stoljeću stare ere. Misli se da su Iliri ona plemena koja navodi Homer kao sudionike u osvajanju Troje. Iliri su bili naseljeni na području cijeloga Balkana, u južnom i sjevernom dijelu Apeninskoga poluotoka, a na području hrvatskoga teritorija ilirska plemena formiraju organiziranu državnu zajednicu potkraj 5. stoljeća stare ere. Kultura Ilira razvijala se pod utjecajem naprednijih grčkih i etrurskih kreacija, no obilje nadenih bronzanih artefakata ili kamenih reljefa upućuje na znatan interes i stvaralačku sposobnost Ilira (Stipčević, 1974.).

Doprinos Ilira humanizaciji promatranoga područja ostvaren je formiranjem brojnih gradina, to jest utvrđenih naselja na vrscima brežuljaka u obliku koncentrično organiziranih nastambi opasanih kamenim zidinama, koja su u mnogim slučajevima postala osnova i matrica budućeg urbanog razvitka, izrazito prisutnog na području Istre (Monkodonja): urbana struktura Rovinja, Pule, Žminja, razrušenog Nezakcija (Nesactium) i drugih gradova izražava karakteristični uzorak gradinskog naselja zadržan u memoriji grada do danas.

writers. The Greek poet Alkmenos mentions them already in the 7th century B.C. It was believed that Illyrians were the tribes mentioned by Homer that took part in the conquest of Troy. The Illyrians lived on the entire Balkan and in the southern and northern parts of the Appenine peninsulas. They organized a political entity, a state, on the Croatian territory at the end of the 5th century B.C. Their culture was influenced by the Greeks and the Etruscans, but the multitude of bronze artifacts and stone reliefs demonstrates also the native creativity (Stipčević, 1974).

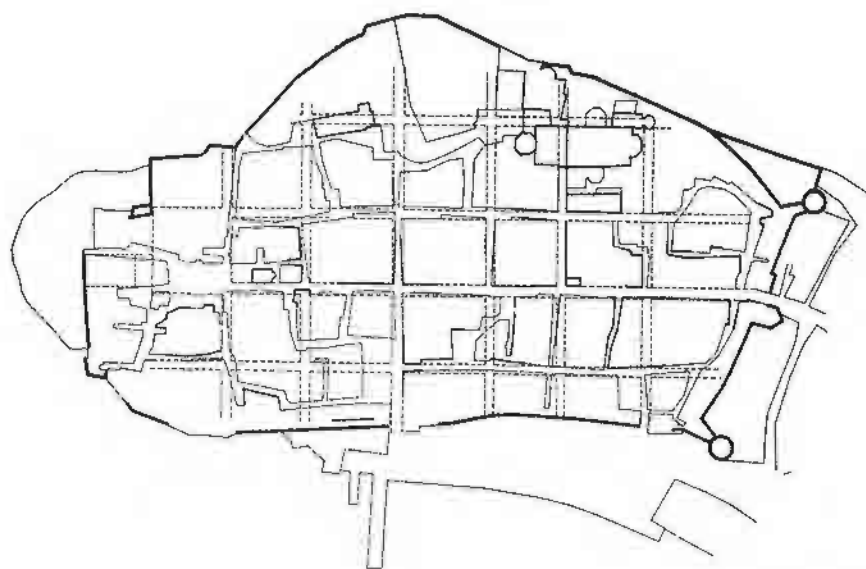
The Illyrians formed numerous "gradinas," hilltop forts in a form of circular settlements surrounded by stone walls, many of which later became centers of urban development, in particular in Istria (Monkodonja), where they defined the urban structure of Rovinj, Pula, Žminj, Nesactium (destroyed), and other cities, carrying the memory of the hilltop fort settlement until today.

The earliest information about the Illyrians is provided by Greek myths. The legendary inventor of architecture and sculpture, Dedalus, having escaped from Minos at Crete, settled in the Upper Adriatic, where he carved statues of himself and his son. Remembering his beautiful mistress, Europa, the chief god, Zeus, gave her name to the land to the North of the Mediterranean, whereas her brother, Cadmus, having founded Thebes and given the Greeks the alphabet, sought shelter from the wrath of Gods together with Aphrodite's daughter, Hermione, on the Adriatic shores. After their son, Illyrius, the land got its name.

Rovinj, urbana struktura.
Rovinj, the urban structure.



Poreč, urbana struktura.
Poreč, the urban structure.



The Argonauts, sail in panic through the "Illyrian Sea," i. e., the Adriatic, escaping after the theft of the Golden Fleece, and some of them settled close to the tomb of the "golden-haired Hermione." "A Greek might have said – a city of fugitives, but they called it Polai (Pula)," wrote Calimarchos of Cyrene between 320 and 240 B.C. The name of the Adriatic Sea appears in the works of Aeschylus, and Sophocles, in the travelogues by Hacateus, Aristotle, Strabo, Ptolemy, and others (Križman, 1979). The Greek influence spread by the means of Greek sailors and, later, colonies which gradually came into being on the Adriatic coast. Serious colonization was launched in the 4th century when, when Dionysus of Syracuse conquered the is-

Prve spoznaje o područjima nastanjenim Ilirima zabilježene su u grčkim mitovima. Legendarni grčki izumitelj graditeljstva i kiparstva Dedal, bježeći od Minosa iz Krete, nastanio se u najgornjem dijelu Jadrana i tamo izradio kipove sa svojim likom i likom sina Ikara. Vrhunski bog Zeus za sjećanje na svoju prekrasnu ljubavnicu Europu daje to ime zemlji sjeverno od Mediterana, a njezin brat Kadmo, nakon što je Grcima donio pismo i osnovao Tebu, sakrio se od gnjeva bogova s Afroditiinom kćeri Harmonijom na obali Jadrana, gdje im se rodio sin Ilirije po kojemu nazvaše ovu zemlju Ilirik (Illyricum). Ilirskim morem, to jest Jadranom, panično plove Argonauti progonjeni od osvjetnika nakon krađe zlatnog runa, a neki se



Dioklecijanova palača
u Splitu, rekonstrukcija
E. Hébrard, 1912.

*Diocletian's palace in
Split, reconstruction by
E. Hébrard, 1912.*

ovdje i nastaniše pored grobnog kamena plavokose Harmonije: Grk bi neki rekao "Grad Bjegunaca", no njihov ga jezik imenova Polai (Pula) – piše Kalimah Kirenjanin između 320. i 240. godine prije nove ere. U književnim djelima Eshila, Sofokla, putopisima Hekateja, Aristotela, Strabona, Ptolomeja i drugih grčkih pisaca prisutno je Jadransko more (Križman, 1979.). Grčki utjecaj na Ilirik širio se putem grčkih trgovačkih plovidbi i kasnijih kolonija postupno formiranih na obali i otocima Jadrana. Ozbiljna kolonizacija započeta je početkom 4. stoljeća stare ere, kada sirakuški vojskovođa Dionizije osvaja otok Vis i tamo formira koloniju nazvanu Issa, koja postupno prerasta u samostalnu državu s kolonijama na otocima i obali Jadrana: Korkyra (Korčula), Tragyrion (Trogir) Epetion (Stobreč), Salona (Solin), Pharos (Hvar), Naron (Vid), Epidaurum (Cavtat); najznačajniji su gradovi nastali grčkim naseljavanjem jadranskog priobalja.

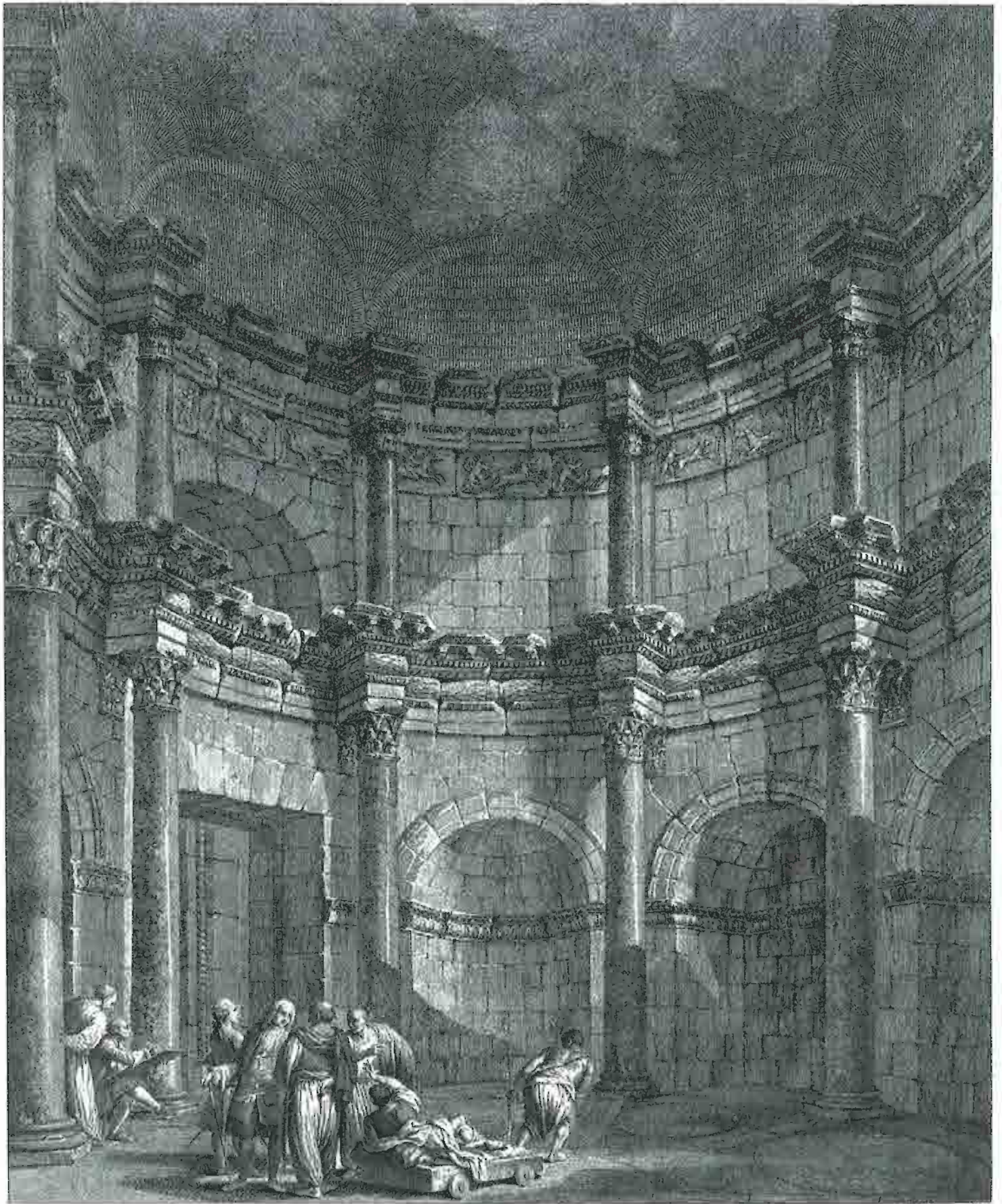
Urbanistička sistematizacija kolonija-gradova organizirana je prema grčkom modelu grada s pravilnom ortogonalnom strukturom gradskih blokova i komunikacija, a postoji i danas (Poreč, Zadar), pa je

land of Vis, and formed the colony named Issa, which gradually grew into an independent state with its own colonies on the mainland and on the other Adriatic islands: Korkyra (Korčula), Tragyrion (Trogir), Epetion (Stobreč), Salona (Solin), Pharos (Hvar), Naron (Vid), Epidaurum (Cavtat); these are the most important cities which owed their formation to the Greek immigration.

The urban systematization of cities-colonies followed the Greek model with a regular, rectilinear structure of city-blocks and communications, and is noticeable even today (Poreč, Zadar); this marks the beginning of the Ancient civilization on the territory of Croatia. Numerous discoveries of Greek ceramics, pottery, jewelry, stone reliefs, statues, and money show the intensity of trade, and the richness of those Ancient urban centers which had their own sculpture and pottery workshops, foundries, and mints (Suić, 1976). A recently found bronze statue of Apoxyomenos, an athlete drying himself, at the sea bottom next to the island of Lošinj, is a supreme work of Greek statuary, and a witness to the high cultural level of the Eastern Adriatic.

Dioklecijanova palača,
mauzolej, Split
(Adam, R., 1764.).

*Diocletian's palace,
mausoleum, Split
(Adam, R., 1764).*



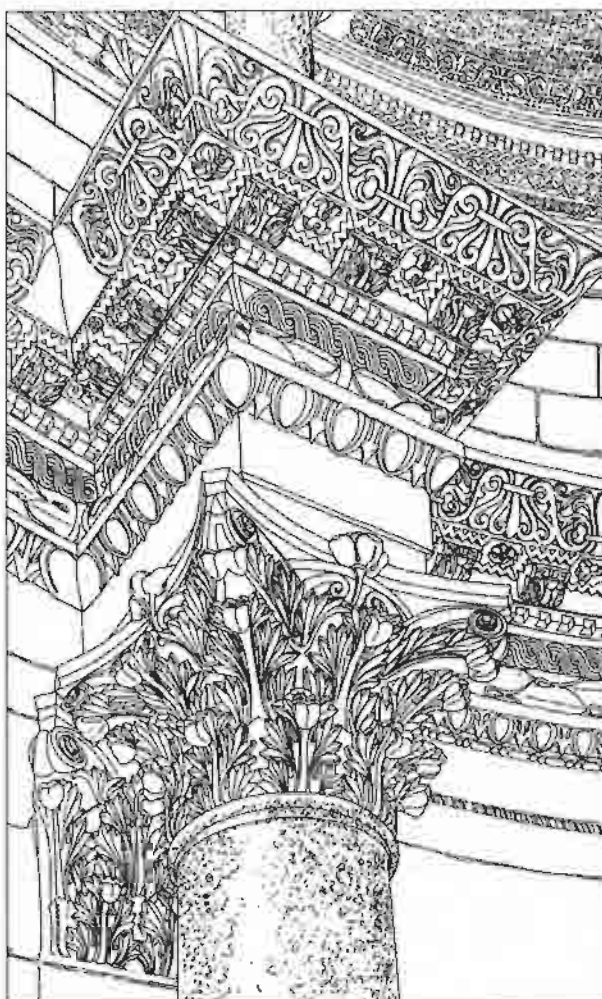
View of the Inside of the Temple of Jupiter

Donat. Goussier del.

time započeo razvitak antičke urbane civilizacije na području Hrvatske. Brojni nalazi helenske keramike, grnčarstva, nakita, reljefa, kipova i novca pokazuju intenzitet trgovačkih veza, a i bogatstvo tih antičkih gradova koji su imali svoje kiparske i keramičarske radinice, ljevaonice i kovnice vlastitog novca (Suić, 1976.). Na morskom dnu sjevernog Jadrana, pokraj otoka Lošinja, nedavno pronađena bronzana statua Apoksiomena (Apoxyomenos – atleta koji se čisti nakon borbe) ocijenjena je vrhunskim djelom grčkoga kiparstva te dokazuje visoku razinu antičke kulture istočnog jadranskog priobalja.

Iliri i Grci, uz povremene sukobe, živjeli su stoljećima u više ili manje uspješnoj zajednici koja je postala ugrožena i raspala se nakon što su rimske legije od početka trećeg stoljeća stare ere pa do prvih godina nove ere u nekoliko navrata osvajale dio po dio ilirskih država i pripajali ih Rimskom Carstvu. Nestankom ilirske državnosti nije se bitno izmijenio život autohtonog stanovništva: Rimljani su bili tolerantni prema vjernom stanovništvu, njihovoj kulturi i religiji, pa su tako poštovali privilegije grčkih kolonija i nisu namećali romanizaciju ilirskih starosjedilaca. No, već od 1. stoljeća rimski trgovci i vojnici počeli su se intenzivno naseljavati prvo duž obale, a potom i dublje u kontinentu, pa su tako postupno formirani prostrani i raskošni gradovi, a njihova privlačnost uveliko je utjecala na to da se okolno ilirsko i grčko pučanstvo asimilira i romanizira.

Eksponirani granični položaj ilirskih pokrajina naveo je Ilire da češće izabiru vojničku karijeru, pa su kao branioci Rima stjecali zamjetan autoritet, koji ih je doveo do najviših funkcija Rimskoga Carstva: nekoliko vrlo važnih rimskih careva bili su ilirskoga podrijetla. Vojnici su Ilira Decija proglasili 248. godine rimskim carem, ali uskoro je poginuo u borbi protiv Gota, pa je njegovo vladanje trajalo samo tri godine. Borbu je nastavio voditi još jedan Ilir kojega su također proglasili rimskim carem (262.–264.) – bio je to Klaudije II., poznat zbog svojih ratnih zasluga pod nazivom *Gothicus*. Nedugo nakon Klaudija rimskim carem postaje također Ilir Aurelijan rođen u bogatom Sirmiumu (danas Mitrovica), koji je u samo pet godina vladavine (270.–275.) znatno stabilizirao carstvo, čime je zaslužio naziv obnovitelja rimskog svijeta: *Restitutor Orbis Romani*. Dva Ilira bitno su utjecala na budućnost Rimskoga Carstva, a time i europske povijesti: car Dioklecijan rođen je u Salonu (Solinu) pokraj Splita, vladao je carstvom od 284. do 305. godine, dalekosežno je upravno, vojno i gospodarski reformirao carstvo, inicirao podjelu carstva na četiri



Dioklecijanova palača,
kapitel, Split (Hébrard, E.).

*Diocletian's palace, capital,
Split (Hébrard, E.).*

In spite of occasional strife, the Greeks and the Illyrian lived mostly at peace, which came to an end with the first interventions of the Roman legions into the affairs of the Illyricum during the last three centuries of the Old Era. The disappearance of the Illyrian state meant a major change in the life of the local population. The Romans were tolerant toward those faithful to Rome, and to their religion and culture. They respected privileges of the Greek colonists, and did not meddle with the life of the Illyrian natives. But as early as the 1st century A.D., Roman merchants settled along the coast, and even in the continent, forming nuclei for a development of large and sumptuous cities, which, as centers of attraction, greatly contributed to assimilation of the Greek and Illyrian population to Rome.

The frontier-land nature of Illyricum led many Illyrians to select military careers, and as defenders of the Empire some of them obtained the highest offices. A number of important Roman emperors were of the Illyrian stock. Decius was declared Emperor by the army in 248, but was killed fighting the Goths three



Amfiteatar, Pula.
Amphitheater, Pula.

years later. His struggle was continued by another Illyrian, Claudius II (262–264), also raised to Empire by the soldiers. For his military activities he was known as Gothicus. Soon afterwards Aurelian, from the rich city of Sirmium (today's Mitrovica) became Emperor (270–275), and he considerably contributed to stabilization of the Empire. For this he was called Restitutor Orbis Romani. Two Illyrians had a deep impact on the Empire, and thus on the European history in general. Diocletian was born in Salona near Split, and ruled from 284 until 305. He enacted long-range military and economic reforms, divided the Empire into four parts, reserving for himself the supreme rule and the rule over Dalmatia and the Balkans. His co-ruler, Maximilianus, ruled over Italy and Africa. Another figure of destiny was Constantine from Naissus (Niš in Serbia) who ruled from 306 until 337, and who carried through Diocletian's reforms, moved the imperial capital to Constantinople affirming the division of the Empire into its western and eastern part, and declared Christianity, by the Edict of Milan in 313, a legal religion of the Empire. Between the earliest emperors of that de-facto divided Empire were two brothers, Illyrians, from Cibalae (Vinkovci): Valens Flavius (364–378), ruling the East, and Valentinian I (364–375), ruling the West (Stipčević, 1975).

Thus exceptional role of the Illyrians in the affairs of the Empire was made possible by a powerful and highly civilized urban culture of Illyricum. Although

upravna područja, nad kojima je Dioklecijan vrhovni vladar te upravitelj Dalmacije i Balkana, a kao njegov suvladar Maksimilijan preuzima upravu nad Italijom i Afrikom. Još jedan car ilirskoga podrijetla sudbinski je utjecao na europsku civilizaciju: Konstantin I. Veliki rođen je u Naissusu (Niš u Srbiji), dugo je vladao (306.–337.), dovršio je Dioklecijanove reforme, carsku je rezidenciju premjestio u Constatinopolis i time učvrstio diobu carstva na Istočno i Zapadno; prekinuo je progon kršćana i Milanskim ediktom 313. godine proglasio je kršćanstvo ravnopravnom državnom religijom. Među prvim carevima tog razdijeljenog carstva bila su dva brata rođena u municipiju Cibalae (Vinkovci): Valens Flavije (364.–378.) bio je car Istočnog, a Valentinijan I. (364.–375.) Zapadnoga Rimskoga Carstva (Stipčević, 1974.).

Iznimna državnička uloga Ilira u vođenju i organizaciji carstva mogla se ostvariti zahvaljujući njihovoj formiranju u snažnoj civiliziranoj i urbanoj kulturi brojnih antičkih gradova Ilirika. Negativne povijesne silnice zatrle su kontinentalne gradove do arheološki interesantnog temeljnog sloja, no obalni gradovi, iako razgrađivani, ipak su sačuvali respektirajuće tragove, a i danas postojeće spomenike antičke kulture. Prvorazredni je takav spomenik rezidencijalna palača cara Dioklecijana u Aspalathosu (Splitu), izgrađena prvih godina četvrtog stoljeća kao jedinstvena paradigma obrasca rimskog vojnog logora, idealnog rimskog grada i latinskog jezika arhitekture. Jupiterov hram,

Dioklecijanov mauzolej i peristil ispred mauzoleja, pripadaju najočuvanijim monumentima antičkoga graditeljstva i kristalnim uzorcima klasične arhitektonske lingvistike (Bulić, Karaman, 1927., Marasović, 1968.). U Puli je prvih godina nove ere car August izgradio tipičan korintski hram posvećen božici Romi, a sredinom prvog stoljeća car Klaudije dovršava monumentalni trokatni amfiteatar po veličini šesti, a po visini drugi u svijetu (poslije rimskog Koloseuma). Puljanka Salvia Sergi svojim je novcem u Puli podigla spomenik trima rodacima u obliku slavoluka izgrađenog tijekom dvadesetih godina stare ere, to jest u isto vrijeme kada car August gradi središnji luk rimskog slavoluka (Girardi-Jurkić, 2006.). Klasično slikarstvo reprezentira pulski mozaik s motivom kažnjavanja Dirke iz 3. stoljeća ili solinski mozaik s likom Orfeja, a kiparstvo simbolizira izvanredna kolekcija 16 kipova božanstava, cara Augusta i Livije, njihovih obitelji i dvorjana iz prvih godina nove ere, otkrivenih u ruševinama Narone. Arhitektonski, skulptorski i mozaični ostatci iz brojnih drugih gradova dokazuju kulturnu zrelost i društvenu snagu Ilirika. Količina tih nalaza pokazuje da oni nisu mogli biti rezultat importa nego da su morali biti djelo domaćih graditelja, kamenoklesara i umjetnika. Njihova imena ni u Iliriku nisu sačuvana, no jedan posredni podatak ipak otkriva njihovo postojanje: kamenoresci Klaudije, Kastorije, Simfronijan, Nikostrato i Simplicije iz Sirmiuma kao kršćani odbili su izraditi kip nekog rimskog boga pa su ugušeni u Dunavu (Črnja, 1978.).

Kršćanstvo je na području Ilirika afirmirano već od prvih dana propovijedanja nove religije: apostol Pavao u Poslanici Rimljanima (15, 19) svjedoči da je *od Jeruzalema, pa uokolo sve do Ilirika, pronio evanđelje Kristovo* (Šanjek, 1996.), a tijelo mučenice Svete Potronile u Dubrovniku iz kraja 1. stoljeća potvrđuje navod Sv. Pavla. Rimski pisci zapisuju da su kršćanski vojnici bili u sastavu elitne 12. legije u Slavoniji (174. godine). Potvrđuju to i brojni mučenici po promatranom dijelu Ilirika: Demetrije u Sirmijumu, Eusebije i Polion u Cibalama, Kvirin u Sisciji, Dominius (Duje) u Spalatu, solinski i istarski mučenici preneseni u oratorij rimske crkve San Giovanni in Laterano i mnogi drugi. Ostaci brojnih bogomolja na području Bosne i Hercegovine, a osobito jedan od najstarijih molitvenih prostora izgrađen oko 260. godine u Lausiniumu (kod Stoca), svjedoče o postojanju i rasprostranjenosti kršćanstva na cijelom promatranom području. Na intenzitet kršćanstva upućuje i činjenica da s područja Ilirika u to najranije doba kršćanstva potječu dvojica papa: između 283. i 296. godine stolovao je papa Caius (sv. Kajo), rođen u Saloni, a prema zapisu u papinskim

the vicissitudes of history have reduced most of the cities to archeological sites, yet traces remain, in particular in coastal towns, including some important monuments of the Ancient world. Such is Diocletian's Palace at Asphalatos (Split), built at the very beginning of the 4th century on the image of a military castrum. The Temple of Jupiter, Diocletian's Mausoleum, the Peristyle, belong among the best preserved monuments of Ancient Latin architectural language (Bulić-Karaman, 1927; Marasović, 1968). Emperor Augustus built in Pula a Corinthian temple dedicated to Roma at the beginning of the 1st century A.D. Emperor Claudius completed, around the middle of the century, the monumental, three-story Pula Amphitheater, the sixth largest, and the second (after the Roman Colosseum) tallest in the world. Salvia Sergi, a rich lady of Pula, financed the building of a triumphal arch in the honor of three members of her family around 20 B.C., the same time when Augustus built the central arch of the Roman triumphal arch (Girardi-Jurkić, 2006). Classical painting is represented by a mosaic showing the punishment of Dirce (3rd century) in Pula, and a mosaic from Solin showing Orpheus. Sculpture is best represented by a collection of 16 monumental statues of Gods, of Augustus and Livia, and of the imperial family and courtiers from the first years of the New Era, found at Narona. Remains of architecture, sculpture, and mosaic from other cities are an evidence of cultural maturity and social power of Illyricum. The quantity of finds shows that they could not have been imports but local creations. The names of the artists have not been preserved, but an indirect piece of information discloses their existence: four stone-cutters from Sirmium, Claudius, Simphorianus, Nicostratus, and Simplitius were thrown into Danube when, being Christian, they refused to carve the images of a pagan god (Črnja, 1987).

Christianity arrived in Illyricum early, with the first preachers of the new religion. St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans (15, 19) claims that he carried the Gospel "from Jerusalem all the way to Illyricum" (Šanjek, 1996). The body of a late 1st century martyr, St. Petronilla, in Dubrovnik, is an evidence of the Apostle's words. Roman writers have noted that Christians were in the elite 12th Legion in Slavonia (in 174). Christianity was affirmed by numerous Illyrian martyrs – Demetrius at Sirmium, Eusebius and Polyon at Cibale, Quirinus of Siscia, Domnius at Split. The relics of Istrian and Salonitan martyrs were transferred to an oratory at the Roman basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano, along with many others. Remains of numerous early places of worship in Bosnia and Hercegovina, in particular



Slavoluk Sergijevaca, Pula
(Cassas, L. E., 1802.).

Triumphal arch of the Sergi,
Pula (Cassas, L. E., 1802.).

of that built at Lausinium near Stolac in 260, confirm the spread of Christianity throughout the entire area under consideration. Two early Popes were Illyrian – Caius (St. Kajo) from Salona, and according to the *Liber Pontificalis*, a relative to Emperor Diocletian,

analima *Liber pontificalis* rodak je cara Dioklecijana, te tako pripada ilirskom etnosu; između 640. i 642. godine papa je bio Joannes IV. (Ivan IV.), o kojemu u *Liber pontificalis* piše da je po narodnosti Dalmatinac (Milić, 1998.). Uz ove istaknute crkvene dostojanstve-

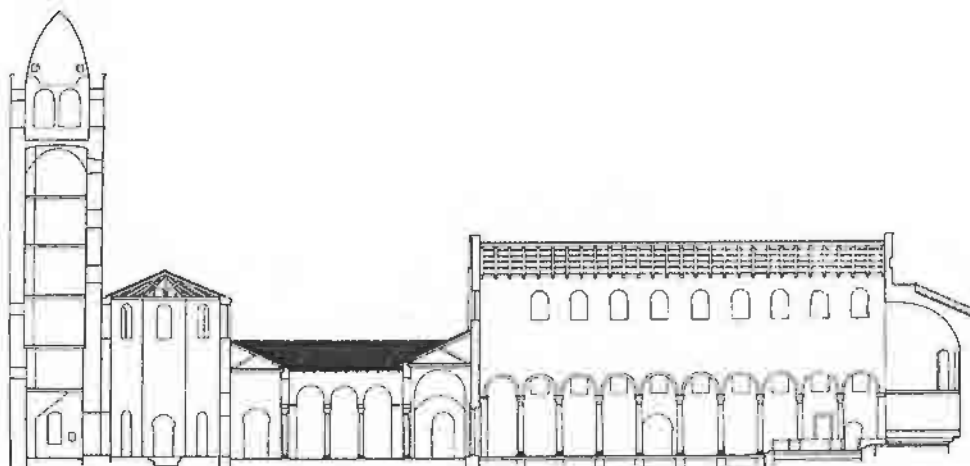


Korintski hram, Pula.
Corinthian temple, Pula.



Eufrazijeva bazilika, Poreč.

*The Basilica of Euphrasius
in Poreč.*

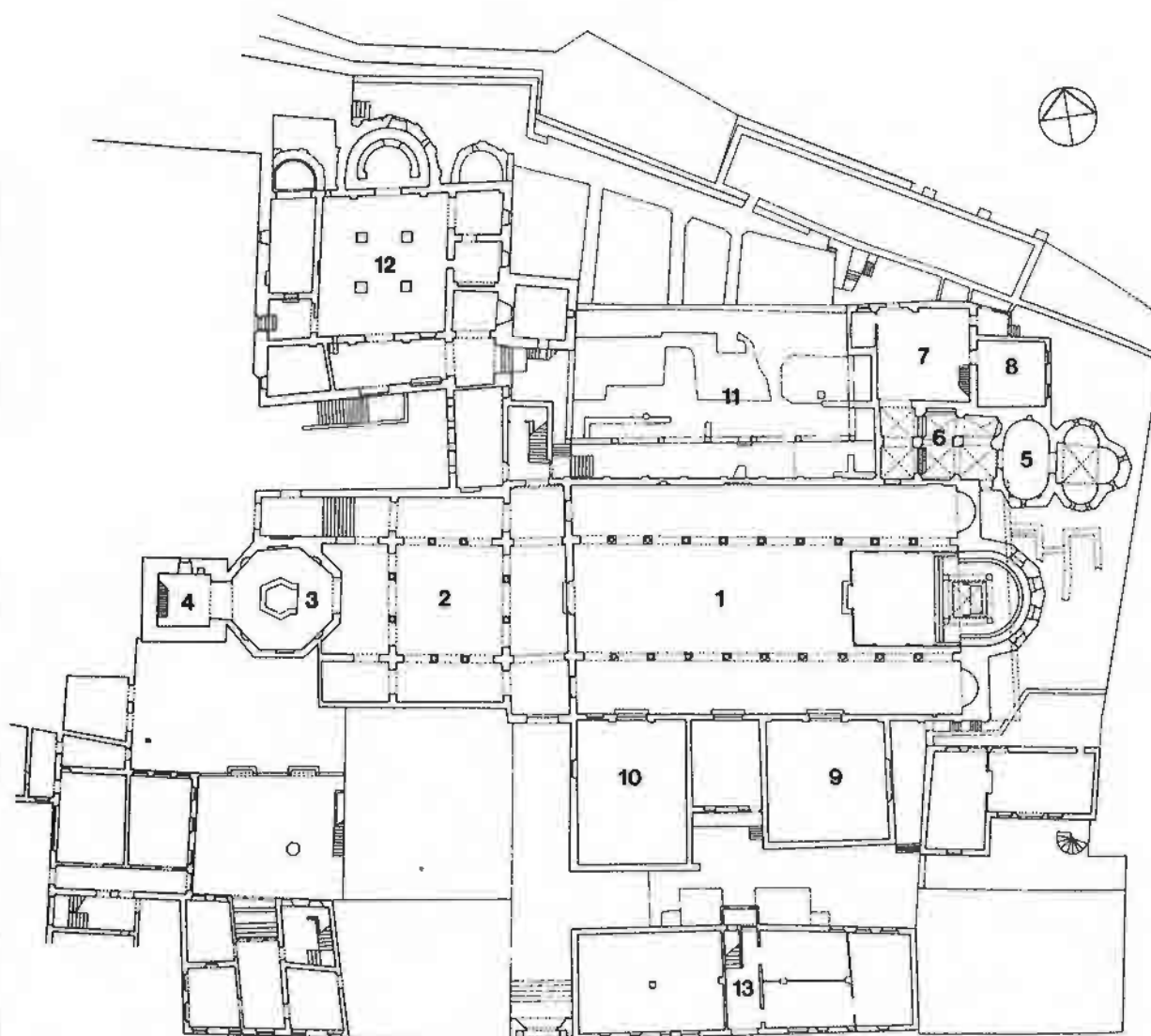


Tlocrt kompleksa
Eufrazijeve bazilike:

- 1 Eufrazijeva bazilika (6. st.)
- 2 Atrij (6. st.)
- 3 Baptisterij (6. st.)
- 4 Zvonik (16. st.)
- 5 Memorija (6. st.)
- 6 Sakristija (15. st.)
- 7 Nova sakristija
- 8 Nova sakristija
- 9 Kapela
- 10 Kapela
- 11 Ostaci starijih sakralnih prostora
- 12 Biskupska palača (konsignatorij 6. st.)
- 13 Kanonička kuća (13. st.)

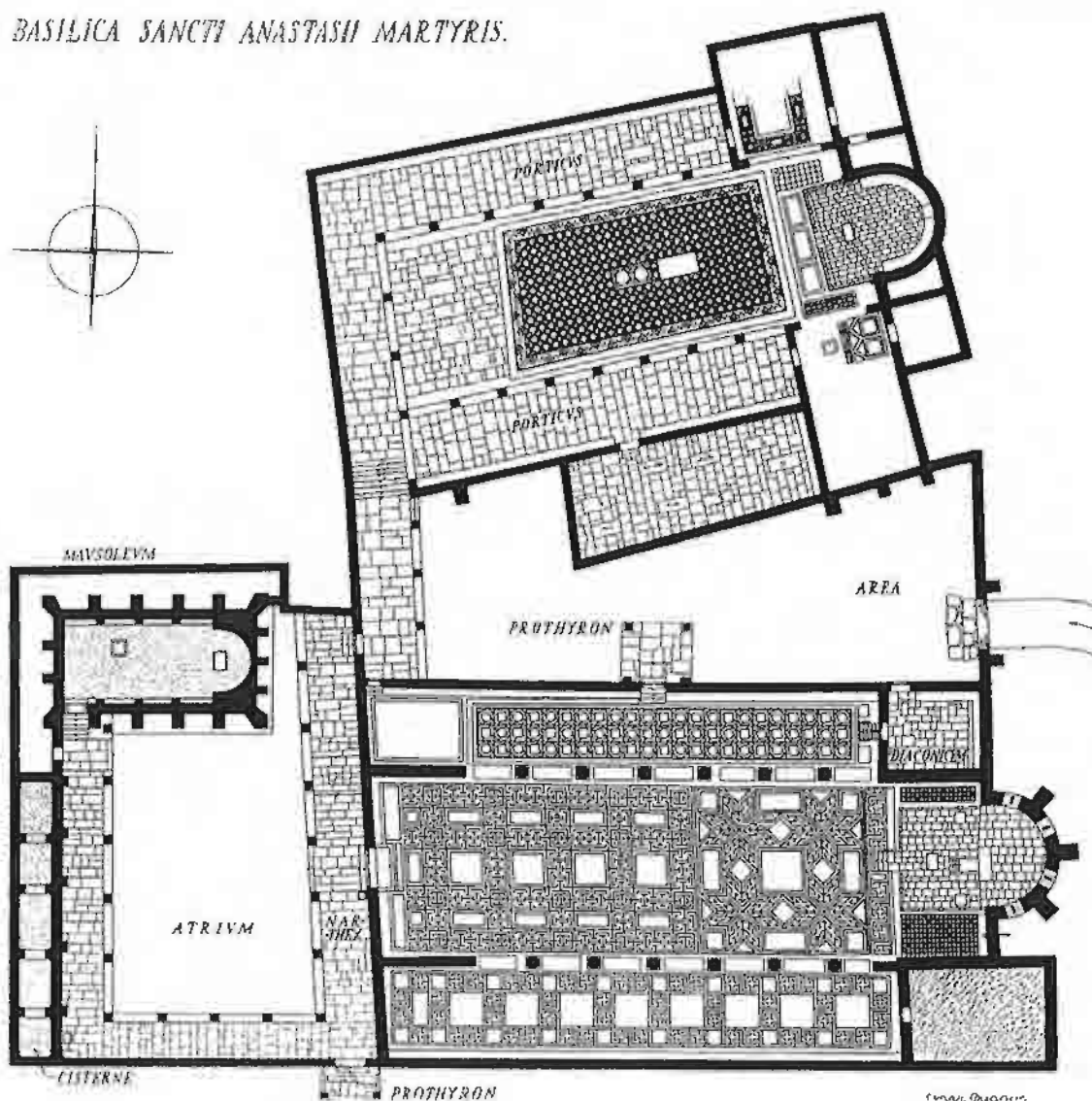
*Plan of the Complex of the
Basilica of Euphrasius:*

- 1 The basilica of Euphrasius (6th ct.)
- 2 Atrium (6th ct.)
- 3 Baptistry (6th ct.)
- 4 Bell Tower (16th ct.)
- 5 Memorial Chapel (6th ct.)
- 6 Sacristy (15th ct.)
- 7 New Sacristy
- 8 New Sacristy
- 9 Chapel
- 10 Chapel
- 11 Remains of an Earlier Church
- 12 Bishop's Palace (Consignatorium, 6th ct.)
- 13 Canons' House (13th ct.)



0 10 20 m

BASILICA SANCTI ANASTASII MARTYRIS.

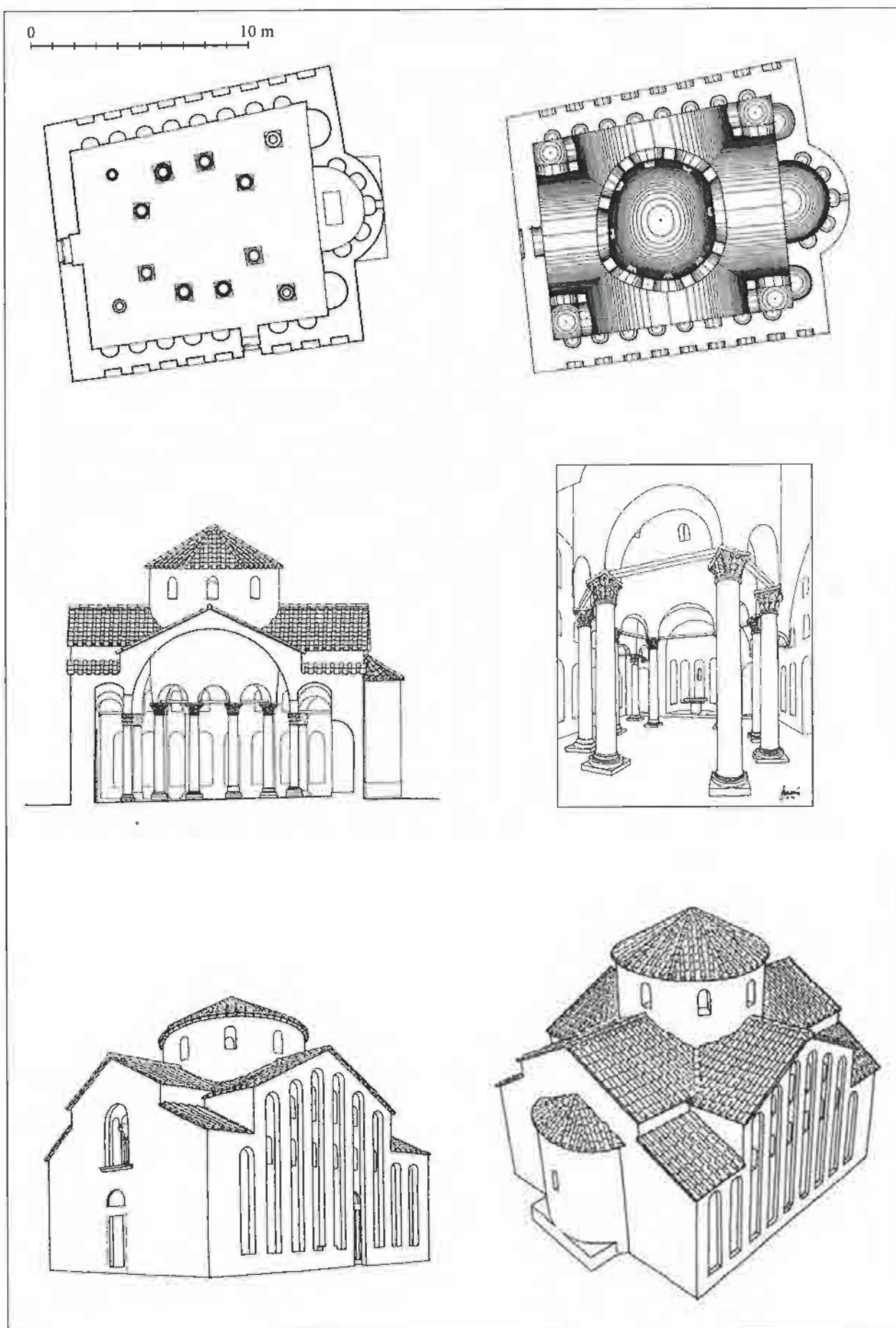


Sv. Anđastazija,
Salona (Solin).

St. Anastasia,
Salona (Solin).

and John IV (640–642), mentioned by the same source as a Dalmatian (Milić, 1998). Another Illyrian greatly contributed to the spread of Christianity, Sofronius Eusebius from Stridonum (340–420) better known as St. Jerome, who, disappointed with the way of life in his fatherland wrote: “God, forgive me for being Dalmatian.” St. Jerome was the author of the first history of Christianity (*De viris illustribus*), and the translator from Hebrew and Greek into Latin, and the editor of the first integral text of the Bible, known as the Vulgate, which has remained the official source of biblical events (Marković, 1908). The Vulgate has become the foundation of Latin literature, i.e., of the European literacy.

nike još jedan Ilirac bitno je pridonio razvoju kršćanstva: iz grada Stridona (u zaleđu obale Jadrana) potječe Sofronije Eusebije (340.–420.) poznat po nadimku Jeronim, koji je nakon drastičnih opisa nepoćudnog života u Dalmaciji napisao *Oprosti mi Bože što sam Dalmatinac*. Sveti Jeronim pisac je prve crkvene povijesti (*De viris illustribus*), a nakon prijevoda biblijskih tekstova s grčkog i hebrejskog na latinski usustavio je prvi integralni tekst Biblije (poznat pod nazivom *Vulgata*), koji je do danas ostao službeni opis i tumač biblijskih događanja (Marković, 1908.). Pri tome valja pripomenuti da je jezik te Jeronimove Biblije postao temelj književnosti latinista, a time i europske pismenosti.



Sv. Marija (?), Salona-Solin
(Marasović, J.).

St. Marija (?), Salona-Solin
(Marasović, J.).



Bazilika, Solin.

Basilica, Solin.

Early Christian art has left some supreme works in Illyricum. Most of them are in ruins, e.g., in Salona, the capital of Dalmatia., which, in Diocletian's times was a respectable city of ca. 60,000 people, and provided with such key buildings as the forum, amphitheater, basilicas, thermae, water supply system. The Christian community was fully established by the end of the 3rd century. An illegal Christian cult building dates from that time. It contained an oratory and an atrium with a fountain. In the 4th and the 5th century several large religious urban and cemeterial buildings were constructed: ten large basilicas, baptisteries, mausolea of the martyrs (St. Anastasius), cemeteries, and accompanying buildings (Rapanić, 1971). The distinguished explorer of Salona, Danish architect Ejnar Dyggve was so fascinated by the richness of the material that he declared that Salona was second only to Rome in terms of studying early Christian archeology (Dyggve, 1951). Another, well-preserved, complex of early Christian architecture stands in Poreč. Bishop Euprasius built, on the site of several smaller buildings of the 4th and the 5th centuries, a large aisled basilica around the middle of the 6th century. It had an atrium, an octagonal baptis-

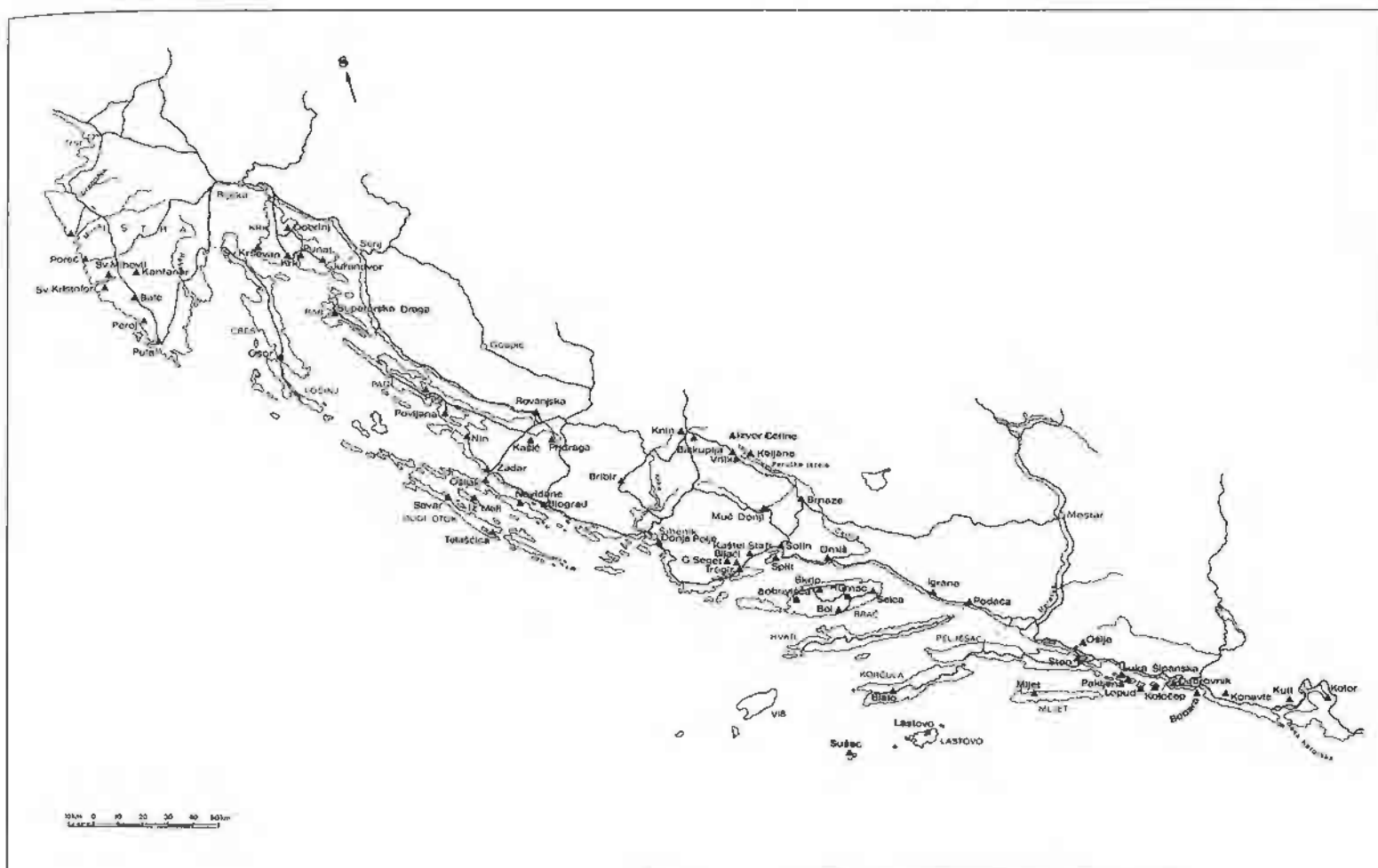
Ranokršćanska umjetnost zastupana je na području Ilirika s nekoliko prvorazrednih monumena. Najvažniji su urušeni, a nalazili su se u Saloni (Solin). Salona, kao središte rimske provincije, bila je u Dioklecijanovo doba respektabilan grad od 60.000 stanovnika, s važnim građevinama (forum, amfiteatar, bazilike, terme, akvadukt), ali i s proširenom kršćanskom zajednicom osnovanom već pri kraju 3. stoljeća. Iz toga doba otkrivena je ilegalna kulturna građevina sastavljena od oratorija i atrijske fontane, a tijekom 4. i 5. stoljeća izgrađeno je u Saloni nekoliko većih sakralnih urbanih i grobničkih kompleksa, koji su obuhvaćali 10 povećih trobrodskih bazilika, krstionice, mauzolej mučenika Anastazija, nekoliko nekropola te crkvenih nastambi i gospodarskih zgrada (Rapanić, 1971.). Istaknuti istraživač Salone danski arhitekt Ejnar Dyggve zadivljen svojim brojnim otkrićima ustvrdio je da Salona nesumnjivo predstavlja poslije Rima jedno od najvažnijih središta za proučavanje kršćanske arheologije na europskom tlu (Dyggve, 1951.). Drugi veliki i očuvani kompleks ranokršćanske arhitekture nalazi se u Poreču: porečki biskup Eufrazije na mjestu omanjih sakralnih građe-

ALTC HRISTLICH

SALONA		STARI	
SALONA		UZDOLJE	
SALONA		SPLIT	
CRKVINE		OTOK	
BIHAĆ		OTOK	
KLAPAVICA		LOPUŠKA GLAVICA	
DIKOVAČA		ZARA	
DABRAVINA		(<i>ALTHERÖMISCH</i>) KORLAT	
POLA		NIN	
GRADO		NIN	
BILICE		(<i>MITTELALTERLICH</i>) PRIDRAGA	

FRÜHMITTELALTERLICH

Disque.



Osnovne lokacije
predromaničke arhitekture.

*The locations of
the Pre-Romanesque
architecture.*

tery, a bishop's palace and a triconch memorial chapel with an oval porch. The basilica of Euphrasius was decorated by stucco, inlay, and floor and wall mosaics, all among the best in the art of its time (Prelog, 1986), and comparable to the art of Ravenna. The existence of a large number of fairly well preserved monuments of the Pre-Romanesque on the territory of Illyricum, indicated that there must have existed sophisticated local workshops in the early Christian period. The architect of an impressive Roman basilica of Santa Sabina (5th century) was brought from Illyricum as testified by a mosaic inscription: "What you admire was made by Peter, a Roman priest, Illyrian by birth, a man worthy of such name as from the beginning he was fed at the hall of Christ..."

E. Dyggve: usporedba
tlocrta ranokršćanske i
predromaničke arhitekture.

*Dyggve's Comparisons of the
Plans of Early Christian and
Pre-Romanesque Buildings.*

The centennial Ancient civilization lived and developed until the unstoppable incursions of Asian tribes, and migrations of the Indo-European nations around the middle of the 1st millennium A.D. Slavic tribes also participated in that movement toward warmer and more fertile lands, primarily toward the rich cities

vina iz 4. i 5. stoljeća izgrađuje sredinom 6. stoljeća prostranu trobrodnu baziliku dopunjenu pristupnim atrijem, oktogonlnim baptisterijem, biskupskom palačom i memorijalnom kapelom trolisnoga tlocrta s ovalnim predvorjem. Troapsidalna Eufrazijeva bazilika ukrašena je štukaturama, inkrustacijama te raskošnim vanjskim i unutarnjim podnim i zidnim mozaicima u vrhunskoj kvaliteti onodobne umjetnosti (Prelog, 1986.), adekvatne istovremenoj crkvenoj arhitekturi Ravenne. Postojanje većeg broja više ili manje sačuvanih primjeraka predromaničke arhitekture na području Ilirika i njihova vrhunska umjetnička kvaliteta, pokazuju da su morale postojati lokalne umjetničke radionice sposobne za stvaranje prvorazrednih ranokršćanskih monumenata. To dokazuje podatak da je iz Ilirika angažiran graditelj dojmljive rimske bazilike Santa Sabina iz 5. stoljeća, a što je dokumentirano zapisom u mozaiku na unutarnjem zidu crkve: ... ovo čemu se diviš utemeljio je rimski svećenik Petar, ilirskoga roda, čovjek vrijedan takva imena jer se od početka hranio u dvorani Kristovoj

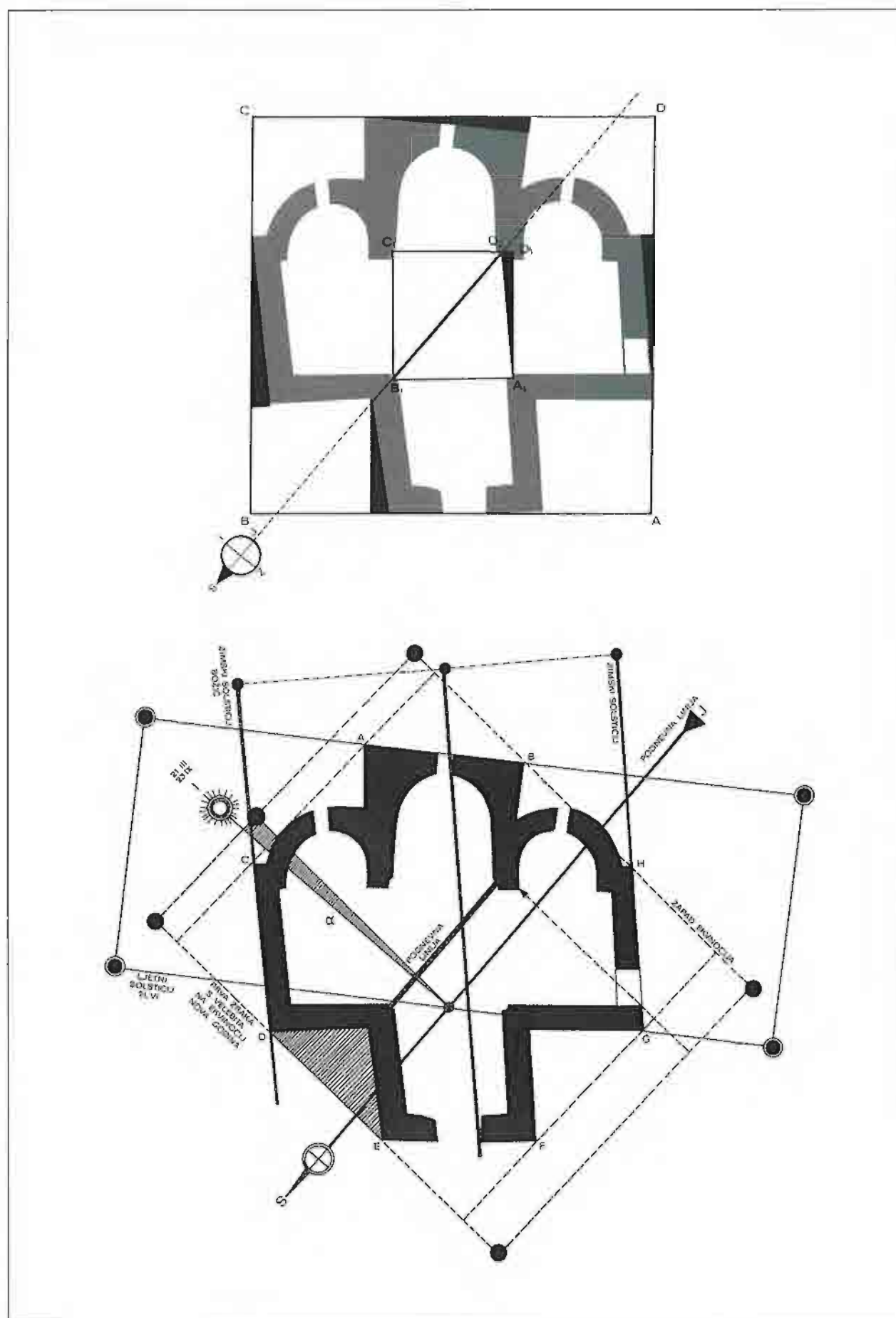


Sv. Križ, Nin.

St. Križ, Nin.

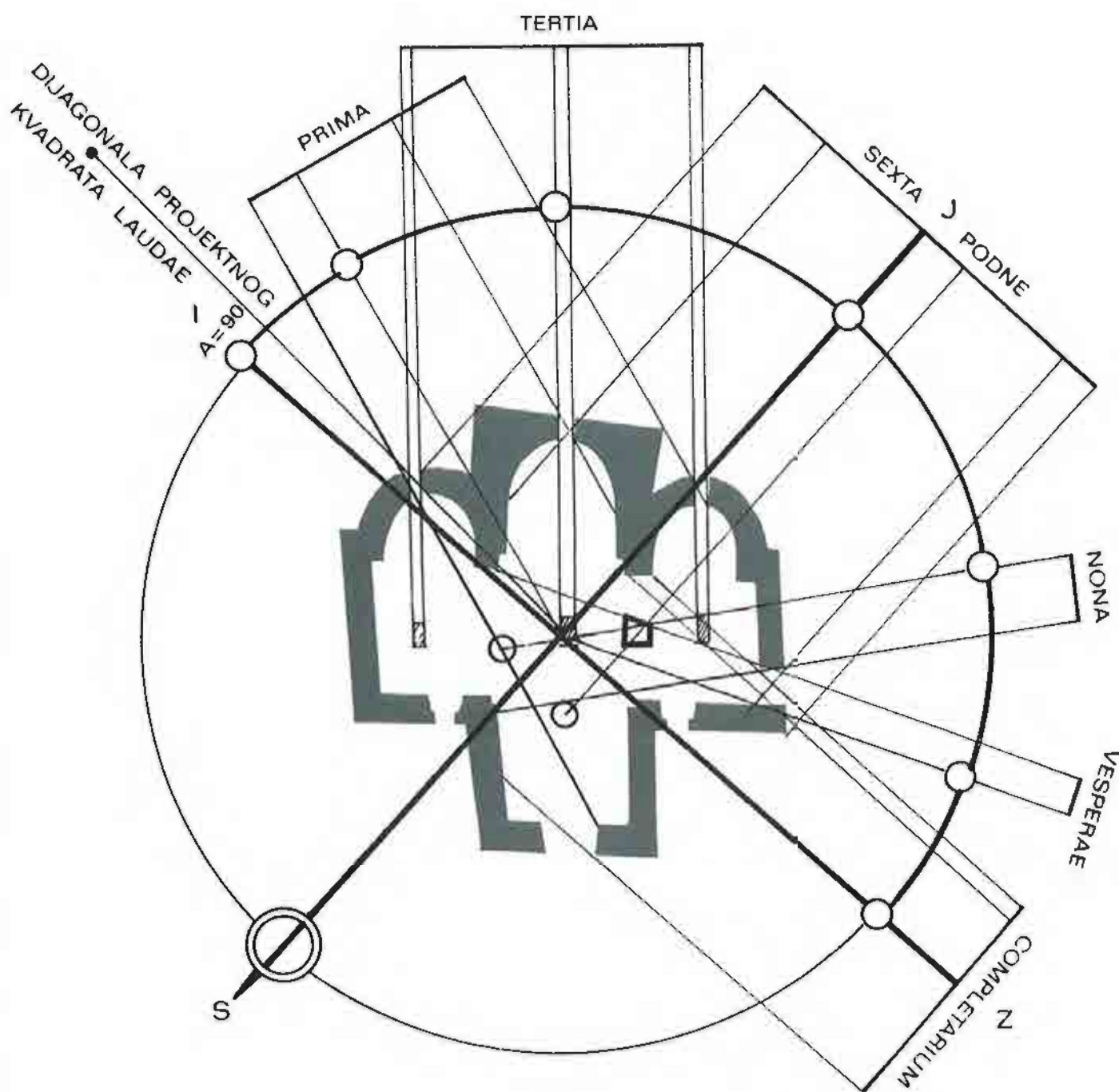
Stoljećima stvarana antička civilizacija Ilirika održavala se i razvijala sve do nezaustavljivog pokreta snažnih osvajачkih pohoda azijskih plemena i migracija indoeuropskih naroda sredinom prvog milenija. Slavske rodovske zajednice također sudjeluju u ovim pohodima prema toplijim i rodnijim krajevima, a nadasve bogatijim gradovima, u želji za lakim plijenom i lagodnijim životom. Prve pouzdane vijesti o Slavenima potječu iz 1. stoljeća od rimskog pisca Plinija Starijeg nazivajući ih po germanskom obliku imenom Veneti. Stoljeće kasnije Ptolomej piše o njima kao velikom narodu bliskom Germanima pa se misli da je 167. godine prodor germanskih plemena

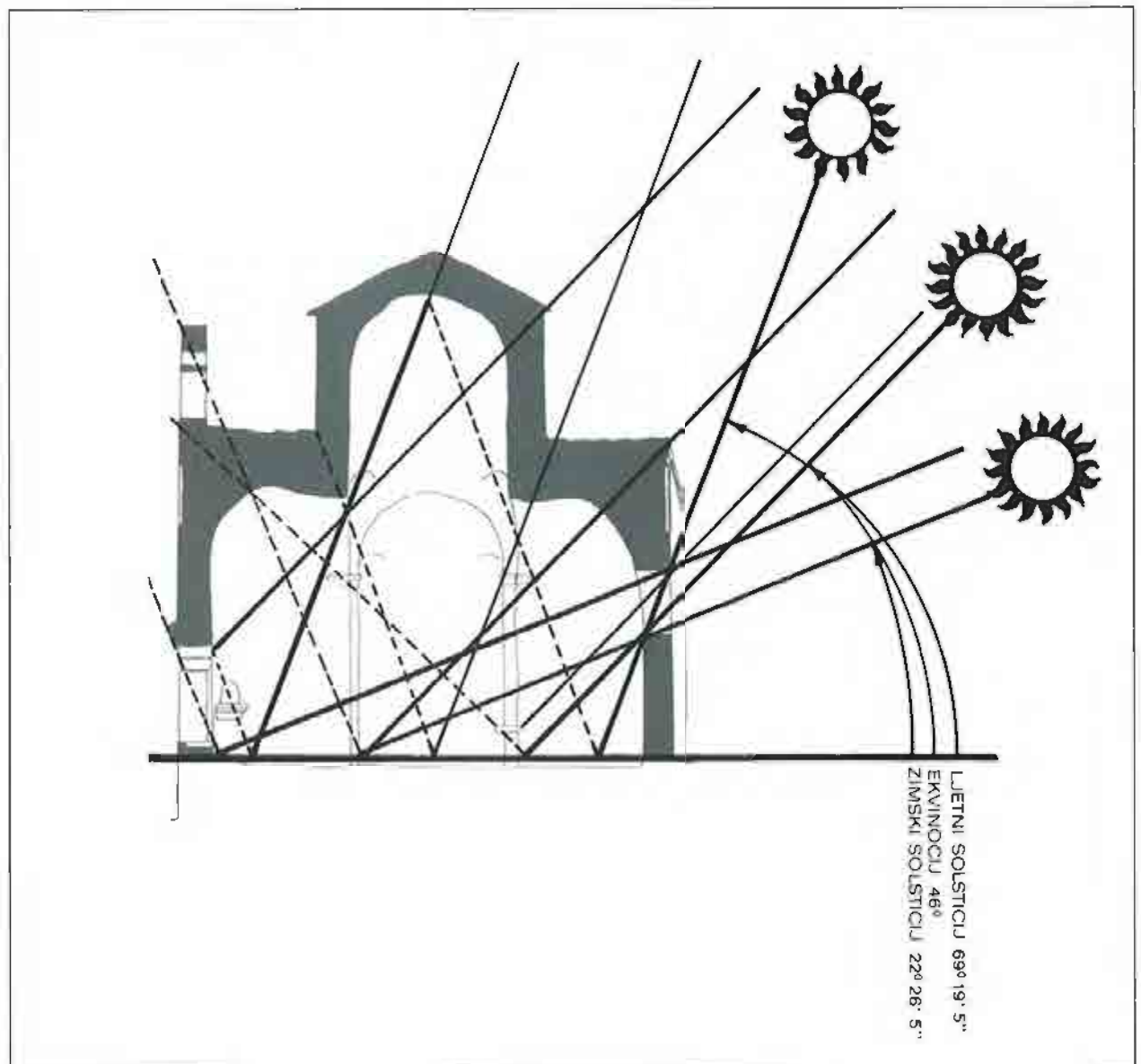
seen as a source of easy and rich booty. The first reliable information on the Slavs comes from the Roman writer Pliny the Elder in the 1st century A.D. He calls the "Veneti," a name of German origin. A century later Ptolemy described them as a populous nation close to the Germans, so one is led to believe that the Germanic raids into Pannonia in 167 were carried out with Slavic participation. In the course of the following centuries the Slavs kept settling between the Baltic and the Adriatic, creating tribal homelands. Among them, there was also the community of the Croats (Hrvati). They directed their immigration movement toward Illyricum. According to Procopius, the Slavs



Gnomon, Sv. Križ, Nin
(Pejaković, M.)

Gnomon, St. Križ, Nin
(Pejaković, M.)





Gnomon, Sv. Križ, Nin
(Pejaković, M.)

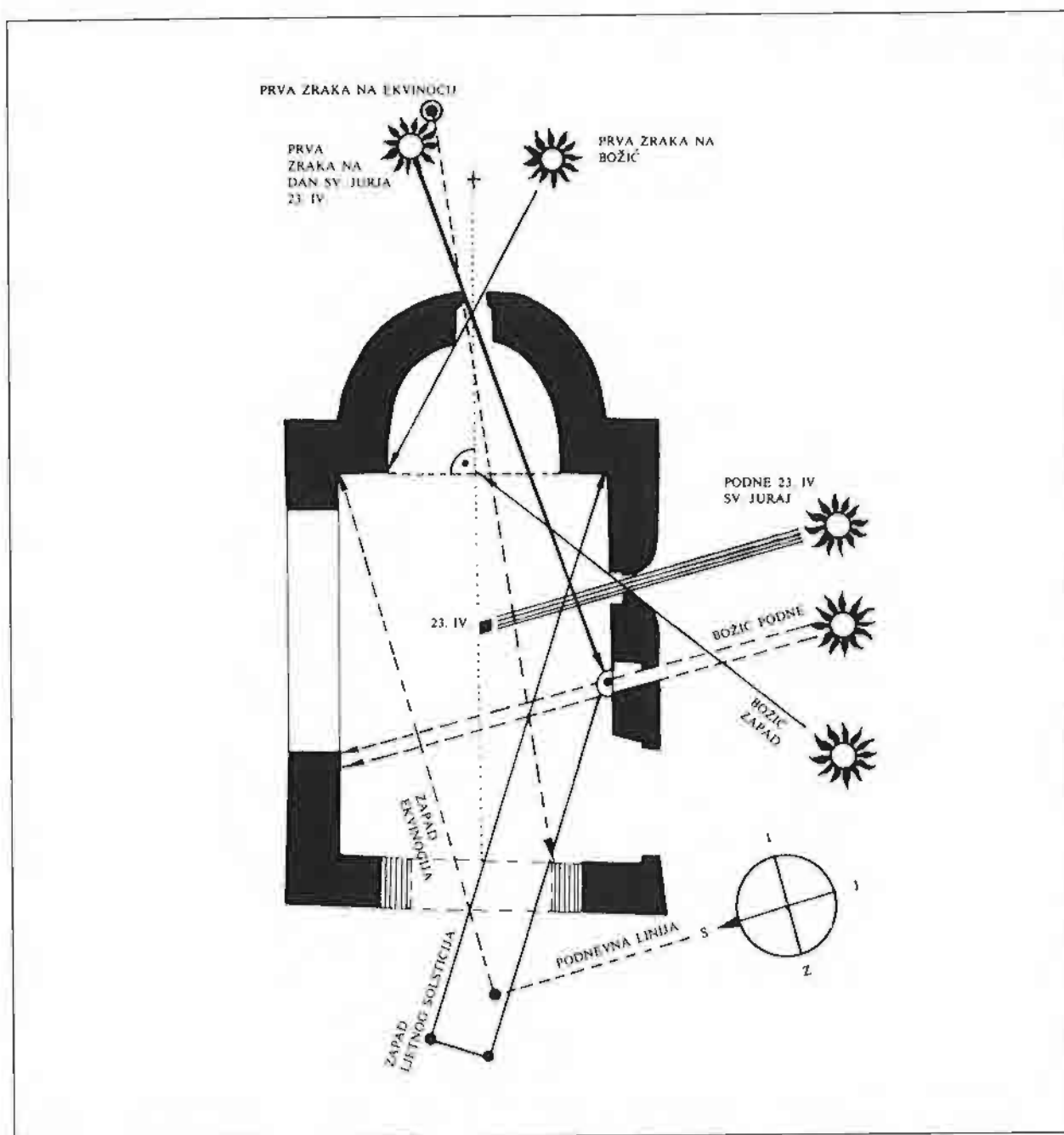
Gnomon, St. Križ, Nin
(Pejaković, M.)

arrived together with the Avars all the way to the Adriatic coast in 548 and 552, Pope Gregory I wrote in 600 that the Slavs had entered Istria, and then started to threaten Italy. It is reasonable to believe that some of the participants in those raids never returned to their cold Trans-Danubian homelands, but, attracted by the coast and fertile valleys, the rich soil of Pannonia, and a higher way of life, stayed and settled (Goldstein, 1995). In the well-know historical treatise *De administrando imperio*, Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (ca. 950) claims that the immigration of the Croats was completed in the time of Emperor Heraclius (610–614). He states that the Croats, on orders of the Emperor, “rebelled and expelled the Avars, and were allowed to settle in that land where they still live today.”

Gnomon, Sv. Križ, Nin
(Pejaković, M.)

Gnomon, St. Križ, Nin
(Pejaković, M.)

u Panoniju izveden uz sudjelovanja Slavena. Tijekom idućih stoljeća Slaveni su se trajno naseljavali u širokom području od Jadrana do Baltika, stvarajući diferencirane gentilne postojbine. Među njima formirala se zajednica nazivana tijekom prethodne i buduće povijesti brojnim inačicama kristaliziranim nazivom Hrvat (Croato). Hrvati su usmjerili svoje migracije na područje Ilirika: prema zapisima tadašnjega povjesnika Prokopija, Slaveni su došli u savezništvo s Avarima 548. i 552. godine i do obale Jadrana, a papa Grgur I. zapisuje 600. godine da su *Slaveni ušli u Istru i već počeli nadirati u Italiju*. Razumno je pretpostaviti da se tijekom tih nekoliko stoljeća dugih ratničkih slavensko-hrvatskih prodiranja u Ilirik nisu baš svi sudionici vratili u hladnu prekodunavsku postojbinu: atraktivno priobalje, plodne doline zaobalja i podat-

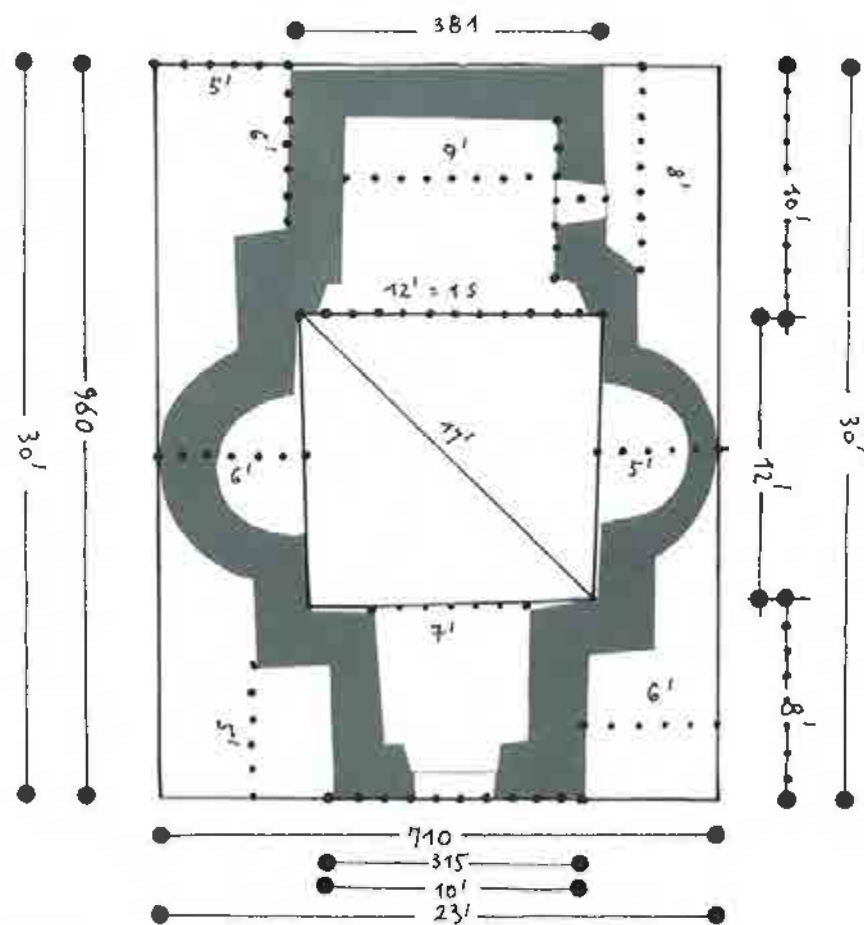
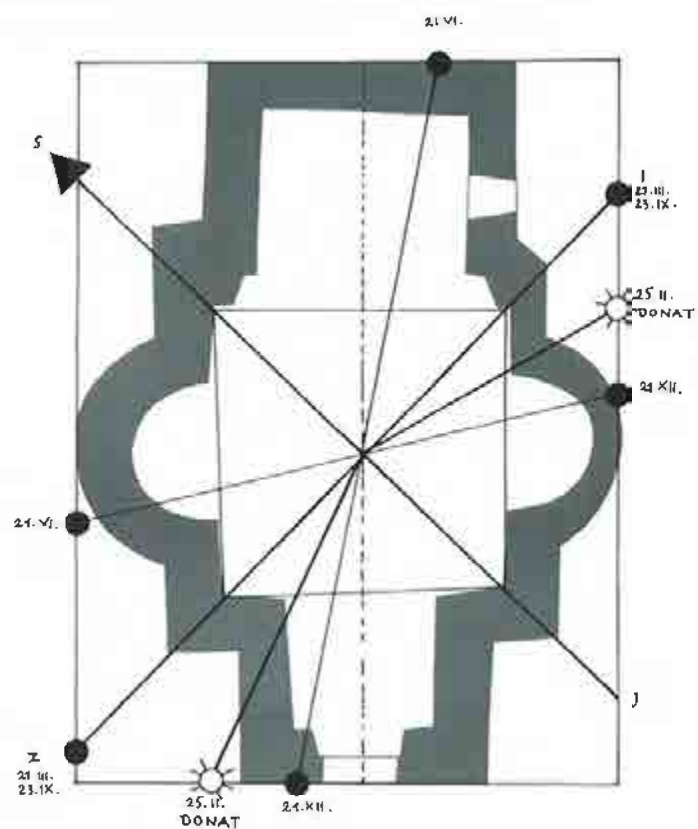


Gnomon, Sv. Juraj,
Ravanjska (Pejaković, M.)

Gnomon, St. Juraj,
Ravanjska (Pejaković, M.)

ne ravnice kontinentalnoga dijela Ilirika izazivale su, a vjerajtno i izazvale, ispunjenje nove kvalitete življenja – naseljavanje (Goldstein, 1995.). Prema navodima u povijesnim i instruktivnim zapisima *O upravljanju carstvom* (*De administrando imperio*) bizantskog cara Konstantina VII. Porfirogeneta, pisanim oko 950. godine, to naseljavanje Hrvata završeno je za vremena vladanja cara Heraklija (610.–641.): Konstantin, naime tvrdi da *po naređenju cara Heraklija Hrvati po-grabiše oružje i protjeravši odanle Avare, nastane se po odredbi cara Heraklija u toj zemlji Avara, u kojoj i sada stanuju* (Konstantin, 1918.).

The migrations were a violent affair. Along with the Avars and the Slavs, Illyricum was invaded by the Goths, Ostrogoths, Huns, and many other peoples. The situation was radically changed when a Germanic military leader, Odoacer overthrew, in Ravenna, the Roman Emperor Romulus Augustulus, and when his successor, Julius Nepos, hiding in Salona, was murdered four years later. This was the end of the Western Roman Empire, and Illyricum fell prey, for centuries to come, to invading hordes, as well as to various imperialist aspirations. At the meeting point of Byzantine Empire, the sphere of Papal influence, and imperial



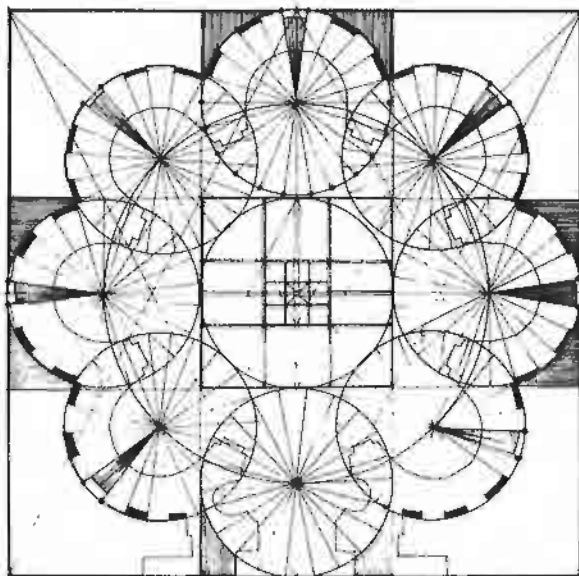
Gnomon, Sv. Donat, Krk
(Pejaković, M.)

Gnomon, St. Donat, Krk
(Pejaković, M.)

Migracijska kretanja nisu bila bezazlena: uz Slavene i Avare na područje Ilirika upadaju Goti, Ostrogoti, Huni i drugi narodi. Do bitne izmjene stanja dolazi 476. godine, kada germanski vojskovođa Odoakar svrgava u Ravenni rimskog cara Romula Augustula, a njegov nasljednik, posljeni rimski car Julije Nepot skriva se u Saloni, gdje ga ubijaju četiri godine kasnije. Time je prestalo postojati Zapadno Rimsko Carstvo pa je područje Ilirika ostalo prepušteno višestoljetnim pretenzijama i pljačkaških hordi i državničkih aspiracija. Smješten na tromedi istočnih pokrajina Bizantskoga Carstva, južnih papinskih utjecaja Rima i zapadnih osvajačkih pretenzija Franaka, Ilirik se tijekom 7. i 8. stoljeća postupno osamostaljivao u formi vazalne državnosti podložne nekoj od povremeno dominirajućih država. Presudnu ulogu ove društvene afirmacije imalo je slavensko pleme Hrvata, koje je vjerojatno snagom nataliteta asimiralo najprije starosjedačke plemenske zajednice Ilira po unutrašnjosti, a zatim i ostatke romanskih građana u priobalnom području. Poput svih europskih naroda i hrvatski narod nastao je tako sažimanjem etničkih skupina ilirskih prastanovnika, grčkih kolonista, rimskih vojnih posada, romanskih naseljenika i slavenskih plemena, objedinjenih hrvatskim imenom, govorom i pismom.

aspirations of the Franks, in the course of the 7th and 8th century Illyricum sought to gradually gain autonomy, initially in the form of vassal relationship to one of those powers. A key role was played by the Croats, who, probably to the high natality rate, assimilated the domestic population, the Illyrians, and the Romanized population of the coastal cities. Like all European peoples, the Croatian nation was formed from the newcomers and the natives – the old Illyrian population, the Greek colonists, the Roman soldiers and settlers, all united under the Croatian name, language, and script.

The state organization and military power of the Croats was described by Paulus Diaconus in 642, commenting on the siege of the Italian city of Siponto undertaken by the Croats who had come from across the sea on their ships. The end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century is marked by the resistance of Dukes Vojnimir and Ljudevit against the Franks of Charlemagne. Ljudevit already bore the title of "Dux Pannoniae;" the coastland was ruled by Borna who, around 810, sports the title of "Dux Dalmatiae atque Liburniae." There follows a continuous list of Croatian rulers. Under Trpimir, in 852, the territory of Illyricum is for the first time explicitly named

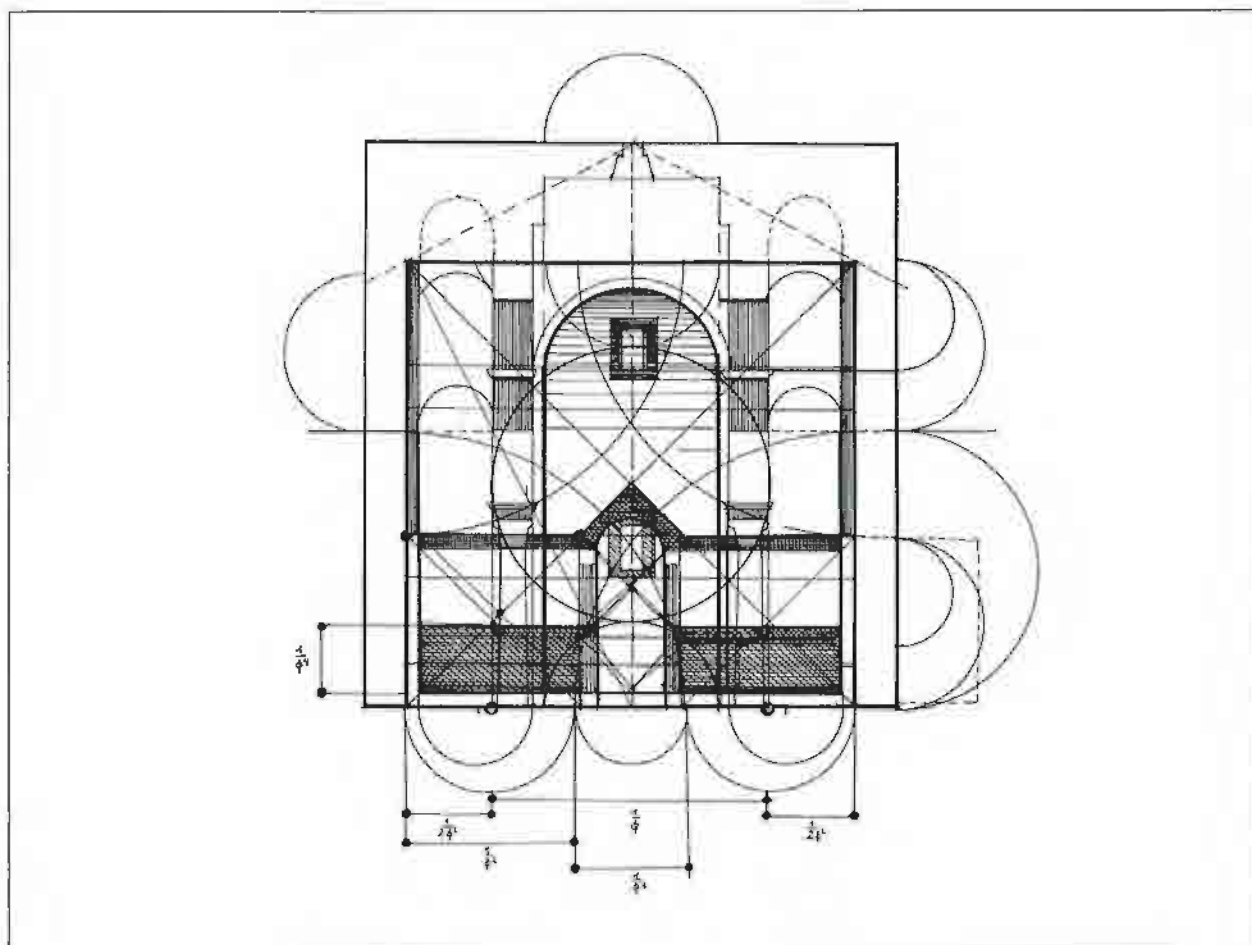


Crkva u Ošlju, Ston
(Pejaković, M.).

Church at Ošlje, Ston
(Pejaković, M.).

Sv. Nediljica, Zadar
(Pejaković, M.).

St. Nediljica, Zadar
(Pejaković, M.).



"Regnum Croatorum." Gottschalk, a distinguished visiting Benedictine theologian, called Trpimir "rex" – king, a title not confirmed in contemporary papal or imperial charters, but, nevertheless, Trpimir greatly contributed to the creation of an independent Croatian state. He was also the founder of the native dynasty which ruled until 1091. Pope authentically recognized Tomislav as "rex" in 925 (Goldstein, 1995). Since then Croatia bears an international title of a kingdom until 1918. The strength of the Croatian state was described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus who claims that Croatia covered almost the entire Illyricum, and had an army of 60,000 horsemen, and 100,000 foot-soldiers, and a navy of 80 large ("sagenas"), and 100 smaller ("kunduras") ships. For comparison sake, the Roman Empire never fielded an army of more than 500,000 soldiers.

The period of Croatian history under consideration coincides with the formation of the European Pre-Romanesque art and architecture, especially that of the Mediterranean. The distinguished cultural past of Illyricum had left a rich heritage as a base

Državotvornu organiziranost i vojnu silu Hrvata sredinom 7. stoljeća (642. godine) dokumentirao je langobardski pisac Pavao Đakon (Paulus diaconus) opisom opsade talijanskoga grada Siponta, poduzete od Hrvata iskrcanih iz svojih brodova. Koncem 8. i početkom 9. stoljeća zabilježene su vojne pobune hrvatskih vladara Vojnomira i Ljudevita Posavskog protiv vojske franačkog cara Karla Velikog u kontinentalnom dijelu Ilirika. Ljudevit već ima titulu *dux Pannoniae* (vojvoda Panonije, sjevernog dijela Ilirika), a oko 810. priobaljem Ilirika vlada Borna s titulom *dux Dalmatiae atque Liburniae* (vojvoda Dalmacije i Liburnije). U daljnjem povijesnom tijeku kontinuirano su zapisana imena hrvatskih vladara, u darovnici kneza Trpimira iz 852. godine područje Ilirika nazvano je prvi put latinskim imenom *regnum Chroatorum* (država Hrvatska), a istaknuti karolinški teolog benediktinac Gottschalk naziva Trpimira i titulom *rex* (kralj). Trpimirova titula nije potvrđena poznatim papinskim ili carskim ukazima, no Trpimir je bitno pridoneo stvaranju hrvatske države i kraljevstva: osnivač je hrvatske dinastičke obitelji Trpimirovića, koja će Hrvatskoj vladati više od dva stoljeća (do 1091.).



Sv. Marija, Vrsar.

St. Marija, Vrsar.

Autentičnu i od pape priznatu titulu kralja dobiva hrvatski vladar Tomislav 925. godine (Goldstein, 1995.), a od tada Hrvatska ima međunarodno priznati status kraljevine sve do 1918. godine. Veličinu i snagu hrvatske države sredinom 10. stoljeća opisao je u spomenutim spisima Konstantin Porfirogenet, iz kojih proizlazi da se Hrvatska prostirala gotovo na području cijelog Ilirika i da je imala vojsku od 60.000 konjanika i 100.000 pješaka, te mornaricu od 80 velikih (sagena) i 100 manjih brodova (kondura). Zbog usporedbe nije na odmet spomenuti da je Rimsko Carstvo u doba najvećeg prosperiteta imalo oko 500.000 vojnika.

Promatrano doba hrvatske državnosti vremenski i kulturno poklapa se s formiranjem i općim razvojem europske predromaničke umjetnosti i arhitekture, a posebno s tipologijom regije Mediterana. Izvanredno prethodno kulturno naslijeđe Ilirika ostvarilo je podoban i autentičan medij sposoban da potakne i kreira pandan predromaničke arhitekture, kao svoj doprinos porodici europske arhitektonike. Ejnar Dyggve upozorio je da se taj doprinos izrazito temelji na uzorcima arhitekture antičkih hramova, pa je tako predroma-

for the development of Pre-Romanesque architecture and for its contribution to the general history of European art. Ejnar Dyggve pointed out the role of the Ancient architecture, so that the Pre-Romanesque architecture would be an authentic heir of the classical past (Dyggve, 1951). However, a study of individual monuments has also established their own creative specificities. As elsewhere in Europe, Croatian Pre-Romanesque buildings are characterized by imprecise dimensions, use of rubble, primitive treatment of detail, irregularities and asymmetry, uneven placement of columns, lack of correspondence of internal and external supports. A study in depth of some of those feature has led to surprising discoveries. Architect Mladen Pejaković (Pejaković 1978, 1996) has explored the proportional relation of plans and sections of a number of Pre-Romanesque buildings (St. Trojica at Split, Holy Cross at Nin, St. Pelegrin at Savar, St. Juraj at Ravanjska, St. Petar at Priko, Sv. Marija at Iz Mali, St. Nediljica in Zadar, St. Donat on Krk, etc.), and concluded that disproportions, irregularities and asymmetry are guided by a strict regularity of the module and exact proportions. The plans and sections



Sv. Trojica, Rovinj.

St. Trojica, Rovinj.

could be inscribed in the same square, a secondary squaring and diagonals of the square determine the positioning of the key portions of the building, the irregular placement of the columns at St. Nediljica is a result of the Golden Mean. In particular, we emphasize Pejaković's studies of the Holy Cross at Nin. The irregular angles of the plan of the exterior show the same angle as that of the sun rays at the equinox and solstice. The position of the sun rays on the floor could be read in all the seasons as the exact time of the 16 canonical prayer hours decreed by the Benedictine

nička crkvena arhitektura u Hrvatskoj direktni izdani klasične arhitekture i autentične baštine (Dyggve, 1951.). No, pomnjava istraživanja arhitektonske kompozicije većeg broja crkvi pokazuju da njihov gabarit sadrži bitne osebnosti kreacija i samosvojnih modulacija. Predromaničke crkve u Hrvatskoj uklapaju se u opće karakteristike predromaničke arhitekture, kao što su neprecizno dimenzioniranje, građenje s netesanim kamenjem, primitivna obrada građevinskih detalja, česte pojave raznih otklona i nesimetrija, nejednakosti u ritmu stupova, nepovezanost vanjskih i nutar-

njih potpornjaka zidova i slično. Međutim detaljnije proučavanje tih prividnih nezgrapnosti dovelo je do iznenađujućih rezultata: arhitekt Mladen Pejaković (Pejaković, 1978., 1996.) istražio je na većem broju predromaničkih crkvi (Sv. Trojica u Splitu, Sv. Križ u Ninu, Sv. Pelegrin u Savru, Sv. Juraj u Ravanjskoj, Sv. Petar u Priku, Sv. Marija u Ižu Malom, Sv. Nediljica u Zadru, Sv. Donat na Krku, i druge) proporcionalne odnose njihovih tlocrta i presjeka, te ustanovio da su te disproporcije, nepravilnosti i nesimetrije podređene neobično strogoj pravilnosti, čitljivom modulu i egzaktnoj proporciji. Njihovi tlocrti i presjeci mogu se upisati u istovjetni kvadrat, sekundarno kvadriranje i dijagonale kvadrata određuju položaj bitnih dijelova građevine, nepravilni raspored stupova kod Sv. Nediljice rezultat je primjene proporcija zlatnog reza. Posebno je znakovito Pejakovićevo istraživanje crkve Svetog Križa u Ninu: nepravilni tlocrti otkloni vanjskih stranica crkve imaju isti kut formiran sa svrhom obilježavanja solsticijskih i ekvinocijskih zraka sunca; putanje i podne projekcije tih zraka sunca kroz svjesno odmjerene i locirane prozore određuju osnovne proporcije prostora; položaji sunčanih zraka na podu očitavaju se u svim godišnjim dobima kao točno vrijeme 16 molitvenih sati propisanih regulama benediktinskog reda. Crkva Svetog Križa jedinstveni je i fantastičan arhitektonski gnomon kojemu sunčeve zrake ekvinocija i solsticija određuju koncepciju, oblik i funkciju. Ovih nekoliko naznačenih predromaničkih crkvi u Hrvatskoj pokazuje da su one koncipirane s poznavanjem i primjenjivanjem klasičnih geometrijskih zakonitosti, a prividne nepravilnosti pojedinih njihovih gabarita rezultat su svjesnog procesa promišljanja arhitekture kao izraza suživota čovjeka s prirodom (Bogom).

Predromanička crkvena arhitektura u Hrvatskoj nastala je kao izvedenica stoljetne kulture Ilirika, smještena je u ambijentima formiranim baštinom ilirske i antičke kulture, oblikovana je usvajanjem tipologije klasične prostorne stilistike, izgrađena je od etnosa stabiliziranog simbiozom slavensko-ilirsko-romanskih genoma, kreirana je kao autentični prilog europskoj predromanici. Jacksonove najmanje katedrale na svijetu imaju tako svoju skromnu ljepotu, imaju misaonu poruku, imaju znakovitost identiteta. A to su vrijednosti koje oplemenjuju dušu naroda i usrećuju čovječanstvo.

Andrija Mutnjaković



Sv. Martin,
Sv. Lovreč Pazenatički.

St. Martin,
Sv. Lovreč Pazenatički.

rule. The Holy Cross is thus a fantastic and unique architectural genome, its concept, function and form determined by the sun rays at equinox and solstice. These few remarks indicate that the Pre-Romanesque buildings in Croatia were conceived and constructed according to laws of classical geometry, whereas the alleged irregularities are a result of a sophisticated process of architectural thinking as an example of a coexistence between man and God (nature).

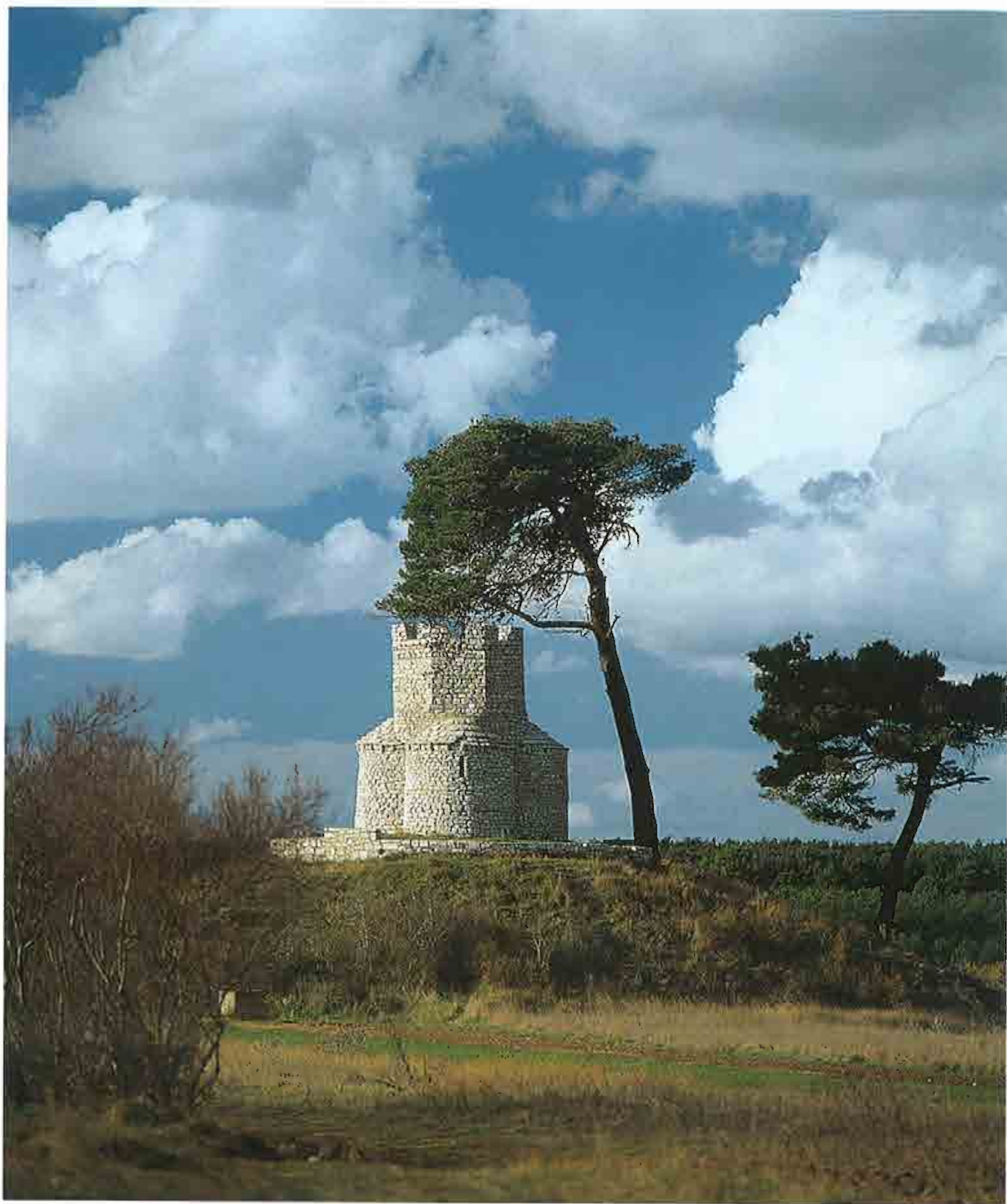
Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia is an outcome of the centennial culture of Illyricum, it came into being in an environment formed by Illyrian and classical heritage, it was formed by adopting principles of classical spatial solutions; it was built by the people created through a symbiosis of Slavic, Illyrian, and Roman genomes. It grew as an authentic contribution to the history of the European Pre-Romanesque. Jackson's "smallest cathedrals in the world" have their modest beauty, a spiritual message, a mark of identity – values that ennoble the spirit of a nation and bring happiness to mankind.

Andrija Mutnjaković

Sv. Donat, Zadar.

St. Donat, Zadar.





UVOD

INTRODUCTION

Sv. Nikola, Nin.

St. Nikola, Nin.

In spite of upheavals and wars, and mutilations and rebuilding of monuments, Croatia has preserved a remarkable treasury of early medieval art. One of its aspects – Pre-Romanesque architecture on the territory of Croatia – is the main topic of this study. Its objective is to remind the native and acquaint the foreign reader with one of the finest contributions of the Croatian people to the art and culture of the West.

This second edition was thoroughly revised and expanded by more than one third. The English text was additionally revised and refined. The concept of the book, though, remained the same: to offer both to an expert and the general public, at home and abroad, an insight into one of the richest segments of Croatian cultural heritage, along with theoretical observations on its place within the West European culture. As in the first editions, I decided to go without footnotes, so the scholarly apparatus is represented by an enriched bibliography.

It would be impossible to individually thank all those who have offered me their advice and support, or have given us their kind permission to use their illustrative materials, which does not diminish my sense of indebtedness. I remain permanently grateful to Mr. Andrija Mutnjaković, Member of Academy, for his initiative concerning the first and the present edition of this book, as well as for our long, and for me so stimulating, cooperation.

Usprkos mnogim sukobima i razaranjima, pa i unatoč brojnih pregradnji i dogradnji predromaničkih spomenika tijekom minulih stoljeća Hrvatska je sačuvala vrijednu riznicu ranosrednjovjekovne umjetnosti. Dio te baštine, predromaničko graditeljstvo na području Hrvatske, glavni je predmet ove studije, kojom autor želi podsjetiti domaće i upoznati strane čitatelje s jednim od najvrednijih priloga hrvatskog naroda umjetnosti i kulturi Zapada.

Tekst drugog izdanja sustavno je redigiran i proširen je za više od jedne trećine, a posebno je dotjeran engleski tekst. Koncept knjige je ostao isti – pružiti kako stručnjaku tako i zainteresiranoj široj publici u zemlji i svijetu uvid u poznavanje jednog od najbogatijih segmenata hrvatske spomeničke baštine, uz teoretske uvide posebice glede njegovog mjesta unutar zapadnoeuropske kulture. Kao i u prvom izdanju odustao sam od opaski, te znanstveni aparat predstavlja prošireni izbor literature.

Ne mogu poimence navesti sve one koji su mi pružili pomoć i podršku, ili dozvolili reproduciranje ilustrativnog materijala, no time se moja zahvalnost za njihov doprinos ne umanjuje. Ostajem trajno zahvalan Akademiku Andriji Mutnjakoviću na poticaju za stvaranje prvog, i sada ovog drugog izdanja, te za dugogodišnju za mene toliko dragocijenu suradnju.

Zagreb, zima 2006.

Zagreb, Winter 2006.



PROUČAVANJE NAJRANIJE HRVATSKE UMJETNOSTI

STUDY OF EARLY CROATIAN ART

Oltarna pregrada iz crkve
Sv. Nediljica, detalj, Zadar.

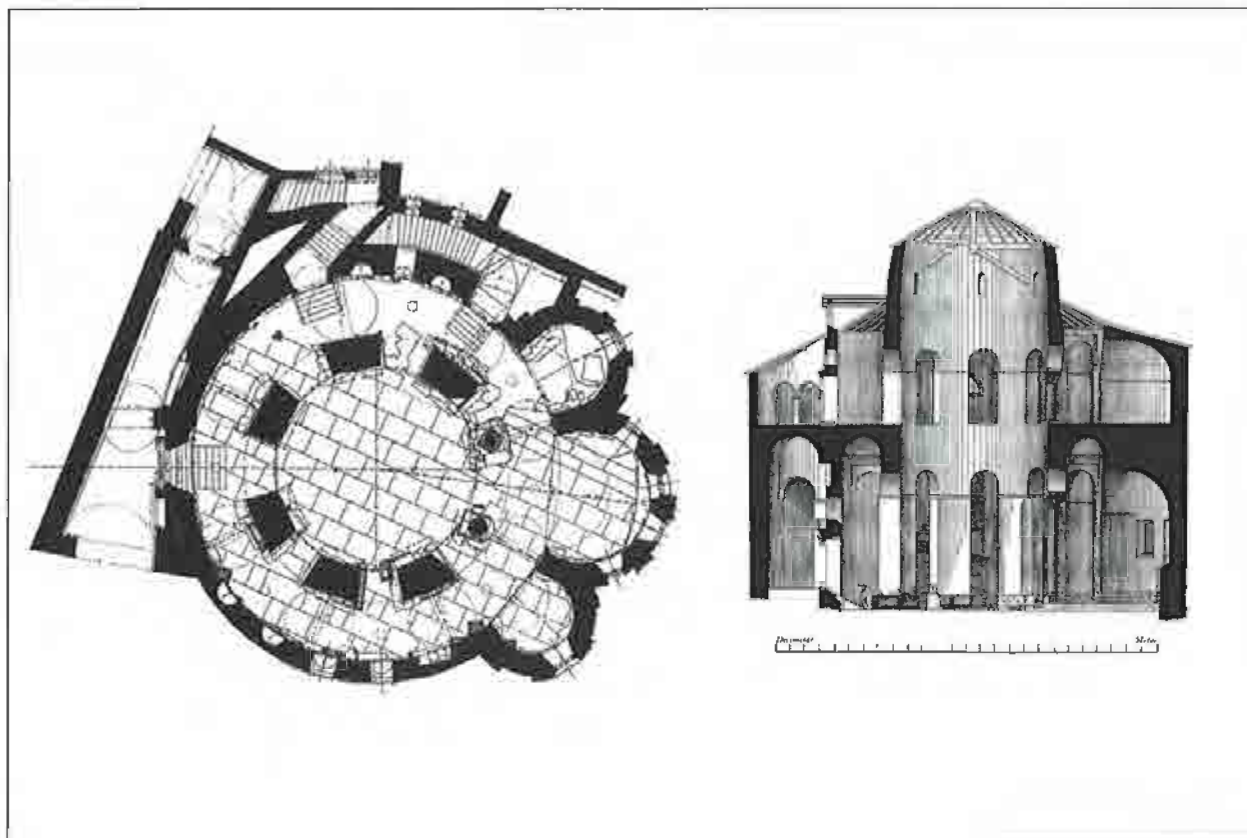
Choir-screen panel, detail,
St. Nediljica, Zadar.

The emergence of interest in the earliest national, "Old-Croatian" or "Early Croatian," art coincides with the romanticist movement, and the growing struggle for national affirmation and political freedom during the second half of the nineteenth century. The first investigators were mostly, albeit not exclusively amateurs, local intelligentsia, village or small town priests, teachers or landowners. Such pioneers, as Fra Lujo Marun, Abbot of the Franciscan Monastery of Knin, or the school teacher Frano Radić, conducted the first important archeological investigations, around Knin and in the Zadar hinterland (Biskupija, Cetina, Žažvić, Bribir), and created the first national archeology societies and collections. Marun's Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments founded in 1893 in Knin – now in Split – has grown from its modest beginnings into the richest museum of Early Slavic materials in the world. The tradition of active archeological work was continued by the Museum's outstanding directors, in particular after the Second World War – Stipe Gunjača, Duje Jelovina, Mate Zekan, Ante Milošević.

In and around Split, early investigations were carried out by a trained classical archeologist, Don Frano Bulić (Salona, Bijaći). He was one of the founders (in 1894) of the "Bihać," an archeological association for investigation of national past which existed until 1948. The discoveries and, subsequently, publications by the pioneers led, in the late twenties and the early thirties, to first attempts at a synthetic examination of the Pre-Romanesque in Croatia. The Austrian scholar, Joseph Strzygowski (Strzygowski, 1927) believed he had found in Croatia a living evidence of his thesis about German-Slavic, barbarian art of the North. He explained the apparently unusual forms of Early Croatian buildings as derivatives of timber structures the Croats (and likewise other Nordic nations) used to construct in their old country.

Zanimanje za najraniju nacionalnu – "starohrvatsku" ili "ranohrvatsku" – umjetnost raste u doba romantizma i sve žešće borbe za nacionalnu afirmaciju i političku slobodu, u drugoj polovici XIX. stoljeća. Prvi su istraživači, iako ne svi, mahom bili amateri, lokalna inteligencija, svećenici, učitelji ili zemljoposjednici iz sela i gradića. Ti su pioniri, primjerice fra Lujo Marun, opat franjevačkog samostana u Kninu, ili školski učitelj Frano Radić, proveli prva važna arheološka istraživanja, i to oko Knina i u zadarskom zaleđu (Biskupija, Cetina, Žažvić, Bribir), i osnovali prva nacionalna arheološka društva i zbirke. Skromni Marunov Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, utemeljen 1893. u Kninu (preseljen u Split gdje i danas djeluje), izrastao je u najbogatiji muzej ranoslavenske građe na svijetu. Tradiciju aktivnog arheološkog rada nastavili su istaknuti voditelji Muzeja, osobito nakon Drugoga svjetskoga rata – Stipe Gunjača, Duje Jelovina, Mate Zekan, Ante Milošević.

Početna istraživanja u Splitu i oko njega vodio je školovani klasični arheolog don Frane Bulić (Salona, Bijaći), jedan od pokretača (1894) starinarskog (arheološkog) društva "Bihać", koje službeno postoji do 1948. Do kraja prve četvrtine 20. stoljeća, otkrića, i zatim objavljivanje pionirskih istraživanja doveli su do prvih pokušaja da se izradi sintetski pregled predromanike u Hrvatskoj. Austrijski znanstvenik Josef Strzygowski vjerovao je da je u Hrvatskoj našao živ dokaz svoje teze o germano-slavenskoj umjetnosti Sjevera (Strzygowski, 1927). Objasnio je naizgled neobične oblike ranih hrvatskih građevina kao derivate drvenih konstrukcija kojima su se Hrvati i drugi nordijski narodi koristili u svojoj staroj postojbini.



Sv. Donat, Zadar, tlocrt
(iz knjige Strzygowski, J.,
Starohrvatska umjetnost).

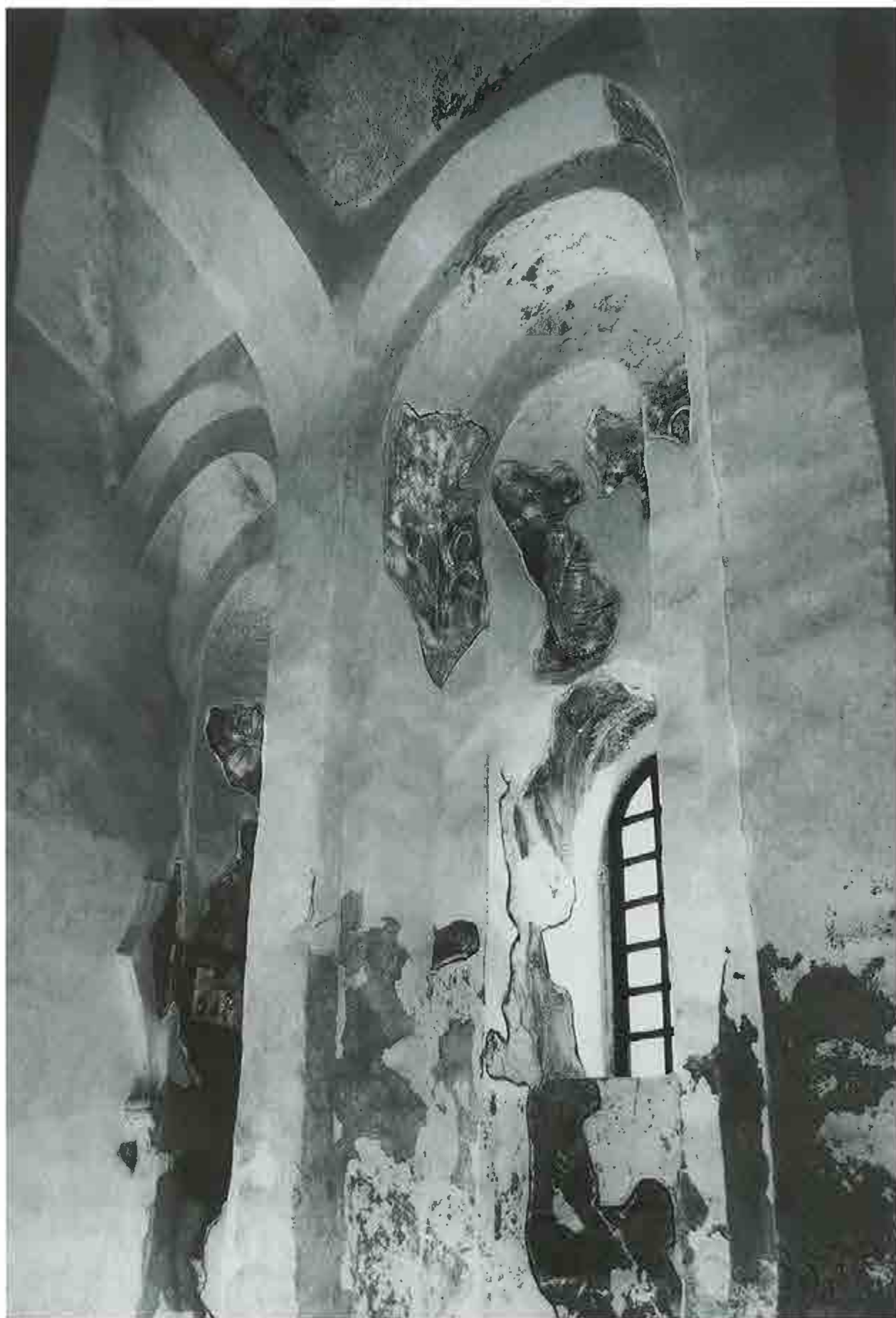
St. Donat, Zadar, the
ground plan (from the
book Strzygowski, J.,
Starohrvatska umjetnost).

Sv. Donat, Zadar, presjek
(iz knjige Strzygowski, J.,
Starohrvatska umjetnost).

St. Donat, Zadar, the
cross section (from the
book Strzygowski, J.,
Starohrvatska umjetnost).

Unatoč gotovo halucinantnoj poetici, rad je Strzygowskog imao znatnu težinu kao protuteza sveopćem "latinskom" ili "mediteranskom" usmjerenju moderne kulturne povijesti. Strzygowski je ispravno zapazio neke oblike koji proizlaze iz tradicije drvene gradnje i potaknuo raspravu među domaćim znanstvenicima. Tako je 1930. Ljubo Karaman, doajen hrvatskih medijevalista, odgovorio na knjigu Strzygowskog (Karaman, 1930). Karaman je opravdano potaknuo sumnje u vrijednost velikog dijela Strzygowskijeve usporedne građe. Upozorio je da gotovo ništa ne znamo o bilo kakvoj ranoj hrvatskoj umjetnosti u drvu (pola stoljeća kasnije otkriće izrezbarenih radnosrednjovjekovnih greda u Sv. Donatu u Zadru obradovalo bi Strzygowskog, a zbunilo Karamana), te da Strzygowski potpuno zanemaruje rimsku tradiciju Dalmacije. Nakon što je to utvrdio, Karaman je začudo porekao bilo kakvo značenje toj tradiciji, proglašavajući najranije hrvatsko graditeljstvo neovisnom pojavom uvjetovanom rubnim položajem Hrvatske na granici između Istoka i Zapada. Strzygowskijevoj dilemi "Orient oder Rom", Karaman je odgovorio s niti "Orient", niti "Rom". Radikalnost teza Strzygowskog dovela je do toga da se neke njegove vrijedne zamisli nisu nikad zapazile, te na tom polju još uvijek treba provesti revalorizaciju.

Strzygowski's work, which in spite of his almost hallucinatory poetic, has a considerable weight as a corrective to an overly "Latin" and "Mediterranean" bent of modern cultural history (Strzygowski correctly identified some forms which derive from a tradition of building in wood), stimulated discussion among the native scholars. So in 1930 Ljubo Karaman, doyen of Croatian medievalists published an answer to Strzygowski (Karaman, 1930). Karaman justifiably raised doubts as to validity of much of Strzygowski's comparative material. He pointed out that we know next to nothing about any early Croatian art in wood (a discovery, half a century later, of early medieval carved wooden beams at St. Donat in Zadar would have delighted Strzygowski and baffled Karaman), and that Strzygowski totally neglected the Roman tradition of Dalmatia. Having said that, Karaman went ahead and himself denied any significance to this tradition, proclaiming the earliest Croatian buildings to be an independent phenomenon due to a peripheral position of Croatia at the borderline of the East and the West. To Strzygowski's dilemma, "Orient oder Rom" Karaman answered with "Neither Orient nor Rome." The radical nature of some of Strzygowski's thinking resulted in rejection of many valuable observations, and a reevaluation of the issues is truly in order.



Sv. Mihovil, Ston.
St. Mihovil, Ston.



Kapitel iz crkve Sv. Lovre
u Zadru.

*Capital from St. Lovre in
Zadar.*

Poslije je Karaman u brojnim studijama i člancima donekle preinačio svoju tezu, dopustio je ponešto utjecaja mjesne predhrvatske umjetnosti, ali nikad nije odbacio misao o slobodi izbora, koja je po njemu glavni poticaj ranim hrvatskim graditeljima. Karaman se pretežno bavio malim građevinama "slobodnih oblika" (jer su bile kamen temeljac njegove teze), pa je i suviše isticao skromnost i jednostavnost najranije hrvatske arhitekture. Samo je dotaknuo veće gradnje, pripisujući ih XI. stoljeću i objašnjavajući ih kao odraz romaničke arhitekture Italije.

Later on, in endless studies and articles, Karaman somewhat modified his thesis; he allowed for some influence of the local pre-Croatian art, but never gave up the thought of freedom of choice that was, according to him, the main moving spirit of early Croatian architects. Karaman mostly dealt with the small "free-form" buildings (since they were the cornerstone of his thesis), and overemphasized the modesty and simplicity of early Croatian architecture. He only touched upon the larger buildings, relegating them to the eleventh century and explaining them as an offshoot of the Early Romanesque architecture of Italy.

Karaman's thesis was criticized by the Danish architect and archeologist, Ejnar Dyggve (Egger and Dyggve, 1939; Dyggve, 1951). For Dyggve Croatian buildings – again the small scale ones – were copies of Late Antique architecture of Dalmatia. He constructed tables ("Dyggve's parallels") of plans of Pre-Romanesque and Late Antique structures, and on the level of plans, the similarities were indeed striking. Later explorations bringing about changes in some of the plans used by Dyggve, shook the validity of his methodology, but, in essence, Dyggve was right to bring back the neglected element of local Ancient heritage.

Dyggve's somewhat mechanical thinking was given more substance by the work of Milan Prelog (Prelog, 1954). He accepted Late Antiquity as the source of Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia, but explained the latter as a kind of "passive negation" of Ancient tradition. An active negation sets in only with the Romanesque. While Professor Prelog very well understood the imitative nature of the Pre-Romanesque as a whole, he has somewhat overlooked its experimental and exploratory aspects.

Na Karamanovu se tezu kritički osvrnuo danski arhitekt i arheolog Ejnar Dyggve (Egger i Dyggve, 1939; Dyggve, 1951.). Za Dyggvea su hrvatske građevine – opet samo one manje – kopije kasnoantičke arhitekture Dalmacije. Izradio je tablice ("Dyggveove paralele") planova predromaničkih i antičkih građevina, i na razini tih planova sličnosti su zaista izrazite. Kasnija istraživanja i promjene u nacrtima kojima se koristio Dyggve, umanjili su vrijednost njegove metodologije, ali u biti je Dyggve bio u pravu što je iznova upozorio na zanemareni element lokalnog naslijeđa.

Više težine dobilo je Dyggveovo ponešto mehaničko mišljenje zahvaljujući radovima Milana Preloga (Prelog, 1954). On je prihvatio kasnu antiku kao izvor predromaničkog graditeljstva u Hrvatskoj, ali ga je objasnio kao neku vrstu "pasivne negacije" antičke tradicije. Aktivna se negacija pojavila tek s romanikom. Profesor Prelog je dobro shvatio imitativnu narav predromanike u cijelini, ali je zanemario njezine eksperimentalne i istraživačke vidove.

Oltarna pregrada, Vrljika.

Choir-screen panel, Vrljika.



Ne treba zaboraviti da su te "čedne" i "grube" građevine bile nekoć prekrasno uredene živahnim slikama i vrlo zamršenom i maštovitom pleternom skulpturom (često obojenom), da se grubo zide krilo ispod namaza žbuke i vapna i da je unutrašnjost bila puna sjanih zlatarskih predmeta. Neke od tih zgrada zaista nisu bile ni grube ni čedne! Međunarodni stil pleterne skulpture ne može se smatrati rezultatom negativnog, čisto imitativnog umjetničkog htijenja ("Kunstwollen"). Poput Karamana i Dyggvea, i Preloga prije svega privlače građevine manjeg mjerila. Prelog je prepoznao početne romaničke elemente u zgradama i malog i velikog mjerila, ali on se ograničio na zasebne elemente, a ne na istraživanja cijele strukture.

Od Prelogove teze (Prelog, 1954.) do danas skupilo se mnogo nove grade i znanja. Važan znanstveni doprinos dao je Stipe Gunjača, koji je iskopao, ili ponovo iskopao, velik broj ranih hrvatskih nalazišta, pretežno u Zagori, i koji je među prvima upozorio na izvornost velikih građevina s kružnim upornjacima. Ivo Petricioli otkrio je brojne građevine oko Zadra i na Zadarskim otocima, a napisao je i pionirsku studiju o predromaničkoj i ranoromaničkoj skulpturi u Hrvatskoj. Vrijedne studije pleterne skulpture napisao je Nikola Jakšić. Tomislav Marasović objavio je brojne, vrlo vrijedne radove o tipologiji i kronologiji rane hrvatske arhitekture, te je prvi istaknuo povezanost s karolinškom umjetnošću Zapada. Posvetio je također neke svoje radove proučavanju bizantinskih

Let us not forget that those "humble" and "crude" structures were once beautifully adorned with vivid paintings, with extremely complex and imaginative interlace sculpture (itself often painted), that the crude rubblework masonry hid under coats of plaster and whitewash, and that the interior glittered with light reflected by sumptuous pieces of metalwork and precious stones. Then, at least some of that architecture was neither crude, nor humble! And the international style of interlace sculpture can hardly be a result of some negative, purely imitative kunstwollen. Like Karaman and Dyggve, Prelog was attracted primarily to the small-scale buildings. It is to his credit that he identified incipient Romanesque elements in both small-scale and large-scale structures, but he limited himself to isolated elements, and not to an examination of structure as a whole.

Since Prelog's thesis (Prelog, 1954) much new material and knowledge has been collected. The most important scholarly contributions were made by Dr. Stipe Gunjača, who excavated or re-excavated a large number of early Croatian sites, mostly in the Highlands, and who was among the first to notice the originality of the large buildings with rounded buttresses. Professor Ivo Petricioli discovered numerous building around Zadar and on the Zadar islands, and also wrote a pioneering study on Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque sculpture in Croatia. Professor Nikola Jakšić has contributed valuable studies of interlace sculpture. Professor Tomislav Marasović published

Oltarna pregrada iz crkve
Sv. Nediljica, Zadar.

Choir-screen panel,
St. Nediljica, Zadar.





Oltarna pregrada iz crkve
Sv. Nediljica, Zadar.

Choir-screen panel,
St. Nediljica, Zadar.

numerous very valuable studies of typology and chronology of early Croatian architecture, and was the first to emphasize links with Carolingian art of the West. He also devoted some of his work to studying Byzantine elements in early Croatian art. Igor Fisković expanded our knowledge of the Pre-Romanesque in Southern Dalmatia and around Dubrovnik.

An interesting comprehensive cultural study by Željko Rapanić also deals extensively with early Croatian (Rapanić, 1987). Most recently, Professor Miljenko Jurković did some fine research in Pre-Romanesque sculpture, and in his important studies of the westwork in early medieval Croatia, independently voiced some thoughts that the author of these lines himself had proposed in the course of his research (Jurković, 1986/87, 1988, 1997, 2000). He has also dealt with the distinction between the Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque. Pioneering studies by Professor Andre Mohorovičić on Istria and Kvarner (Mohorovičić, 1957) have been continued by Branko Marušić, Ante Šonje, Miljenko Jurković and Ivan Matejčić (Jurković, 1999, 2000; Marušić, 1967, 1969; Matejčić, 1996, 1998; Šonje, 1981, 1982).

elemenata u ranoj hrvatskoj umjetnosti. Igor Fisković je vrsnim studijama proširio naše poznavanje predromanike u južnoj Dalmaciji i oko Dubrovnika.

Knjiga Željka Rapanića o predromaničkom razdoblju u Dalmaciji (Rapanić, 1987.) zanimljivo je i opsežno kulturološko djelo, koje se također intenzivno bavi ranom hrvatskom umjetnosti s naglaskom na dalmatinskoj – gradskoj komponenti. Miljenko Jurković je u nizu zapaženih radova produbio pitanja karolinških utjecaja u crkvama s westworkom, a također i distinkcije predromanike i rane romanike, a dao je i važne priloge proučavanju predromaničke skulpture (Jurković, 1986/87, 1988, 1997, 2000). Pionirski rad profesora Andrije Mohorovičića (Mohorovičić, 1957) u Istri i na Kvarneru nastavili su Branko Marušić, Ante Šonje, Miljenko Jurković i Ivan Matejčić (Jurković, 1999, 2000; Marušić, 1967, 1969; Matejčić, 1996, 1998; Šonje, 1981, 1982).



Oltarna pregrada iz crkve
Sv. Mihovil, Koločep.

Choir-screen panel,
St. Mihovil, Koločep.



Tranzena s prikazom
Maiestas Virginis (Sedes
sapientiae) iz crkve
Sv. Marije u Biskupiji.

Transema with image of
Maiestas Virginis (Sedes
sapientiae), St. Marija,
Biskupija.



ŠTO JE PREDROMANIKA?

WHAT IS THE PRE-ROMANESQUE?

Sv. Nikola, Selca (Brač).

St. Nikola, Selca (Brač).

In order to resolve what the "Pre-Romanesque" might be, one should, first of all, outline one's concept of the "Romanesque". The position I have accepted, drawing upon the work of numerous distinguished authors in the field, has been that the Romanesque is a style characterized by clarity and rational organization of structure. In the Romanesque, the exterior of the building clearly reflects the interior organization, the articulation of space is projected on both the interior and exterior wall surfaces, and can be anticipated by a study of the exterior architectural mass. External supports logically correspond to internal supports. This structural clarity can also be considered clarity of vision or exposition, for, by accepting this strict ordering of the structure, the architect speaks clearly about the orderliness and rationality of his most intimate artistic principles. This orderly architectural universe is accompanied by monumental sculpture which closely follows the lines of architecture, and monumental painting which does likewise, primarily by respecting the solidity and flatness of the wall.

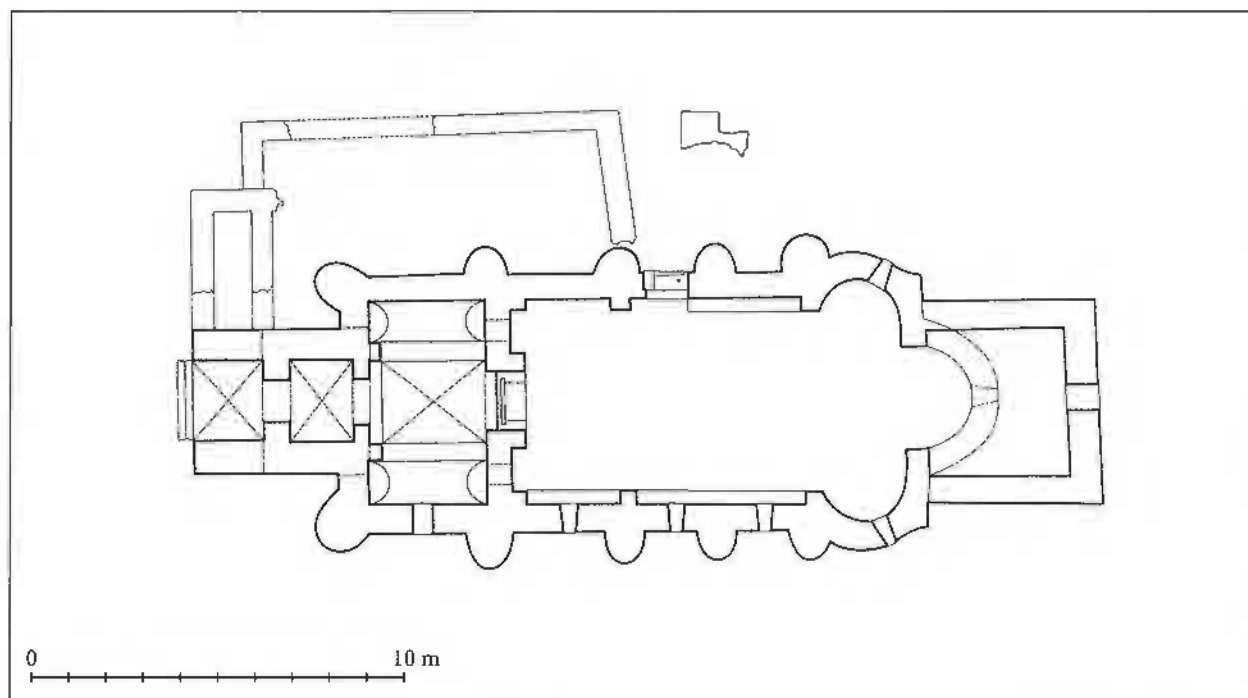
"Pre-Romanesque" is, therefore, an architecture which does not display the Romanesque order and clarity, or displays it only to a certain degree. The shell and the space do not "correspond," i.e., by viewing a body one can not safely determine the form of the interior space. Domes hide within rectangular turrets, rounded apses within square chevets, a wall surface divided into three units or fields may hide an interior divided into five bays, or vice-versa. There is almost no monumental exterior sculpture. Carvings are reserved for decor of church furniture and are limited to very imaginative, even ingenious, but essentially very flat, non-figured, interlace sculpture.

The artists of the Pre-Romanesque period did not suffer from an inferiority complex due to the fact that they had

Da bismo utvrdili što je predromanika, moramo prije svega odrediti pojam romanike. Prihvatio sam mišljenje, pretražujući djela mnogih istaknutih autora s tog područja, da je romanički stil obilježen jasnoćom i racionalnom organizacijom strukture. U romanici vanjština zgrade jasno odražava unutrašnjost, artikulacija prostora prenosi se i na vanjske i na unutarnje površine zida i može se unaprijed naslutiti promatranjem vanjske građevinske mase: vanjski nosači na pročeljima logično se podudaraju s unutarnjima. Ta se strukturna jasnoća može smatrati i jasnoćom vizije ili izlaganja, jer, prihvaćajući taj strogi red strukture graditelj jasno govori o svojim temeljnim umjetničkim principima. Taj središnji arhitektonski svijet prate monumentalno kiparstvo koje vjerno slijedi poteze arhitekture i monumentalno slikarstvo koje to čini poštujući prije svega čvrstoću i plošnost zida.

"Predromanička" je dakle arhitektura ona koja ne ističe romanički red i jasnoću, ili ih ističe tek do nekog stupnja. Ljuska se ne podudara s prostorom, promatrajući trup ne možemo pouzdano odrediti oblik unutrašnjosti. Kupole se skrivaju u kvadratičnim tornjićima, zaobljene apside u ravnim oltarskim završecima, a površina zida, podijeljena u tri jedinice, može skrivati unutrašnjost od pet polja, ili obratno. Gotovo da i nema monumentalne vanjske skulpture. Rezbarenje se ograničuje na ukrašavanje crkvenog namještaja i na vrlo maštovite i domišljate igre gotovo dvodimenzionalnog pletera.

Umjetnici predromanike nisu patili od osjećaja manje vrijednosti što nisu dosegli "pravu" romaniku. Nesputanost njihova stila obilježuje vrijeme začetka i eksperimentiranja. U tom razdoblju od VI. do XI. stoljeća rađa se novi Zapad, dugo, teško i zamorno



Tlocrt crkve Sv. Spas,
Cetina.

*The plan of the church
St. Spas, Cetina.*

razdoblje polaganog rasta, od nasilnog rođenja, preko grubog djetinjstva i nesigurnog mladenaštva, do samosvijesti rane zrelosti. Elementi koji su, udruživši se omogućili rođenje već je prezrelo i izopačeno naslijeđe antike te divlja snaga i nemir sudionika seobe naroda. Usudio bih se nazvati ih materinskim i očinskim počelima; kao što često biva, materinsko počelo, antika, pružilo je temelj, a očinsko, nomadski došljaci, duh obnove. No, budući da su majka i otac imali malo toga zajedničkog, djetetu je trebalo vremena, oko šest stoljeća, da nađe svoj pravi put.

Priča o predromanici velikim je dijelom povijest nalaženja prikladnih preinaka davnih uzora, kršćanskih, ili poganskih. To se eksperimentiranje još zamršuje valovima bizantinizma koji su s vremena na vrijeme zapljuskivali Zapad. Sve dok se nije potkraj XI. stoljeća oblikovalo novo društvo, a uz to i istinski nov monumentalni stil, romanika, već najavljena u XI. stoljeću u ostvarenjima tzv. "prve romanike" u Kataloniji, Lombardiji i alpskom luku.

Najranije hrvatsko graditeljstvo sasvim se uklapa u taj obrazac. Već na samom početku modernog istraživanja u drugoj polovici XIX. stoljeća, istraživače je zapanjilo, da ne kažemo zbunilo, bogatstvo izraza. Ta neortodoksna raskoš stvorena je eksperimentiranjem s raznim oblicima naslijeđenim od ranijih stilova ili prenesenim s Istoka, ali i mjesnim preinakama suvremenog zapadnog visokog stila – prije

never reached "true Romanesque". Their style, the looseness thereof, is characteristic of an age of experiment and inception. It is the period, between the 6th and the 11th century, when a new West was coming into being, a long, hard, even tedious, period of slow growth from a violent birth, through a rough childhood and an insecure adolescence, to the confidence of the early maturity. The elements that joined to bring about that birth were an already over-ripe and debased heritage of Antiquity, and the wild vigor and restlessness of the nomadic participants in the Great Migrations. I would venture to call them the maternal and paternal principles, and, as it is so often the case, the maternal element, the Antiquity, provided the base, and the paternal element, the newcomers, the reviving spirit. Since the mother and father were far apart, the child took some time – about six centuries – to find itself.

Thus the story of Pre-Romanesque art is to a considerable extent a story of designing appropriate adjustments to old Ancient, be it Christian or Pagan, models. In addition to what was available locally, the experimentation is further complicated by waves of Byzantine or Oriental Christian forms which from time to time washed over the West. Until, by the end of the eleventh century, a new society had been formed, and, alongside, its truly new, monumental style, the Romanesque; already announced in the course of the tenth and eleventh century by the works of so called "First Romanesque Art", of Catalonia, Lombardy, and the Alpine arch.

The earliest architectural creations of Croatia fit very well within such a scheme. Since the beginning of modern research, in the second half of the nineteenth century, they have impressed, not to say confused, investigators by their rich variety. This unorthodox richness was indeed due to experimentation with various forms handed down by earlier styles or transmitted from the East, but also to local re-workings of the contemporary high style of the West – primarily that of the Carolingian Court,

svega stila karolinškog dvora, te najranijih djela "prve romanike". Premda se to može učiniti kao pretjerano pojednostavnjenje, u iskušenju smo ustvrditi da u ranom hrvatskom graditeljstvu (pa tako i u drugim predromaničkim školama) postoje spomenici koji su nastali osluškivanjem tradicije, ugledanjem na istaknute suvremenike i zagledanjem u budućnost. Ta nam trodjelna podjela pomaže da shvatimo kako su ta tri smjera bila zapravo barem djelomično isto-



Sv. Nikola, Koločep.
St. Nikola, Koločep.



Sv. Nikola, Selce (Brač).

St. Nikola, Selce (Brač).

vremena i kako su se građevine koje smatramo "nazadnima" gradile uz bok onih "naprednih" građevina "prve romanike".

Građevine što pripadaju prvoj i najbrojnijoj tradicionalnoj predromaničkoj skupini zasnivaju se na lokalnom nasljeđu – rimskom, ranokršćanskom, ranobizantinskom. Raštrkane su širom ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države, a pojavljuju se od kraja VIII. pa sve do u XII. stoljeće.

Drugoj skupini pripadaju građevine vezane uz vrhove društva. Kako je hrvatski dvor dosta pozorno slijedio karolinški, tako i građevine što su ih naručivali uglednici otkrivaju povezanost sa zapadnjačkim karolinškim stilom. U toj kraljevskoj predromaničkoj skupini nalazimo manji broj većih građevina, vladarske zaklade i mauzoleje, katedrale, važne samostanske crkve. Zgrade te skupine nalaze se u središnjoj Dalmaciji i Dalmatinskoj Zagori, središtu stare hrvatske države, prvi tragovi sličnog graditeljstva potvrđeni su u Slavoniji, a u nešto drugačijem vidu

and of the forward looking experimentations of the "First Romanesque Art." It may be somewhat of an oversimplification but one is tempted to say that in early Croatian architecture (and so also in other "Pre-Romanesque" groups) one finds monuments that hark back to tradition, those that look up to the contemporary leaders, and, finally, those which are turned toward the future. Such a tripartite division may help us realize that the three trends were, in fact, at least partly simultaneous, and that the "backward" looking buildings continued being built alongside the "progressive" buildings of the "First Romanesque" style.

The buildings of the first and most numerous Traditional Pre-Romanesque Group draw upon local heritage – Roman, Early Christian and Early Byzantine. They are scattered all over the early medieval Croatian state, and appear from the end of the eighth well into the twelfth century.

The buildings of the second group belong to the leaders of the society. As the Croatian court followed rather closely



Sv. Donat, Krk.

St. Donat, Krk.

the ways and customs of Carolingian courts, so also the buildings endowed by the leading figures of the society reveal links with the Carolingian style of the West. In this Royal Pre-Romanesque Group we find a restricted number of buildings of more generous size – ruler's foundations and mausolea, cathedrals, important monastic churches. This group is concentrated on Central Dalmatia and the Highlands, the heart of the Croatian state. In a different form it also appears in Istria, and its first traces have been established in Slavonia. They appeared in the course of the ninth century but the question of their models, as well as the transformation of the same for local use, has not been fully explained.

The third group, Early Romanesque, consists of a limited number of buildings which constitute a Croatian version of the "First Romanesque Art". They date from the second half of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century, and they are found at the northern and central coastland, in Istria, and there are indications that this layer was also present in Slavonia. A detailed discussion of those three groups is the main task of this study.

i u Istri. I one se podižu od IX., no pitanje njihovih izravnijih uzora, pa i prerade istih za domaću uporabu još nije sasvim razriješeno.

Treća, ranoromanička skupina, sastoji se od manjeg broja građevina koje tvore hrvatsku varijantu "prve romanike". Potječu iz druge polovice XI. i početka XII. stoljeća, a nalaze se u srednjem i sjevernom priobalju, u Istri, a postoje indicije da je taj sloj prisutan i u Slavoniji. Iscrpan pregled tih triju skupina glavni je cilj ovoga rada.

Ali, prije toga iznijet ćemo ukratko koliko ima spomenika i kako su raspoređeni. Sam broj sačuvanih, djelimično sačuvanih ili iskopanih predromaničkih crkava vrlo je velik. U prethodnoj knjizi o najranijem hrvatskom graditeljstvu (*Early Croatian Architecture*, London, 1987.) naveo sam 109 spomenika. Tomislav Marasović (Marasović, 1978) navodi ih još više – 127 (uključuje i svjetovna zdanja), a u kasnijem radu (Marasović, 1994) taj se popis još više dopunjuje. Isti autor priprema opsežni katalog svih poznatih

spomenika. Naš popis (223 zgrade) ne pretendira na potpunost, već je samo izbor najpoznatijih i najposjećenijih spomenika.

Teško da postoji broj časopisa za arheologiju ili povijest umjetnosti koji nije donio pokoje otkriće. Dodamo li tome mjesta gdje su pronađeni ulomci kamene plastike s motivima pletene ornamentike kakva se javlja diljem Europe, od Španjolske do Transilvanije, ali još nisu pronađeni i tragovi arhitekture, ili građevine koje još nisu prepoznate ili iskopane, a spominju se u pisanim izvorima, popis i dalje raste! Stoga i nije čudno što je prvotne istraživače zbunjivalo mnoštvo i raznolikost.

No, takvo mnoštvo i raznolikost nisu jedinstveni. Sličnu pojavu nalazimo u različitim područjima Francuske, Španjolske, Italije, u Alpama, u Njemačkoj, Nizozemskoj, na Britanskim otocima. Samo što su se u tim "razvijenijim" zemljama kasnija razdoblja obračunala s ranijim spomenicima. Bilo je više novaca, dakle i više proširenja, pregradnji i izmjena. Niz izvanrednih i osebujnih spomenika nastaje i u kasnijim razdobljima ali stvaralačka groznica ranijih stoljeća stižala se (vratit će se u zreloom baroku kontinentalne Hrvatske). U xv. i xvi. stoljeću mnogi su hrvatski umjetnici morali tražiti posao u tudini. Potpuno osiromašenje nakon stoljeća turskih ratova bilo je spas za male, stare i ruševne građevine, koje bi inače bile zamijenjene novim i modernijim konstrukcijama.

Ta raznolikost, kao što rekosmo, nije izuzetna. Slične se okolnosti susreću u Španjolskoj, Italiji i Francuskoj, gdje se prije svega nastoji obnoviti tradicija i stvoriti djelotvoran okvir za niz oblika kršćanskog bogoslužja ili za oblike svjetovnog srednjovjekovnog života u nastajanju. Zaista je u pravu Milan Prelog kad graditeljima rane hrvatske arhitekture, pripisuje neku vrstu "pasivnog" pristupa naslijeđu (Prelog, 1954). To se može primijeniti na mnoga, ali ne sva, predromanička ostvarenja u Hrvatskoj i posvuda u zapadnoj Europi.

Velik broj ranih hrvatskih nalazišta (uključujući i one samo s ulomcima skulpture) smještena je u središnjoj Dalmaciji, a napose u trokutu Zadar–Knin–Split. To je područje također blizu ključnom crkvenom središtu – splitskoj nadbiskupiji. Njoj pripadaju drevni hrvatski gradovi Nin i Knin, važni stari dalmatinski gradovi Zadar i Trogir, te gradovi Šibenik i Biograd, utemeljeni u ranom srednjem vijeku. Tu se nalaze i istaknuta župska središta, Klis i Bribir, te niz vladar-

But before we embark upon it, let us take a look at the number and distribution of the monuments. The sheer number of preserved, partially preserved or excavated Pre-Romanesque churches is overwhelming. In my book on Early Croatian Architecture (London: Duckworth, 1987), I list 109 monuments. Tomislav Marasović (Marasović, 1978) is even more generous: 127 (includes secular buildings the author has recognized as Pre-Romanesque), and even more in a subsequent work (Marasović, 1994); the same author is preparing a monumental catalogue of the monuments. Our list (223 buildings) does not pretend to be complete, but it brings together the best known and the most often visited sites.

There is hardly an issue of an archeological or art history journal which does not feature another discovery. If we add sites where one finds fragments of interlaced sculpture such as appeared throughout Europe (but as yet no traces of architecture) and the buildings, not yet identified or excavated, but mentioned in written sources, the list grows even further! No wonder that the multitude and variety baffled the early researchers.

But the multitude and variety are indeed not so completely unique. We find similar phenomena in various regions of France, Spain, Italy, in the Alps; in Germany, the Low Countries, on the British Isles. Only, in those "more developed" countries later styles dealt a harsher blow to the earlier monuments. There was more money at the later stages, which meant more enlargement, rebuilding, replacement. There is, of course, a number of outstanding individual monuments constructed at later dates, but the creative frenzy of earlier centuries seems to have abated (it comes back, somewhat, in the later Baroque period in continental Croatia). In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries some leading Croatian artists had to look for work abroad. The total impoverishment due to centuries of Turkish wars acted as a savior of many small, old and dilapidated buildings which would have otherwise been replaced by newer and more modern structures. The variety while indeed high is not exceptional either. A similar situation is encountered in Spain, Italy, France, and it centers on attempts, experiments, to modernize the tradition and to create a feasible, functioning frame for several forms of Christian worship, or for the emerging forms of secular medieval life. Professor Prelog was to a considerable extent right when he ascribed a sort of "passive" attitude toward the heritage to the builders of early Croatian architecture (Prelog, 1954). This can be applied to many, although by no means all, Pre-Romanesque creations both in Croatia and all over Western Europe.

Most of the early Croatian sites (including those with fragments of sculpture only) are located inside the triangle Zadar – Knin – Split, the heartlands of Croatian state. The area is also close to the key church seat – the archbishopric of Split. Within there are also the ancient Croatian capitals of Nin and Knin, major old Dalmatian cities of Zadar and Trogir, and the cities of Šibenik and Biograd, founded by the Croats in the early medieval times. There are also important county seats at Klis and Bribir, and a series of ruler's courts and estates – at Bijaći, Rižinice, and Sumartin. The sites spill over to the islands, in particular to the Zadar archipelago, one of the prime fishing areas of the Adriatic.

To the North and the South of this central region one finds additional zones: the Kvarner Gulf in the North (in particular the Islands – Osor, Krk, Rab, Pag) as a link to Istria, and the Southern Dalmatian and Dubrovnik area to the South. The southern coast between the Neretva and the Gulf of Kotor formed a buffer zone between Croatia and another early medieval state of consequence, Doclea (today's Montenegro). Although on occasion under pressure by Doclean, Bosnian and Serb rulers, the Dubrovnik area definitely opted for Croatia as early as the 14th century. Its early art is stylistically linked to that of the central zone.

Istria is also a part of Croatia, settled by the Croats at a very early date. The early medieval art of Istria is, however, highly individual, and its systematic integration into the history of the Pre-Romanesque art in Croatia is a task still to be fully accomplished, in spite of fine studies by Andre Mohorovičić, Tomislav Marasović, Ante Šonje, and Miljenko Jurković (Jurković, 1999, 2000; Matejčić, 1996, 1997; Mohorovičić, 1955, 1957, 2004; Šonje, 1981, 1982, 1987). A sketch to be seen as an attempt is also in this book.

Much less can be said about the early monuments of Continental Croatia. Besides the Dalmatian Highlands, traces of early artistic activity have been recorded in the eastern Lika highlands, around Imotski behind the Biokovo Mountain, and in the Popovo Polje in the hinterland of Dubrovnik. Further inside one finds them in western Herzegovina (Livno, Duvno, Glamoč), and in Central Bosnia (near Bugojno and Blažuj).

It was believed that the majority of the early buildings of the land between the Sava and the Drava rivers was constructed in wood, and that, therefore, they have left no traces. This is not necessarily so. An Early Romanesque capital has been found in Zagreb, where the bishopric was founded in 1094. Fragments of inter-

skih dvorova i imanja, Bijaći, Rižinice i Sumartin. Nalazišta se proširuju i na otoke, osobito na zadarski arhipelag, jedno od najbogatijih ribarskih područja Jadrana.

Sjeverno od tog središnjeg područja nalazi se zona Kvarnerskog zaljeva na sjeveru (osobito otoci Osor, Krk, Rab i Pag), kao spona s Istrom, te južnodalmatinsko i dubrovačko područje na jugu. Južna je obala, od Neretve do Kotorskog zaljeva, bila "tampon" zona između Hrvatske i druge utjecajne ranosrednjovjekovne države, Duklje (današnja Crna Gora). Dubrovačka se rana umjetnost uz sve vlastite inačice stilistički ipak veže uz umjetnost središnje zone.

Istra je također dio Hrvatske, naseljen slavenskim Hrvatima u vrlo ranom razdoblju. No ranosrednjovjekovna umjetnost Istre stilski je vrlo osesbujna. Sustavno znanstveno uklapanje istarske predromanike u povijest hrvatske predromanike je zadatak koji, usprkos vrijednim radovima Andre Mohorovičića, Ante Šonje, Ivana Matejčića i Miljenka Jurkovića (Jurković, 1999, 2000; Matejčić, 1996, 1997; Mohorovičić, 1955, 1957, 2004; Šonje, 1981, 1982, 1987) još nije u potpunosti zaključen. Pokušaj takve skice uvršten je i u ovu knjigu.

Mnogo se manje može reći o ranim spomenicima kontinentalne Hrvatske. Osim u Dalmatinskoj Zagori, tragovi rane umjetničke aktivnosti otkrivaju se na visoravnima istočne Like, oko Imotskog (iza planine Biokova), te u Popovu polju (u zaleđu Dubrovnika). Dalje u unutrašnjosti, mogu se naći u zapadnoj Hercegovini (Livno, Duvno, Glamoč) i u središnjoj Bosni (kraj Bugojna i Blažuj).

Vjerovalo se da je većina ranih građevina u međurječju Save i Drave bilo izgrađeno od drveta, pa da je zato ostalo malo tragova. No to i ne mora biti točno. Ranoromanički kapitel naden je u Zagrebu, gdje je biskupija osnovana 1094. godine. Fragmenti pletera nadeni su u Loboru, u zaštićenom i uvijek umjetnički aktivnom Hrvatskom Zagorju, te na krajnjoj istočnoj granici, u Srijemu i Baranji (Ilok i Rakovac; Beli Manastir). Vjerovalo se da taj srijemski pleter potječe iz kasnijeg XII. stoljeća, no nema razloga da ne bi bio i stotinjak godina raniji. Količina pleternog materijala nadenog u Mađarskoj, pa i u Panonskoj Hrvatskoj ukazuje da je nešto od tog materijala sasvim lako moglo nastati i u 11. stoljeću. Niti "bizantska" provenijencija svog tog materijala nije više sasvim sigurna, a uz Veneciju pojavljuju se u mađarskoj literaturi i pokušaji povezivanja s hr-

vatskim priobaljem. Temelji crkve od opeke s kraja XI. stoljeća iskopani su u Vinkovcima, a tragovi slične zgrade u nedalekim Borinicima. Nekoliko ulomaka pletera stiže iz Siska – rimske Siscije – starog biskupskog središta zapadne Panonske ravnice.

Nedavna iskapanja Krešimira Filipeca na već spomenutom Loboru otkrila su monumentalnu rano-kršćansku baziliku s oktogonalm baptisterijem na zapadnoj strani, na njoj prostranu trobrodnu predromaničku crkvu (koja egzistira od 9. do 12./13. stoljeća) s westerkom, bočnim podupiračima te možda ravno završenim svetištem (konačni oblik još nije poznat) što sve podsjeća na ranoslavensku crkvu u Zalavaru (lokalitet Receskut), gdje su stolovali ranoslavenski vladari Pribina i Kocelj. Unutar sfere njihove kneževine mogla se nalaziti i sjeverozapadna Hrvatska. Crkva je sudeći po položaju nosača, potpornjaka i debljini zida bila presvođena. Ovaj fenomenalni nalaz također uključuje i desetine ulomaka pletera, koji, po mišljenju struke, podsjeća na sjevernotalijanske spomenike. Lobar jasno upozorava da se u predromaničkoj Panoniji itekako gradilo od trajnog materijala, ali i na to da se zaista gradilo od drva; južno od pronađene crkve iskopani su tragovi i jednobrodne karolinš-

lace sculpture were found at Lobar, in the sheltered and artistically always active Transmontane Croatia, and, at the extreme East of Croatia, in Srijem and Baranja (Ilok, Rakovac; Beli Manastir). It was believed that the interlace sculptures from Sirmium date from the later 12th century, but there is no reason not to see them as even a hundred years older. The sheer quantity of interlace material in Eastern Croatia and in Hungary indicates that some of it could have been made in the 11th century. "Byzantine" provenance of that material is not too sure anymore, and, in addition to Venice, Croatian coastland has been suggested as a potential source in Hungarian literature. Foundations of a brick church from the end of the eleventh century have been dug up in Vinkovci, and traces of a similar building at Bornici nearby. Several fragments of sculpture have come from Sisak – the Roman Siscia – the ancient episcopal center of the Western Pannonic plain.

Recent excavations at Lobar conducted by Krešimir Filipec (Filipec, 2002) led to a discovery of an aisled Early Christian basilica with an octagonal baptistery to its west, a spacious aisled Pre-Romanesque building which continues on the site from the 9th through the 13th century, with a westwork and lateral buttresses, and, possibly a flat chevet recalling the early Slavic church



Sv. Foška, Žminj.

St. Foška, Žminj.



Sv. Foška, Žminj.

St. Foška, Žminj.

at Zalavar (Receskt) in Hungary, where Kocelj and Pribina, Slavic princess had their court in the ninth century. Their principality may have included also North Western Croatia. The Lobar church was, judging by the size and position of the buttresses, and the thickness of the walls, entirely vaulted. This astonishing discovery includes also tens of fragments of interlace sculpture, apparently of North Italian type. Lobar clearly demonstrates that in early medieval Pannonia one knew how to build in durable material, but that one also built in wood, as traces of another ninth century church, a wooden one, were found to the south of the main site. It is an aisleless Carolingian building with a rectangular sanctuary, the only such building discovered so far to the south of Bavaria, as Filipec points out. As the work on the practically maiden territory of Continental Croatia continues, we may be in for many a pleasant surprise. In terms of proportions the smaller stone church excavated within the complex of the Romanesque monastery of Rudina near Požega recalls the building in Vinkovci. All those buildings share a relatively short nave which is not uncommon in Early Romanesque architecture of southwestern Hungary.

Cultural activity of the area is also witnessed by more than seventy cemeteries of the early Slavic "Bijelo Brdo" culture, linked to early settlements which, as demonstrated by Dr. Željko Tomičić, follow main waterways in the area of the Sava and the Drava rivers (Tomičić,

ke drvene crkve s pravokutnim svetištem, jedine takve do sada nađene na jug od Bavorske, kako upozorava Filipec. Nesumnjivo kako se nastavi rad na praktički djevičanskom ranosrednjekovnom sloju kontinentalne Hrvatske čekaju nas još mnoga uzbudljiva iznenađenja. Po proporcijama crkvi u Vinkovcima slična je i manja crkva otkopana u Rudini kod Požege zidana kamenom. A sve imaju sličnosti (relativno kratak brod) s ranom arhitekturom jugozapadne Mađarske.

Kulturnu naseljenost ovog prostora svjedoči i više od 70 grobalja Bjelobrdske kulture u naseljima koja, kako je to pokazao Željko Tomičić, slijede glavne vodotokove međuriječja Save i Drave (Tomičić, 1999). S uvođenjem župnog sustava ta se groblja na redove napuštaju i nastaju nova, oko najranijih crkvenih zgrada, kojima još valja ući u trag. No i ovdje postoje naznake – stotinjak gradišta, koja se danas ne mogu još preciznije datirati (Tkalčec, 2004); mnoga od njih mogu potjecati iz ranog srednjeg vijeka, među njima i ona koja kao dva lanca obrane od mađarskih upada od 9. do 11. stoljeća imaju itekako važnu obrambenu funkciju (gradišta uz Dravu i na sjevernim obroncima Bilogore, koja gube strateški smisao nakon personalne unije Hrvatske i Ugarske 1102). Velik broj gradišta označuje položaje ranih srednjekovnih župa i pažljivim radom na nekima od njih naći će se i tragovi rane arhitekture.

Sa Siskom/Siscijom uvodimo još jedan predmet raspravljanja, i to o etničkom podrijetlu stvaralaca najranije monumentalne umjetnosti Hrvatske. Smatra se da je Siscia srušena za vrijeme barbarskih invazija. Ali oko 800. g. to je vjerojatno opet dosta veliko naselje jer je tu svoj dvor imao hrvatski knez Ljudevit Posavski. Da se u to vrijeme u Sisku gradilo, zna se po tome što je Fortunat, patrijarh iz Grada u sjevernoj Italiji, poslao Ljudevitu zidare za gradnju utvrda. Vjerojatno su se gradile i crkvene zgrade. Kršćani Romani, stanovnici Siscije koji su umakli barbarskom bijesu, naselili su se po brežuljcima južno od Siska na Kiringradu (Sv. Kvirin je sisački biskup – mučenik). Ostaci gotovo kiklopskih zidina i nekih čudnih, dosad, neobjašnjenih zgrada još se mogu vidjeti na vjetru izloženoj uzvišici. Latini su preživjeli dovoljno dugo da Slavenima prenesu ime Quirinus (Kirin). Kvirinu su bile posvećene i srednjovjekovne crkve u nedalekoj Hrastovici i Boviću. Romani su se zacijelo izmiješali sa Slavenima u Kiringradu i okolici. Nije isključeno da su neki od podanika kneza Ljudevita u Sisku bili romanske krvi.

Na istočnoj strani planine Medvednice kraj Zagreba nalaze se ruševine stare utvrde po imenu Koželin. Koželin, Kozelin, Košljun – sva ta imena proizlaze iz latinskog "castelione" (mali dvorac) i upućuju na naselje romaniziranog stanovništva. Skupine Latina ili njihovih pohrvaćenih potomaka, tvorile su zamjetnu populacijsku skupinu, sve do zrelog srednjeg vijeka, duboko u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj. Nije isključeno da su upravo one pridonijele održanju bar nekih vještina gradnje i klesarstva iz prošlosti.

U mnogo većoj mjeri to se dogodilo uz obalu. Istraživanja Ive Petriciolija u Zadru iznijela su na vidjelo određen broj ulomaka skulpture i natpisa iz vremena između VI. i VII. stoljeća (Petricioli, 1960). Iako u manjem opsegu, nastavlja se građevinska aktivnost. Zadarske crkve Sv. Vida i Sv. Donata iz vremena su prije 800. Mnoge građevine na hrvatskom etničkom području oblikovane su po uzoru na gradske građevine – Sv. Križ u Ninu po uzoru na Sv. Vid u Zadru, popularne višepisdne građevine u obliku lista djeteline, pojavljuju se i u gradovima i izvan njih (Zadar, Split, Trogir; Brnaze, Bribir, Ošlje, Rogačiči u Bosni ...). Jesu li ih gradili domaći arhitekti iz dalmatinskih gradova? Reducirani prozori i izrazite nepravilnosti Sv. Križa u Ninu upućuju na lokalnog hrvatskog zidara. Postoje i varijante ove teme npr. Sv. Juraj u Ravanjskoj, sićušna longi-

1999). As the system of parishes was introduced in the course of the 11th century those "row cemeteries" were replaced by burying around early parish churches, which are still to be identified and explored. Even here we have a number of indications, hundreds of "gradište" forts (pl. "gradišta"; hillfort, walburg, motta), earth and wood fortifications which are difficult to date at the present day (Tkalčec, 2004), but some of which may date from the early medieval period (for example those along the Drava river and on the northern slope of the Bilogora Mountain, which would have lost their strategic sense after the personal union of Hungary and Croatia in 1102, but which should have played an important role in stopping Hungarian raids across the Drava between the 9th and the 11th century). A considerable number of the "gradišta" mark in all likelihood sites of old parishes, and there is a chance that by careful investigation we may even find traces of architecture.

With Siscia/Sisak we have introduced yet another issue, and this is of the ethnic origin of the creators of the earliest monumental art in Croatia. Siscia is supposed to have been destroyed during the period of invasions. But by 800 it must have become a fairly decent settlement again, since this is where the Duke of Pannonic Croatia, Ljudevit, had his court. Building was going on in Sisak at that time, since we learn that Fortunatus, Patriarch of Grado in Northern Italy sent Ljudevit masons to help construct fortifications. The church building must have been going on, too. The Christian, Roman, inhabitants of Siscia, those who escaped the barbarian fury, settled in the hills to the South, at Kiringrad (St. Quirinus was the bishop-martyr of Siscia). Remains of almost cyclopean walls and some strange, so far unexplained structures, still can be seen on the wind swept hill. The Latins survived long enough to pass on the name to the Slavs (Quirinus-Kirin). No doubt, they mixed with the Slavs at Kiringrad and in its vicinity. Not unlikely, some of the subjects of Duke Ljudevit in Sisak were of Latin blood. Churches at Bović and Hrastovica nearby were dedicated to St. Quirin.

In the eastern Medvednica Mountain near Zagreb stand the ruins of an old fortress, called Koželin. Kozelin, Koželin, Kuzolin, Košljun – all such names derive from the Latin "castelione" (small castle), and indicate a settlement of Romanized population. The pockets of Latins, or their Croatized descendants thus represented a noticeable population group, maybe well into the high Middle Ages, deep in Continental Croatia. It is not impossible that they contributed to survival of at least some skills of building and carving.

On a more major scale this is true of the coast. Investigations in Zadar by Professor Petricioli have disclosed a number of sculpture fragments and inscriptions datable between the 6th and 8th centuries (Petricioli, 1960). On a limited scale, building activity went on. The Zadar churches of St. Vid and St. Donat date probably from before 800. Many buildings on Croatian ethnic territory are modeled after those in the cities – Holy Cross in Nin was modeled after St. Vid in Zadar, popular polyconchal buildings appear both in the cities and outside (Zadar, Split; Brnaze, Bribir, Ošlje, Rogačići in Bosnia). But were they built by Latin architects? Reduced windows and pronounced irregularities of Holy Cross in Nin speak for a local, Croatian, mason. Or there are variations on the theme, such as St. Juraj at Ravanjska, a tiny, longitudinal chapel, covered by an elliptical vault/"dome," inspired by a type of ancient memorial building which is more directly copied by St. Pelegrin at Savar. St. Juraj is again, most likely, an original invention of a Croatian builder. Investigations by Tomislav Marasović and Radoslav Bužančić have revealed a number of creations of those "transitional" centuries within or near Diocletian's Palace (Bužančić, 2003, 2004; Marasović, 1994).

Oltarna pregrada, katedrala
Sv. Dujma, Split.

Choir-screen panel,
St. Dujam's cathedral, Split.

Buildings of the second, Royal Group, do not appear in the cities, but some of their elements such as the westwork (a monumental western massif or tower, a major contribution of the Carolingian builders to the history of European architecture) may have influenced urban architects. The buildings of the third, Early Romanesque Group, appear both in the cities and outside.

Still, Dalmatian cities display in some cases a high degree of artistic independence. As if they wanted to remind us that they paid tribute to Croatian rulers, that their citizens traded and intermarried with the Slavs, that they learned the newcomers language, but never quite gave up their municipal independence. There is a number of small but rather elaborate buildings in Zadar, Trogir, Split and Dubrovnik which stand apart. They show a certain, rather loose, provincial Byzantinism, comparable to para-Byzantine monuments of Southern Italy. Yet, even here, as we shall see, some elements may have infiltrated themselves from the extra-urban territory.



tudinalna kapela, pokrivena izduženim eliptičnim svodom. Inspirirana je tipom antičke memorijalne građevine koju neposrednije oponaša crkva Sv. Pelegrina u Savru. Istraživanja Tomislava Marasović i Radoslava Bužančića iznijela su na svjetlo dana niz ostvarenja iz tih "prijelaznih" stoljeća unutar ili u blizini Dioklecijanove palače (Bužančić, 2003, 2004; Marasović, 1994).

Građevine kraljevske skupine ne pojavljuju se u gradovima, ali neki njihovi elementi, npr. "westwerk" (monumentalni zapadni masiv, ključni doprinos karolinških graditelja povijesti europske arhitekture) možda su utjecali na urbano graditeljstvo. Građevine ranoromaničke skupine pojavljuju se i u gradovima i izvan njih.

Neki su dalmatinski gradovi ipak uživali visok stupanj umjetničke neovisnosti. Oni kao da nas podsjećaju na to da su njihovi građani trgovali i međusobno vjenčavali se sa Slavenima, da su naučili jezik došljaka, ali da se nikad nisu odrekli svoje municipalne samostalnosti. Postoji niz malenih ali usavršenih građevina u Zadru, Trogiru, Splitu i Dubrovniku, koje izražavaju taj duh posebnosti, neku vrstu "nejasnog" provincijalnog bizantinizma, koji se može usporediti s parabizantinskim stilom južne Italije. No, i u tim primjerima neki su se elementi u gradove probili iz vangradskog područja.



TRADICIONALNA PREDROMANIČKA SKUPINA

THE TRADITIONAL PRE-ROMANESQUE GROUP

Sv. Križ, Nin.

St. Križ, Nin.

For a seventh century newcomer the old imperial Roman and Byzantine Dalmatia must have appeared like a cultural sweet-shop offering a wide variety of architectural models – Roman, Early Christian and Early Byzantine. Everything one can imagine – from tiny centralized memorial chapels, baptisteries, mausolea, to various forms of large basilican structures. This wealth of sources is reflected in the wealth of the forms of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque group of early Croatian architecture. The buildings of this, the most numerous of the three groups, vary greatly in shape and size, ranging from miniature rotundas to fairly large basilicas. They reproduce with various degrees of accuracy, the forms of earlier local architectural styles. In spite of this diversity of form, they have a number of characteristics in common.

The site is often that of a Roman or Early Christian ruin, itself serving as a source of building material. The masonry technique, mostly rough rubble-work, is inspired by the provincial Roman technique of opus incertum, while the corners of the building may be strengthened by ashlar blocks taken from Ancient ruins. At times the faces of the wall were constructed from more regular pieces of stone approaching the idea of masonry courses, while the filling consists of smaller pieces of rubble intermixed with fragments of brick and profuse quantities of mortar. The material most frequently used is the local limestone. The mortar, often of dubious quality, was usually prepared on the site from materials at hand – coarse sand, even small pebble, mixed with semi-quick, even diluted lime. Such masonry naturally caused pronounced irregularities of structure. But the rough walls were neatly whitewashed, and the interiors were adorned with wall-painting, of which, however, only few traces

Došljacima se u VII. stoljeću, stara imperijalna – rimska i bizantska – Dalmacija vjerojatno činila poput kulturne prodavaonice slatkiša, koja nudi brojne oblike graditeljskih uzora – rimskih, ranokršćanskih i ranobizantskih. Sve što se može zamisliti – od sitnih centralnih memorijalnih kapelica, krstionica i mauzoleja, do različitih velikih bazilikalnih građevina. To bogatstvo izvora odrazilo se u bogatstvu oblika tradicionalne predromaničke skupine u ranoj hrvatskoj arhitekturi. Spomenici te najbrojnije skupine uvelike se razlikuju po obliku i veličini, u rasponu od minijaturnih rotunda do poprilično velikih bazilika. Oponašaju s različitim stupnjem točnosti oblike ranijih lokalnih graditeljskih stilova. Usprkos raznolikosti oblika postoji dosta zajedničkih karakteristika.

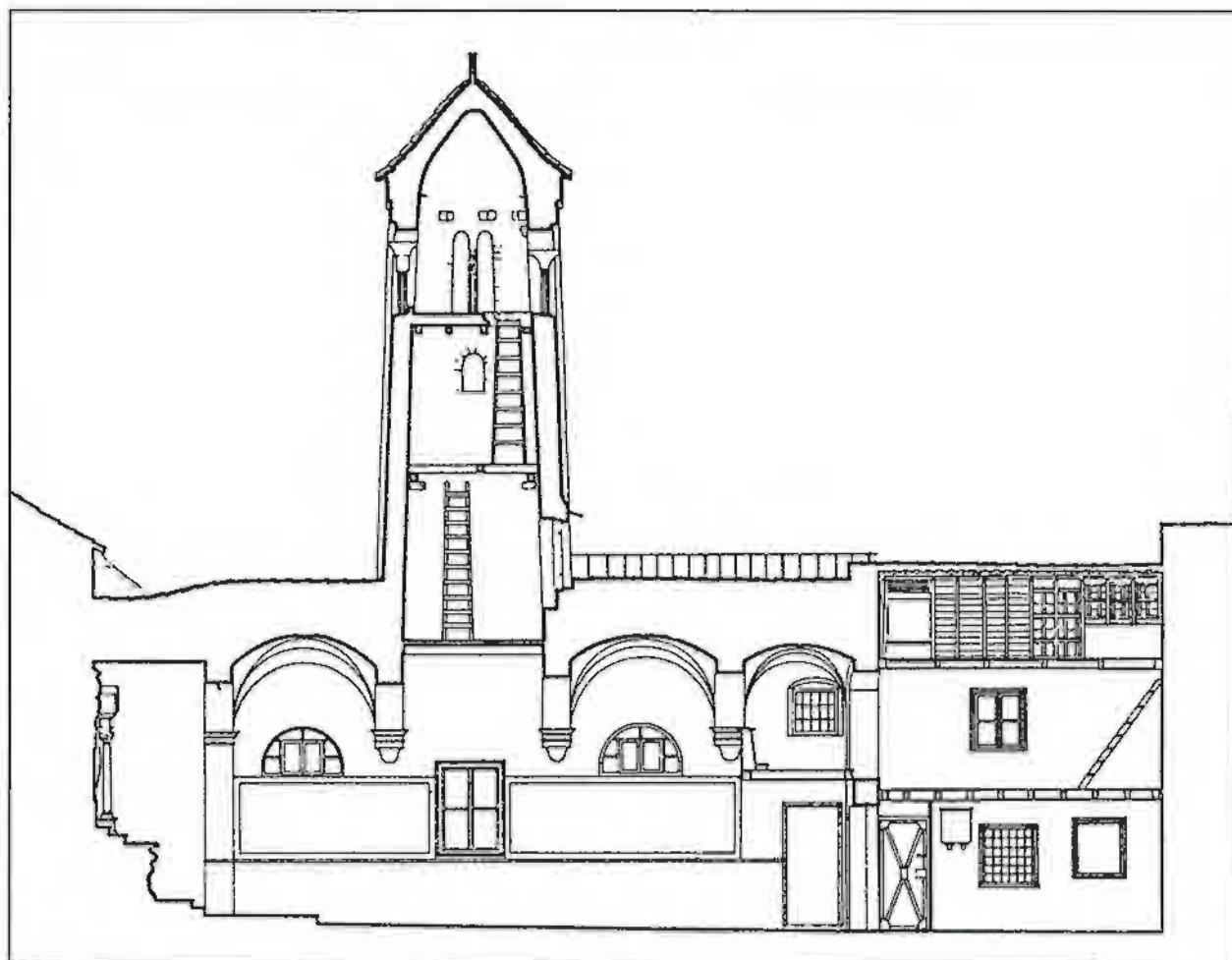
Gradilište je često na mjestu rimske ili ranokršćanske ruševine, koja je ujedno poslužila kao izvor građevnog materijala. Tehnika zidanja, najčešće u grubom lomljencu, nadovezuje se na provincijalnu rimsku tehniku *opus incertum*, dok su uglovi građevine bili učvršćeni blokovima tesanog kamena vjerojatno s antičke ruševine. Zidne su površine katkada izvedene od nešto pravilnijih komada kamena slaganih približno u redove, dok se ispuna sastoji od mješavine lomljenca, opeke i velikih količina žbuke. Najčešće se za gradnju koristi mjesni vapnenac. Žbuka je nerijetko sumnjive kvalitete, pripremljena na gradilištu od priručnog materijala – krupnozrnatog pijeska, čak sitnog šljunka, pomiješanog s poluživim, čak razrijeđenim vapnom. Takvo je zidanje naravno uzrokovalo nepravilnosti konstrukcije. No grubi su zidovi bili pažljivo obijeljeni, a unutrašnjost ukrašena zidnim slikarijama, od kojih je ostalo vrlo malo tragova. Za razliku od

zidova pod je obično bio izveden od pravilnih kamenih ploča. Umjetnost klesanja kamena nije bila sasvim zaboravljena, ali ugladeni komadi čuvali su se za dovratnike i doprozornike, te ostale važne dijelove građevine.

Građevine malog mjerila bile su gotovo bez iznimke nadsvođene. Najčešći tip bio je bačvasti svod, ali se pojavljuje i kupolasti, polukupolasti i križni svod. Kupole i polukupole počivaju najčešće na trompama, ali su u upotrebi i pandantivi. Kupola je obično bila skrivena unutar četvrtastog ili kružnog tornjića, a pokrivena je piramidalnim ili koničnim krovom. Nije teško utvrditi uzor u nadsvođivanju tih malih građevina: to je mnoštvo centralnih nadsvođenih građevina malog mjerila u rimskoj i bizantskoj Dalmaciji (npr. krstionica zadarske katedrale), ali je zanimljivo da se nadsvođivanje primjenjuje i na longitudinalnim konstrukcijama malog mjerila (to je vjerojatno bio običaj već u arhitekturi VII. i VIII. stoljeća, kako to pokazuje crkva Sv. Mihovila na otoku Šipan, mala, longitudinalna,

have survived. Unlike the walls, the pavement was usually made of fairly regular stone slabs. The art of dressing stone had not been forgotten, but the finely polished pieces were reserved for door and window frames, and other prominent parts of the structure.

The small scale buildings were almost without exception vaulted. The most frequently used type is the barrel vault, but domical, semi-domical and groin vaults do occur. The domes and semi-domes rest mostly on squinches, but pendentives were in use, too. The dome is usually hidden within a rectangular or rounded turret covered, respectively, by a pyramidal or conical roof. The source of the vaulting of these small-scale buildings is not difficult to establish: it is the multitude of small-scale, centralized vaulted buildings of Roman and Byzantine Dalmatia (e.g., the baptistery of Zadar Cathedral), but it is interesting that the practice of vaulting spread also to the small-scale longitudinal structures (that this practice may have occurred already in the architecture of the 7th and 8th century is revealed by the church of

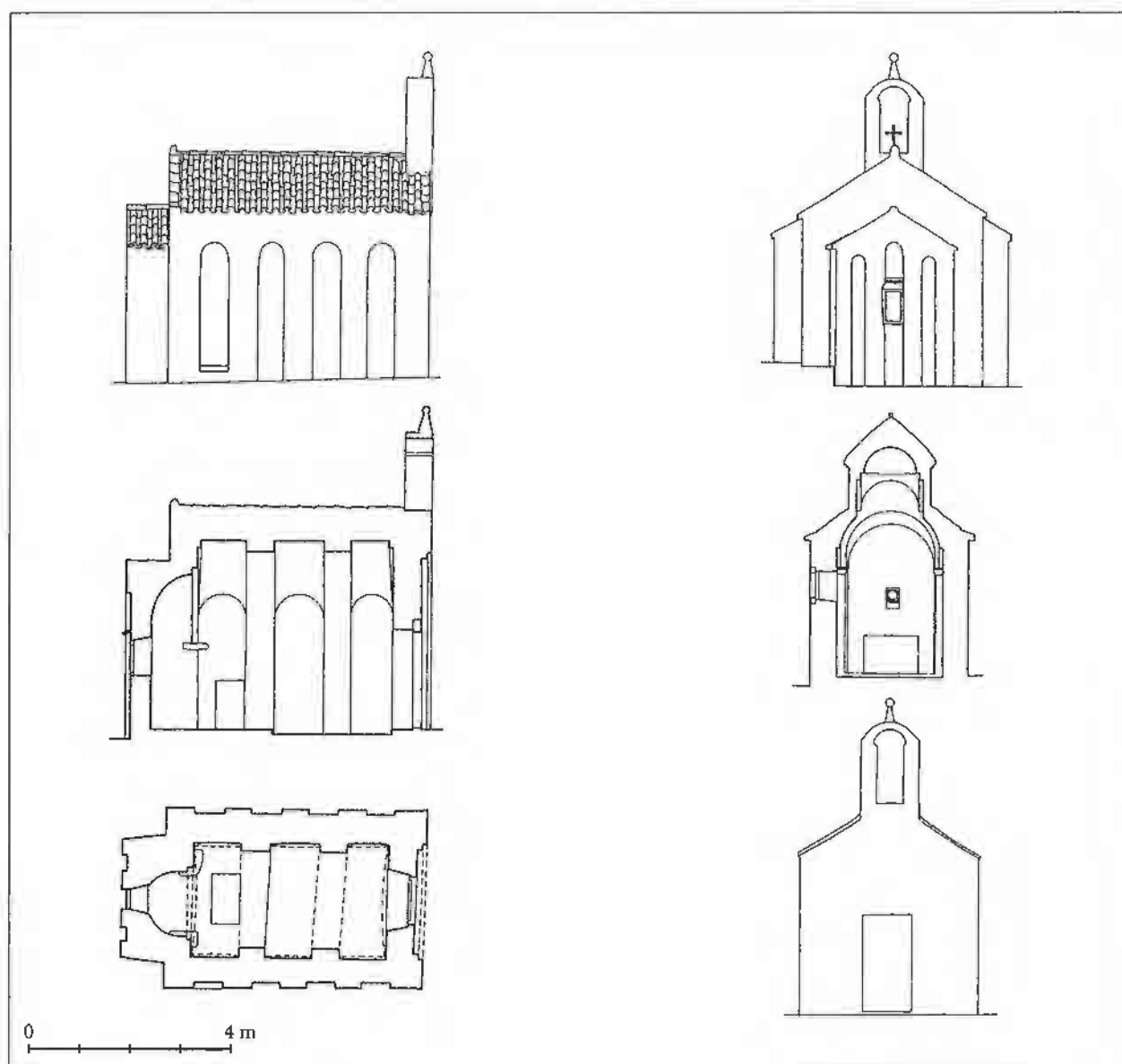


Presjek crkve Gospa od Zvonika, Split.

Our Lady of the Bell Tower, Split, section.



Gospa od zvonika, Split.
Our Lady of the Bell Tower,
Split.



Nacrti crkve Sv. Nikola,
Koločep.

*The plans of the church
St. Nikola, Koločep.*

nadsvođena građevina, koju Igor Fisković smješta u VII. stoljeće; Fisković, 1985, 1998). Ima li ta osobita sklonost nadsvođivanju nešto zajedničkog s navodnom hrvatskom nacionalnom tradicijom konstruiranja drvenih svodova, kako to predlaže Strzygowski? Takvo mišljenje, iako ga je teško potkrijepiti, ne smije se olako odbaciti. U drvenoj arhitekturi upotrebljavaju se sve vrste nadsvođenja, a hrvatski su graditelji mogli izabrati one modele koji ih po upotrebi kamenih svodova podsjećaju na pretpostavljenu vlastitu građevnu tradiciju. Argument u korist takvog mišljenja jest sklonost ravnim linijama i pravim kutovima u najranijem hrvatskom graditeljstvu (jednako kao i u drugim predromaničkim školama) koja bi se mogla objasniti utjecajem drvene arhitekture.

St. Mihovil at Šipan, a small, longitudinal vaulted building dated by Igor Fisković to the 7th ct., Fisković, 1985, 1998). Does this overall predilection for vaulting have anything to do with the alleged Croatian national tradition of constructing wooden vaults, as suggested by Strzygowski? Such an idea, while difficult to substantiate, should not be dismissed too lightly. Architecture in wood uses all kinds of vaulting, and Croatian architects may have selected those models that, through their use of stone vaults, reminded them of their own, presumed, building tradition. An argument in favor of such a notion is the love of straight lines and right angles in early Croatian architecture (the same is true of many other Pre-Romanesque schools) which might be explained as an influence of architecture in wood.

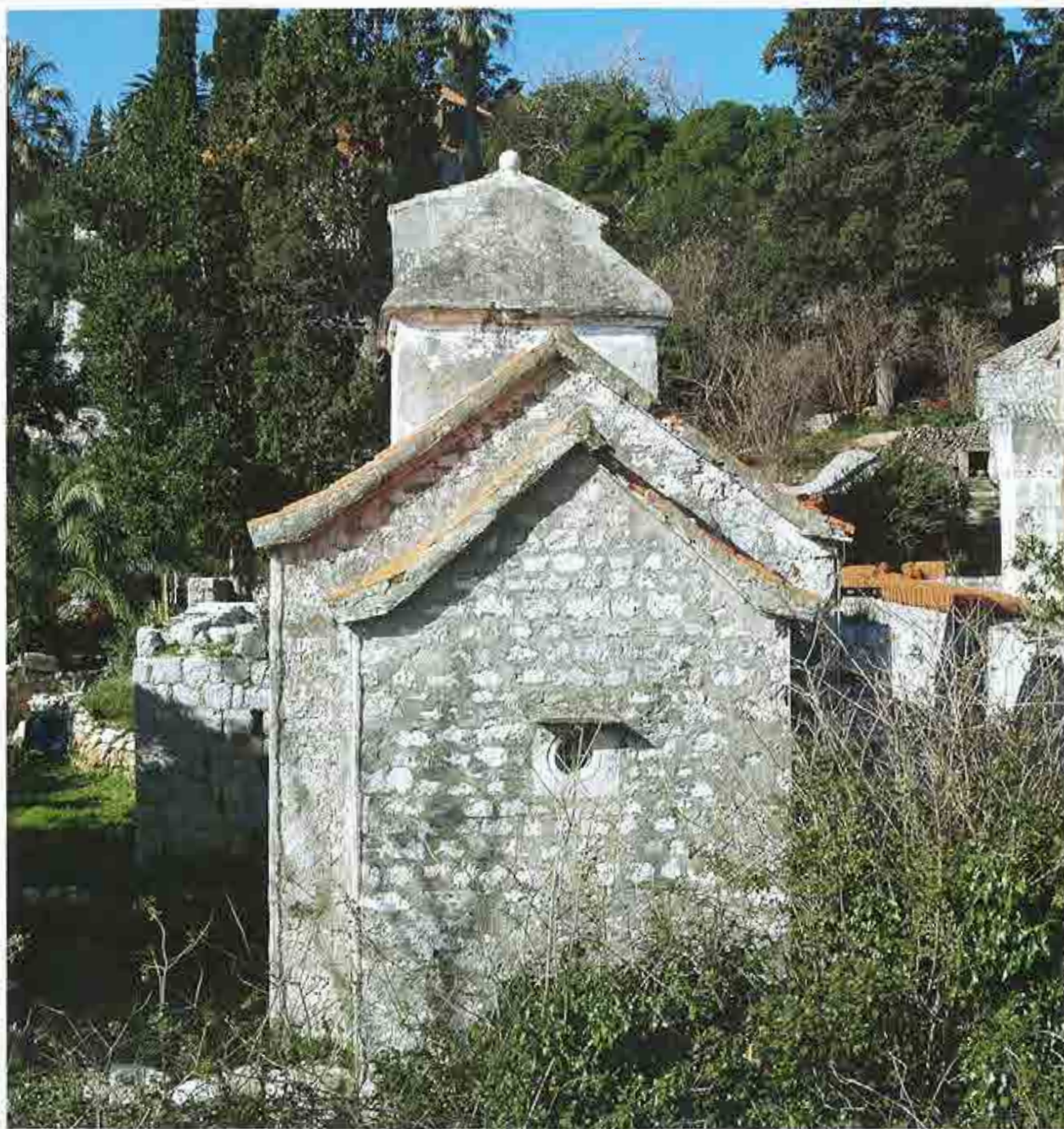


Sv. Nikola, Koločep.

St. Nikola, Koločep.

In small-scale aisled buildings the vaults rest on columns or on rectangular piers. While bases and shafts are almost exclusively ancient spoils; there are examples of Pre-Romanesque capitals, most often stylized descendents of the late Roman Corinthian or Composite. Sometimes the relief is low and forms summary (St. Barbara, Trogir), sometimes the forms burst with volume (St. Nikola, Split), or they may be enhanced by a picturesque interplay of light and shadow (St. Lovro, Zadar).

U malim građevinama sa sporednim lađama svodovi leže na stupovima ili na četvrtastim stupićima. Dok su baze i trupci gotovo bez izuzetaka antikne spolije, ima primjera predromaničkih kapitela, koji su često stilizirani potomci kasnorimskih korintskih ili kompozitnih kapitela. Katkada je reljef plitak i sumaran (Sv. Barbara, Trogir), katkada oblici bujaju do rasprsnuća (Sv. Nikola, Split) ili su pojačani slikovitom igrom svjetla i sjene (Sv. Lovro, Zadar).



Sv. Ante, Koločep.

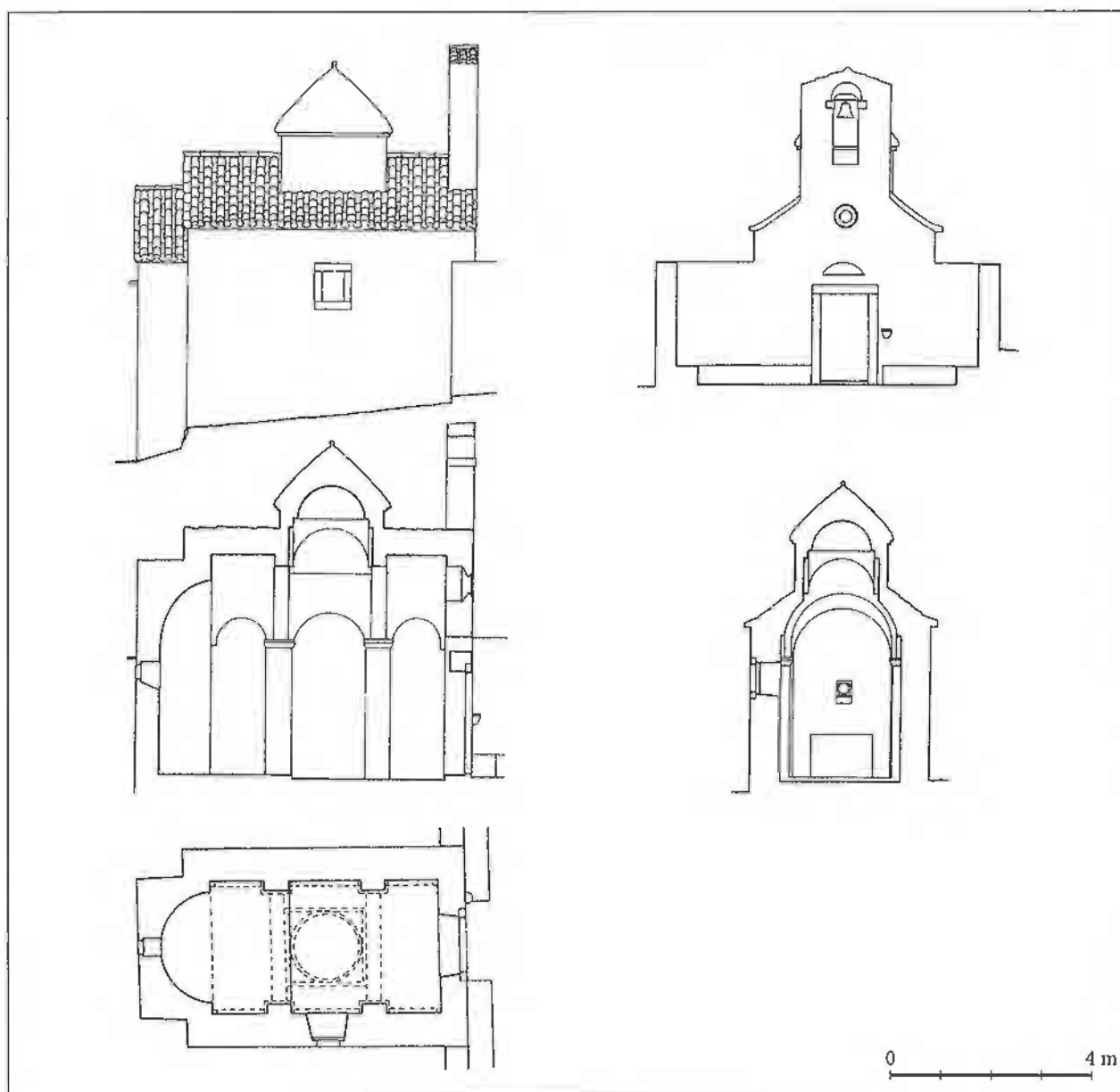
St. Ante, Koločep.

Upotreba stupova ograničena je na dalmatinske gradove, koji su, čini se, zadržali ponešto od stare mediteranske helenističke sklonosti svjetlijoj i življij unutrašnjosti. Izvangradski teritorij daje prednost upotrebi masivnijih stupaca. Nalazimo ih čak i u Saloni/Solinu, gdje su stupovi bili dostupni graditeljima i u visokoj renesansi.

Imposti nad kapitelima pokazuju jednostavne pravokutne, izbrazdane ili konkavne profile. Peta svoda katkad je također označena trakom sličnog oblika. Impost ima važnu ulogu jer na njemu počiva drve-

The use of columns is limited to Dalmatian cities which seem to have retained some of the old Mediterranean Hellenistic love of lighter and livelier interiors. The extramural territory prefers to use the bulkier piers. This occurs even at Solin/Salona, where columns were available to local architects until as late as the High Renaissance.

The impost blocks above the capitals show simple – square, chamfered or cavetto profiles. The springing of the vault is sometimes marked by a string course of similar form. The impost blocks played a fairly im-



Nacrti crkve Sv. Ante,
Koločep.

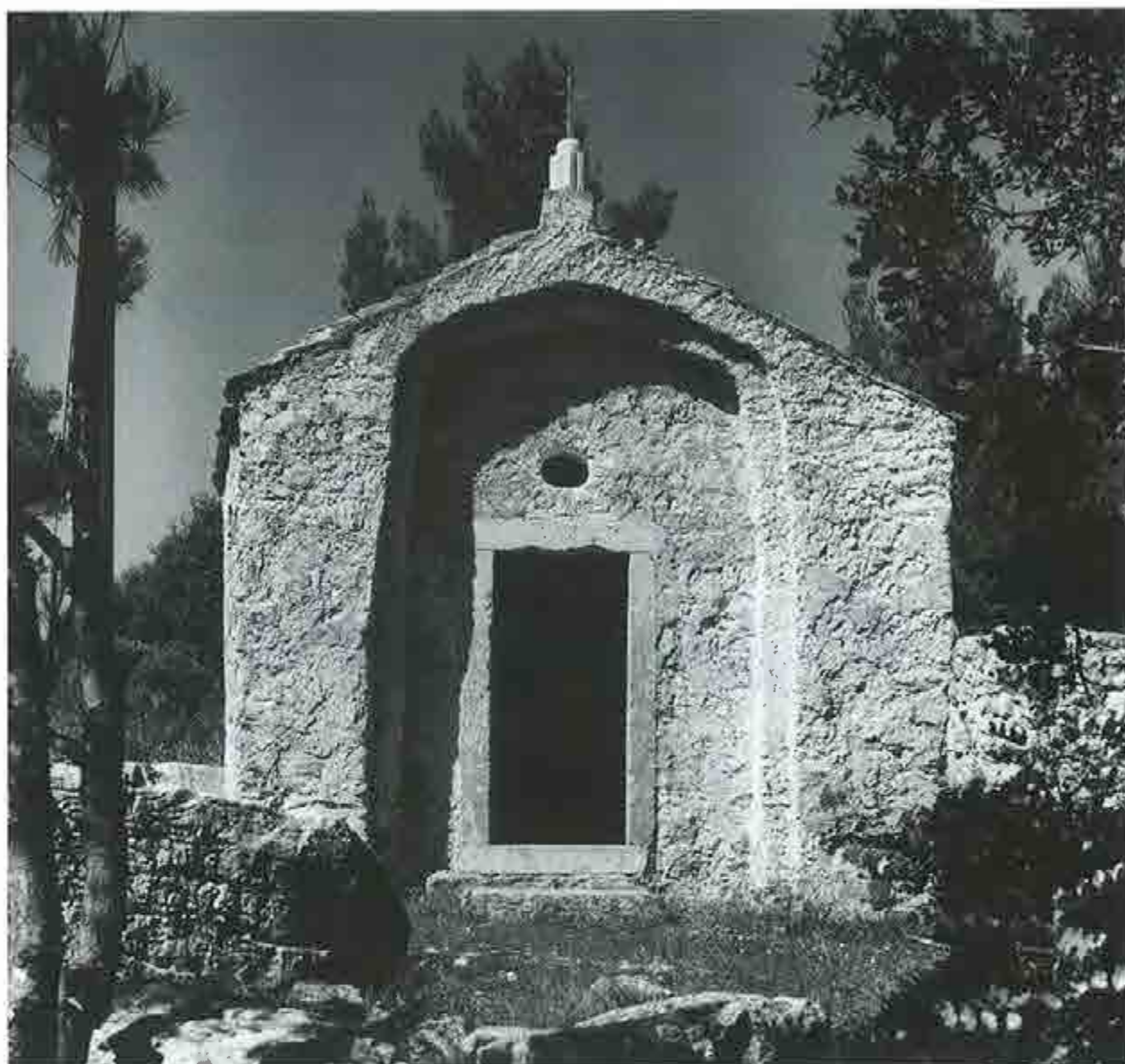
The plans of the church
St. Ante, Koločep.

portant structural role as centering, apparently, rested upon them. The centering itself was prepared in a somewhat sloppy way, causing pronounced irregularities of vaulting. Judging by the traces at Holy Trinity in Split, it was a kind of a basketlike device consisting of a fragile frame carrying two crisscrossed layers of reed. The vaults are often constructed from tufa stone, and sometimes from limestone slabs. Occasionally one finds earthenware jars inserted into the vaults. This reduced the weight of the vault, improved acoustics of the building and also served as a decorative enhancement.

The door openings are predominantly rectangular, surrounded by a polished stone frame, in some cases adorned by interlaces or even animal and floral mo-

na oplata koja nosi svod dok se vezivo ne stvrdne. Sama oplata izvedena je površno, uzrokujući izrazite nepravilnosti svodova. Sudeći po tragovima kod Sv. Trojice u Splitu, bila je poput neke velike košare koja se sastojala od krhkog okvira s dva prekrížena sloja trske. Svodovi su često od sedre, a i od ploča vapnenca. Katkad nalazimo glinene posude ugrađene u svodove. Time se smanjuje težina svoda, poboljšava akustika zgrade, a postiže se i dekorativni učinak.

Ulazni su otvori pretežno pravokutni, optočeni klesanim okvirima, u nekim slučajevima ukrašeni pletrom, ili čak životinjskim ili cvjetnim motivima (Sv. Lovro, Zadar; Sv. Mihajlo, Ston; Sv. Bartol, Dubrovnik – okvir prenesen iz dubrovačke crkve

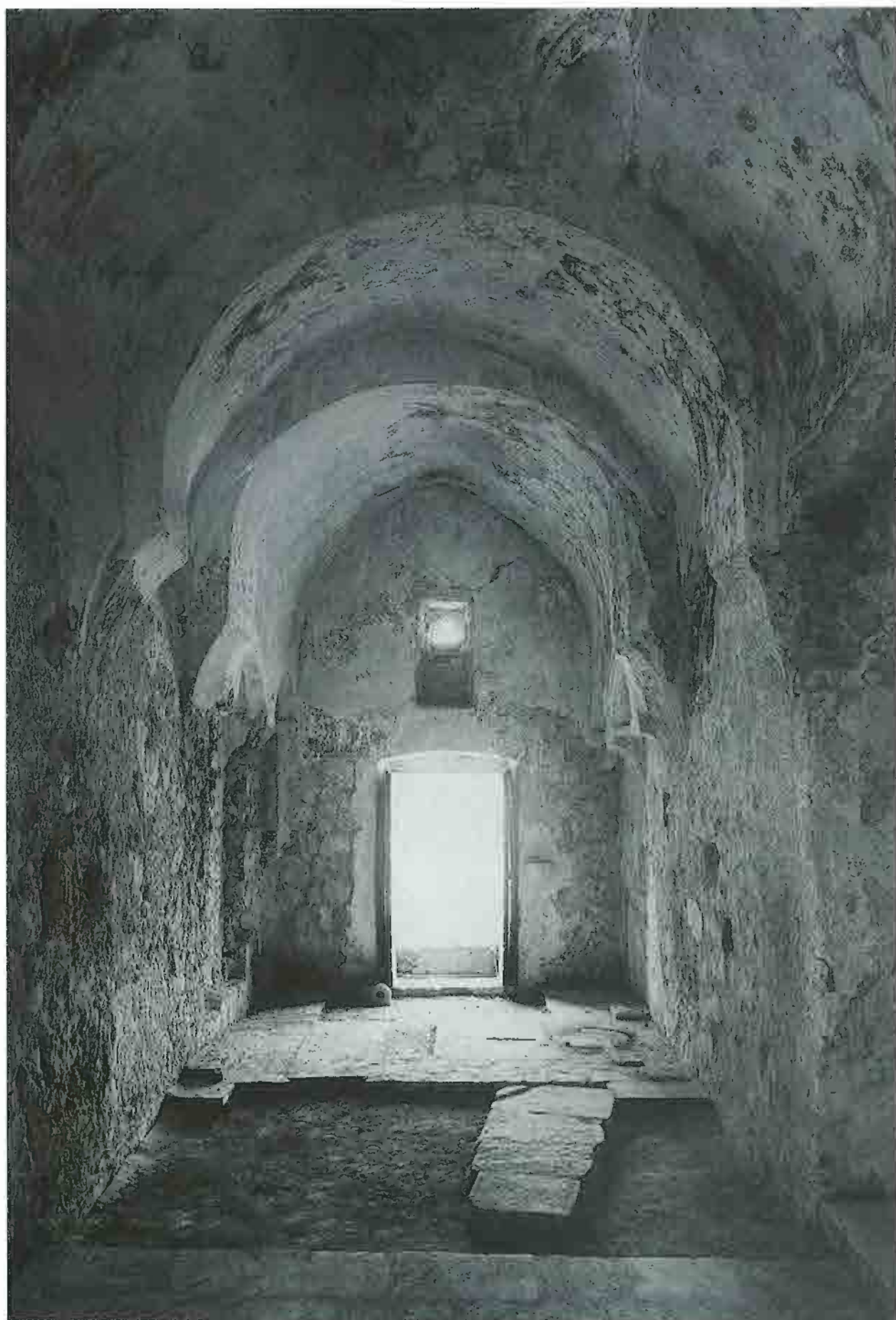


Sv. Luka, Lastovo.

St. Luka, Lastovo.

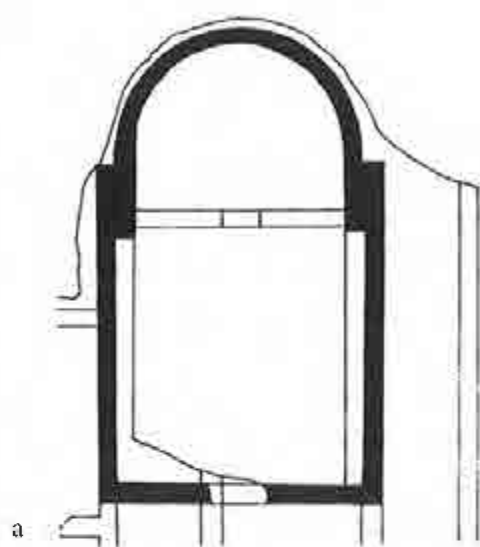
Sv. Kuzme i Damjana). Ulazna su vrata vjerojatno bila nadvišena lunetom, rasteretnim lukom ili čak visećim portikom (Sv. Nikola, Split). Prozori su najčešće jednostavni, lučni ili pravokutni otvori, iznutra prošireni kosinom. Veći lučni otvori pokriveni su transenama, probušenim kamenim pločama s kružnim ili romboidnim otvorima, ili u obliku ribljih ljusti (Sv. Ilija, Lopud; Sv. Petar, Dubrovnik; Sv. Mihovil, Brnaze; Sv. Andrija, Vrgada; Sv. Nikola, Poveljana). Neki su prozorski okviri urešeni pletrom (Sv. Mihajlo, Ston). Ima nekoliko primjera kružnih otvora, oculusa (Sv. Petar u Priku kraj Omiša) ili križnih prozora (Sv. Donat, Zadar). Mali otvori koji se ponekad nalaze odmah ispod streha služili su, čini se, za dodatno prozračivanje. Prozori su se vjerojatno zatvarali drvenim kapcima. Vrata

tifs (St. Lovro, Zadar; St. Mihajlo, Ston; St. Bartol, Dubrovnik – the doorway has been transferred from SS. Kuzma and Damjan). The door may be surmounted by a lunette, a discharge arch, or even a hanging porch (St. Nikola, Split). The windows are most frequently simple, round-headed or rectangular slits, splayed inside. If there are larger round-headed openings, these are covered by transennae, pierced stone slabs, with rounded, lozenge-shaped, or fish-scale opening (St. Ilija, Lopud; St. Petar, Dubrovnik; St. Mihovil, Brnazi; St. Andrija, Vrgada; St. Nikola, Poveljana). Some window frames are decorated by interlaces (St. Mihajlo, Ston). There are a examples of oculi (St. Petar at Priko, Omiš), or cross-shaped openings (St. Donat, Zadar). Small perforations found sometimes right underneath the eaves seem to have served for additional

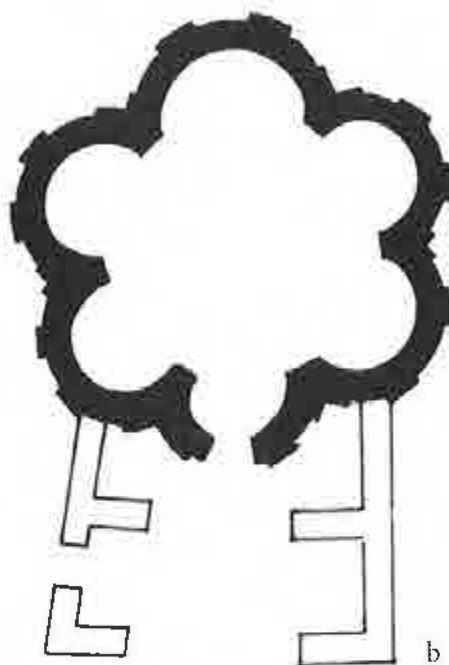


Sv. Mihovil, Šipan.

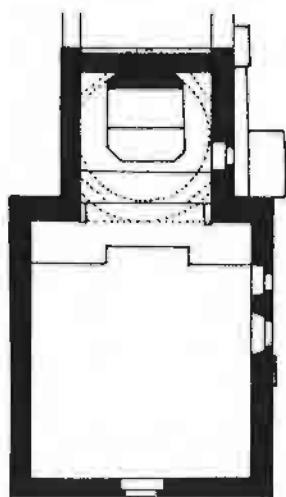
St. Mihovil, Šipan.



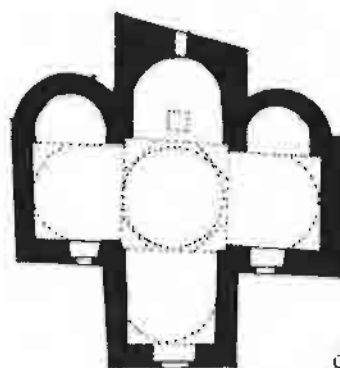
a



b



c



d

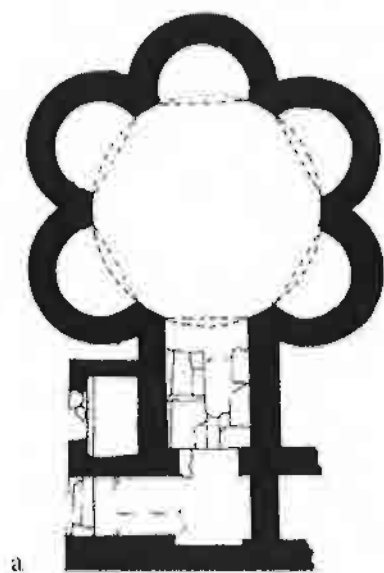
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Tloerti crkvi:

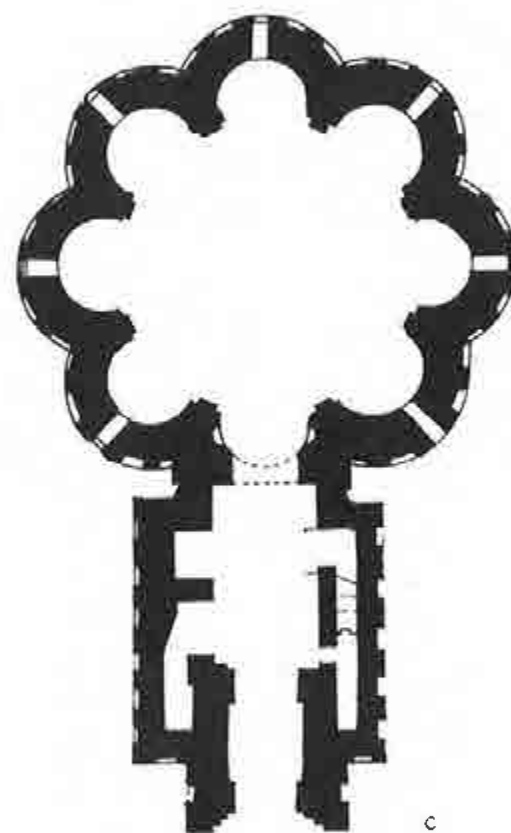
- a Sv. Petar, Rižnice
- b Sv. Mihovil, Prigrada
- c Sv. Pelegrin, Savar
(Dugi otok)
- d Sv. Križ, Nin.

The plans of the churches:

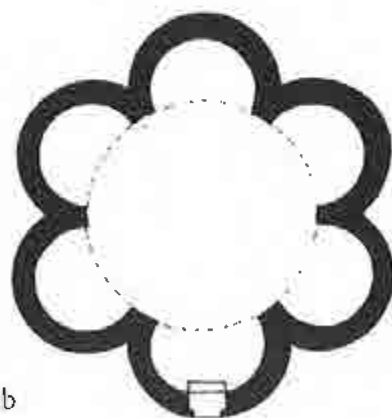
- a St. Petar, Rižnice
- b St. Mihovil, Prigrada
- c St. Pelegrin, Savar
(Dugi otok)
- d St. Križ, Nin.



a



c



b

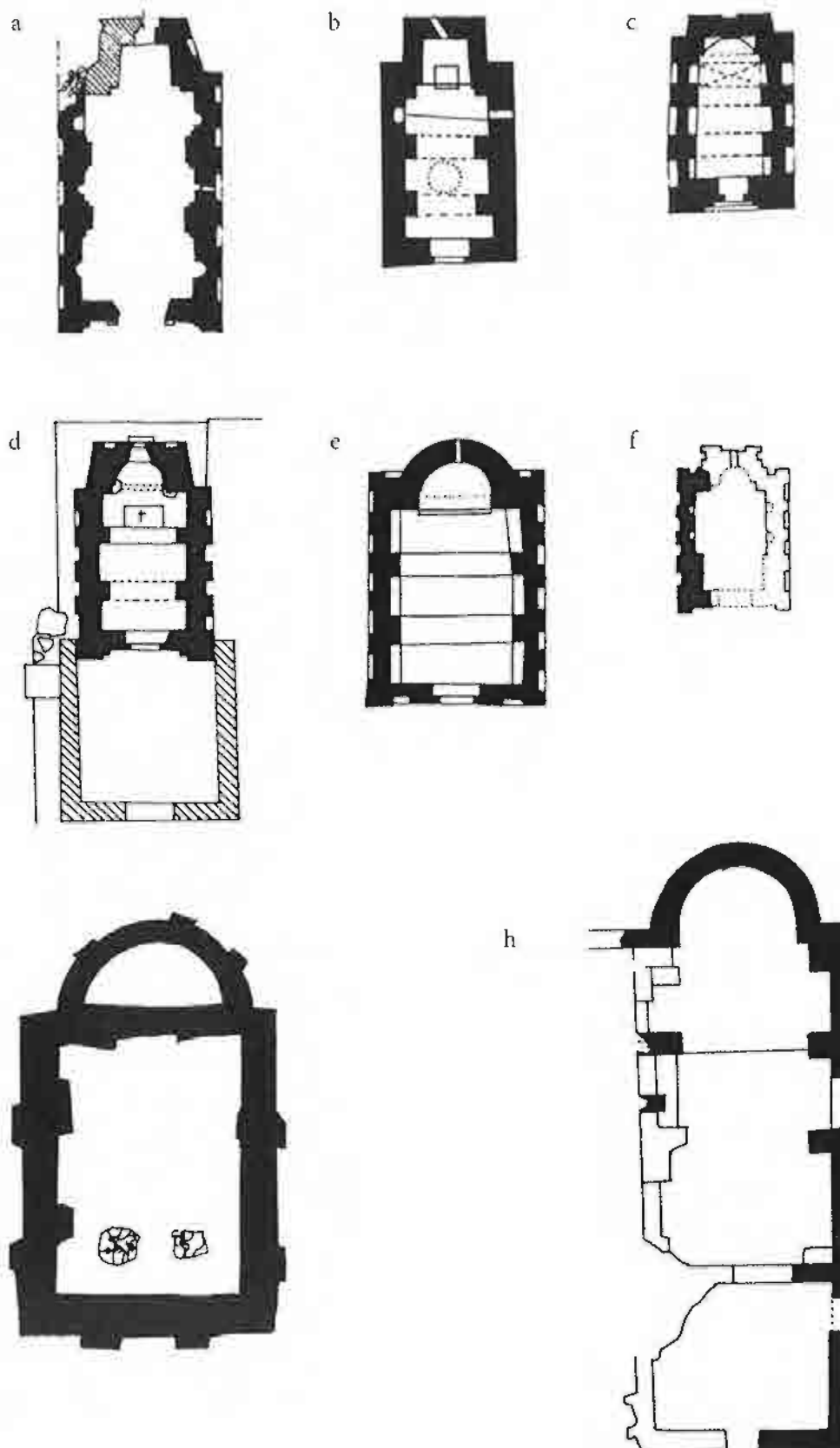
Tlocrti crkvi:

- a Sv. Marija (Stomorica), Zadar
- b Sv. Marija, Trogir
- c crkva u Ošlju.

The plans of the churches:

- a St. Marija (Stomorica), Zadar
- b St. Marija, Trogir
- c the church at Ošlje.

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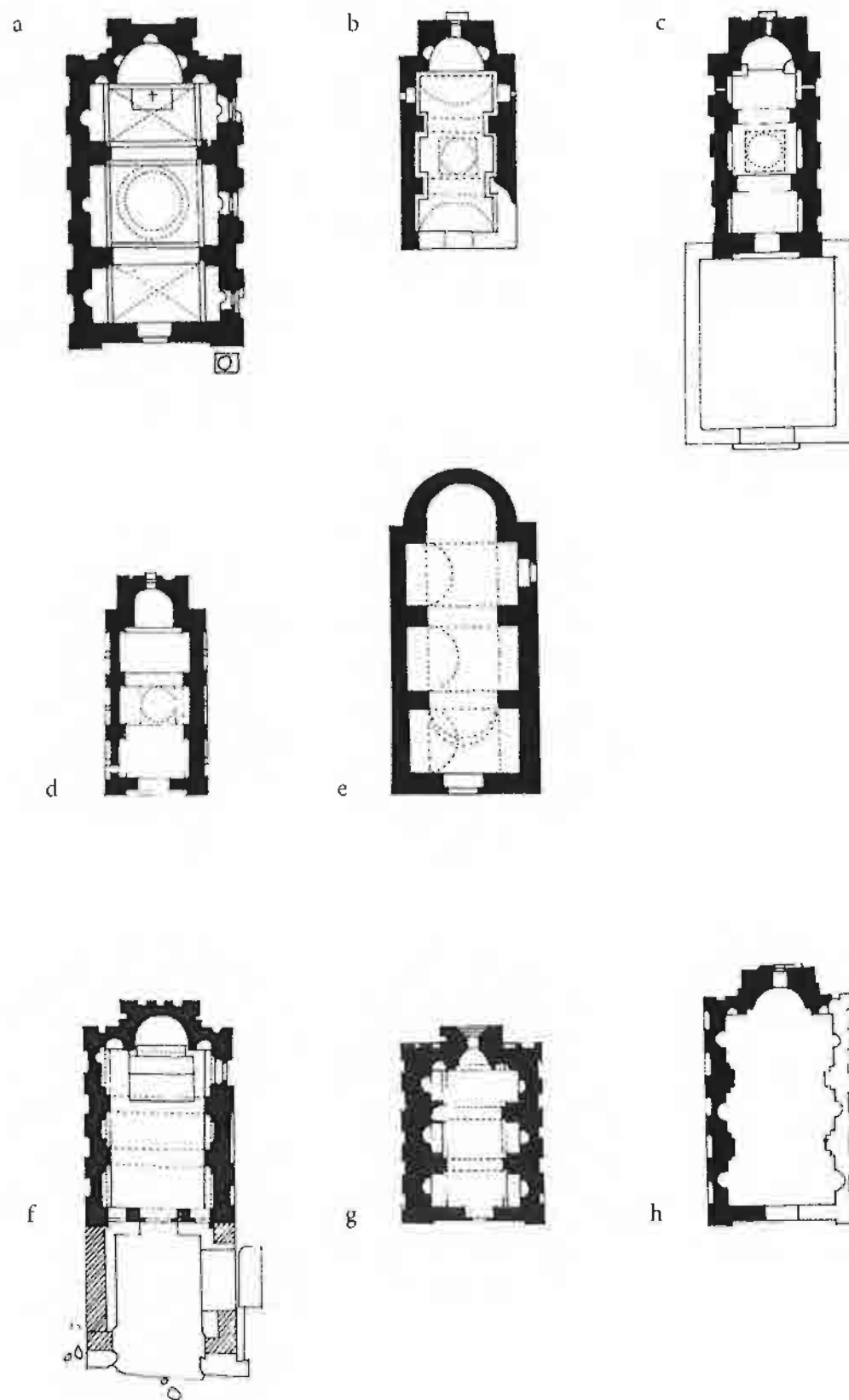
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Tlocrt crkvi:

- a Sv. Petar, Šipan
- b Sv. Nikola, Selca (Brač)
- c Sv. Luka, Lastovo
- d Sv. Nikola, Koločep
- e Sv. Juraj, Nerežišće (Brač)
- f Sv. Mihovil, Mrkan
- g Sv. Ilija, Vinkovci
- h Sv. Ivan, Telašćica (Dugi otok).

The plans of the churches:

- a St. Petar, Šipan
- b St. Nikola, Selca (Brač)
- c St. Luka, Lastovo
- d St. Nikola, Koločep
- e St. Juraj, Nerežišće (Brač)
- f St. Mihovil, Mrkan
- g St. Ilija, Vinkovci
- h St. Ivan, Telašćica (Dugi otok).



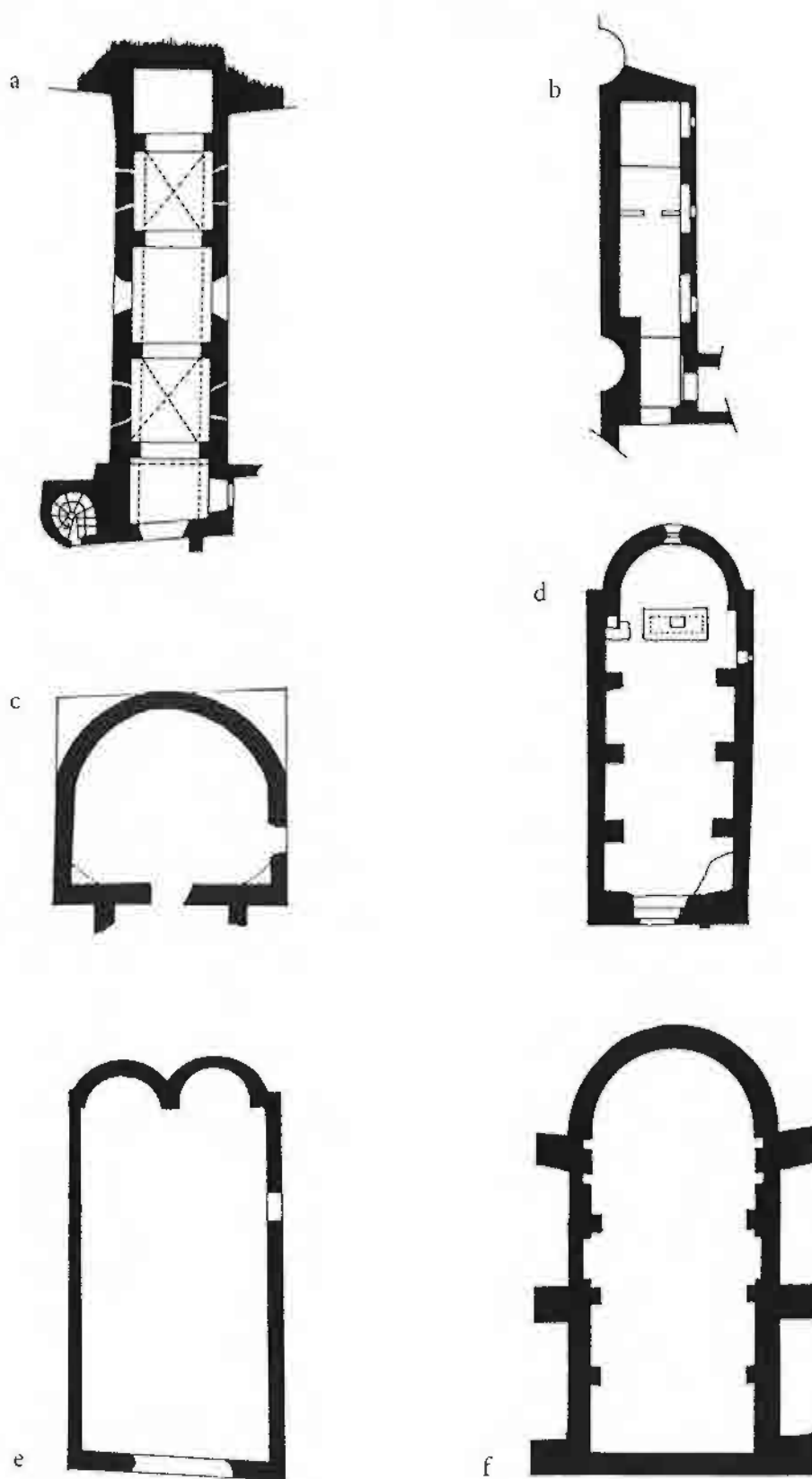
Tlocrti crkvi:

- a Sv. Petar u Pribu, Omiš
- b Sv. Ilija, Lopud
- c Sv. Ivan, Lopud
- d Sv. Nikola, Lopud
- e Sv. Andrija, Vrgada
- f Sv. Dimitrije, Gabrili
- g Sv. Mihovil, Ston
- h Sv. Toma, Kuti.

The plans of the churches:

- a St. Petar u Pribu, Omiš
- b St. Ilija, Lopud
- c St. Ivan, Lopud
- d St. Nikola, Lopud
- e St. Andrija, Vrgada
- f St. Dimitrije, Gabrili
- g St. Mihovil, Ston
- h St. Toma, Kuti.

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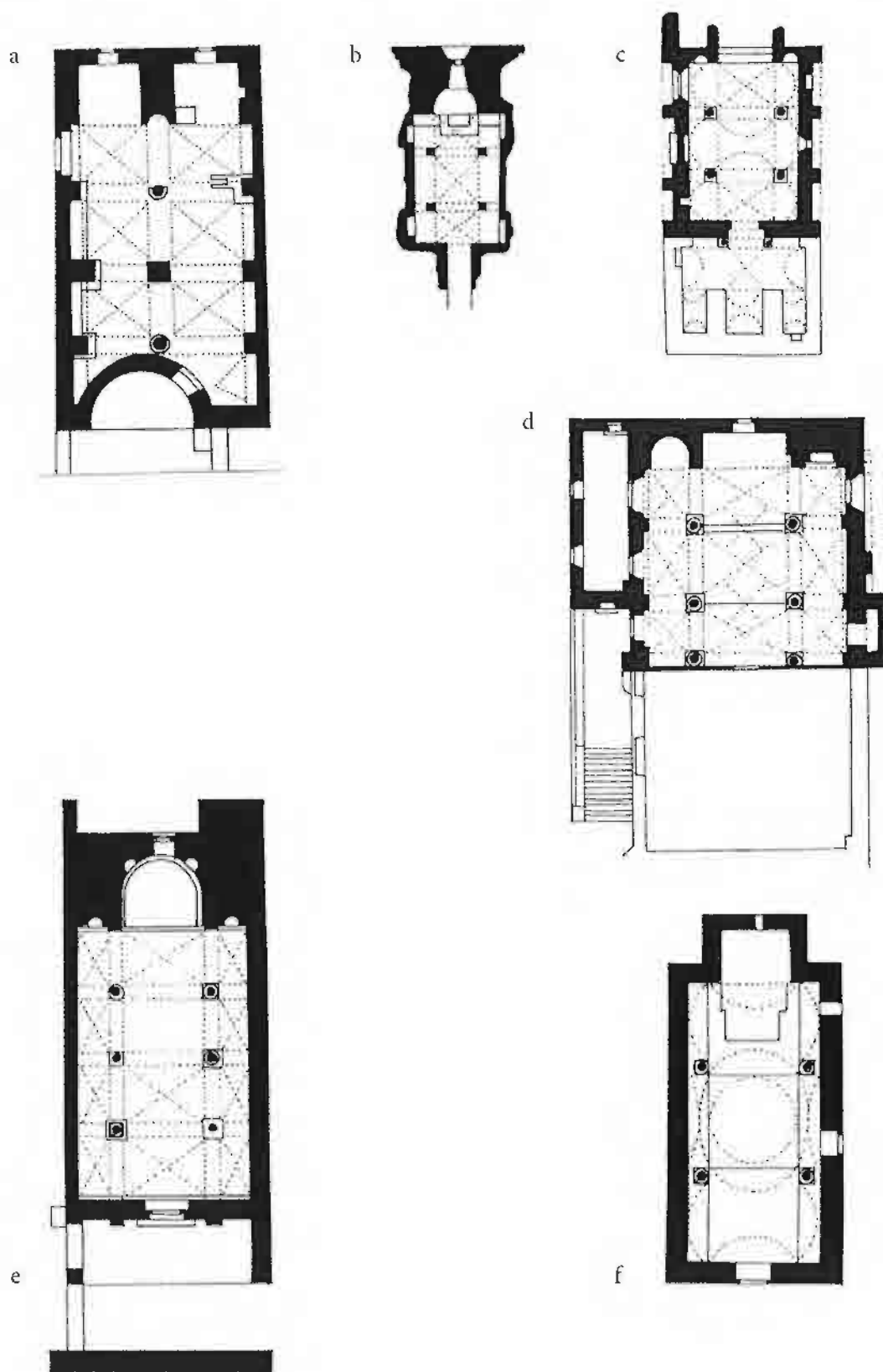


Tlocrti crkvi:

- a Gospa od zvonika, Split
- b Sv. Martin, Split
- c Sudanel, Seget
- d Sv. Nikola, Povljane (Pag)
- e Sv. Platon, Osor (Cres)
- f Sv. Luka, Uzdolje.

The plans of the churches:

- a Gospa od zvonika, Split
- b St. Martin, Split
- c Sudanel, Seget
- d St. Nikola, Povljane (Pag)
- e St. Platon, Osor (Cres)
- f St. Luka, Uzdolje.



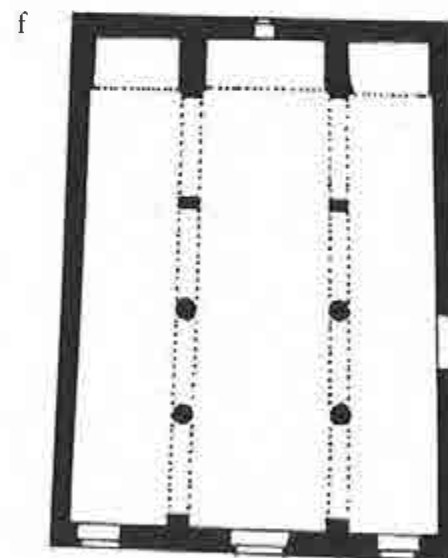
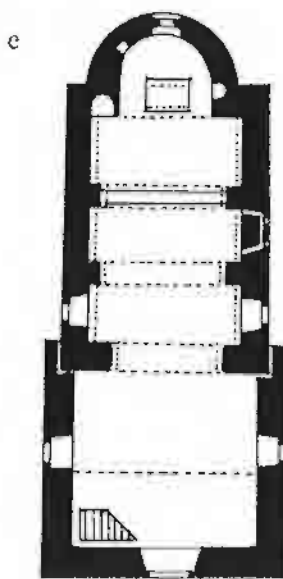
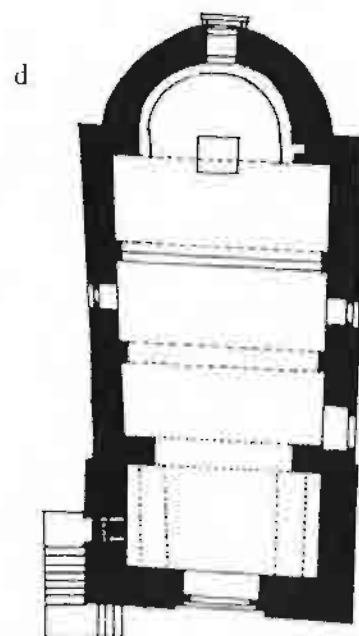
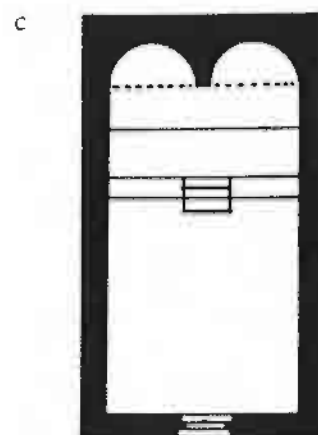
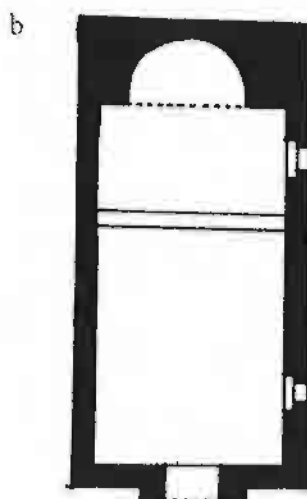
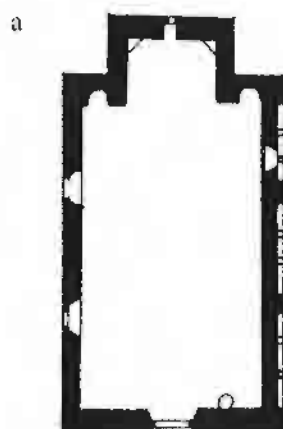
Tlocrti crkvi:

- a Sv. Petar Stari, Zadar
- b Sv. Petar Stari,
Dubrovnik
- c Sv. Lovro, Zadar
- d Sv. Nediljica, Zadar
- e Sv. Martin (Sv. Barbara),
Trogir
- f Sv. Nikola, Split.

The plans of the churches:

- a St. Petar Stari, Zadar
- b St. Petar Stari,
Dubrovnik
- c St. Lovro, Zadar
- d St. Nediljica, Zadar
- e St. Martin (St. Barbara),
Trogir
- f St. Nikola, Split.

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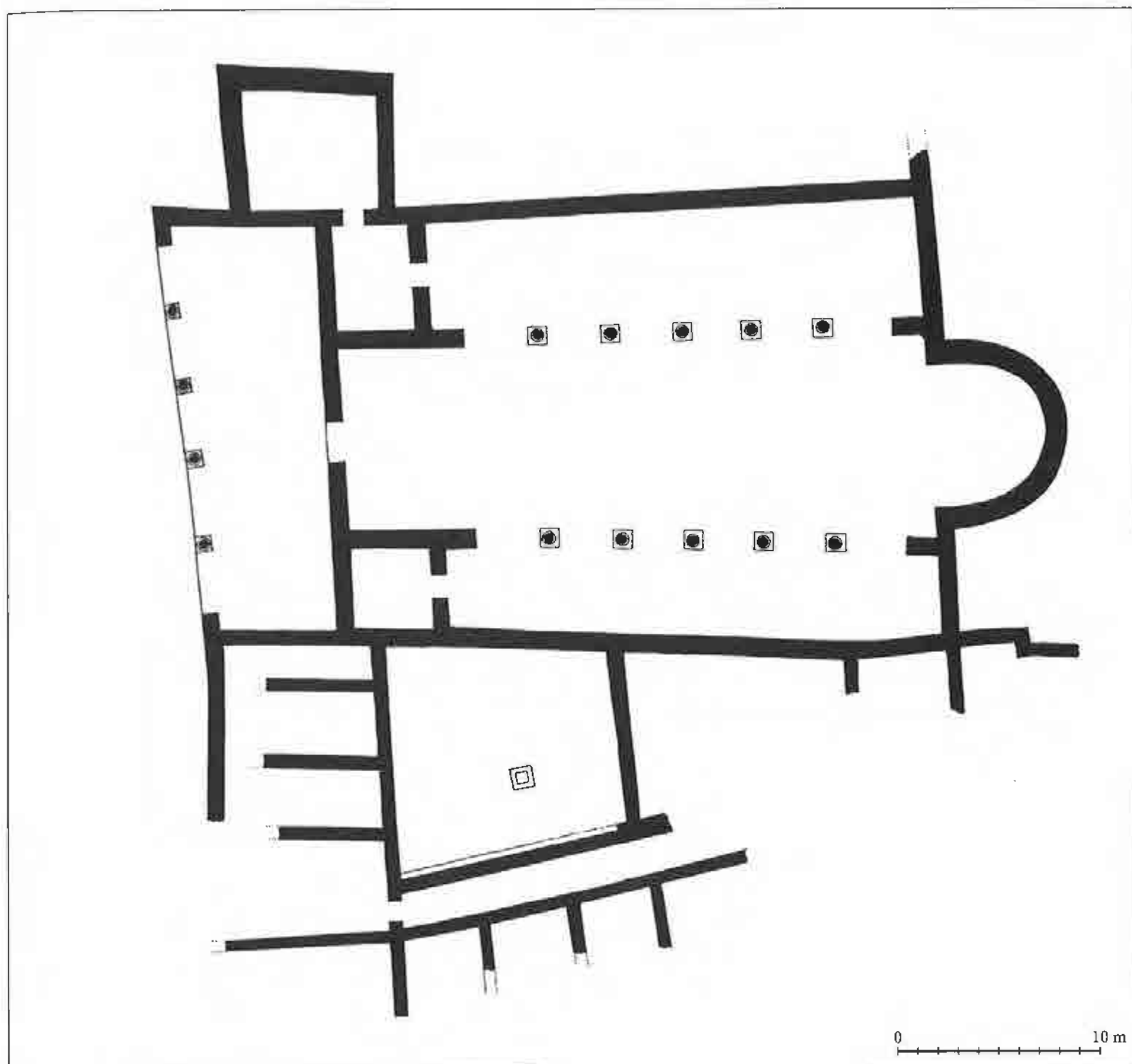
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Tlocrti crkvi:

- a Sv. Petar, Kula Atlagića
- b Sv. Jerolim, Hum
- c Sv. Kvirin, Jasenovik
- d Gospa u Lužinama, Ston
- e Miranje, Vrana
- f Sv. Foška, Peroj.

The plans of the churches:

- a St. Petar, Kula Atlagića
- b St. Jerolim, Hum
- c St. Kvirin, Jasenovik
- d Gospa u Lužinama, Ston
- e Miranje, Vrana
- f St. Foška, Peroj.



Tlocrt crkve: Sv. Stjepan
u Sustipanu, Split.

*The plans of the church
St. Stjepan at Sustipanu, Split.*

ventilation. The windows were probably covered by wooden shutters. The doors revolved round posts inserted into holes in the threshold and the lintel, and opened inwards.

Architectural decoration of exterior consists of pilaster strips enframing shallow blind arches, or in some instances, standing by themselves (St. Dimitrije, Gabrili).

su se okretala oko drvene motke usadene u udubljenja na pragu i nadvratniku, i otvarala se prema unutra.

Arhitektonski ukras vanjštine sastoji se od lezana, koje se u vrhu spajaju u slijepe lukove, a u nekim primjerima stoje zasebno (Sv. Dimitrije, Gabrili). Taj dekorativni sustav, u upotrebi u jadranskom po-



Sv. Mihovil, Igrane.

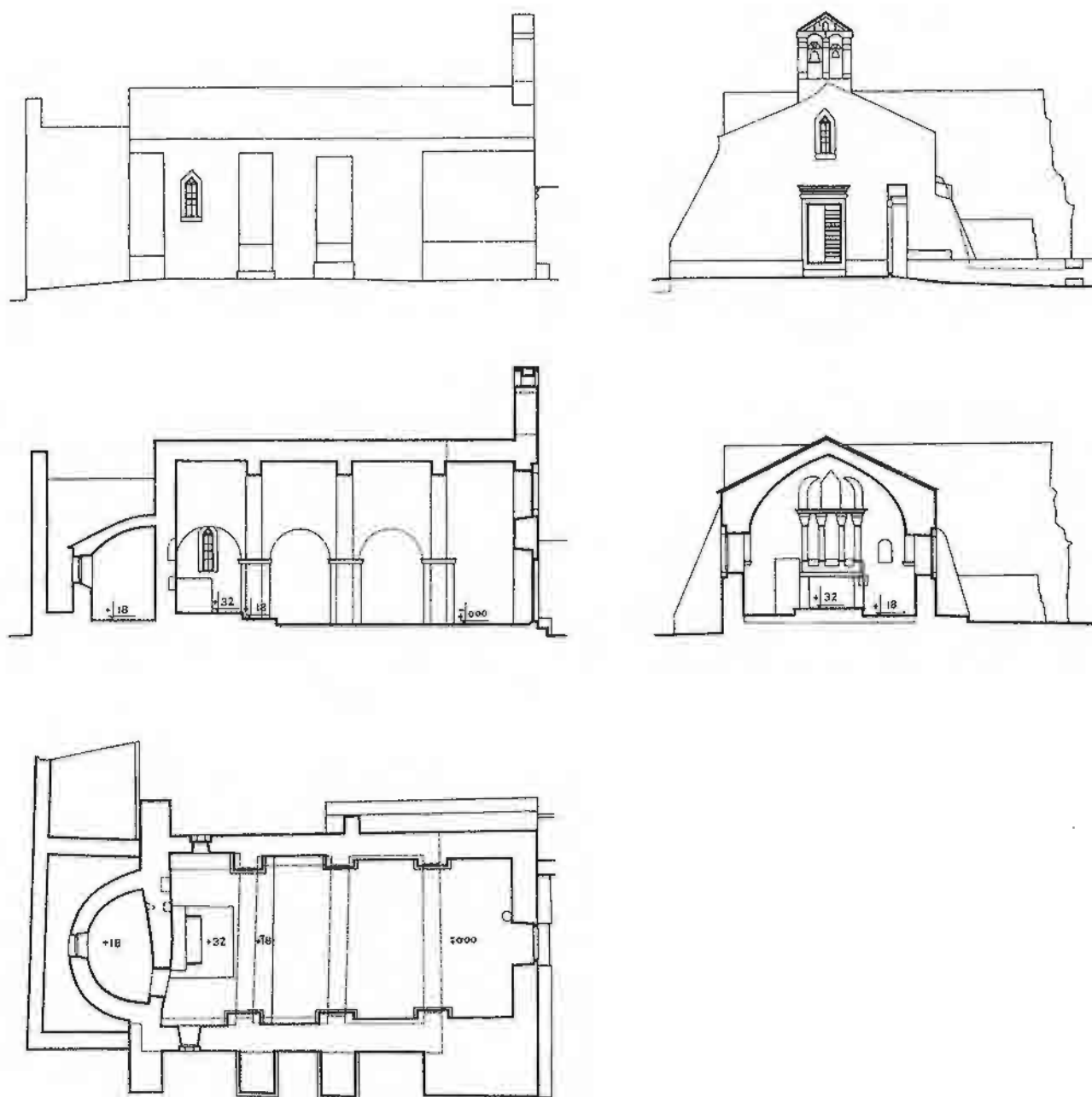
St. Mihovil, Igrane.

dručju od kasne antike, vjerojatno je istočnjačkog porijekla, jer je Jadran bio otvoren istočnim utjecajima od Dioklecijanovog vremena. Potkraj XI. stoljeća pojavljuju se mjestimice konzolni slijepi lučiči (Sv. Petar, Omiš; Sv. Nediljica, Zadar). Kasna je antika također izvor niša koje obogaćuju unutrašnjost.

Taj ukras naglašava glavne poteze građevinskog tijela, ali bez težnje da se uspostavi odnos vanjštine i unutrašnjosti, ni vizualno, ni strukturno. Dok arhitektonski ukras vanjskih zidova može upućivati na četiri, pet ili šest jedinica interijera, unutrašnjost se zapravo sastoji od tri traveja. Zid je zamišljen kao ukrasna površina, oživljena primjenom arhitektonske dekoracije. Umnožavanje tih oblika dovodi u nekim primjerima (Sv. Mihovil, Ston) do učinka sličnog pojavi poznatoj kao *horror vacui*, koju često susrećemo u ranosrednjovjekovnom slikarstvu i kiparstvu.

This decorative system, in use in the Adriatic region since Late Antiquity, may be of eastern origin, as the area had been open to oriental influences ever since the times of Diocletian. Toward the end of the eleventh century there appear, sporadically, arched or flat corbel tables (St. Petar at Priko, Omiš; St. Nediljica in Zadar). Semicircular niches enriching the interior have their source in Late Antique practices, too.

This decor enhances the main lines of the architectural body, but there is no attempt to relate interior to exterior, either visually or structurally. While the architectural decoration of the exterior wall surfaces may indicate the presence of four, five, or six interior units, in fact, the interior consists of three bays only. The wall is conceived of as an ornamental surface to be articulated through the application of architectural decoration. Multiplication of those elements produces in some instances (St. Mihajlo, Ston) an effect similar



0 10 m

Nacrti crkve Sv. Silvestar,
Biševo.

*The plans of the church
St. Silvestar, Biševo.*

to the phenomenon known as the horror vacui frequently encountered in early medieval sculpture and painting.

The arrangement of exterior masses may also be misleading. Square apses and drums conceal rounded niches or domes. The interior and exterior remain two

Raspored vanjskih masa također može zavarati. Pravokutna apsida ili tambur mogu skrivati zaobljene niše ili kupole. Unutrašnjost i vanjšina ostaju dva različita svijeta. U mnogim građevinama u kojima se spajaju longitudinalni i centralni koncept, npr. u južnodalmatinskom tipu (koji nastaje u okolini Dubrovnika), masa raste vertikalno prema kupoli,



Sv. Križ, Nin.

St. Križ, Nin.

dok je prostor upravljen horizontalno prema apsidalnoj niši. To nesuglasje, na koje sam već upozoravao, jedna je od značajki predromaničkog sloga. Osobito je bogata artikulacija zida u razmjerno jednostavnim longitudinalnim gradnjama. Graditelji složenijih centralnih rješenja pridaju manje važnosti artikulaciji zida, jer se arhitektonski izraz postiže dinamičnijim uzajamnim djelovanjem mase i prostora.

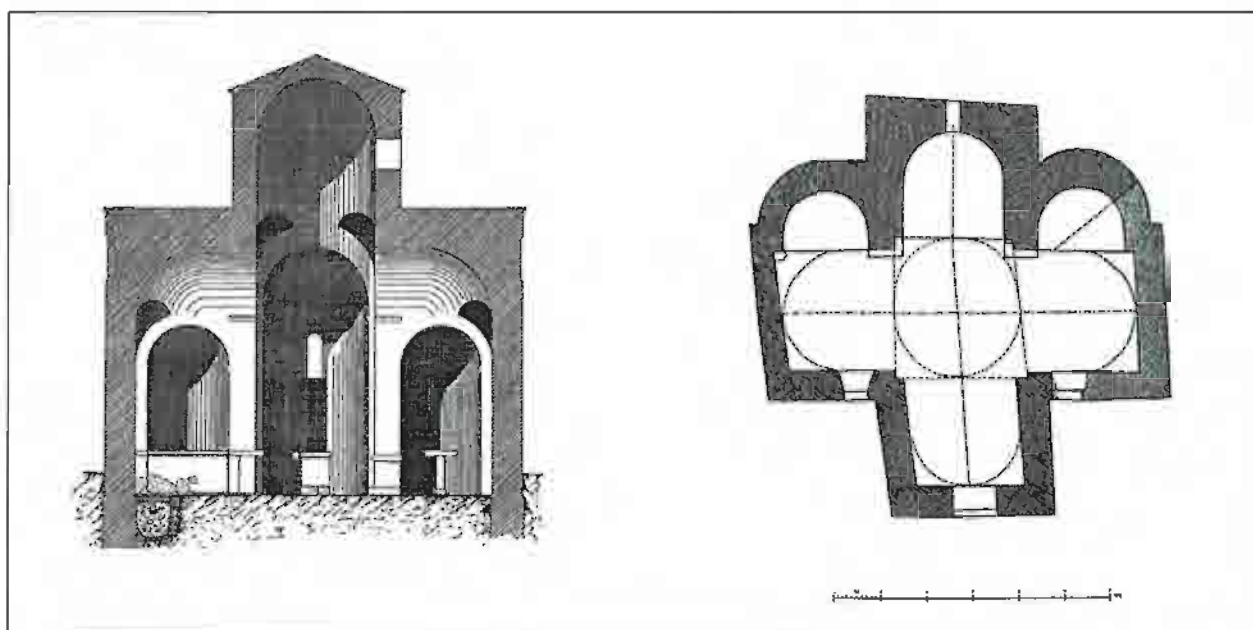
Pleterna se skulptura upotrebljava da bi se naglasili strukturno i optički najvažniji dijelovi zgrade i crkvene opreme: vrata, prozori, glavice, imposti, transe, oltarne pregrade, pročelja oltara, škropionice, krstionice, ciboriji, sarkofazi. Svijećnjaci i metalne kadionice vise s greda oltarne pregrade, dok se drugi dijelovi liturgijskog pribora pohranjuju u zidne niše s

different worlds. In many buildings which combine the longitudinal and central concept (e.g., the South Dalmatian type around Dubrovnik) the mass grows vertically toward the dome, while the space is horizontally directed toward the apsidal niche. This discrepancy, as we have already asserted, is one of the hallmarks of the Pre-Romanesque as style. The wall articulation is especially rich in case of relatively simple longitudinal buildings. The architects of more intricate central solutions paid less attention to the articulation of the wall, as the architectural expression was achieved through the more dynamic interplay of masses and spaces.

Interlace sculpture is used to enhance the structurally and optically most important parts of architecture and church furniture: doors, windows, capitals, im-

Nacrti crkve Sv. Križ, Nin
(iz knjige: Strzygowski, J.,
Starohrvatska umjetnost).

*The plans of the church
St. Križ, Nin (from the
book: Strzygowski, J.,
Starohrvatska umjetnost).*



post-blocks, transennae, choir-screens, altar-frontals, ambos, holy-water basins, fonts, ciboria, sarcophagi. Chandeliers and metalwork doves hung from the beams of the choir-screens, while other liturgical implements were kept in wall niches at the sides of the altar. The latter often assumed the form of a table (St. Barbara and St. Marija, Trogir; St. Mihovil, Pridraga; St. Nikola, Poveljana) supported by a single square, polygonal or rounded leg, but there were also block altars (St. Petar, Dubrovnik), with carved altar-frontals.

The most prominent piece of church furniture was the choir-screen. It consists of one or three entrances surmounted by an arch or an arch within a pointed gable, a motif reminiscent of the protyron to the vestibule of Diocletian's Palace. Under its arched element the Emperor appeared to the people, so the motif was naturally fit to mark the entrance to the shrine of the King of Kings. Let us also recall the three arch entranceway to the apses of the Episcopal Palace at Poreč, which we can today experience in the lovely restoration by Ivan Matejčić.

The arch or the gable rest on rounded or polygonal colonettes bearing stylized Corinthian or Composite capitals. The colonettes themselves stand on squat rectangular piers which also serve to anchor the plutei, the choir-screen panels. There is sometimes a pier along the wall to receive the other end of the panel, or the latter is simply inserted into a vertical slit in the wall (the best preserved example is the choir screen from St. Martin within the Porta Aurea of Diocletian's Palace).

jedne i druge strane oltara. Oltar često poprma oblik ploče (Sv. Barbara i Sv. Marija u Trogiru, Sv. Mihovil, Pridraga; Sv. Nikola, Poveljana) poduprte jednom kvadratičnom, poligonalnom ili kružnom nogom, ali postoje i oltarski blokovi (Sv. Petar, Dubrovnik) s izrezbarenim pročeljem.

Najistaknutiji komad crkvenog pokućstva oltarna je pregrada. Sastoji se od jednog ili tri ulaza koji su nadvišeni lukovima ili lukovima unutar šiljatog zabata, te pravokutnih ploča – pluteja. Motiv luka unutar zabata podsjeća na protyron vestibula Dioklecijanove palače. Ispod takvog lukovnog elementa car se pojavljivao pred narodom, pa je taj motiv prirodno, bio prikladan za označivanje ulaza u svetište kralja nad kraljevima. Podsjetimo i na trolučni ulaz u apside episkopija u Poreču (vi. st.) koji danas možemo doživljavati u uzornoj restauraciji Ivana Matejčića.

Luk ili zabat počivaju na kružnim ili poligonalnim stupićima sa stiliziranim korintskim ili kompozitnim glavicama. Sami stupići stoje na zdepastim kvadratičnim stupovima koji također služe kao sidro za pluteje, ploče oltarne pregrade. Katkada je uza zid i stup za učvršćenje drugog kraja ploče, ili je ta jednostavno umetnuta u vertikalni urez u zidu. Izbor i primjena ukrasnih oblika na oltarnoj pregradi i drugdje svjedoči o razvijenom umjetničkom osjećaju predromaničkih kipara. Pregrada u crkvi Sv. Martina u Zlatnim vratima Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu najbolje je očuvani primjer oltarne pregrade.



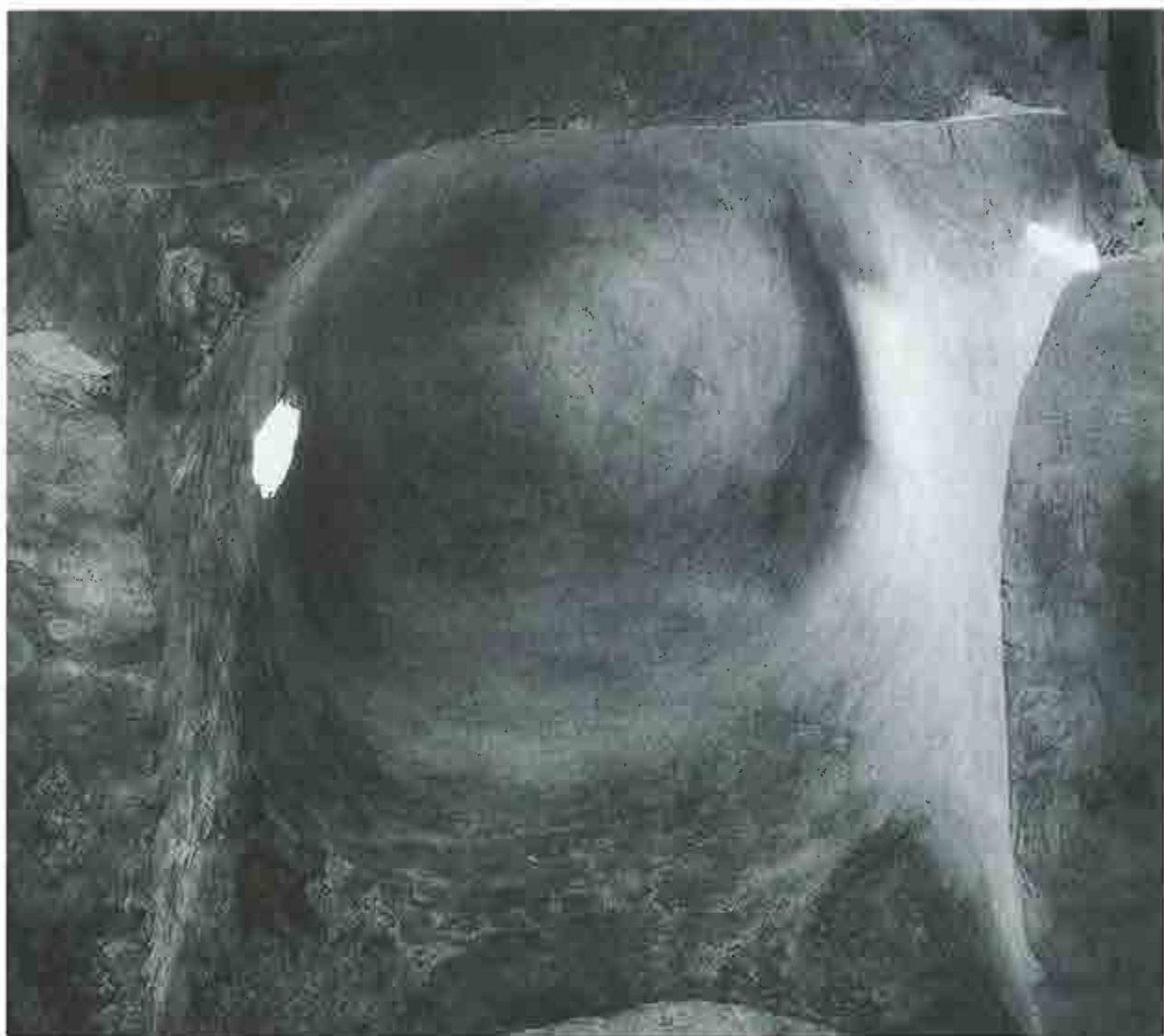
Sv. Križ, Nin.

St. Križ, Nin.

Uski elementi reljefa, bilo horizontalni bilo vertikalni, prekriveni su "dinamičnim" motivima. Na stupovima se pojavljuju krivuljaste ili ravne vitičice, koje presijecaju krugove ili rombove te isprepleteni kružni i pravokutni motivi. Uz otvore, rubovi stupova mogu biti naglašeni cik – cakom. Dinamični horizontalni motivi teku uz gornje rubove pluteja: učvoreni krugovi, katkada ispunjeni zvijerima ili cvijećem, isprepleteni pereci i polukrugovi, ili čak male arkade što uokviruju ptice ili životinje. Na glavnom su polju ploče umjetnici primijenili motive statičnije naravi, prikladne za veće površine. Mogu se tu naći veliki krugovi povezani kružnim čvorovima, ispunjeni rozetama ili stiliziranim pticama i zvijerima; isprepletene kružnice, rombovi i kvadrati, povezani čvorovima i ispunjeni biljkama i životinjama; križevi od prepleta između palmeta ili uokvireni arkadom. Isti dekorativni repertoar primijenjen je i na stranice sarkofaga.

The choice and application of decorative motifs on the choir-screen – and elsewhere – shows a developed artistic sensitivity on the part of Pre-Romanesque sculptors.

The narrow elements of the relief, horizontal and vertical alike, are covered by "dynamic" motifs. On the piers, there appear curvilinear or rectilinear tresses, intersecting circles or lozenges and interlocked rounded and square motifs. Along the opening, the edge of the pier may be marked by a zig-zag. Dynamic horizontal motifs run along the upper edges of the plutei: circles linked by rounded knots, occasionally housing beasts or flowers, interlocked "pretzels" or half-circles, or even small arcades enfaming birds or animals. To the main field of the panel, the artists apply motifs of more static nature, appropriate for larger surfaces. There one may see large circles connected by rounded knots filled with rosettes and sometimes with stylized birds or beasts, interlocked circles and lozenges or squares, squares



Sv. Križ, Nin.

St. Križ, Nin.

linked up by knots and containing stylized vegetal or animal motifs, crosses formed from interlace bands flanked by palmettes and standing underneath an arcade. The same decorative repertoire was applied to sides of sarcophagi.

The beams and the gables of the choir-screen usually display three horizontal strips or zones – the lowermost often reserved for a continuous inscription. Fragments of such choir-screen inscriptions represent the famous “archives in stone,” having recorded and preserved names of Croatian rulers such as Trpimir, Branimir, Muncimir, and others. The central strip is decorated by such dynamic motifs as pretzels, semicircles, or even small arcades possibly deriving from the classical egg-and-dart motif. The uppermost strip most frequently bears a series of hooks, a derivative from another classical motif – that of the running-dog. The

Grede i zabati oltarnih pregrada nose obično tri pruge ili zone ornamenta – najniža često sadrži natpis. Ulomci tih natpisa oltarnih pregrada sačinjavaju čuveni “arhiv u kamenu”, koji je zabilježio i sačuvao imena hrvatskih vladara, Trpimira, Branimira, Muncimira i drugih. Središnji potez urešen je dinamičnim motivima, perezima, polukrugovima, ili čak malim arkadama, izvedenim vjerojatno iz klasičnog motiva jajnice – bisernice. Najviši pojas najčešće nosi niz kuka, izvedenih iz klasičnog motiva pasjeg skoka. Položajem i nagibom, kuke oči promatrača vode prema sredini oltarne pregrade i vrhu zabata ili luka gdje stoji isklesani križ. Na samom zabatu potez se razdvaja, dva niza pojasa slijede luk, dok se kuke penju rubom zabata. U polju između pojaseva obično je prikazan križ između dva pauna ili nekih drugih životinja (Rižinice, Uzdolje, Šopot i mnogi drugi).

Sličan osjećaj za uzornu upotrebu statičkih i dinamičkih motiva vodio je majstore kad su ukrašavali druge dijelove crkvene opreme. Okviri vrata i prozora nose dinamične motive, npr. stiliziranu viticu (Sv. Mihajlo, Ston). U slučaju transena, pleter teče oko otvora stvarajući čvorove između svjetala. Ciborij ima jednake motive kao i zabat oltarne pregrade. Njegovi su lukovi podcrtani kakvim mekim, dinamičnim motivom, poput isprepletenih krugova, dok je ravni gornji završetak naglašen gdje kad s tri zone ukrasa. U najvišoj su obično kuke koje opet privlače oči prema središtu. Dvije donje zone sadrže motive poput isprepletenih krugova, uskih arkadica ili čak šahovnice. Trokutne površine između luka i pravokutnog okvira popunjene su ili viticama ili stiliziranim životinjama, katkad u sučeljenim parovima.

hooks by their position and inclination lead the viewer's eye toward the center of the choir-screen, the tip of the gable or the arch, bearing a cross. On the gable itself the strips separate, and the two lower ones follow the arch, while the hooks climb along the rim of the gable. In the field in between there is generally a representation of a cross flanked by two peacocks or some other animals (Rižinice, Uzdolje, Šopot).

A similar feeling for proper use of static and dynamic motifs guided the masters when decorating other pieces of church furniture. Door and window frames bear dynamic motifs such as stylized scrollwork (St. Mihajlo, Ston). In the case of the transennae, the interlace runs around the openings forming itself into knots in between the lights. Ciboria share motifs and decorative



Sv. Juraj, Ravanjska.

St. Juraj, Ravanjska.



Sv. Juraj, Ravanjska.

St. Juraj, Ravanjska.

principles with choir-screen gables. Their arches are underlined by some smooth, dynamic motif such as interlocking circles, while the straight upper end is enhanced by as many as three zones of ornament, the uppermost usually being the hooks leading one's eye toward the center. The two lower zones contain such motifs as interlocking circles, tiny arcades, or even checkerboard. The triangular surfaces between the arch and the rectilinear frame are often inhabited by scrollwork or animals, the latter even in confronted pairs. The columns of the ciboria bear stylized Corinthian or Composite capitals (Ciborium of Proconsul Grgur, Zadar, ca. 1030; Ciborium from Crkvina in Biskupija, 11th century).

The decorative effect used to be enhanced by color. In some cases traces of yellow, red and blue paint can still be observed. These three primary colors seem to have been quite popular with the early Croatian artists, just as with the majority of other Pre-Romanesque schools.

Stupovi ciborija nose stilizirane korintske ili kompozitne glavice (ciborij prokonzula Grgura, Zadar, oko 1030.; ciborij iz Crkvine u Biskupiji, XI. st.).

Dekoratívni učinak obično je bio naglašen bojom. U nekim slučajevima još se mogu zamjetiti tragovi žutog, crvenog i plavog premaza. Čini se da su tri primarne boje bile vrlo popularne kod ranih hrvatskih umjetnika, baš kao i u većini drugih predromaničkih škola.

Zidove unutrašnjosti najčešće rese slikarije, figurativne ili dekorativne naravi. Nestanak slikovnog ukrasa velik je gubitak, jer je boja vjerojatno bila jedan od glavnih ključeva za razumijevanje predromaničkog graditeljstva i uživanje u njemu. Najbolje sačuvana skupina slikarija može se vidjeti u Sv. Mihajlu kraj Stona, a nalaze se i u Sv. Petru u Šilovu Selu i u Sv. Mihajlu na Šipanu, Sv. Iliji na Lopudu i Sv. Petru Starom u Zadru; tragovi su zabilježeni kod Sv. Nikole

u Povljani, Sv. Marije na Ižu Malom, Sv. Donata u Zadru, u crkvama na Crkvini i Stupovima u Biskupiji, Sv. Spasu u Cetini i Sv. Petru u Dubrovniku, a ovima valja dodati ne tako davno otkriven ciklus ranoromaničkih fresaka u Sv. Nikoli na Koločepu. Imao sam sreću u svibnju 1989. prisustvovati otkriću ulomaka pletera i tragova slikarija u do tada neistraženoj crkvi Sv. Petra kraj Kampelja na Krku.

Kao što je već rečeno, spomenici tradicionalne predromaničke skupine razasuti su po cijeloj Jadranskoj obali. Ipak, brzo se uočava određena sklonost lokalnim oblicima. U sjevernoj Dalmaciji, na priobalnoj ravnici i na otocima, naglasak je na centralnom tipu. U južnoj Dalmaciji, južno od Cetine, prevladavaju longitudinalni i miješani tipovi.

The walls of the interior used to be covered by wall-paintings, both figured and decorative. An almost complete disappearance of that painted decor is a great loss, as the color must have been one of the main keys to understanding and enjoying Pre-Romanesque architecture. The best preserved group of wall-paintings can be seen at St. Mihajlo at Ston, then at St. Petar at Šilovo Selo on Šipan, St. Ilija on Lopud, St. Petar Stari (the Old) in Zadar, Sv. Mihajlo at Šipan; traces were recorded at St. Nikola at Povljana, St. Marija at Iž Mali, St. Donat in Zadar, the churches at Crkvina and Stupovi in Biskupija, St. Spas at Cetina and St. Petar in Dubrovnik; to those one should add the recently discovered cycle of Early Romanesque frescoes at St. Nikola on Koločep. I had the great privilege of being present, in May 1989, at the discovery of fragments of interlace



Sv. Krševan, Krk.

St. Krševan, Krk.

sculpture and traces of wall-painting at the then yet unexplored church of St. Petar near Kampelj on Krk.

As we have already noted, the monuments of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque groups are scattered all along the Adriatic coastland. Yet, a certain pattern, or at least local predilection, soon becomes evident. In Northern Dalmatia, primarily in the lowlands and on the islands, the emphasis is on centralized structures; in Southern Dalmatia, to the South of the Cetina, longitudinal or mixed types predominate.

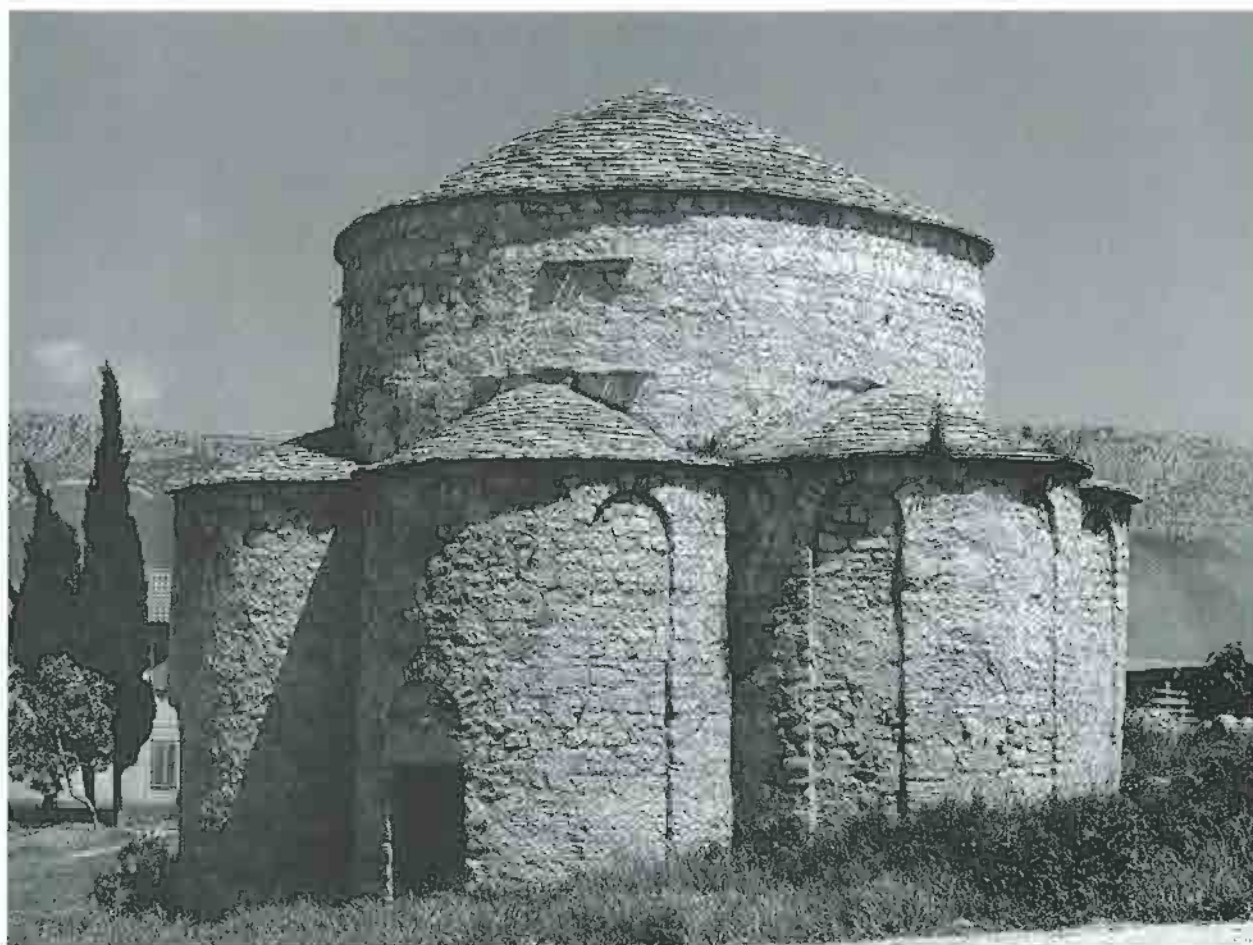
The centrally planned Northern Dalmatian buildings are mostly modeled on earlier local architecture. The well-known church of Holy Cross in Nin, often considered to be the court chapel of early Croatian rulers, was inspired by the church of St. Vid in nearby Zadar (destroyed in the 19th century), a tall cruciform tri-apsidal building with a dome within a tall rounded turret. Zadar remained an active artistic center throughout the 7th and 8th century – the cathedral of St. Stošija was refurbished in that period as witnessed by numerous fragments found within the present building and the monumental rotunda of St. Donat was under construction definitely in the course of the first half of the eighth century. St. Vid probably belongs to that upsurge of activity in the eighth century. Holy Cross shows basically St. Vid's disposition, only the structure is cruder, more irregular, and the openings are smaller. In spite of its limited size, Holy Cross is a stunning exercise in spatial complexity. On the ground level, it appears as three short chapels stuck together, but on the vault level the plan turns into a tetraconch, the lobes of which rest on squinches. The exterior decoration is limited to shallow blind arches on the arms of the cross, the gables, and the turret. The crude masonry contains many ancient spolia and the foundations are piled up in a pell-mell fashion as at St. Donat in Zadar. All this seems to indicate a relatively early ninth century date for this probably most popular of all Pre-Romanesque buildings in Croatia.

If we strip St. Vid or Holy Cross of their cross arms, what remains is a square chamber covered by a dome. This, plus a rounded apse is exactly the form of the church of St. Pelegrin at Savar on the Dugi Island. Ruins of another such building, St. Viktor, stand in the bay of Telašćica on the same island. Both of them represent a very interesting, and otherwise unknown form in Pre-Romanesque architecture, modeled upon a type of a Late Antique memorial chapel in the shape of a tower. Buildings like this are often shown on early medieval ivories representing the tomb of Christ. The

Centralno planirane sjevernodalmatinske građevine nalaze uzore u ranijem lokalnom graditeljstvu. Dobro poznata crkva Sv. Križa u Ninu, za koju se često smatra da je bila dvorska kapela ranohrvatskih vladara, inspirirana je crkvom Sv. Vida u nedalekom Zadru, visokom križnom građevinom s kupolom u visokom kružnom tornjiću (Sv. Vid je srušen u XIX. st.). Zadar je ostao aktivni umjetnički centar tijekom VII. i VIII. stoljeća – katedrala Sv. Stošije opremljena je novim klesanim dekorom u plitkom reljefu u tom razdoblju kako svjedoče brojni nađeni ulomci – a monumentalna rotunda Sv. Donata svakako je bila u gradnji tijekom prve polovice VIII. stoljeća. Sv. Vid pripada po svoj prilici ovom uzletu građevinske aktivnosti VIII. stoljeća. Sv. Križ pokazuje u biti raspored Sv. Vida, tek mu je konstrukcija grublja, nepravilnija, a otvori manji. Unatoč ograničenom mjerilu, zapanjuje prostorna složenost Sv. Križa. Na razini prizemlja nalik je na tri male priljubljene kapele, ali na razini svoda plan se mijenja u četverolist, čije školjke počivaju na trompama. Vanjska je dekoracija ograničena na plitke slijepe lukove na krakovima križa, na zabatima i na tornjiću. Grubo zide uključuje mnogo antičkih spolija a temelji su nagomilani zbrda-zdola kao u Sv. Donata u Zadru. Sve to upućuje na relativno rano IX. stoljeće kao vrijeme gradnje ove zacijelo najpopularnije predromaničke građevine u Hrvatskoj.

Ako oduzmemo Sv. Vidu ili Sv. Križu križne krakove, preostaje kvadratični prostor nadvišen kupolom. To je, uz dodatak polukružne apside, točno oblik crkve Sv. Pelegrina u Savru na Dugom Otoku. Ruševine druge takve građevine, Sv. Viktora, nalaze se u zaljevu Telašćica na istom otoku. Obje su vrlo zanimljiv, inače nepoznat primjer predromaničke arhitekture, inspiriran tipom kasnoantikne memorijalne kapele u obliku tornja. Takve se građevine često mogu vidjeti na ranosrednjovjekovnim bjelokostima gdje predložuju Kristov grob. Zaljev Telašćica spominje se između 986. i 999. godine kao "Vallis Sancti Victori", pa je crkva vjerojatno tada već bila dosta stara, jer je po njoj ime dobio najznačajniji dio krajolika otoka. To upućuje na početak IX. stoljeća.

Možda je još zanimljivija građevina malena crkva Sv. Jurja u Ravanjskoj sjeverno od Zadra. Ovdje se tip s Dugog Otoka longitudinalno rasteže, a majušan jednobrodni prostor prekriven je izduljenom, eliptičnom kupolom. Ovo je očito lokalna varijanta kasnoantičkog modela, te jedno od izvornijih ostvarenja ranih hrvatskih graditelja. Zna se da je postojala 1071. godine, ali je barem dvjesto godina starija. Uz



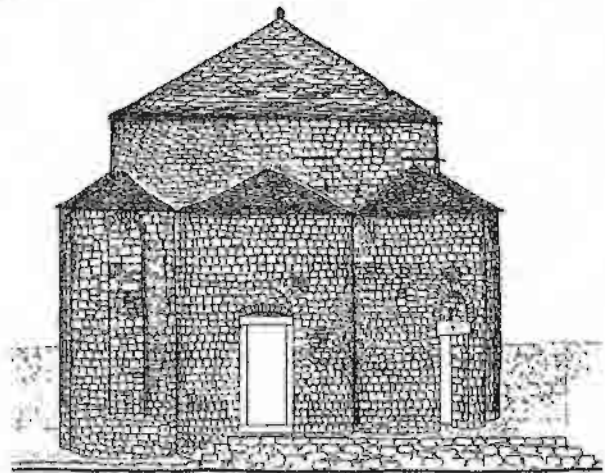
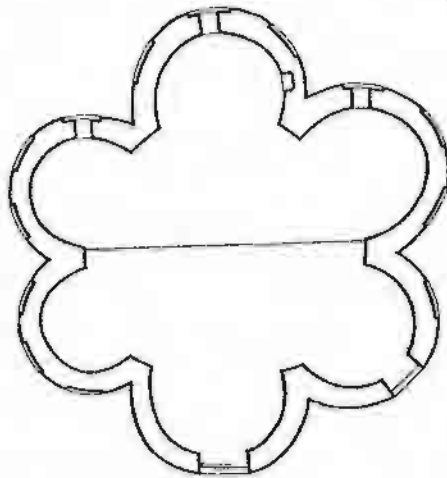
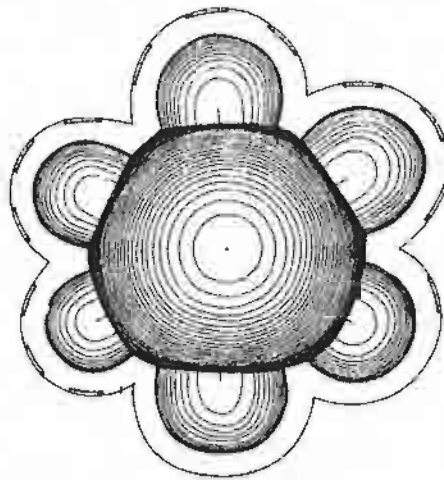
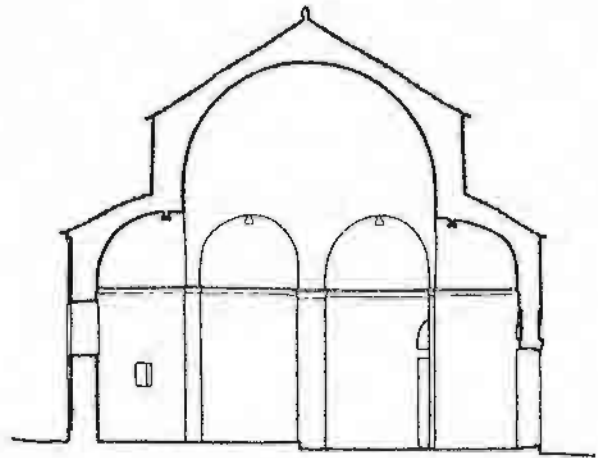
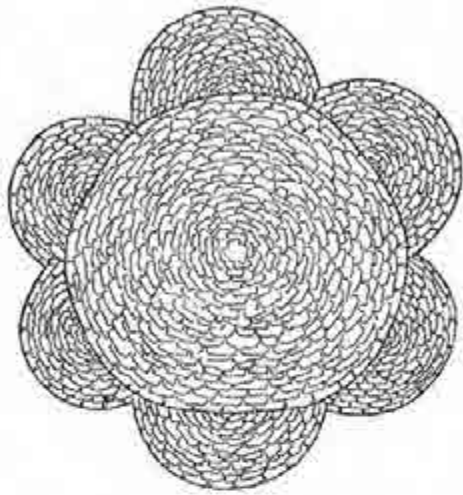
Sv. Trojica, Split.

St. Trojica, Split.



Sv. Trojica, Split.

St. Trojica, Split.



Nacrti crkve Sv. Trojica, Split (iz knjige: Marasović, J., Marasović, T., Marasović, M., Crkva sv. Trojice u Splitu).

The plans of the church St. Trojica, Split (from the book: Marasović, J., Marasović, T., Marasović, M., Crkva sv. Trojice u Splitu).

raspravu o tim centraliziranim crkvicama sjeverne Dalmacije treba dodati i kružnu crkvu Sv. Marije na otoku Ižu Malome. Grubi oblici konstrukcije i izrazite nepravilnosti, kao i zide od lomljenca upućuju na vrijeme predromanike. Rasprostranjen tip u sjevernoj i srednjoj Dalmaciji bila je mnogolisna – šesterolisna ili osmerolisna – crkva, čiji je izvor mogla biti krstionica zadarske katedrale iz šestog stoljeća, šesterolisna iznutra i šestostrana izvana. Postojao je i niz mnogolisnih prostorija u Dioklecijanovoj palači. Sam Zadar ima dvije takve građevine, crkvu Sv. Marije ("Stomorica") šesteroapsidalnu kapelu ispred koje je trijem s tornjem, te crkvu u predgrađu Kolovarama, poznatu prema staroj maketi Zadra iz Museo Storico Navale u Veneciji (oko 1560.). Slične zgrade iskopane su kraj Kašića, Pridrage, Škabrnje i Kakme u zadarskom zaleđu. Ona u Škabrnji zanimljiva je po tome što raspored konhi postiže izvjesnu longitudinalnu orijentaciju. Dalje u zaleđu tragovi šesterolista nalaze se u Bribiru (možda osmerolist) i u Brnazima kraj Sinja. Konačno, gradovi Trogir i Split imaju po jednu takvu građevinu – Sv. Mariju "de Platea" u Trogiru i, i Sv. Trojicu na Poljudu u Splitu. Ruševine osmerolista kraj Ošlja jedini su primjer polikonhalnog tipa u južnoj Dalmaciji.

U svakom od ovih slučajeva kružna je jezgra pokrivena kupolom i okružena sa šest do osam polukružnih niša (kod Stomorice u Zadru ulazno je polje pravokutno). Najistočnija niša služi kao svetište – u nekim slučajevima zajedno s dvije popratne apside – i odvojena je oltarnom pregradom.

Tomislav Marasović je utvrdio da je Sv. Marija u Trogiru postojala već 715.–717. (Marasović, 1994.) što, čini se, potvrđuje pretpostavku o dosta ranom datumu nastanka Sv. Trojice u Splitu, najbolje sačuvane građevine te podskupine, koja se na osnovi ulomka oltarne pregrade, koji je stilom blizak luku iz Kaštel Sućurca (najkasnije VIII. stoljeće, Barada, 1937–40), smješta u vrijeme oko 800. godine. Sv. Mihajlo u Brnazima mogao bi se također smjestiti u IX. stoljeće, jer jedan ulomak nosi natpis "domnus", što je bio naslov hrvatskih vladara prije nego što su postali u X. stoljeću "reges".

Sv. Mihovil u Pridrazi smješta se na temelju arheološkog materijala u vrijeme prije kraja X. stoljeća, a jednako tako i nedaleka crkva nepoznatog titulara (možda Sv. Mihajlo?) u Kašiću. Uzevši u obzir portik i toranj, Sv. Mariju ("Stomoricu") u Zadru možda valja smjestiti u vrijeme prije godine 1000., dok bi se osmerolisnu građevinu nepoznatog titulara kraj Ošlja

bay of Telašćica was recorded between 986 and 999 as the "Vallis Sancti Victoris", so the chapel must have been fairly old by then, as it gave its name to one of the most prominent features of the island's landscape. This suggests an early ninth century date.

An even more interesting building is the tiny church of St. Juraj in Ravanjska, to the North of Zadar. Here the Dugi Island type is stretched longitudinally and the tiny aisleless space is covered by an elongated, elliptical dome. This is quite obviously a local variation on a Late Antique model, and represents one of the most original creations of early Croatian architects. It is known to have existed in 1071 but is probably at least 200 years older. To discussion of those small centralized buildings of Northern Dalmatia one may add the tiny rounded church, St. Marija, at the island of Iž Mali. Crude forms of the structure and pronounced irregularities, as well as rubble-work masonry indicate a Pre-Romanesque date. A popular type in Northern and Central Dalmatia was polylobed, hexaconchal or octaconchal church, the source of which may be the sixth century baptistery of Zadar Cathedral, hexaconchal within and hexagonal without. There is also a series of polyconchal chambers inside the Palace of Diocletian. Zadar itself has two such buildings, the church of St. Marija ("Stomorica"), a six-apsidal chapel preceded by a porch with a tower, and the church in the suburb of Kolovare, known only from an old model of Zadar (ca. 1560) in the Museo Storico Navale in Venice. Other such buildings have been excavated at Kašić, Pridraga (St. Mihovil), Škabrnja and Kakma in the Zadar hinterland. The church in Škabrnja is interesting in that the disposition of conchs indicates a certain longitudinal orientation. Further in the hinterland traces of hexachoras were found at Bribir (possibly octachora), and at Brnazi near Sinj (St. Mihovil). Finally, the cities of Trogir and Split possess one example of this type each – St. Marija "de Platea" in Trogir, and Sv. Trojica (Holy Trinity) at Split. Ruins of an octachora at Ošlje are the sole example of the type in Southern Dalmatia.

In each case a rounded core covered by a dome was surrounded by six or eight semicircular niches (At the Stomorica in Zadar, instead of the entrance conch there is a rectangular bay). The easternmost one served as the sanctuary and was in some cases together with the two accompanying apses, screened off by a choir-screen.

Recently Tomislav Marasović established that St. Marija at Trogir (Marasović, 1994) existed as early as 715–717, which seems to confirm presumed rather early date for Holy Trinity at Split – the best preserved build-

ing of the group – tentatively datable around 800 on the style of a fragment of the choir-screen not too distant from the definitely early (eighth century) Arch of Sućurac (Barada, 1937–40). St. Mihovil at Brnazi may also date from the ninth century (a fragment bears the word “domnus”, which was the title of Croatian rulers before they became “reges” in the tenth century).

St. Mihovil at Pridraga is datable on the basis of archaeological material before the end of the tenth century, and so also is the similar church at Kašić nearby. On the account of the porch and the tower, St. Marija (“Stomorica”) in Zadar does not seem to be datable before ca. 1000, while the octachora at Ošlje may possibly be attributed to the period of relative prosperity of the Hum area under Duke Mihajlo Višević in the first decades of the tenth century. A fine Early Romanesque porch was added later.

Surveys of Pre-Romanesque architecture used to include two tetraconchs – the baptistery at Nin and the church at Muć. Since serious doubts have been raised as to their true form, they will be left out of this study.

Finally, there is the most famous of all centralized buildings of Northern Dalmatia, and one of the most popular Pre-Romanesque structures of the Adriatic, the monumental, two-storey rotunda of St. Donat in Zadar. A discovery of wooden beams adorned with interlaces and datable by carbon method to around 710, indicates that this building, often referred to as “Carolingian”, was well under construction in the course of the eighth century.

By its size and sophistication St. Donat (originally Holy Trinity) visually drives home the Northern Dalmatian predilection for centralized structures. The baptistery of the Cathedral, St. Donat and the church of St. Vid must have made Zadar a powerful center of dissemination of the idea of a centralized building. As an important center of Dalmatian political and church hierarchy, it was the place to be looked up to and emulated; hence the profusion of centrally planned types in Northern Dalmatia. The newly confirmed eighth century dates for such buildings as St. Donat and St. Marija at Trogir (and a likelihood of such a date for St. Vid in Zadar), show that, in fact, the tradition of monumental architecture in the eastern Adriatic was never quite broken (we should also recall the eighth century restorations at Zadar Cathedral). This is equally true of Central Dalmatia, where Diocletian's Mausoleum was converted into the Cathedral of Split in the course of the 7th or 8th century; a small aisleless church of St.

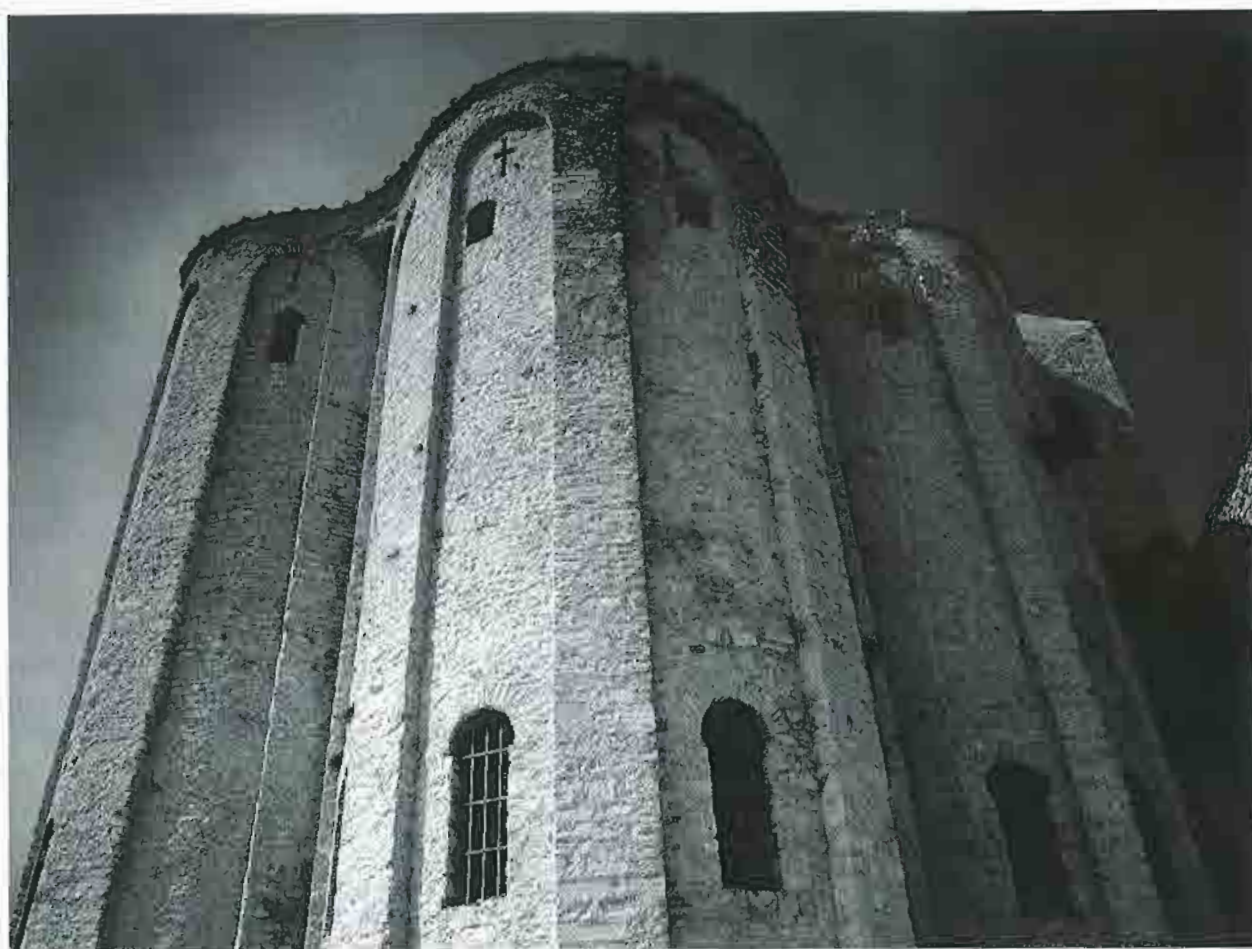
moglo smjestiti u razdoblje razmjernog prosperiteta Humske zemlje pod knezom Mihajlom Viševićem u prvim desetljećima x. stoljeća. Lijep portik dodan je najvjerojatnije poslije.

Pregledi predromaničkog graditeljstva redovito spominju i dvije “četverolisne” građevine – krstionicu u Ninu i Sv. Petra u Muću (888.). No, budući da postoje ozbiljne sumnje glede njihova izvornog oblika, izostavljamo ih iz ove studije.

Naposlijetku, tu je i najčuvanija centralna građevina sjeverne Dalmacije i jedna od najpoznatijih predromaničkih konstrukcija Jadrana, monumentalna dvokatna rotunda Sv. Donata u Zadru. Otkriće drvenih greda ukrašenih pleternom ornamentikom i datiranih karbonskom metodom u vrijeme oko 710. g., odaje da je ova građevina, često opisana kao “karo-linška”, bila dovršena u gradnji već u VIII. stoljeću.

Svojim mjerilom i složenošću Sv. Donat potvrđuje sjevernodalmatinsku sklonost centralnim zdanjima. Krstionica katedrale, Sv. Donat i Sv. Vid u Zadru vjerojatno su pridonijeli tome da taj grad postane snažnim centrom rasprostiranja ideje o centraliziranim gradnjama. Kao važno središte dalmatinske političke i crkvene hijerarhije, na Zadar se gledalo s poštovanjem i sa željom za oponašanjem. Otuda i mnoštvo centralno planiranih tipova u Sjevernoj Dalmaciji. Novopotvrđene datacije koje u VIII. stoljeće smještaju građevine poput Sv. Donata u Zadru i Sv. Marije u Trogiru (a sva je prilika da je slično vrijeme nastanka i Sv. Vida u Zadru), pokazuju da tradicija monumentalne arhitekture na istočnoj obali Jadrana nikada nije bila prekinuta. To također vrijedi i za srednju Dalmaciju, gdje je Dioklecijanov mauzolej pretvoren u splitsku katedralu tijekom VII. ili VIII. stoljeća, a mala jednobrodna crkva Sv. Mihovila u Splitu, također bliska ranokršćanskim uzorima (tipična široka apsida) potječe iz istog vremena. Na kraju, u južnoj Dalmaciji, istraživanja Josipa Stošića ispod današnje dubrovačke katedrale otkrila su baziliku bizantskog tipa koja se datira u vrijeme prije početka IX. stoljeća (Stošić, 1988).

Funkcija centralnih građevina i malih ranih hrvatskih crkava nije sasvim jasna. Oblik im je poput martirija, memorijalnih kapela, krstionica. Sv. Donat u Zadru služio je kao dvorska kapela. Možda i Sv. Križ u Ninu (uz moguću i grobnu funkciju). Crkve u Pidrasi i Kašiću bile su samostanski oratoriji. One u Brnazima i Pidrasi bile su posvećene Sv. Mihovilu, koji je možda dijelio izvornu posvetu



Sv. Donat, Zadar.

St. Donat, Zadar.

crkvice u Poljudu sa Sv. Trojstvom. Crkve u Bribiru i Ošlju, obje na upadljivim točkama u krajoliku, mogle su biti također posvećene Arkandelu. Čuveno svetište St. Michel u Le Puyu (Francuska), postavljeno dramatično na vrhu strme vulkanske stijene, bilo je početno višelisna, četverolisna, građevina. Šesterolisti Zadra i Trogira, te rotunda na Ižu Malom bili su posvećeni Djevici, što je u skladu s običajem posvećivanja ranosrednjovjekovnih centraliziranih crkava Njoj po uzoru na crkvu na Njenom grobu u dolini Josaphata u Jeruzalemu. Za Sv. Mariju u Zadru zna se da je bila zavjetna kapela koja je štitila gradska vrata.

Kako svjedoče brojne povelje i zaklade između godine 800. i XII. stoljeća, mnoge su građevine malog mjerila služile kao zavjetne zaklade vladara, plemstva ili čak običnih slobodnjaka. Katkad čak možemo slijediti sudbinu određene crkve, kako se za nju brinula neka obitelj s pokoljenja na pokoljenje, ili kako je završila kao posjed neke važne crkvene ustanove kao što su samostani Sv. Krševana ili Sv. Marije u Zadru, Sv. Ivana u Biogradu, ili Sv. Benedikta ili Sv.

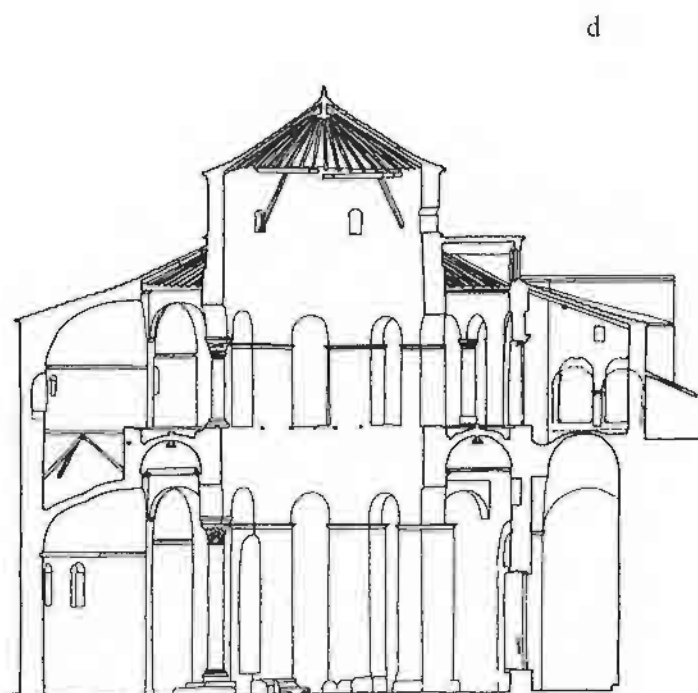
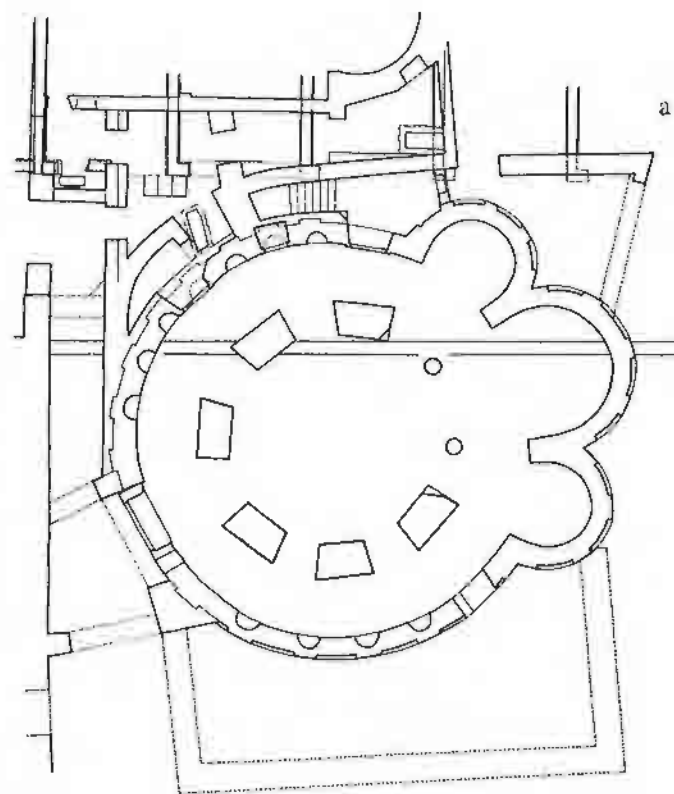
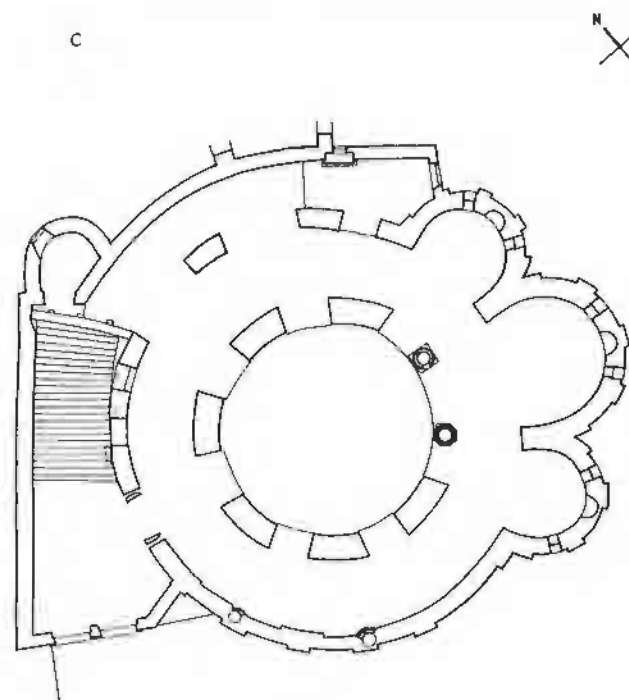
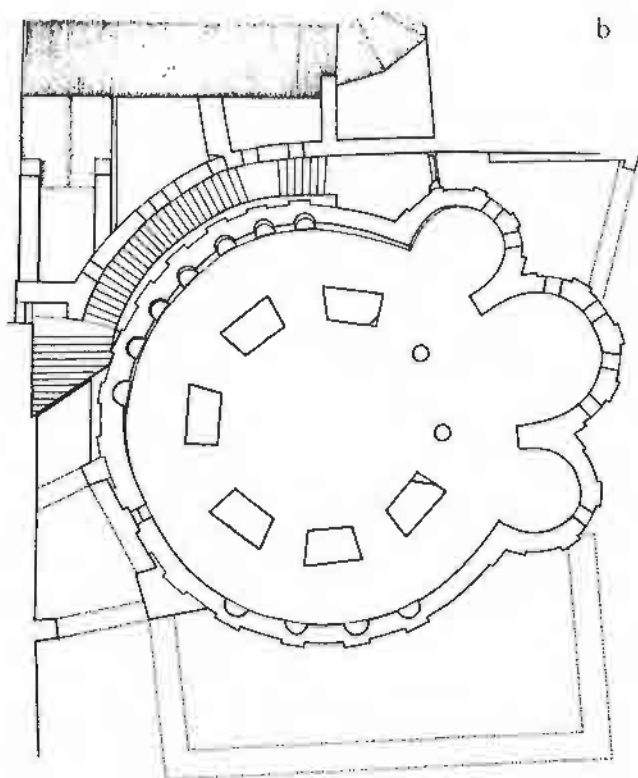
Mihovil in Split, still close to Early Christian models (typically wide apse) dates from the same time. Finally, in Southern Dalmatia, the stunning discoveries by Josip Stošić under the present day Cathedral of Dubrovnik have revealed a Byzantine-type basilica which may date from before the beginning of the ninth century (Stošić, 1988).

The function of the centralized buildings, and small-scale early Croatian buildings as a whole, is far from clear. Their form is that of martyria, memorial chapels, baptisteries. St. Donat in Zadar served as a court chapel. So also probably did Holy Cross at Nin (along with, possibly, a funerary function). The churches at Pridraga and Kašić were monastic oratoria. Those at Brnazi and Pridraga were dedicated to St. Michael, who may have shared with the Trinity the original dedication of the hexachora at Split. Churches at Bribir and Ošlje, both at prominent spots in the landscape, may have been dedicated to the Archangel, too. The famous shrine of St Michel at Le Puy, placed dramatically on top of a steep volcanic rock, was originally a polyconchal, quaterfoil building. Hexachoras at Zadar

Sv. Donat, Zadar.

St. Donat, Zadar.





and Trogir, and the rotunda at Iž Mali were dedicated to the Virgin, which is in harmony with the practice of dedicating early medieval centralized churches to Her, the model being the church at Her tomb in the Valley of Josaphat. St. Marija in Zadar is known to have been a votive chapel protecting a city gate.

As witnessed by numerous foundation and donation charters datable between ca. 800 and the beginning of the 12th century, many small-scale buildings may have served as votive foundations of the rulers, nobility, or even ordinary freemen. Sometimes we can even follow the vicissitudes of a particular church; how a family takes care of it from generation to generation, or how it ends up among the possessions of some important monastic institution, such as the monasteries of St. Krševan or St. Marija in Zadar, St. Ivan in Biograd, or St. Benedikt or St. Stjepan in Split, or how it becomes a property of the Archbishops of Split. If the church is donated upon its completion, it in fact becomes a sort of charter in stone, a witness to the donation of property. Donations in the Early Middle Ages were mostly oral, and the owners often had to resort to forgeries in order to prove their rights at a later date. A church, built to last, would be an excellent material witness to the right of contested ownership.

A high number of small-scale buildings opens up the possibility that at least some of them served as regular parish churches. In such cases the mass was probably said within the chapel, while the majority of the faithful stood outside, in a sort of a "temenos", a sacred courtyard "sub divo". This practice can still be observed in Croatian villages. Considerable additions and enlargements of some small-scale early churches (Savar, Iž Mali, Ravanjska) seem to confirm such a practice.

Small-scale, aisleless longitudinal buildings are more frequent in Central and Southern Dalmatia, although they are also found farther North (St. Ivan in Telašćica on the Dugi Island, St. Andrija on Vrgada, St. Nikola at Povljana on Pag, St. Petar at Seline), and also in Istria and Continental Croatia (Slavonia). They are scattered all along the coast from around Split to Konavli, and the central and southern Dalmatian Islands (Korčula, Lastovo, Sušac, possibly Šćedro and Vis, Mljet, the Dubrovnik islands, but especially Brač). Some of the buildings may date from the twelfth century or even later. Within this basic aisleless type one encounters a great many variations: with rounded or rectangular apse, with or without exterior wall articulation, with or without interior wall articulation, with rounded wall niches in the interior, and, finally, in Southern Dalmatia,

Stjepana u Splitu, ili kako postaju posjed splitskog nadbiskupa. Ako je crkva darovana kada je i dovršena, ona zapravo postaje nekom vrstom povelje u kamenu, svjedok darovanja imanja. Donacije su u ranom srednjem vijeku bile pretežno usmene, te su vlasnici često pribjegavali falsifikatima da potvrde prava u kasnijim razdobljima. Zgrada od trajnog materijala bila je izvrstan opipljiv dokaz osporavanja vlasništva.

Pojava velikog broja građevina malog mjerila otvara mogućnost da su u najmanju ruku neke od njih služile kao redovne župne crkve. U tom slučaju mise su se vjerojatno održavale u crkvi, dok je većina vjernika stajala vani, u nekoj vrsti temenosa, svetog predvorja, sub divo. Taj se običaj još može vidjeti u hrvatskim selima. Događnje i proširenja malih ranih crkava (Savar, Iž Mali, Ravanjska) kao da potvrđuju takav običaj.

Jednobrodne longitudinalne građevine malog mjerila češće su u srednjoj i južnoj Dalmaciji, premda ih nalazimo i dalje na sjeveru (Sv. Ivan u Telašćici, Sv. Andrija na Vrgadi, Sv. Nikola u Povljani, Sv. Petar u Selinama) te u Istri i kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj (Slavonija). Razasute su po cijeloj obali, od okolice Splita do Konavala, te na središnjim i južnim dalmatinskim otocima (Korčula, Lastovo, Sušac; moguće na Šćedru, Visu, Mljetu; brojni su primjerci na dubrovačkim otocima, te osobito na Braču). Neke možda potječu iz XII. stoljeća ili kasnijeg vremena. Postoje brojne varijante tog jednobrodnog tipa s kružnim ili pravokutnim apsidama, s artikulacijom vanjskog zida ili bez nje, s artikulacijom unutrašnjeg zida ili bez nje, s kružnim zidnim nišama u unutrašnjosti i, konačno, u južnoj Dalmaciji, s malom kupolom uklopljenom u pravokutni tornjić. One s posebno širokom polukružnom apsidom slijede ranokršćansku praksu ili su dograđene na ranokršćanskim temeljima (Sv. Petar u Rižinicama, 852.). Građevine poput Sv. Mihovila na Šipanu (VII. stoljeće) te Sv. Mihovila u Splitu (VII.–VIII. stoljeće) spona su kasne antike s ranim srednjovjekovljem. Sv. Ivan u Telašćici (prije 1060.–65.), Sv. Andrija na Vrgadi, Sv. Izidor u Splitu, Sv. Nikola u Povljani, Sv. Maksim u Jesenicama kraj Splita (prije 1080), Sv. Martin u Bobovišću na Braču, crkva na Sušcu (s kružnom apsidom u unutrašnjosti a pravokutnom izvana) primjeri su tog tipa s unutrašnjim zidnim dekorom plitkih, u vrhu zaokruženih niša, a polja (obično tri) odvojena su poprečnim lukovima. Zatim su tu slične građevine s kvadratičnim apsidama (nekoliko na Braču, primjerice Sv. Kliment u

Nacrti crkve Sv. Donat,
Zadar:

- a prizemlje
- b prvi kat
- c drugi kat
- d presjek.

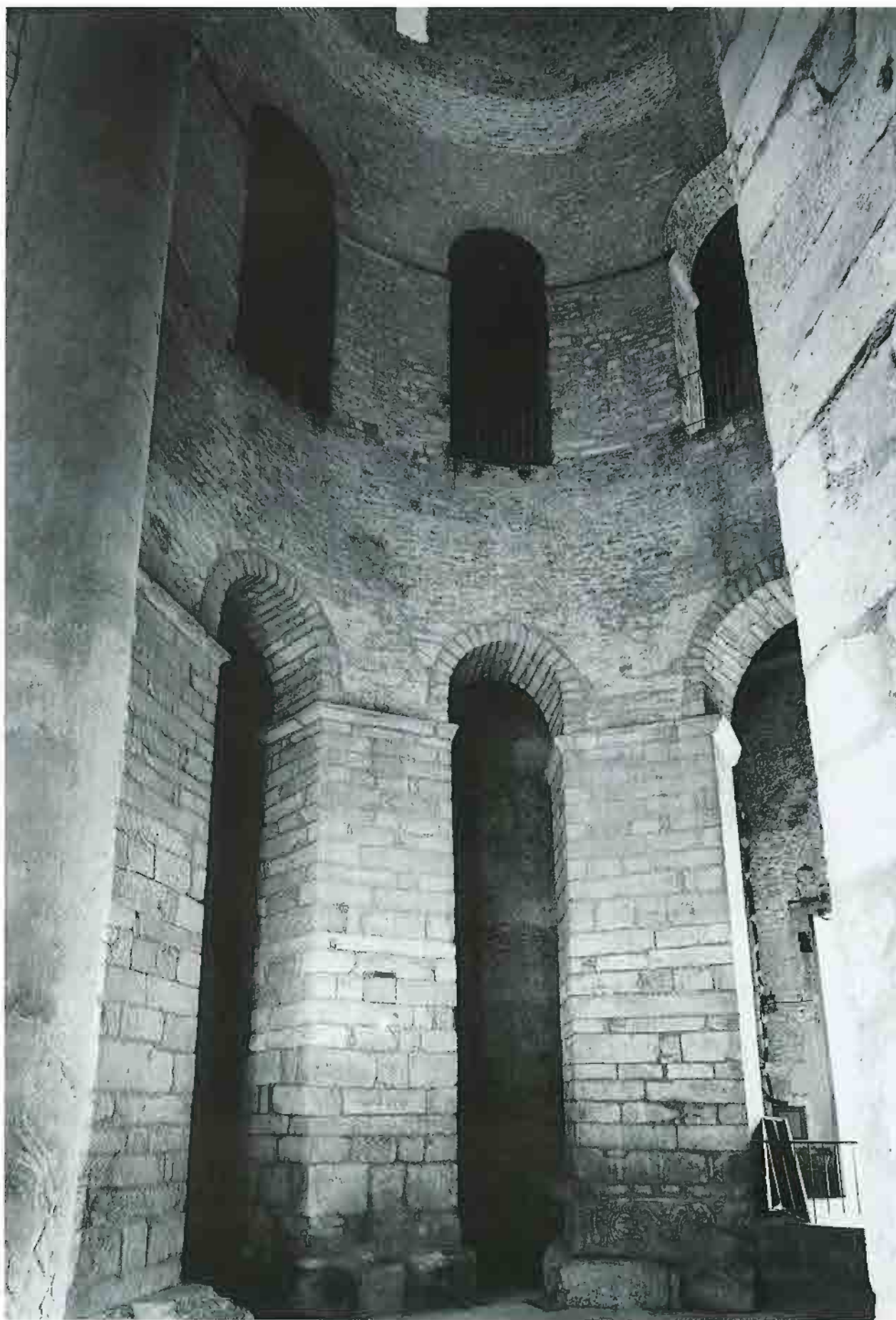
The plans of the church
St. Donat, Zadar:

- a Ground floor
- b First floor
- c Second floor
- d Section.



Sv. Donat, Zadar.

St. Donat, Zadar.



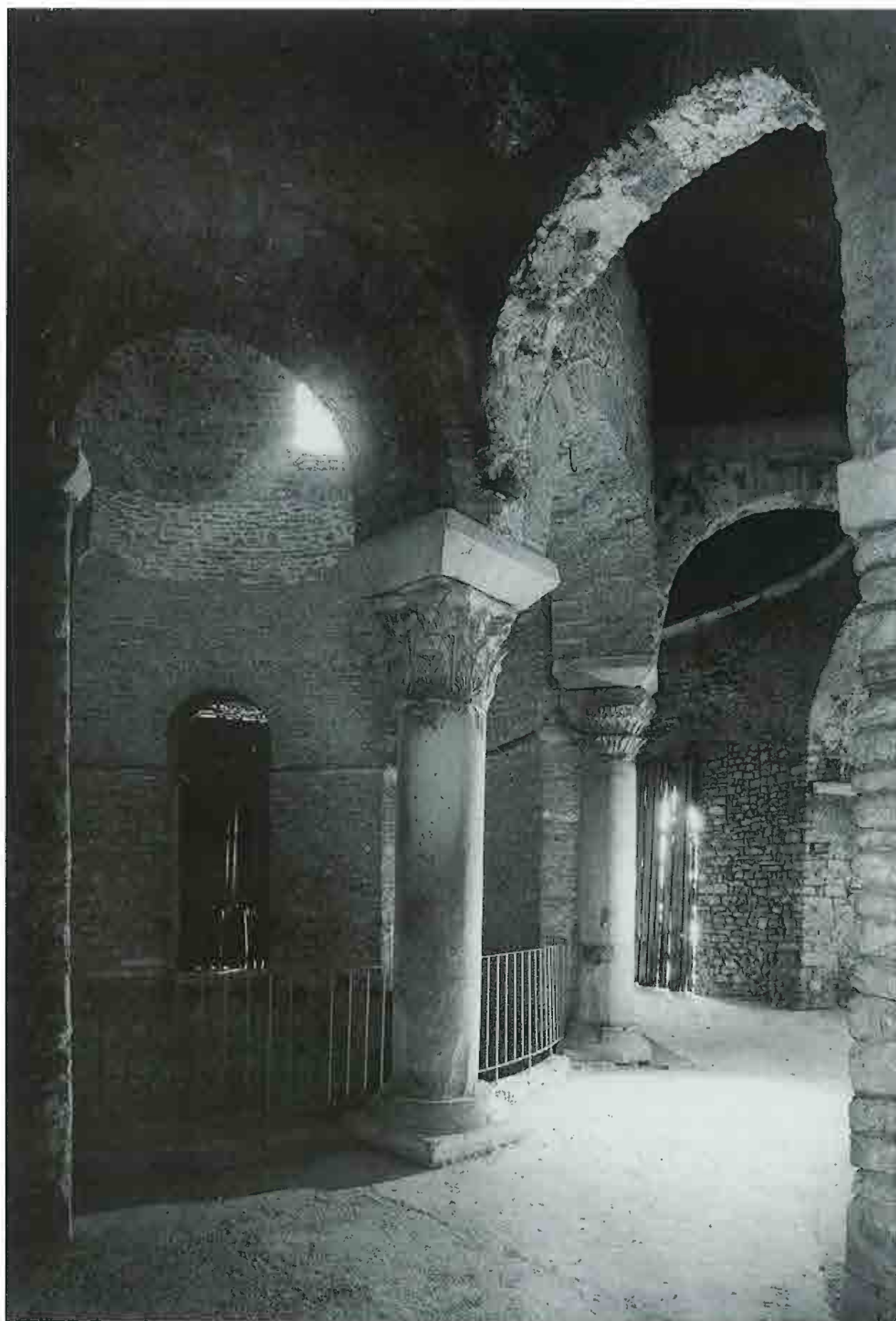
Sv. Donat, Zadar.

St. Donat, Zadar.



Sv. Donat, Zadar.

St. Donat, Zadar.



Sv. Donat, Zadar.

St. Donat, Zadar.



Sv. Donat, Zadar.

St. Donat, Zadar.

Pražnicama), ili s minijaturnim troapsidalnim istočnim završetkom ugrađenim u završni zid (Sv. Juraj u Ponikvama na Pelješcu). Oba se oblika ponavljaju s vanjskom artikulacijom – s kružnom apsidom: Sv. Juraj kraj Nerežišća na Braču; ili s pravokutnom: Sv. Luka na Lastovu, Sv. Kuzma i Damjan na Korčuli, Sv. Juraj kraj Kaštel Starog. Vanjstinu rese nizovi slijepih lukova ili iznimno (Sv. Juraj kraj Kaštel Starog i Sv. Dimitrije u Gabrilima), jednostavne lezene.

Ovaj posljednji oblik podsjeća dekorom na antičke dalmatinske građevine kao što je ranokršćanski mauzolej Sv. Anastazija u Solinu. Kod Sv. Ivana u Bolu i Sv. Mihovila u Igranima krov upućuje na trobrodnu unutrašnjost, koja to dakako nije. Neki posebni detalji: Sv. Juraj na Straževniku (otok Brač, prije 1111.) posjeduje najraniju datiranu preslicu na istočnoj jadranskoj obali, a Sv. Kuzma i Damjan na

with a small dome encased within a rectangular turret. Some, with an especially wide rounded apse are either closely modeled upon Early Christian practices or are rebuilt on Early Christian foundations (St. Petar in Rižinice, 852). Such buildings as St. Mihovil on Šipan (7th ct.), and St. Mihovil at Split (7th – 8th ct.), represent a link between the Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. St. Ivan at Telašćica (before 1060–65), St. Andrija on Vrgada, St. Izidor at Split, St. Nikola at Povljana, St. Maksim at Jesenice near Split (before 1080), St. Martin at Bobovišća on Brač, the church on Sušac (with an apse rounded inside and rectangular outside) are some examples of this type with interior wall decoration consisting of shallow round-headed niches, the bays (usually three) separated by transverse arches. Next there are similar buildings with a square apse (several on Brač, e.g., St. Klement at Pražnice), or a miniature three apsidal chevet embedded into the termination wall (St.



Sv. Donat, Zadar.

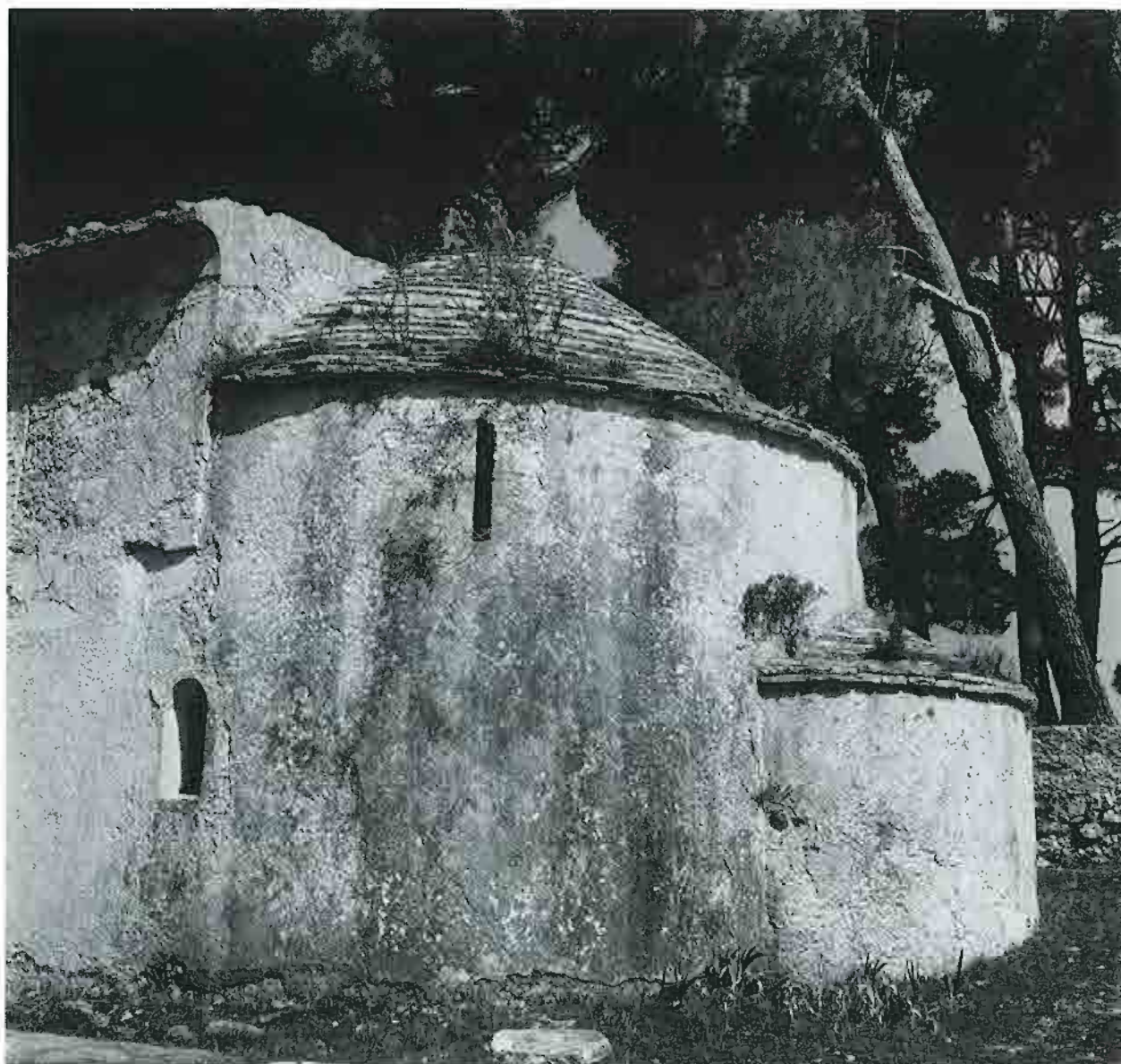
St. Donat, Zadar.

Juraj at Ponikve on Pelješac). Both versions are repeated with external articulation – with a rounded apse: Sv. Juraj at Nerežišća on Brač, or with a rectangular one: St. Luka on Lastovo, SS. Kuzma and Damjan on Korčula, St. Juraj at Kaštel Stari. The exterior is articulated by a series of round-headed blind arches, or, exceptionally (at St. Juraj at Kaštel Stari and St. Dimitrije at Gabrili in Konavle), with simple pilaster strips.

This latter type of architectural decor reminds one of ancient Dalmatian buildings such as the Early Christian mausoleum of St. Anastasius at Marusinac in Salona. At St. Ivan in Bol on Brač, and S. Mihovil in Igrane the roof indicates an aisled interior, which, of course, is not the case. Some special details: St. Juraj at Straževnik on Brač possess the earlier datable bell-cote (before 1111), and SS. Kuzma and Damjan on Korčula a unique projecting porch attached to the west facade.

Korčuli jedinstven izbočeni portik priključen zapadnoj fasadi.

Na kraju, postoji određen broj sličnih spomenika koji nose minijaturnu kupolu nad središtem lađe. Najviše ih nalazimo u Dubrovniku i oko njega, te na dubrovačkim otocima (Šipan, Lopud, Koločep), premda ih možemo naći i sjevernije (Sv. Nikola kraj Selaca na Braču, Sv. Petar u Priku u Omišu). Kao i ostale jednobrodne male građevine, tu je varijantu iscrpno proučio Tomislav Marasović, te se čitatelj upućuje na njegove vrijedne tipološke radove (Marasović, 1960, 1984, 1994). I Igor Fisković ispisao je zanimljive stranice o mogućem porijeklu tog tipa među pregrađenim ranokršćanskim memorijalnim zgradama u Dalmaciji (Majsan), a njihovo širenje je povezao s osnutkom dubrovačke nadbiskupije 1000 (Fisković, 1970, 1985, 1988, 2000). Ovdje bismo



Sv. Marija, Iz Mali.

St. Marija, Iz Mali.

samo ušli u raspravu o porijeklu nekih oblika tog tipa, osobito vanjskog i unutrašnjeg arhitektonskog dekora, i upotrebe kupole.

Kako je već utvrđeno, vanjski ukras – lezene sa slijepim lukovima ili iznimno bez njih – mogao bi proizlaziti iz zidnog dekora kasnoantičkih memorija. Sv. Juraj kraj Kaštel Starog stoji na vanjskom rubu područja stare Salone; Sv. Dimitrije u Gabrilima nije daleko od starog Epidaure – Cavtata. Još jedan oblik podsjeća na stare memorijalne zgrade. To je upotreba kružnih niša unutar slijepih lukova u artikulaciji unutrašnjosti (pravilno raspoređenih u tri polja). Planovi malih antičkih građevina te vrste zabilježeni su u crtežima slikara i graditelja sjevernotalijanske renesanse, Bramantina (Rivoira, 1910., vol. 1, sl. 263,

Finally, there are a number of similar monuments which bear a miniature dome above the center of the aisle. They are most frequently found in and around Dubrovnik and on the Dubrovnik Islands (Šipan, Lopud, Koločep), although they are found also further North (St. Nikola at Selca on Brač, Sv. Petar at Priko in Omiš). Like the rest of the small-scale, aisleless buildings this version has been extensively studied by Dr. Marasović, and the reader is referred to his valuable typological studies (Marasović, 1960, 1984, 1994). Recently Dr. Igor Fisković has written some interesting pages as to their possible origin among the rebuilt Early Christian memorial structures of Southern Dalmatia (Majsan) (Fisković, 1970, 1985, 1988, 2000). He has also linked their appearance with the establishment of the Archbishopric of Dubrovnik (1000). Here

we would only like to raise the issue of the origin of some features of these buildings, in particular of their external and internal wall articulation, and the use of the dome.

As already stated the external decoration (pilaster strips enframing blind arches, or, less frequently standing alone) can be derived from wall decoration of Late Antique memorial structures. Sv. Juraj at Kaštel Stari stands at the outskirts of the ancient Salona; St. Dimitrije at Gabrili not far from the ancient Epidaurus.—Cavtat. Yet another feature recalls ancient memorial buildings. It is the use of rounded niches within blind arches in the articulation of the interior (regularly arranged in three bays). Plans of small-scale ancient buildings of that kind have been recorded in the drawings of the Northern Italian Renaissance painter and architect, Bramantino (Rivoira, 1910, vol. 1, figs. 263, 264). Some of the most sophisticated buildings of the domed type display this form of interior decor – St. Petar at Priko, St. Mihajlo at Ston (also St. Petar on Šipan, and St. Toma at Kuti in Montenegro).

264). Neke od najdorađenijih zgrada podskupine s kupolom imaju takav unutrašnji dekor – Sv. Petar u Omišu, Sv. Mihajlo u Stonu, Sv. Petar na Šipanu (te Sv. Toma u Kutima u Crnoj Gori).

Još nešto. Takve antičke građevine bile su obično dvokatne, što se očituje u rasporedu crkve Sv. Mihovila na Mrkanu južno od Dubrovnika (kripta je međutim ranokršćanska). Štoviše, jedna od najljepših građevina tog tipa, Sv. Mihovil u Stonu, podsjeća svojim jedinstvenim vitkim proporcijama na taj mnogokatni raspored drevnih prethodnika.

Kako se tlocrti i pojedinosti crkava znatno razlikuju, mogli bi se pretpostaviti brojni uzori. Tip je vjerojatno bio poznat u čitavom središnjem i istočnom Mediteranu i odrazio se u ranokršćanskoj i kasnije u srednjovjekovnoj arhitekturi tog područja, osobito na Balkanu i Maloj Aziji. No u bizantskoj sferi građevine tog tipa obično poprimaju monumentalne proporcije, centralno je polje kvadratično i nadvišeno pravom kupolom na pandantivima (Marmashen, 988.–1029. u Armeniji; Sv Marija



Sv. Mihovil, Šipan.

St. Mihovil, Šipan.



Sv. Juraj, Kaštel Stari.

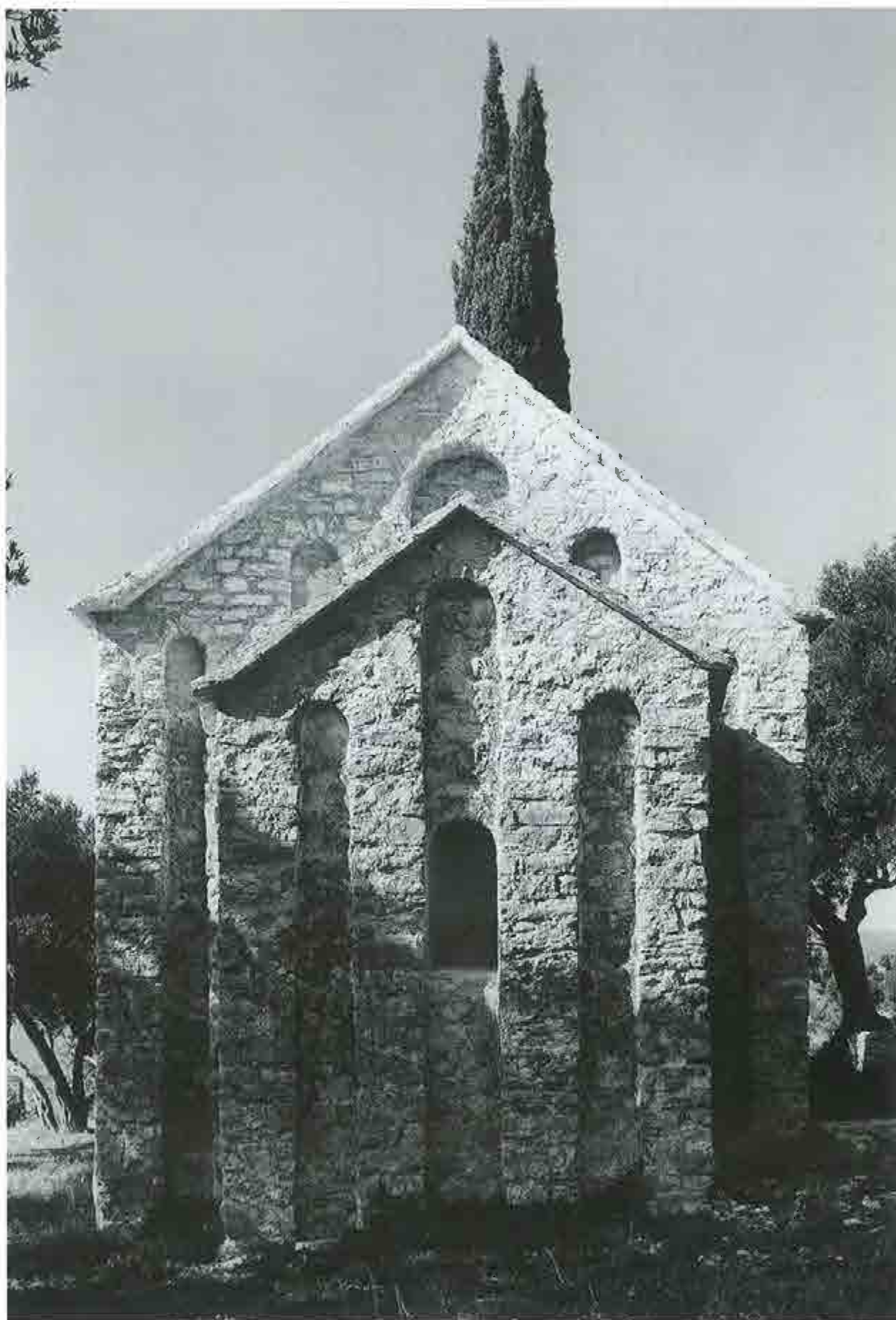
St. Juraj, Kaštel Stari.

u Stanimaki, oko 1200., u Bugarskoj; Studenica i Đurđevi Stubovi u Srbiji, obje iz XII. stoljeća; tzv. Sv. Thecla u Carigradu, X. stoljeće). Među našim građevinama tek iznimno – kod Sv. Petra u Priku u Omišu – nalazimo kvadratično središnje polje i nešto slično pravoj kupoli (a ne tek veliki čup u vrhu svoda!). Kupola je sporedni dio konstrukcije i nema praktičnu funkciju, osim u slučajevima kad služi kao lanterna (Sv. Ivan na Lopudu). Čak i kod sličnih manjih zgrada kao što je San Angelo a Monte Raparo u Lucaniji (južna Italija, prije XII. stoljeća) središnje polje i kupola jače su istaknuti. To vrijedi i za apulske primjere kod kojih se inače javlja i kvadratični tambur.

Kupola južnodalmatinskih crkava pojavljuje se tek kao dekorativni i simbolični element dodan potpunoj zgradi. Uostalom, postoje mnoge slično zamišljene i opremljene jednobrodne gradnje bez nje (u slučaju Sv. Nikole kraj Selaca na Braču, kupola je, čini se, dodana na već postojeću zgradu). Za graditelje tih često malih i danas naizgled neuglednih kapela, kupola je bila nešto što je gradnju označivalo

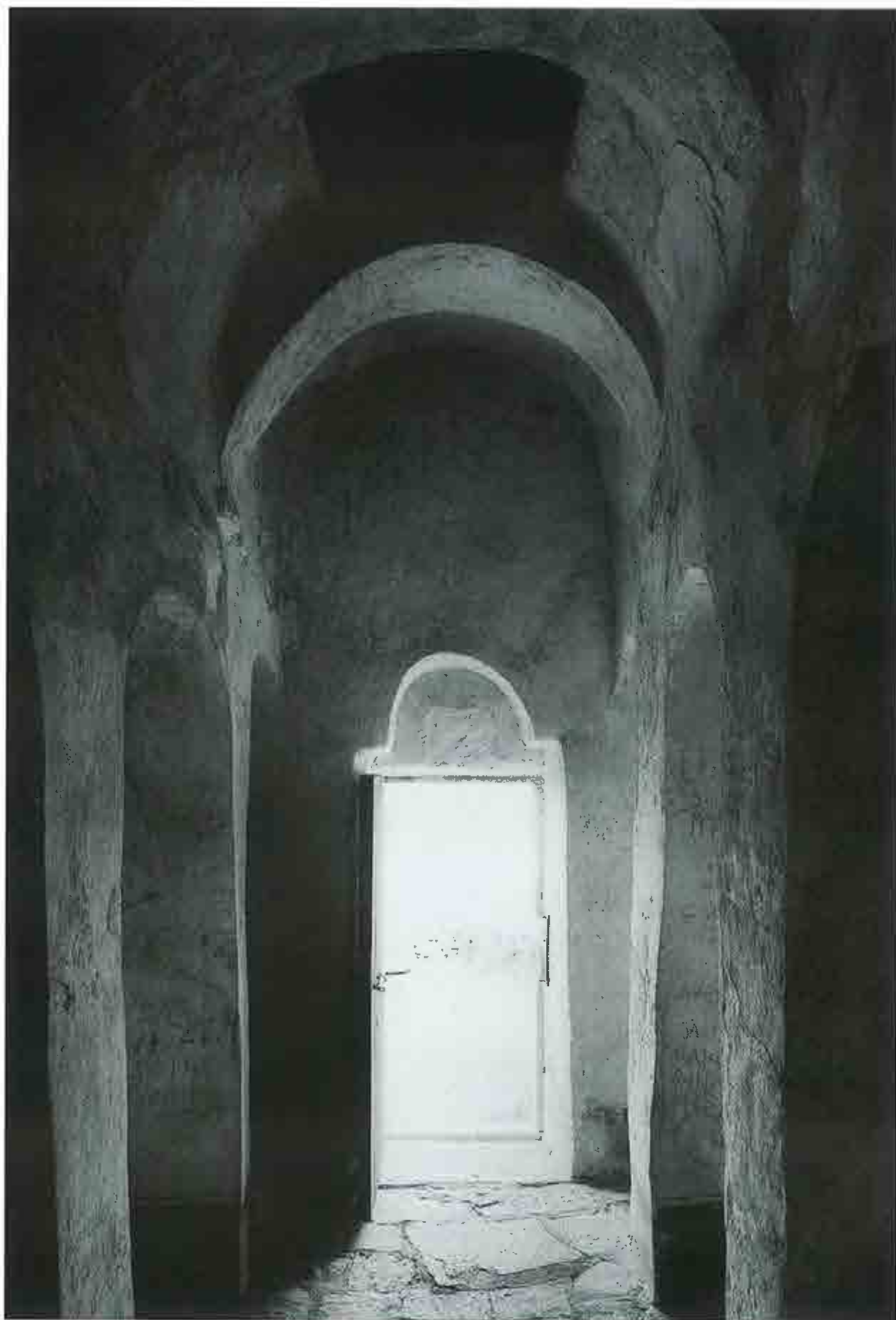
Finally, such ancient structures were usually two-storey, which is reflected in the disposition of the church of St. Mihovil on the Island of Mrkan to the South of Dubrovnik (the undercroft is, however, Early Christian). Moreover, one of the finest buildings of the type, St. Mihajlo at Ston recalls, by its uniquely tall proportions, this multi storey arrangement of its ancient predecessors.

As both the plans and details of the churches vary to a considerable degree, one may postulate the existence of numerous models. The type must have been known all over the Central and Eastern Mediterranean and it is reflected in both Early Christian and later medieval architecture of the area, especially in the Balkans and Asia Minor. Yet within the Byzantine sphere the buildings of this kind usually assume monumental proportions, the central bay is square and topped by a true dome on pendentives (Marmashen, 988–1029, in Armenia; St. Mary at Stanimaka, c. 1200, in Bulgaria; Studenica and Đurđevi Stubovi in Serbia, both 12th ct.; the so-called “St. Thecla” in Constantinople, 10th ct.). Exceptionally among our buildings, at St. Petar



Sv. Juraj, Kaštel Stari.

St. Juraj, Kaštel Stari.



Sv. Nikola, Selce (Brač)

St. Nikola, Selce (Brač)



Sv. Nikola, Selce (Brač)

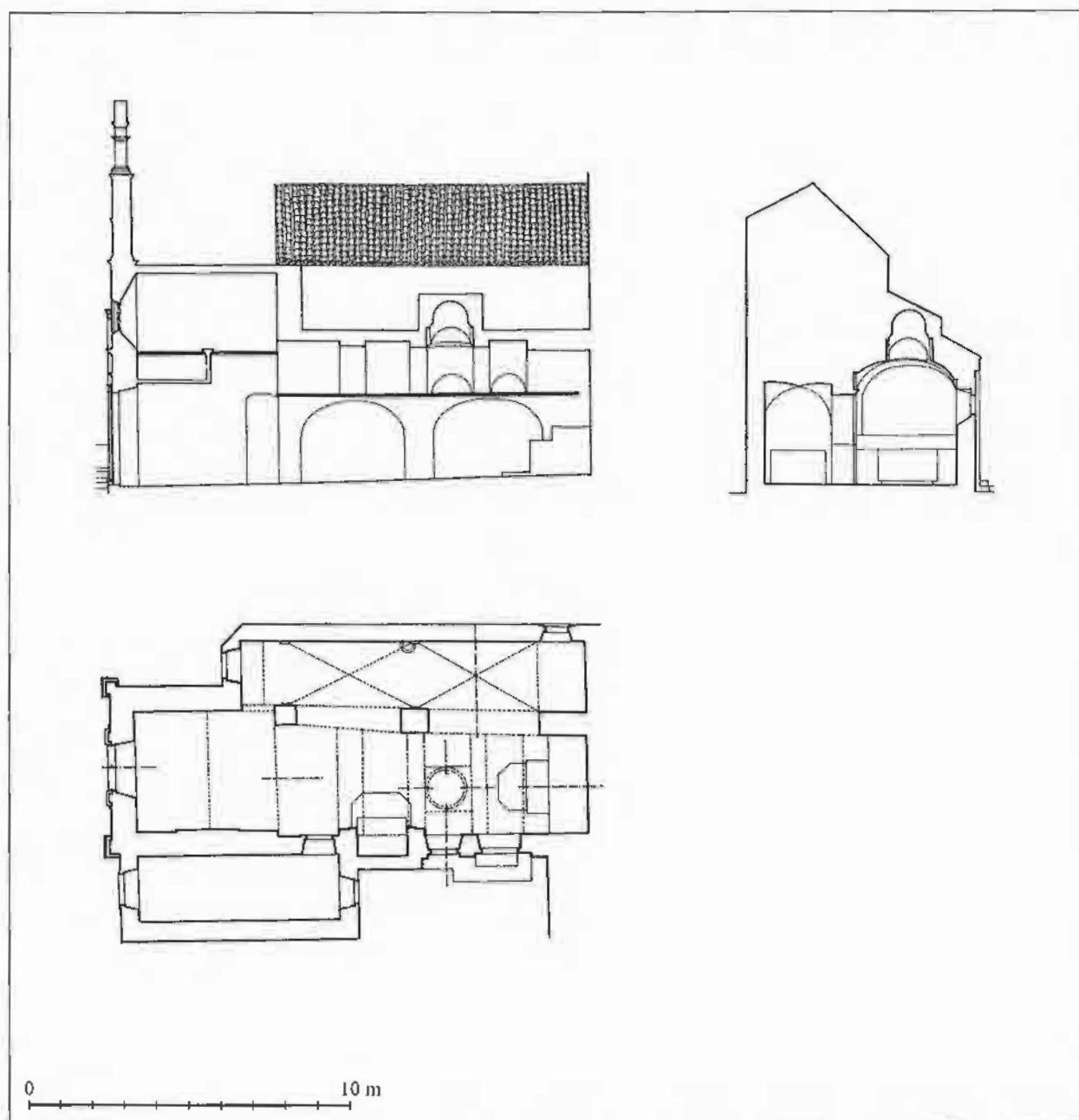
St. Nikola, Selce (Brač)

at Priko, one finds a central bay that is square, and something approaching the idea of a real dome (rather than a big jar placed on top of a vault!). The dome is thus a secondary element of the structure having no practical function since the cases when it is used as a lantern – St. Ivan on Lopud – are rare. Even in the case of analogous smaller structures, such as San Angelo a Monte Raparo in Lucania (Southern Italy, before the 12th ct.), the central bay and the dome are given more prominence.

The dome of the South Dalmatian churches thus appears as a decorative or symbolic element added to an already finished structure. After all, there are many similarly conceived and articulated aisleless building without it (at St. Nikola near Selca, a dome seems to have been added to an already existing structure). Thus the dome, for the builders of those very often small and

jasno kao crkvu, dakle bio je to znak a ne sastavni dio konstrukcije. Popularnost kupole uvjetovana je i ponavljanim valovima bizantinizma, koji su u srednjem vijeku dopirali do Jadrana. Memorijalna kapela na Majsanu, pregrađena prije kraja VIII. stoljeća kao građevina s tri polja i malom kupolom, čiji je izgled rekonstruirao Igor Fisković, mogla bi biti doslovno svjedočanstvo prisutnosti istočnjačkog graditeljskog rječnika (Fisković, 1970, 1985).

Rasprostranjenost kupole u južnoj Dalmaciji možda zahvaljujemo i tome što je nedavno pronadana i proučena predromanička faza dubrovačke katedrale bila prostrana bazilika s kupolom. Ta se faza datira u vrijeme oko 1000. godine (Stošić, 1988). Slažem se s postavkom Igora Fiskovića da usprkos svega toga nigdje ne nalazimo stvarnih analogija kupolicama južnodalmatinskog tipa (Fisković, 2000).



Nacrti crkve Sv. Nikola,
Dubrovnik.

*The plans of the church
St. Nikola, Dubrovnik.*

Naglašena pravocrtnost crkvice južnodalmatinskog tipa, uključujući "skriven" apside i kupolice (na "skriven" apside ćemo se vratiti i kod pregleda predromanike u Istri), jedno je od mjesta gdje bi se moglo razmotriti utjecaj arhitekture u drvu koju su Hrvati, pretpostavlja se, podizali u svojoj pradomovini, a nesumnjivo nastavili podizati i nakon seobe. O toj arhitekturi ne znamo ništa i stoga ne bi trebalo ponavljati nedokazive postavke Josefa Strzygowskog. No ako je Strzygowski i stekao loš glas, to ne znači da se neki njegovi briljantni uvidi ne mogu danas revalorizirati. Narod koji je stoljećima živio u sferi arhitekture u drvu, i koji seli u

rather crude chapels, was something that definitely marked a building as a church, something that had to be there as a sign, rather than a structurally indispensable part of design. The popularity of the dome may be due to repeated waves of Byzantinism which throughout the Middle Ages washed over the Adriatic. Igor Fisković's reconstruction of the memorial chapel at Majsan, rebuilt before the end of the eighth century as a three-bay building with a little dome, may be a graphic testimony to that presence of oriental architectural vocabulary (Fisković, 1970, 1985). Its popularity in Southern Dalmatia may have been also due to the fact that the recently identified and studied

Pre-Romanesque phase of Dubrovnik Cathedral was a spacious basilica with a dome (this phase seems to be datable to around 1000; Stošić, 1988). I agree with Igor Fisković that in spite of all that there are no real analogies to the domes of the South Dalmatian type (Fisković, 2000).

The linearity of the South Dalmatian type, including the "hidden" apses and domes (we will return to "hidden apses" when discussing Istria), represents one of the cases for a discussion of a possible influence of architecture in wood, which the Croats, presumably, constructed in their old country, and, subsequently, after the migration. We know nothing about that architecture, therefore it would be futile to repeat unprovable statements by Josef Strzygowski. But even though Strzygowski might have acquired a bad name, some of his brilliant insights are worthy of reevaluation. A people which had dealt in wood for centuries, and which moved to a sphere of architecture in stone, could not forget some of its own basic building procedures overnight. We will see Mohorovičić's arguments when we discuss secular architecture. The vaulting system of the South Dalmatian type – with or without the dome – is not far from the principle of wooden vaulting in the European North and East. We do not claim that similar systems were unknown in the local stone architecture. But it seems likely that the Pre-Romanesque builders might have reached for the forms and systems reminiscent of their tradition. And as far as the "dome" is concerned, square turrets are omnipresent in the North and the Northeast of Europe, they appear, for example, in Norwegian stave-churches. These, such as the church at Gol, date from the mature Romanesque, but it is quite sure that the square wooden turret had been invented much earlier than the 12th century!

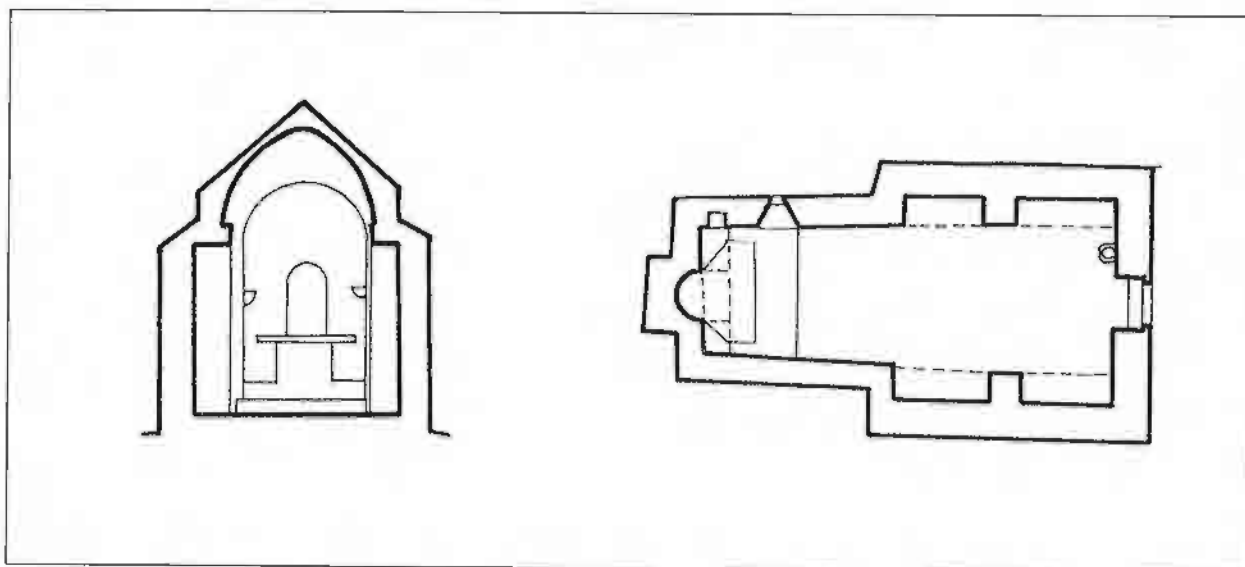
The only well-explored early building of continental Croatia, St. Ilija at Vinkovci (toward the end of the 11th ct.), was an aisleless brick building with a rounded apse. It relatively short nave and wide apse recall Romanesque buildings in Southwestern Hungary (Zalavar-Varšiget, Becshely-Pola, Dobronhegy), and, to be absolutely honest, the just mentioned stave-churches. In this context one will have to evaluate the traces of a church at Borinci near Vinkovci, and of the smaller, stone church excavated within the complex of the Romanesque abbey at Rudina (Dimitrijević, 1966).

Certain similarities with the South Dalmatian domed type are revealed by a much larger building in Central Dalmatia, St. Stjepan (or according to some St. Marija)

sferu kamena, neće preko noći zaboraviti neke od osnovnih obilježja svoje tradicije. U poglavlju o svjetovnoj arhitekturi ove knjige razmotriti ćemo u tom smislu i neka pojašnjenja Andre Mohorovičića. Svodovni sustav crkvice južnodalmatinske skupine (bez obzira imale kupolu ili ne) blizak je načinu podizanja drvenih "svodova" na sjeveru i sjeroistoku Europe. Ne tvrdimo da slični sustavi ne postoje i u mjesnoj arhitekturi u kamenu. Ali mislim da nije nemoguće da je predromanički graditelj posegnuo za oblicima i strukturalnim sustavima koji su mu se činili bliskim. A što se tiče kupolice, četvrtasti tornjići se pojavljuju nad brodom norveških crkava na jarbole. Znamo da su te crkve, poput one u Golu, nastale u zreloj romanici, no sasvim je sigurno da četvrtasti tornjić u drvenoj arhitekturi nije izmišljen tek u 12. stoljeću.

Jedina dobro istražena građevina (prije otkrića na Loboru) u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj Sv. Ilija u Vinkovcima (kraj XI. stoljeća) bila je jednobrodna zgrada od opeke s polukružnom apsidom. Razmjerno kratak brod i široka apsida nalaze analogije u ranoj i zreloj romanici jugozapadne Mađarske (Zalavar-Varšiget, Becshely-Pola, Dobronhegy), a, ruku na srce, i na upravo spomenutim jarbolnim crkvama Norveške. U ovom kontekstu trebati će razmisliti i o tragovima crkve u Borincima kraj Vinkovaca, te oblicima i dataciji manje crkve u romaničkom kompleksu Rudine kraj Požege (Dimitrijević, 1966).

Neke sličnosti s južnodalmatinskim tipom s kupolom otkrivaju se na mnogo većoj gradnji srednje Dalmacije, Sv. Stjepanu (po nekima Sv. Mariji) na Otoku u Solinu. Crkvu su istražili Bulić i Dyggve više puta između 1900 i Drugog svjetskog rata, te ponovno Rapanić i Jelovina sedamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća (Bulić, 1901, Dyggve, 1951, Rapanić-Jelovina, 1977). Dyggve je predložio rekonstrukciju u vidu trobrodne gradnje s četiri polja, s iznutra polukružnom a izvana pravokutnom apsidom, a polja su odvojena kvadratičnim stupcima. Raspored dvaju najistočnijih parova stupaca upućuje na moguću prisutnost kupole, vjerojatno u četvrtastom tornjiću. Vanjski su zidovi urešeni lezenama. Obrisi zaista podsjećaju na južnodalmatinski tip. U pročelju trobrodnog tijela postojao je unutrašnji i vanjski nartek. Dvokatni unutrašnji nartek služio je kao mauzolej i tu su nađeni ostaci sarkofaga hrvatske kraljice Jelene (+976.). U galeriju unutrašnjeg nartekta pristupalo se stubištem u južnom odjeljku trodjelnog, vanjskog nartekta, čiji je središnji dio služio kao glavni ulaz u crkvu, a sjeverni odjeljak



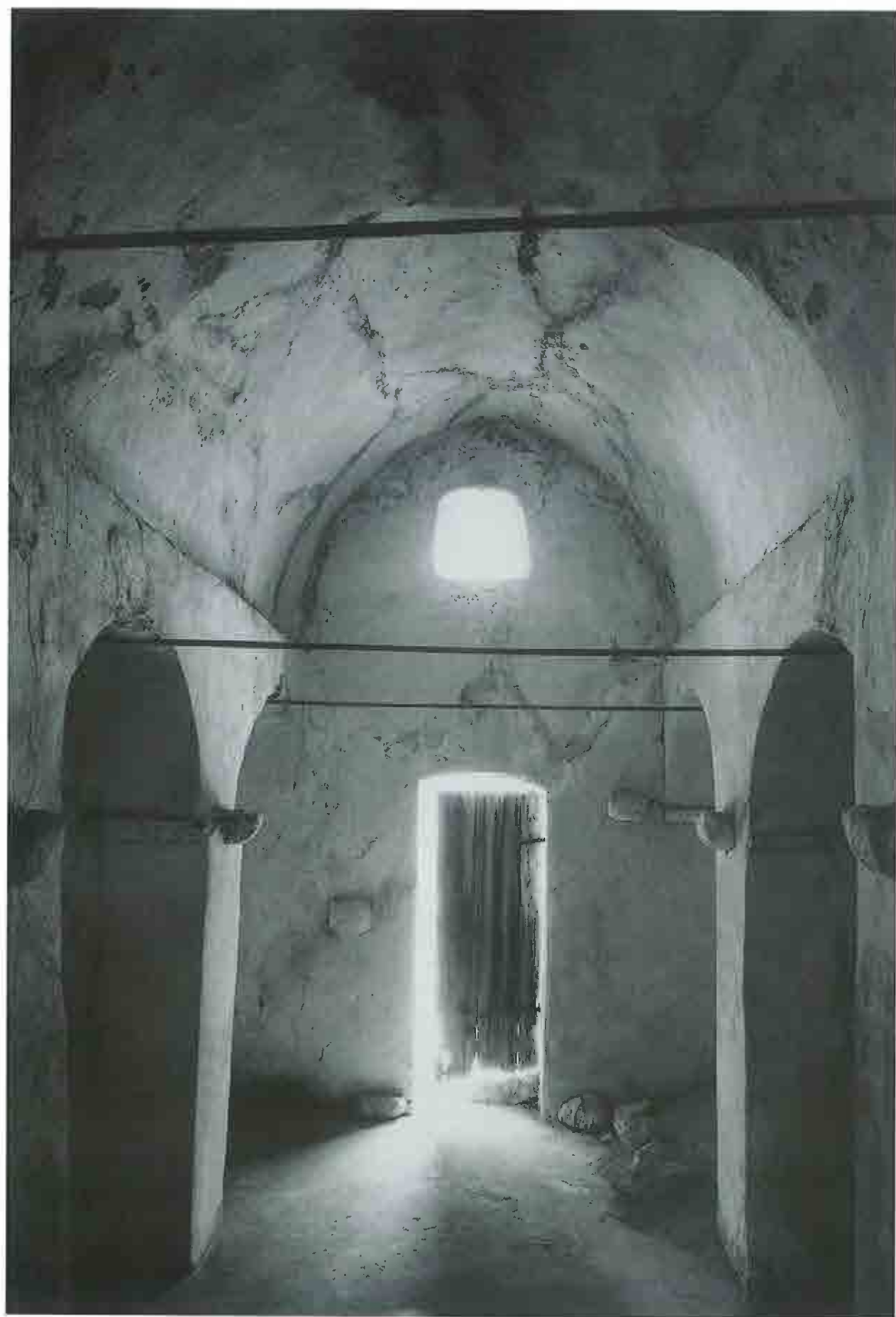
Nacrti crkve Sv. Mihovil,
Igrane.

*The plans of the church
St. Mihovil, Igrane.*

kao pristup bočnom dodatku. Sudeći po rasporedu lezana, koje su pravilno raspoređene duž zidova, čitava se zgrada po svoj prilici izvana doimala kao jedinstveni blok pokriven jednoličnim zabatnim krovom. U XIII. stoljeću, Toma Arhidakon (*Historia Salonitana*) pripisuje kraljici Jeleni gradnju crkava Sv. Marije i Sv. Stjepana, a ova posljednja bila je mauzolej hrvatskih vladara. Brižljivije razmatranje onog što je danas zapadni zid unutrašnjeg narteksa iznosi na vidjelo neke začuđujuće činjenice. Pronađeni su tragovi ulaznog portala, jedinstvenog u najranijoj hrvatskoj arhitekturi. Lezene na tom zidu nisu ni u kakvom dekorativnom ili strukturnom odnosu s unutrašnjim narteksom, već su dio ukrasa slobodno stojećeg pročelja! Stoga nije nevjerojatno da su oba narteksa kraljičin dodatak već postojećoj, ranijoj crkvi, koju je kraljica možda obnovila; to pokazuje da su rani hrvatski graditelji bili već zarana sposobni za složene zadatke.

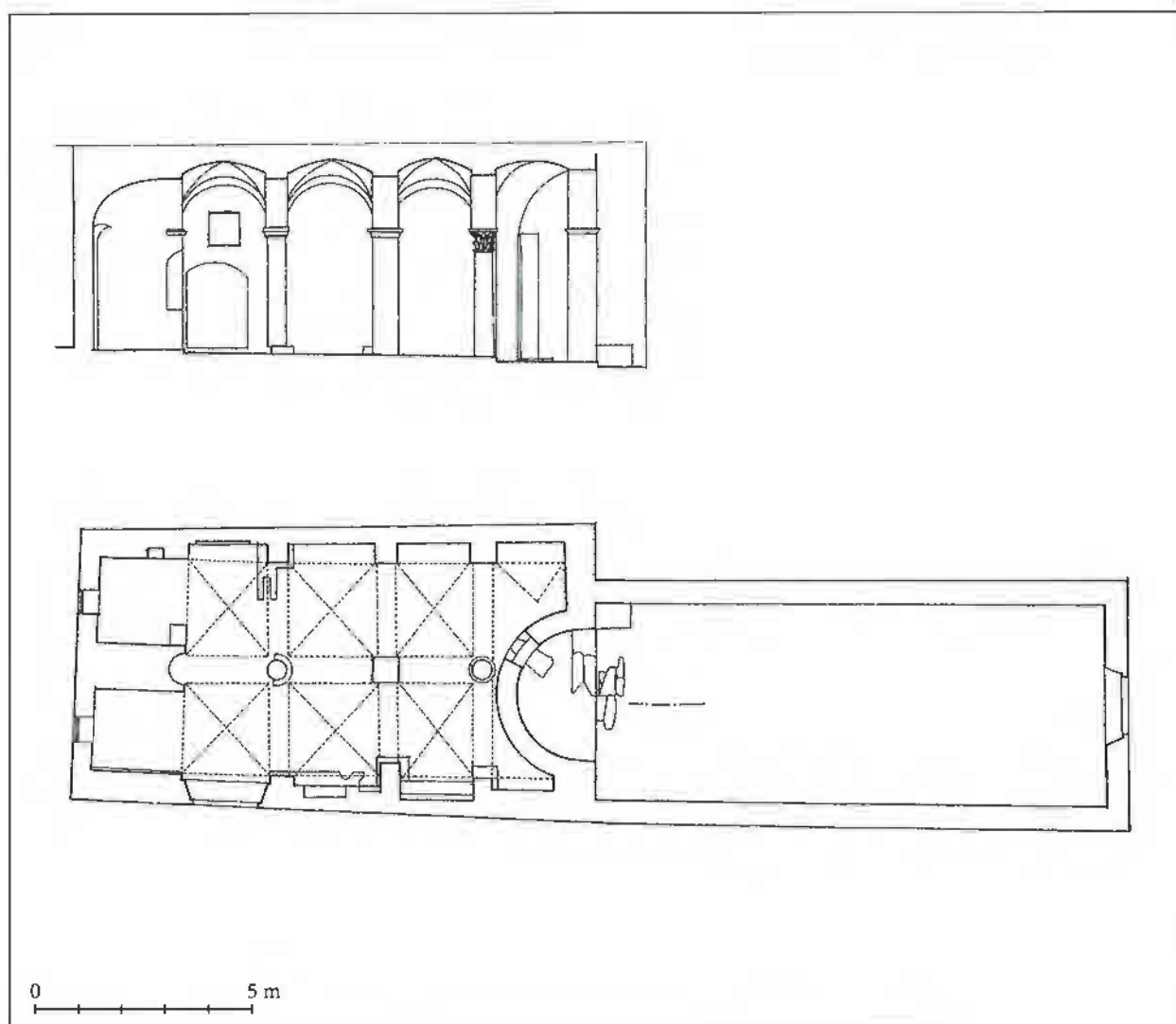
Vjerovalo se da je Sv. Stjepan ruševina tragovi koje su pronađeni nekoliko metara južnije od Sv. Marije. Iako se rasprava nastavlja, čini se da ti ostaci potječu iz daleko kasnijeg razdoblja. Je li moguće da je crkva koju je kraljica Jelena obnovila i dogradila bila posvećena i Sv. Mariji i Sv. Stjepanu? To nije nevjerojatno. Kako ćemo kasnije vidjeti, drugi vladarski mauzolej, na Crkvini u Biskupiji, gotovo je sigurno bio posvećen Sv. Mariji i Sv. Stjepanu. Njihov izbor za zaštitnike kraljevskih gradnji nije neuobičajen. Dvorska kapela u Aachenu bila je posvećena Djevici, dok je najveće blago tog ključnog spomenika karolinške renesanse bila relikvija Sv. Stjepana. I Djevica i Sv. Stjepan zauzimaju istaknu-

on the Island in Solin/Salona. The church was excavated and studied by Bulić and Dyggve several times between 1900 and the Second World War, and again by Rapanić and Jelovina in the seventies (Bulić, 1901, Dyggve, 1951, Rapanić-Jelovina, 1977). Dyggve offered a reconstruction showing an aisled, four bay building, with an apse rounded within and rectangular without, the bays being separated by square piers. The disposition of the two easternmost pairs of piers indicates the presence of a dome, most likely encased within a square turret. The exterior walls were decorated by pilaster strips. The silhouette would have indeed recalled buildings of the South Dalmatian type. In front of that aisled body there was an endo- and exonarthex. The two-storey endonarthex served as a funerary chapel, and this is where the remains of the sarcophagus of Queen Jelena (died 976) were found. The gallery of the endonarthex was accessible by means of a stairway in the southern section of a tripartite, two storey exonarthex, the central part of which provided the main entrance to the church, and the northern section an access to a lateral annex. Judging from the disposition of pilaster strips, evenly spread all along the walls, the entire building probably appeared from the outside as one solid block, covered by one uniform gable. A 13th century, source (Thomas Archidiaconus, *Historia Salonitana*) credits Queen Jelena with the construction of the churches of St. Mary and St. Stephen, the latter being the mausoleum of Croatian Kings. But a closer study of what is today the eastern wall of the endonarthex discloses some striking elements. There is a trace of a stepped portal, quite unique in early Croatian architecture. Pilasters on that wall show no decorative or structural relationship to the endonarthex – they were



Sv. Mihovil, Igrane.

St. Mihovil, Igrane.



Nacrti crkve
Sv. Petar Stari, Zadar.

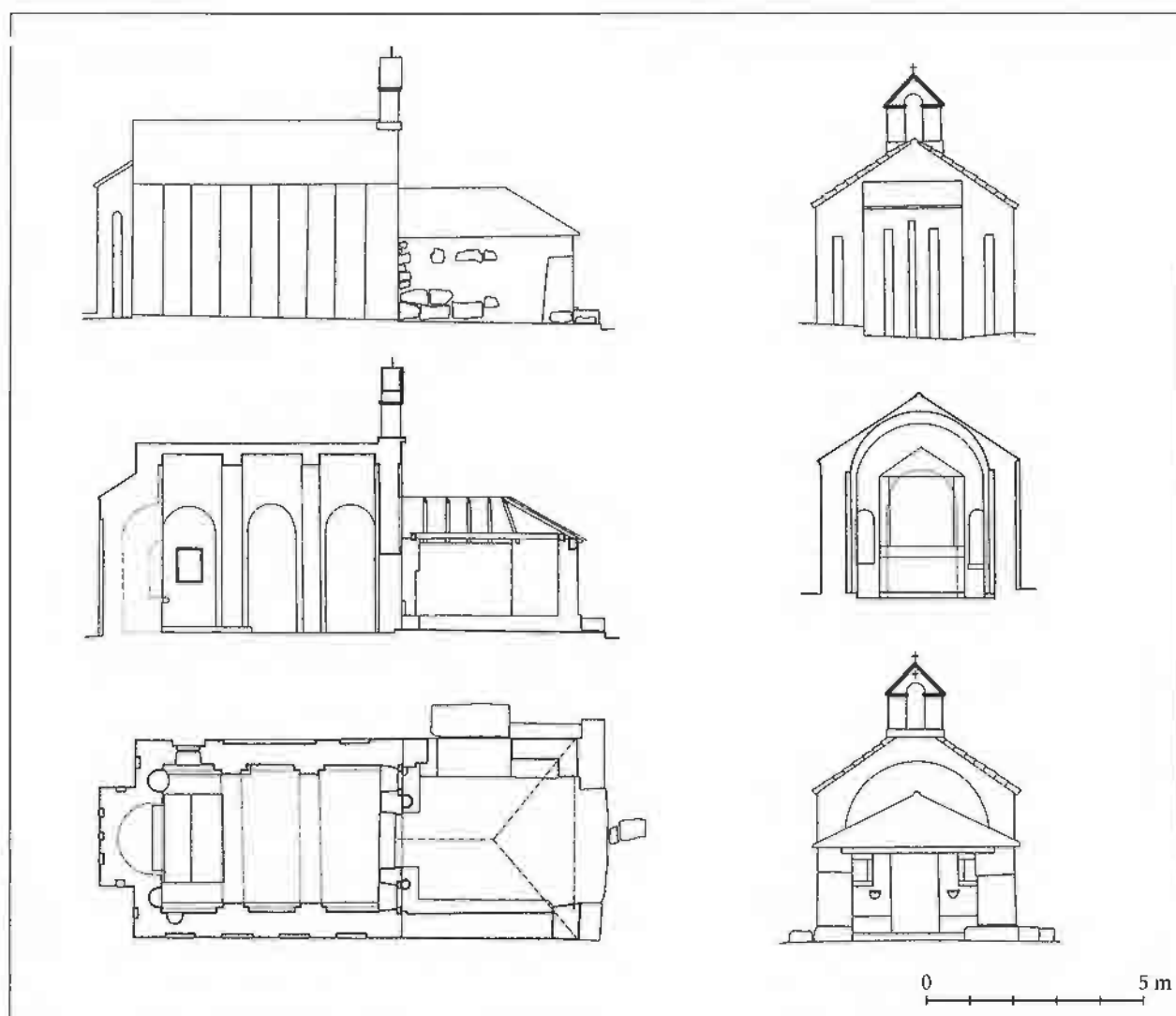
*The plans of the church
St. Peter Stari, Zadar.*

to mjesto u *Laudes regiae* (pohvale vladaru) koje su pjevane Karlu Velikom u St. Riquieru kraj Amienisa, važnoj zakladi karolinških vladara. Dvorska i krunidbena crkva bizantskih careva bila je posvećena Sv. Stjepanu. U zemlji koja je bila pod franačkom vlašću tijekom dobrog dijela IX. stoljeća, a graničila s barem nominalno i još donekle kulturno bizantskim enklavama u Dalmaciji ne začuđuje posveta kraljevskog mauzoleja Sv. Mariji i Sv. Stjepanu.

Crkva na Otoku prikladan je uvod u pregled većih ranih građevina, podignutih po uzoru na ranokršćanske bazilike. Tipu s jednom apsidom pripada Sv. Petar u Selu kraj Supetra (nedovoljno poznat) i Sv. Stjepan na Sustipanu u Splitu (prije 1020.), prostrana konstrukcija s bazilikalnim osvjetljenjem i narteksom koji se ne razabire izvana. Izvorna faza Sv. Marije u Ninu mogla bi pripadati istom tipu. Apsida, poligonalna izvana, upućuje na VI. stoljeće

parts of a decor of a free-standing facade! So the western annexes were not unlikely additions made by the Queen, who may have also restored the church; which must have been at least somewhat earlier, reconfirming that Pre-Romanesque architects were capable of fairly complex assignments at an early date.

Until not long ago it was believed that the other church, the ruins of which had been found a few feet to the south, was "St. Stephen". Although the debate is still going on, it seems that the meager traces found there date from a much later period. Could it be that the church that Queen Jelena repaired and extended was dedicated to both St. Mary and St. Stephen? Not unlikely. As we will show later, the other royal mausoleum, at Crkvina in Biskupija, was almost certainly dedicated to SS. Mary and Stephen. Their choice for patrons of a royal structure is not unusual. The Palatine Chapel at Aachen was dedicated to the Virgin, while the greatest



Nacrti crkve
Sv. Dimitrije, Gabrili.

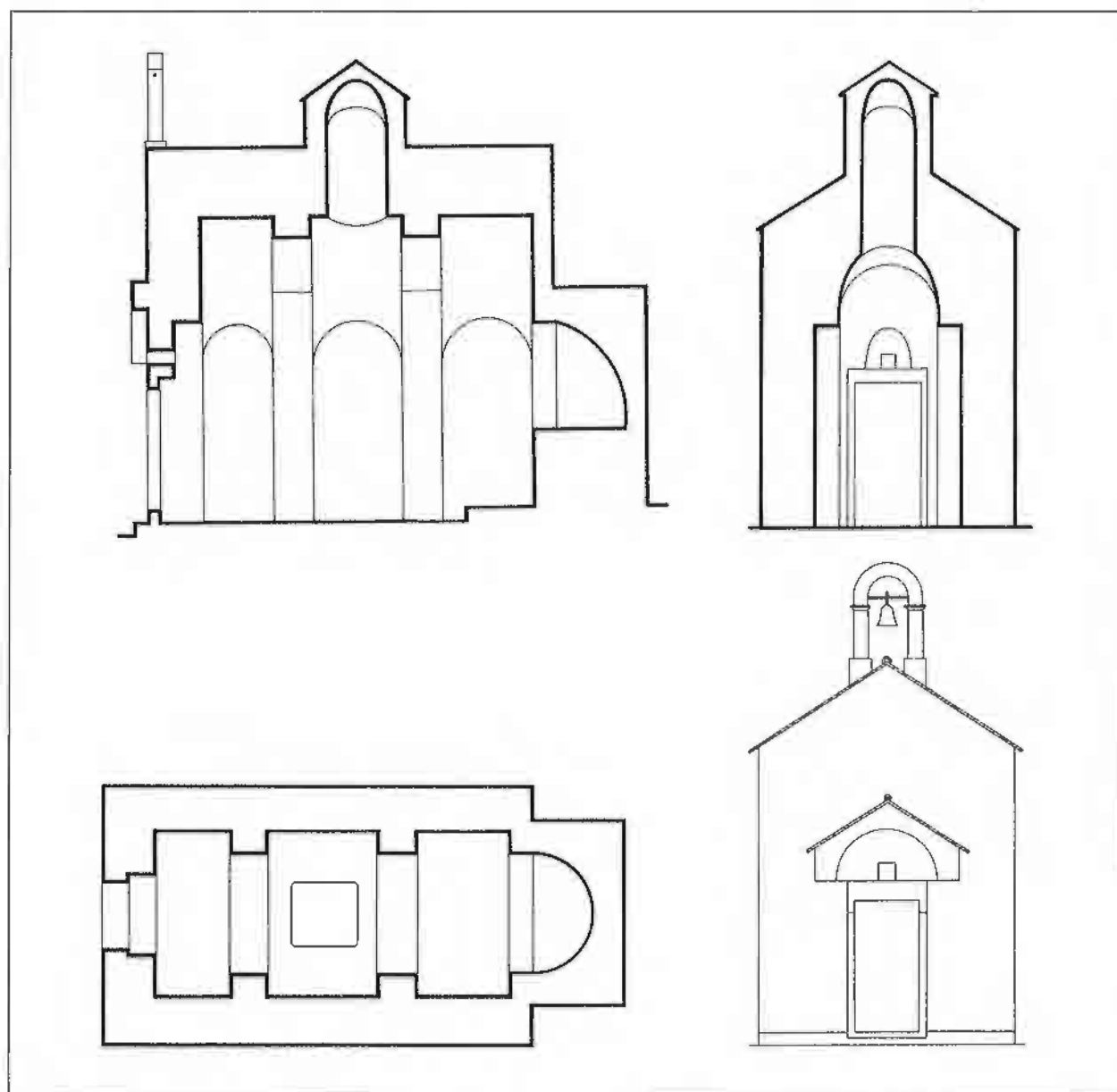
The plans of the church
St. Dimitrije, Gabrili.

treasure of this key monument of Carolingian imperial architecture was a relic of St. Stephen; both the Virgin and St. Stephen are prominently featured in the *Laudes regiae*, such as were sung to Charlemagne at another important Carolingian imperial foundation, St. Riquier near Amiens. The court and coronation church of Byzantine emperors was dedicated to St. Stephen. In a land which experienced Frankish overlordship for a good part of the ninth century, and bordered on at least nominally and still somewhat culturally Byzantine enclaves in Dalmatia, a dedication of royal mausolea to SS. Mary and Stephen should come as no surprise.

The church at the Island in Solin is a fitting introduction to a number of larger early Croatian buildings, based on the model of Early Christian basilica. To the type with one apse belong St. Petar in Selo near Sumpetar (inadequately known) and St. Stjepan at Sustipan in Split (before 1020), a spacious structure

(sličnu apsidu ima katedrala na Rabu). Sudeći po oblicima kapitela, crkva je pregrađena u XI. stoljeću, kada su dodane bočne polukružne apside.

Jedina dobro očuvana predromanička bazilika je Sv. Petar u Supetarskoj Drazu na Rabu, spomenut oko 1060. To je troapsidalna građevina, izvorno s bazilikalnim osvjetljenjem (naknadno, došlo je do povišenja sporednih brodova). Glavice stupova slijede ranokršćanske i bizantinske modele, a neki od njih podsjećaju na glavice iz Sv. Martina u Sv. Lovreču Pazenatičkom u Istri. Konstrukcija obaju crkava dosta je slična, što bi moglo upućivati na postojanje istarske radionice na Rabu. Viseći portik sa skulpturama lavova i ostaci zvonika zreliji su romanički oblici i po svoj su prilici iz XII. stoljeća. Sv. Petar u Osoru na otoku Cresu (početak XI. stoljeća), sad u ruševinama, istog je tipa, i mogao bi biti spona između Istre i sjevernog Primorja.



Nacrti crkve
Sv. Nikola, Selca (Brač).
*The plans of the church
St. Nikola, Selca (Brač).*

Posebno treba spomenuti Sv. Ivana u Biogradu (začet oko 1059.–60., posvećen 1076.), trobrodnu građevinu s trodjelnim istočnim završetkom i trodjelnim nartekсом, koja podsjeća na vanjski nartekс Sv. Stjepana u Solinu. Ostaci su oskudni, ali iznose na vidjelo vanjske zidove bogato urešene nizom ležena, raspored kojih pokazuje da nartekс nije bio uočljiv izvana. Pomanjkanje bilo kakvih unutrašnjih zidnih potpornjaka pokazuje da je crkva bila prekrivena drvenim stropom.

Biogradska crkva prvi je potpuni pokušaj u Hrvatskoj da se monumentalizira ranokršćanski uzor sustavnom primjenom vanjskog dekora. Taj je ukrasni sustav, međutim primijenjen po predromaničkom

with a clerestory and a narthex (indistinguishable from the outside). The original phase of St. Marija at Nin may have belonged to the same type. The apse, polygonal on the outside, would indicate a sixth century date (a similar apse is found at the cathedral at Rab). The church was, judging by the form of the capitals, rebuilt in the 11th century, when the lateral rounded apses were added.

The only well preserved Pre-Romanesque basilica is St. Petar in Supetarska Draga on the Island of Rab, mentioned in 1060. It is a three-apsidal building, originally with a clerestory (the aisles were subsequently raised). Inside, the capitals of the columns follow Early Christian and Byzantine models, but some of them also

recall the eleventh century capitals of St. Martin at St. Lovreč Pazenatički in Istria. The structures of both churches are also fairly similar, which may indicate the presence of an Istrian workshop at Rab. The hanging porch with sculptures of lions and the remains of a bell tower show a more mature Romanesque forms and date probably from the twelfth century. St. Petar at Osor, on the Island of Cres (early eleventh century), now in ruins, is of the same type, and may have been a link between Istria and the Northern Adriatic.

A special note should be made of St. Ivan in Biograd (begun around 1059–60, consecrated in 1076), an aisled building with a tripartite chevet and a tripartite narthex recalling that of St. Stjepan at Solin. The remains are scanty, but they include external walls richly adorned with pilaster strips, the disposition of which indicates that the western annex was indistinguishable from the outside. The lack of any internal responds means that the church was covered by a timber-roof.

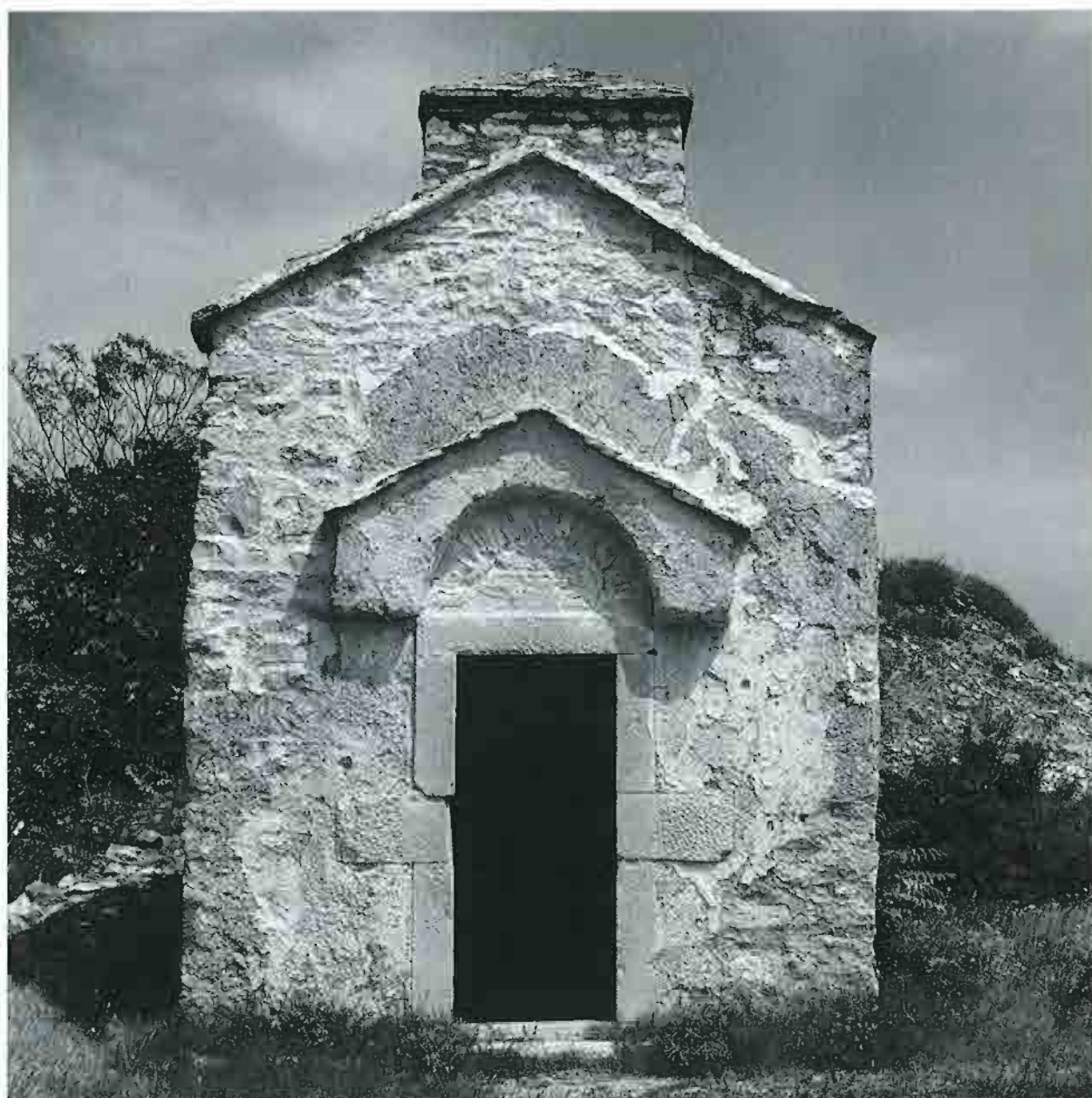
The Biograd church represents the first thorough attempt in Croatia at monumentalization, through a systematic use of external decor, of the Early Christian model. This decorative system was, however, applied in a strictly Pre-Romanesque sense, without any regard for the organization of the interior. But let us not forget that in Dalmatia such things happen even in a very mature Romanesque period. The handsome twelve-arch blind arcade on the lower portion of the external wall of St. Krševan in Zadar (end of the twelfth century), shows no correspondence to the seven bay interior arrangement!

Miljenko Jurković has presented a different view of those larger buildings in his works (Jurković, 1999, 2000). Returning to Karaman, who experienced the larger structures as an import of Benedictine architecture from Italy, Jurković has correctly emphasized the role of the monastic reform at the beginning of the 11th century, while linking the spread of Romanesque forms to the Gregorian reform of the later 11th century. He lists St. Martin at St. Lovreč Pazenatički, St. Petar at Supetarska Draga, St. Marija in Zadar, St. Petar in Osor, St. Andrija in Rab, St. Marija in Nin, St. Eufemija in Split, St. Ivan in Biograd, St. Mihovil at Lim Bay, and the monastery church at Lokrum. These are either aisled or aisleless 11th century basilicas, but there is also a series of more unusual structures such as St. Nediljica and St. Lovro in Zadar, St. Nikola in Split, and, in Istria, St. Ilija near Bale and St. Kristofor near Rovinj. I think that this is just a case of a different point of view. I experience those buildings, the

osjećaju bez obzira na organizaciju unutrašnjosti. Ne zaboravimo da se to događalo u Dalmaciji i poslije, i to u najzrelijem romaničkom razdoblju. Lijepe dvanaesterolučne arkade u donjem dijelu bočnih zidova Sv. Krševana u Zadru (kraj XII. stoljeća), ne pokazuju nikakvu suglasnost sa sedam unutrašnjih polja lađe!

U nizu radova tijekom zadnjih petnaestak godina, Miljenko Jurković predstavlja ove veće zgrade 11. stoljeća u nešto drugačijem svjetlu (Jurković 1999, 2000). Vraćajući se u biti Karamanu, koji je prostranija zdanja 11. stoljeća doživljavao kao prijenos ranoromaničke "bendiktinske" bazilike iz Italije, Jurković točno naglašava ulogu monastičke reforme s početka 11. stoljeća, a širenje ranoromaničkih oblika povezuje sa širenjem Gregorijanske reforme u kasnijem 11. stoljeću. Spomenici na koje se osvrće su Sv. Martin u Sv. Lovreču Pazenatičkom u Istri, Sv. Petar u Supetarskoj Drazu, Sv. Marija u Zadru, Sv. Petar u Osoru, Sv. Andrija u Rabu, Sv. Marija u Ninu, Sv. Eufemija u Splitu, Sv. Ivan u Biogradu, Sv. Mihovil na Limu, crkva samostana na Lokrumu. To su trobrodne ili jednobrodne ranoromaničke bazilike 11. stoljeća, no postoji i niz manjih i neoobičajnijih ostvarenja poput Sv. Nedeljice i Sv. Lovre u Zadru, Sv. Nikole u Splitu, te u Istri Sv. Ilije kraj Bala i Sv. Kristofora kraj Rovinja. Razlika je u načinu gledanja. Ja doživljam te, posebice bazilikalne spomenike, kao zadnji odraz ranokršćanske tradicije na donjoj granici romanike, dok ih Jurković prepoznaje kao najranija ostvarenja rane romanike. Mislim da se u potpunosti slažemo da se radi o prijelomnim spomenicima. Čitatelj će jasno zamijetiti moje dileme glede nekih od navedenih crkava (Sv. Nediljica, Sv. Lovro u Zadru; Sv. Eufemija u Splitu), a, na pr., netom spomenutog Sv. Ivana u Biogradu u ranijim sam radovima svrstavao u ranu romaniku (Goss, 1987), a po logici artikulacije zida ovamo bih tada trebao svrstati i Sv. Kristofora kraj Rovinja. Naglašujem također važnost promatranja, u ovom slučaju, Istre i Dalmacije, kao jednog stilskog područja (veza preko Kvarnerskih otoka), što će čitatelj također zapaziti u ovom radu. A pitanje *tradicionalne predromaničke skupine* u Istri pozabaviti ćemo se uskoro.

Posebnu podskupinu sačinjava nekoliko malih građevina u dalmatinskim gradovima s nekim osobinama onovremene bizantske arhitekture. To su: Sv. Nediljica (ili Sv. Ivan, srušen 1891.) u Zadru; Sv. Lovro u Zadru (X. – XI. stoljeće); Sv. Stjepan u Trogiru (srušen u XVIII. stoljeću); Sv. Barbara

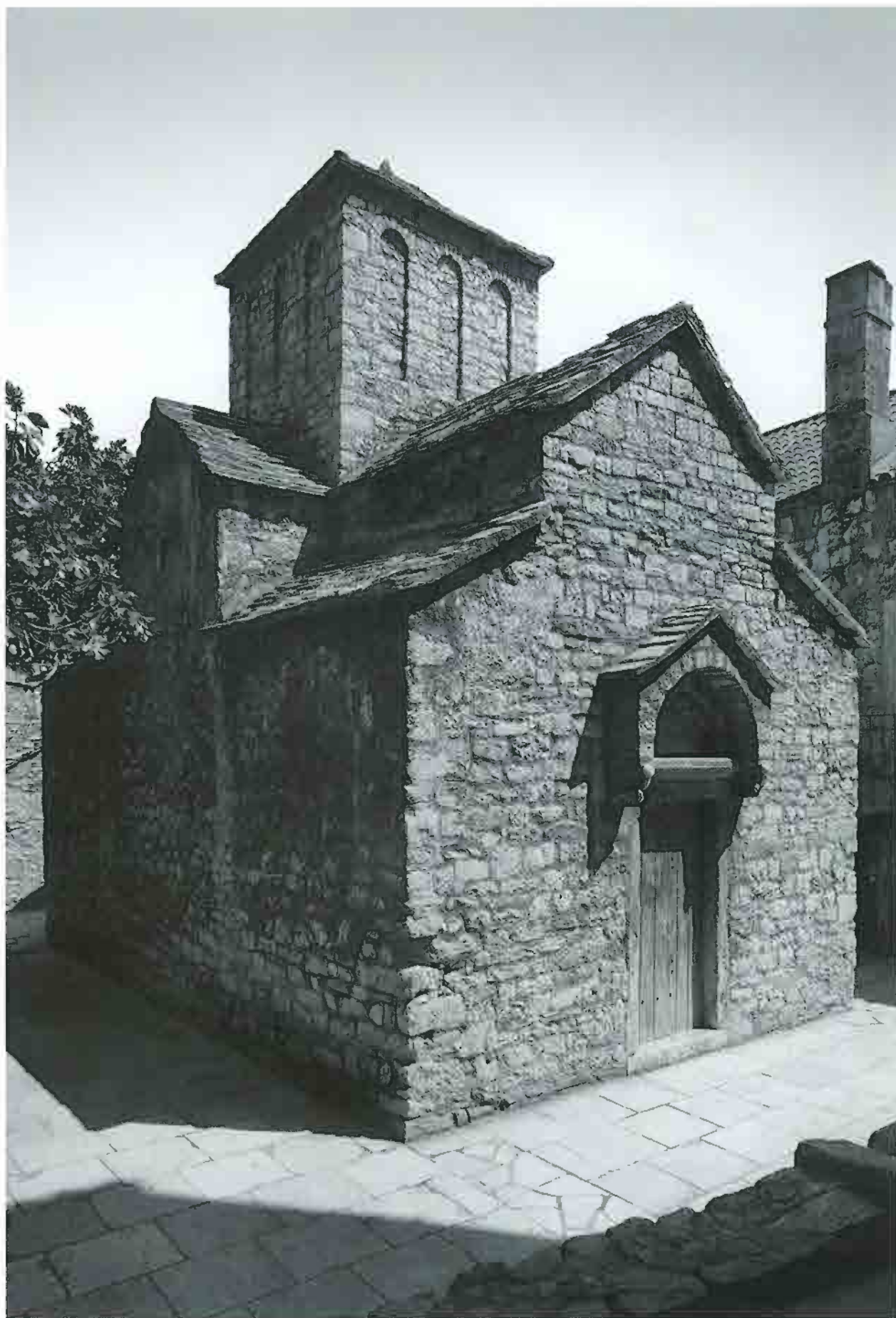


Sv. Nikola, Selce (Brač).

St. Nikola, Selce (Brač).

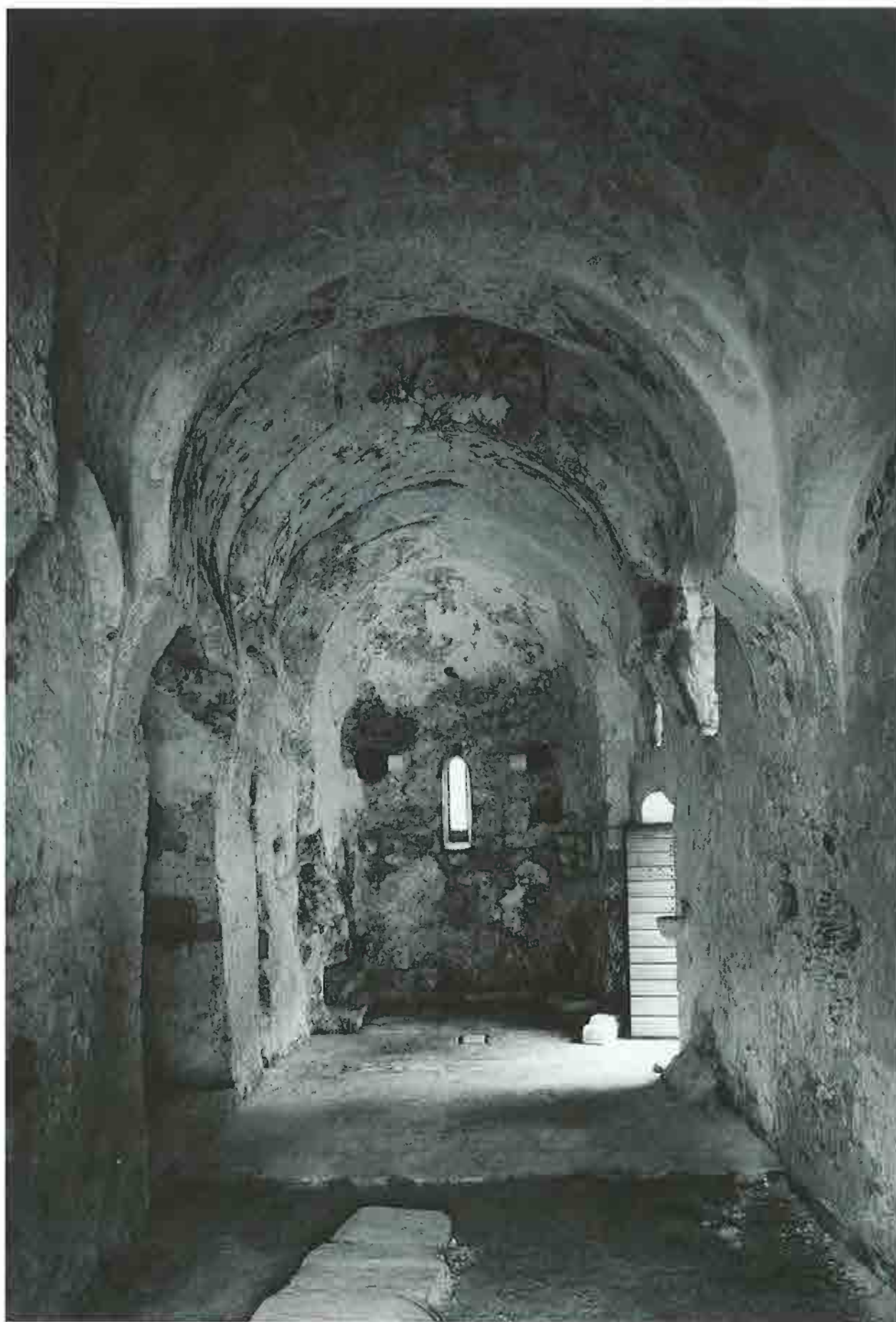
(ili Sv. Martin) u Trogiru (IX. stoljeće i kasnije); Sv. Eufemija (Sv. Benedikt) u Splitu (sredina XI. stoljeća, izgorjela 1877.); crkva i kriptu Sv. Petra u Dubrovniku. Svaka od tih građevina jedinstven je spomenik, ali svima – uz iznimku kripe S. Petra – zajedničko je što imaju potporne stupove. Sv. Lovro je u biti upisani križ s trodjelnim svetišten ugrađenim u ravni završni zid. Vjerojatno je čitava konstrukcija bila pokrivena jednoličnim, zabatnim krovom, iz kojeg je izvirivala kupola uklopljena u kvadratični tornjić. Može se govoriti o lokalnoj varijanti popularnog bizantskog tipa. Dvokatni westwerk s tornjem na zapadu zgrade možda je rezultat utjecaja izvangradskog graditeljstva. Skulptura

aisled ones in particular, as the last reflection of Early Christian model at the lowermost borderline of the Romanesque, whereas Jurković sees them as the earliest works of the incipient Romanesque. We both seem to agree that this is a question of transitional monuments. The reader will easily notice my hesitation when I speak of such buildings as St. Nediljica and St. Lovro in Zadar, or St. Eufemija in Split; in my earlier studies I included the just mentioned St. Ivan in Biograd among Early Romanesque buildings (Goss, 1987). On the account of wall articulation I should do the same with St. Kristofor near Rovinj. I would also like to emphasize the importance to see, in this case, Istria and Dalmatia, as one stylistic area, brought together by the



Sv. Nikola, Split.

St. Nikola, Split.



Sv. Ivan, Lopud.

St. Ivan, Lopud.



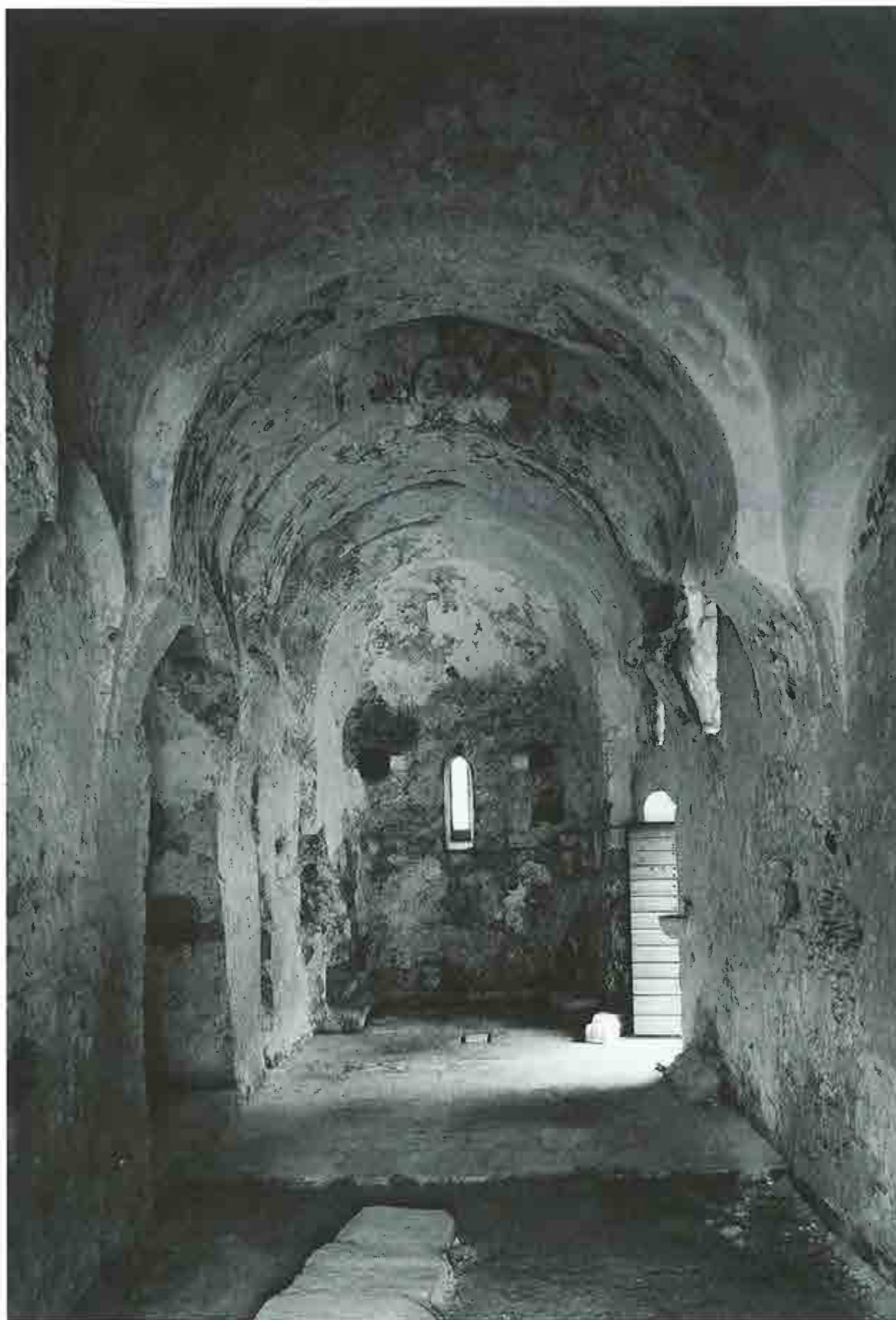
Sv. Ivan, Lopud.

St. Ivan, Lopud.

intermediary of the Kvarner islands. The question of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque group in Istria will be addressed in a moment.

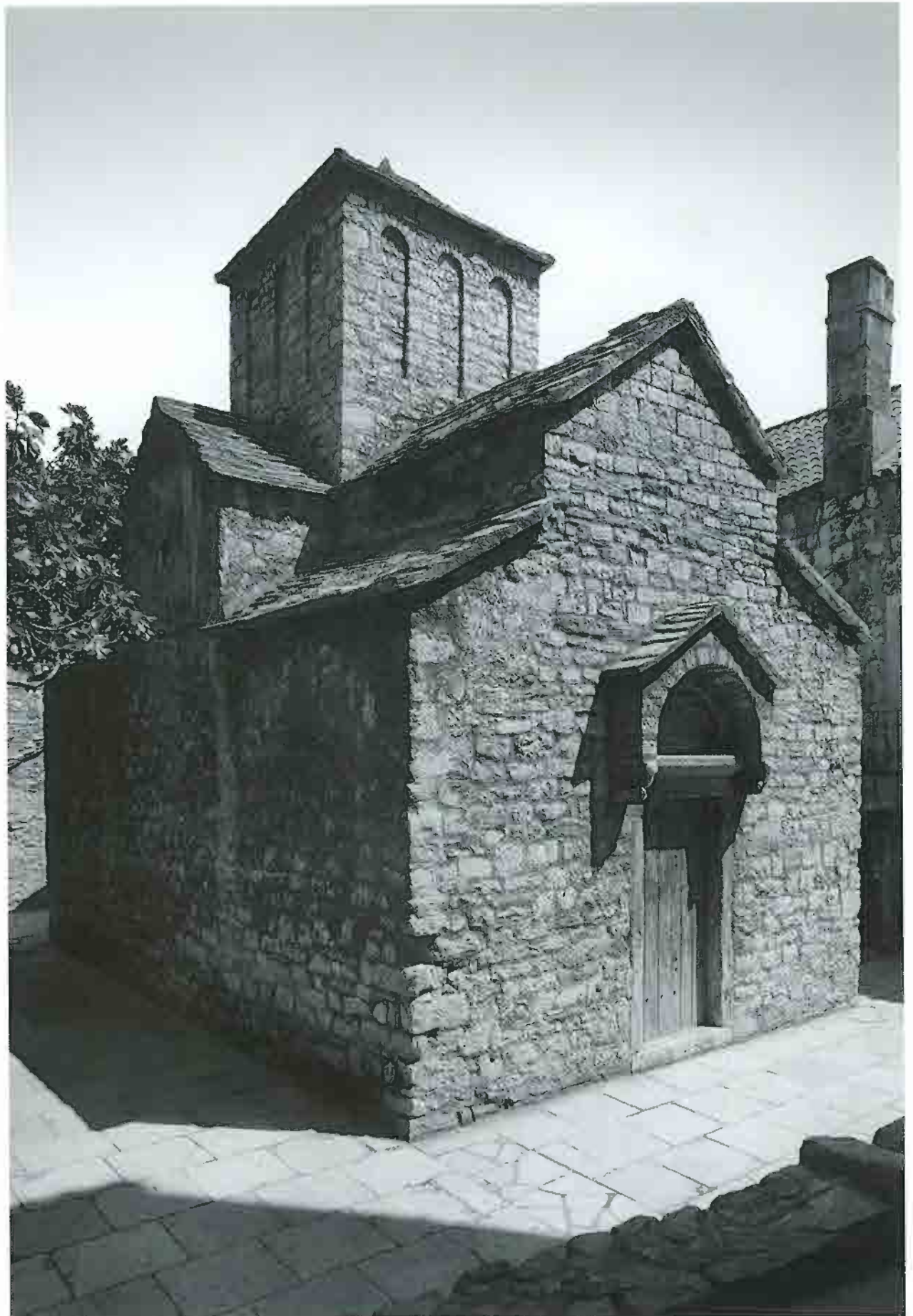
A separate sub-group is represented by a number of small-scale buildings in Dalmatian cities. They all show some features of contemporary Byzantine architecture. These buildings are: St. Nedeljica in Zadar (or St. Ivan, demolished in 1891), St. Lovro in Zadar (10th–11th ct.), St. Stjepan in Trogir (demolished in the eighteenth century). St. Barbara (or St. Martin) in Trogir (ninth century and later), St. Nikola in Split (11th century), Sv. Eufemija (St. Benedikt) in Split (mid-eleventh century, destroyed by fire in 1877), and the church and the crypt of St. Petar in Dubrovnik. Each

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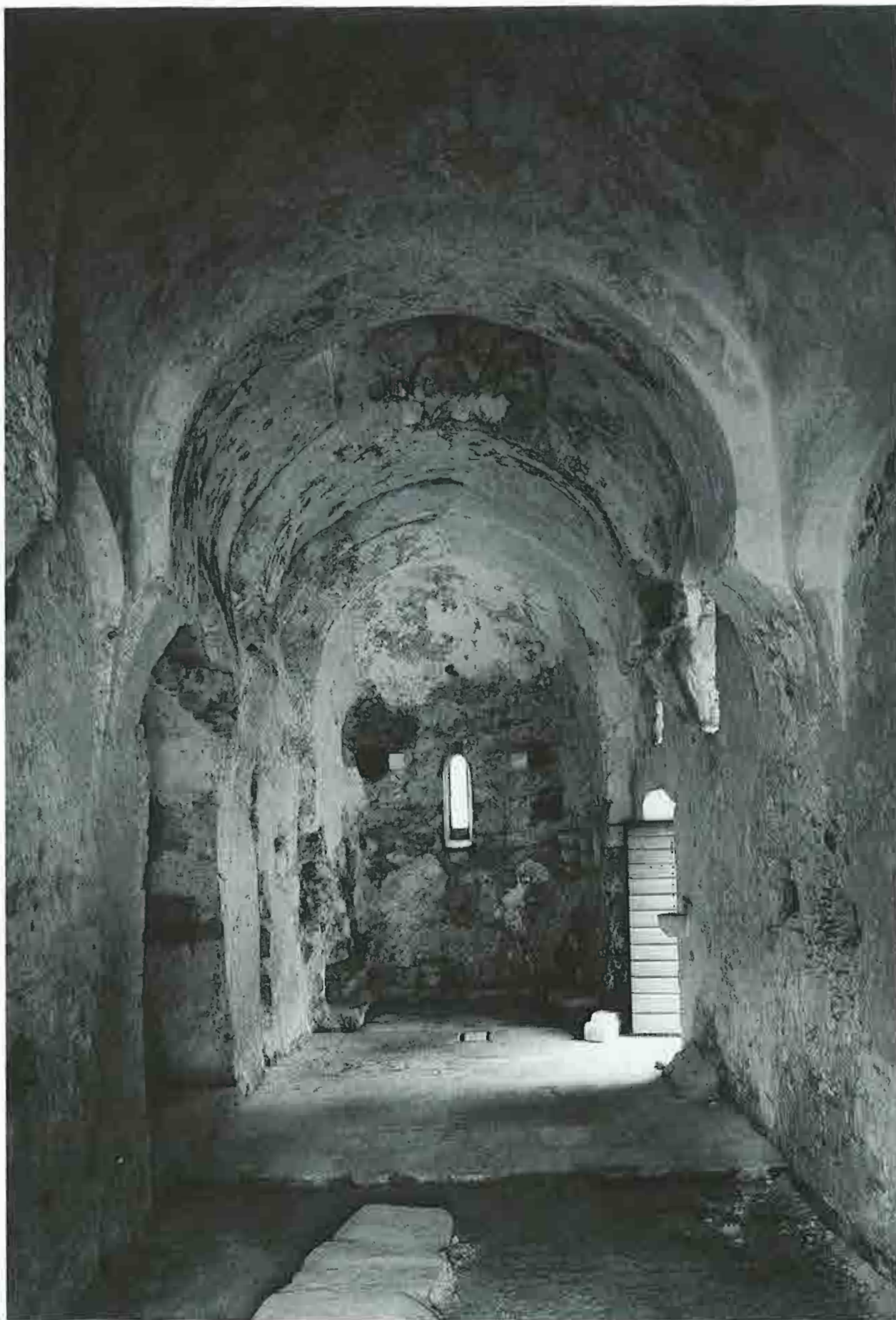
Sv. Ivan, Lopud.

St. Ivan, Lopud.



Sv. Nikola, Split.

St. Nikola, Split.



Sv. Ivan, Lopud.

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rasporedu, što, kako je točno primijetio Tomislav Marasović, smještava i ovu zgradu između predromanike i rane romanike, pred kraj. 11. stoljeća (Marasović, 1994). Sv. Nikola u Splitu u biti pripada istom tipu, samo u ovom slučaju raspored krovova snažno podcrtava križnu osnovu zgrade.

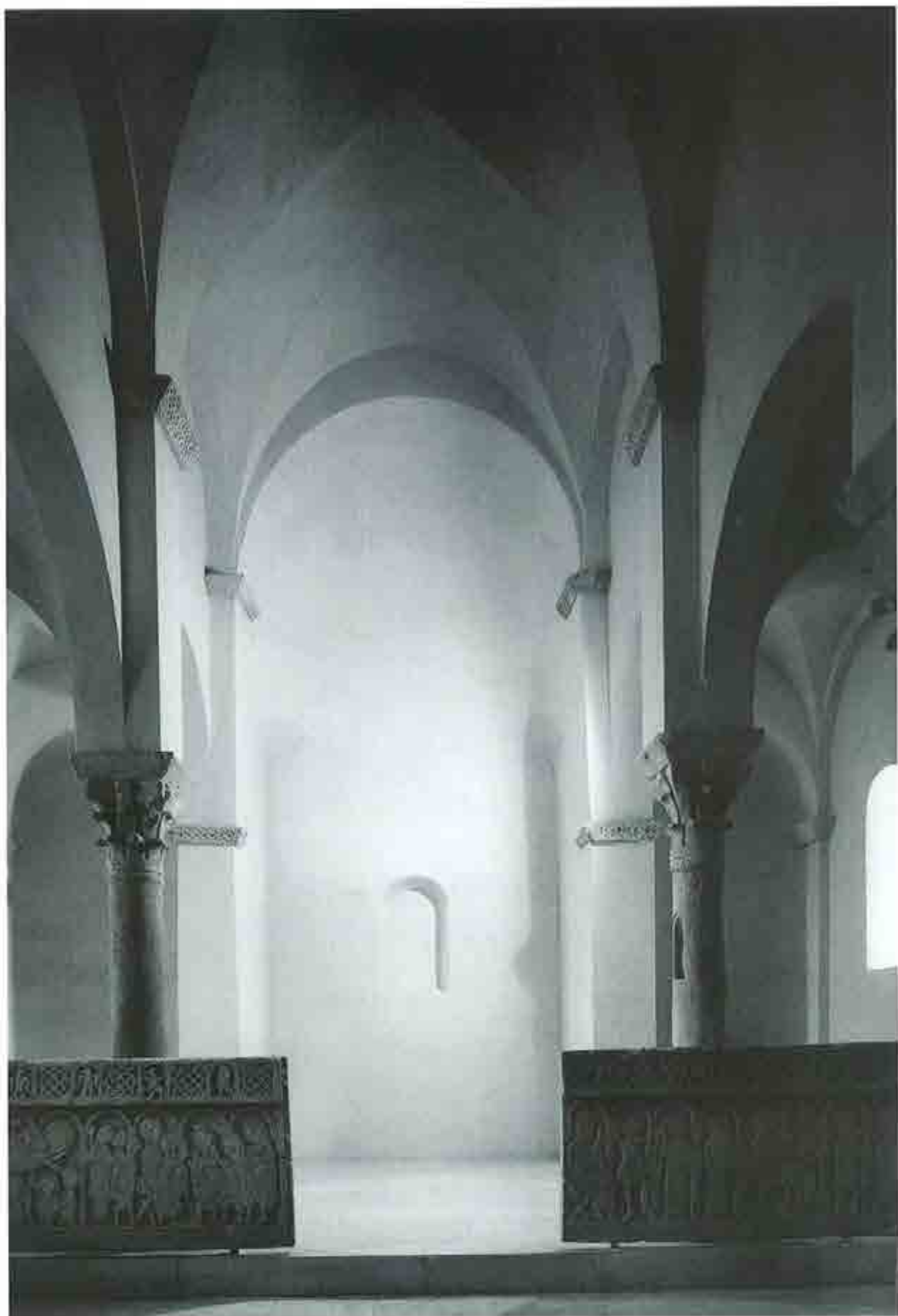
Sv. Barbara (izvorno Sv. Martin) u Trogiru minijatura je trobrodna crkva s bazilikalnim osvjetljenjem. Nekoć je postojao tornjić nad trećim poljem lade. Natpis na nadvratniku spominje da je crkva rad priora Maiusa i Petra, a po stilu pleternog ukrasa taj se nadvratnik može datirati u vrijeme oko 800. godine. Drugi ulomak zrelijeg sloga (iza sredine 9. stoljeća) spominje stanovitog Petra i Dabricu kao obnovitelje crkve. Posveta franačkom svecu, Sv. Martinu, i slog nadvratnika upućuju na vrijeme oko 800. godine za izvorni dio zgrade, koja je bila zatim pregrađena negdje između polovice 9. i polovine 11. stoljeća. Tornjić može biti ustupak bizantizmu, i mogao je biti dodan tijekom te pregradnje. Nedavno je Radoslav Bužančić predložio kasniji datum, kraj 11. stoljeća za današnji oblik Sv. Barabare, koju smatra ranoromaničkom gradskom crkvom, ali prihvaća i predromaničku fazu (pregradnju) iz oko 1000 (Bužančić, 1995).

Sv. Eufemija u Splitu (izvorno Sv. Benedikt, neposredno prije 1068.), je također mala bazilika, ovaj put s kupolom u kružnom tornjiću, i s troapsidalnim završetkom. Ta je građevina nešto više "kozopolitskog" stila. Na kraju, Sv. Nediljica (izvorno Sv. Ivan) u Zadru zgrada je s pobočnim lađama, bez bazilikalne rasvjete. Potpuno je nadšvođena i stoji nad prostranom križnom kriptom. Ukraš konzolnih lučica te vitki ranoromanički toranj upućuju na kasno 11. stoljeće. Upravo zbog tih osebina, o nekim od ovih zgrada prozboriti će se ponovno u poglavlju o ranoj romanici.

Ne mogu se naći analogije tim zgradama izvan obalnih gradova, osim možda u ruševinama Sv. Petra u Zvali (Bosna i Hercegovina) u zaleđu Dubrovnika, crkve vjerojatno iz 12. stoljeća koja je možda bila križnog oblika, ali slični se tlocrti pojavljuju u nizu manjih građevina bizantske južne Italije. San Costanzo na Capriju mogao bi se usporediti s križnim građevinama Dalmacije, Sv. Eufemija sa crkvom San Giovanni al Mare u Gaeti (oko 1050.), Sv. Nediljica sa srušenom crkvom Ottimati u Reggio Calabria (oko 1000.). Ipak, uprkos tim podudarnostima nijedna se dalmatinska crkva ne može smatrati neposrednim uzorom talijan-

of them is a highly individualized monument but they have one thing in common – the only exception being the crypt of St. Petar – they all use columns as supports. St. Lovro in Zadar is essentially an inscribed cross church with a tripartite sanctuary embedded into a straight termination wall. This entire structure was covered probably by a uniform gable roof topped by a dome encased within a square turret; thus we may speak of a local variant of a popular mid-Byzantine type. A full two-storey westwork which occurs to the west, may be a result of an influence of the extra urban architecture. The sculpture belonging to several hands and periods, extends well into the Early Romanesque style, and probably into the twelfth century. It remains an open question, in our opinion, whether the two phases, the body and the westwork, should be dated to the 10th and 11th century, or to the early and late eleventh century. St. Stjepan in Trogir was, judging from descriptions, similar to St. Lovro in Zadar, and its plan is also recalled by the cruciform crypt of St. Petar in Dubrovnik. A spacious church close to the Byzantine inscribed cross type stood over the crypt. It had a tripartite narthex, a dome at the crossing, and a tripartite sanctuary. A projecting apse is rounded inside and square on the outside, in harmony with local practice. Side areas of the sanctuary are screened off by an extra column. The external walls are decorated by pilaster strips which correspond to the interior organization, which, as Tomislav Marasović correctly noted, places this building at the borderline between the Pre-Romanesque and the Romanesque, toward the end of the 11th century (Marasović, 1994). St. Nikola in Split belongs essentially to the same type, only in this case the roof disposition energetically underlines the cruciform structure of the building.

St. Barbara (originally St. Martin) in Trogir is a miniature basilica with a clerestory. There used to be a turret above the third bay of the nave. An inscription on the lintel mentioning that the church was the work of Prior Maius and Petrus bears rather primitive forms of interlace ornamentation and could be dated around 800. Another fragment, in a more mature style (after the mid-ninth century), mentions certain Peter and Dabrizas as restorers of the church. The original dedication to a Frankish Saint, St. Martin, and the lintel argue for an early, c. 800, date for the original structure, which would have been rebuilt some time between the mid-ninth and the mid-eleventh century. The turret, a possible concession to Byzantine forms, may have been added in the course of that reconstruction. Recently Radoslav Bužančić has offered a different solution. He has dated the present form of the church to late 11th cen-



Sv. Nediljica, Zadar.

St. Nediljica, Zadar.



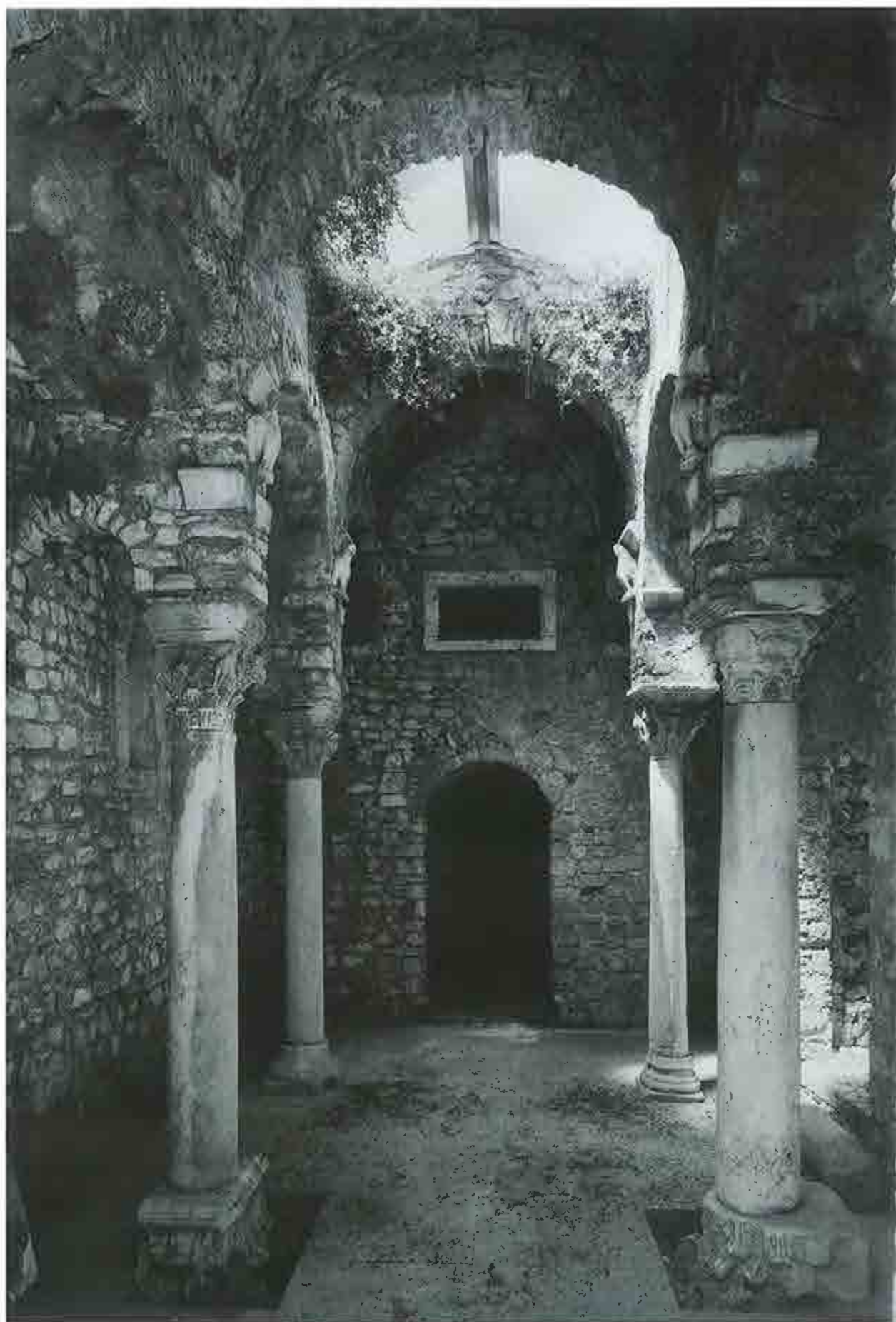
Sv. Barbara, Trogir.

St. Barbara, Trogir.

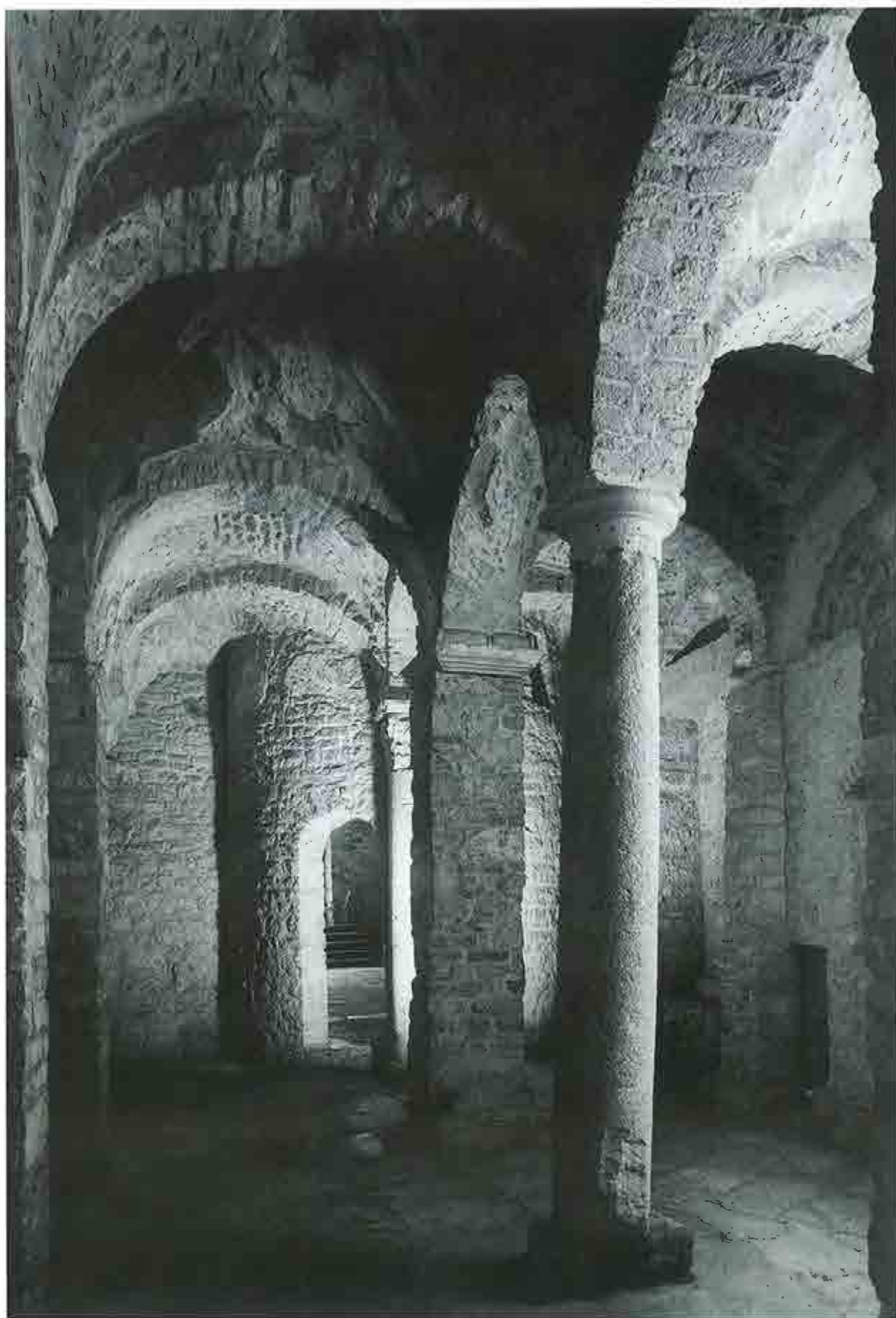


Sv. Barbara, Trogir.

St. Barbara, Trogir.



Sv. Lovro, Zadar.
St. Lovro, Zadar.



Sv. Petar stari, Zadar.

St. Peter stari, Zadar.

skoj, ili obratno. Sličnost postoji zbog zajedničkog korjena – Bizanta – a razlike su rezultat različitih mjesnih tradicija. Svaka na svoj način, i Dalmacija i južna Italija bile su istaknute bedem bizantskog carskog sistema. Mogla bi se spomenuti i napadna sličnost između Sv. Barbare u Trogiru i nekoliko provincijskih bizantskih mini-bazilika, na primjer manjih građevina u Trebizond u crnomorskoj obali Male Azije. Ta bi se podskupina gotovo mogla nazvati "dalmatinskom predromanikom", iako i u tom slučaju ima primjera utjecaja predromaničkog graditeljstva na vanjskom teritoriju, o čemu će biti riječi u slijedećem poglavlju. Ti spomenici također pokazuju koliko je srednje-bizantska umjetnost mogla utjecati na mjesne građevne običaje.

Ima i sasvim jedinstvenih građevina koje je teško klasificirati. Ruševine crkve na Begovači kraj Zadra otkrivaju gradnju koja se sastoji od tri kratka usporedna broda s polukružnim apsidama (srednja je šira od ostalih), tip poznat na Kvarnerskim otocima i u Istri između VI. i VIII. stoljeća (Sv. Martin kod Martinšćice na Cresu, Sv. Toma kod Rovinja u Istri). Njoj donekle slič i Sv. Martin u Lepurima kraj Zadra koji je istražio Nikola Jakšić (Jakšić, 2000).

Sv. Platon na Suplatunskom kraj Osora zgrada je nalik na kutiju koja završava s dvije polukružne apside (podsjeća na Sv. Mariju Malu u Balama u Istri, X. i XI. stoljeće), dok je nedaleka građevina u Dolcu u Osoru izdužena pravokutna kutija.

Sv. Petar Stari u Zadru bio je izvorno kvadratična kutija s jednovodnim kosim krovom naslonjenim na apsidu dobro očuvane ranokršćanske crkve. Kasnije je umetnut sustav podupora i svodova koji su preinačili građevinu u dvobrodnu, dvoapsidalnu zgradu s dvovodnim krovom. Sv. Platon i Sv. Petar Stari podsjećaju na poznatu sklonost kasnoantike Dalmacije tipu basilicae geminae.

U predromaničkom razdoblju neke su stare građevine, ne uvijek crkve, bile pregrađene u religijske svrhe. Već je spomenuta preobrazba Dioklecijanova mauzoleja u splitsku katedralu. Jupiterov hram pretvoren je u krstionicu a kasnije je nadvišen lijepim ranoromaničkim zvonikom. Kripta je postala crkvom Sv. Tome. Cibelin hram također je doživio predromaničku preobrazbu, a crkva Sv. Matije, mauzolej splitskih nadbiskupa također je preinaka rimske građevine južno od katedrale. Nadalje, visoki koridori u sjevernim i zapadnim vratima Palače bili su u predromaničko

tury as an example of an Early Romanesque city church, allowing for a Pre-Romanesque phase (rebuilding) of around 1000 (Bužančić, 1995).

St. Eufemija (originally St. Benedikt, shortly before 1068) in Split is another small-scale basilica, this time with a more prominent dome (within a rounded turret) and with a tripartite, rounded chevet. Thus it is a building in a somewhat more "cosmopolitan" style. Finally, St. Nediljica (originally St. Ivan) in Zadar is another aisled structure – without clerestory – fully vaulted and standing on top of a large cruciform undercroft. The building is decorated by arched corbel tables, which, together with a tiny Early Romanesque tower signal a late eleventh century date. For all these reasons some of these churches will be brought up again in the section of the Early Romanesque.

No analogies to these buildings could be found outside the coastal Dalmatian cities (except, possibly, with the ruins of St. Petar at Zavala in the Herzegovinian hinterland of Dubrovnik; this apparently twelfth century church seems to have been cruciform), but comparable plans occur among small-scale buildings in Byzantine Southern Italy. San Costanzo at Capri, around 1100, may be compared to the cruciform buildings of Dalmatia; Sv. Eufemija to San Giovanni al Mare in Gaeta (around 1050), Sv. Nediljica to the demolished church of the Ottimati in Reggio Calabria (around 1000). But in spite of these analogies, no Dalmatian church could be considered a direct model for an Italian one, or vice-versa. Similarities are due to the common root, Byzantium, while discrepancies represent different local traditions. Each in its own way, Dalmatia and Southern Italy, were extended bulwarks of Byzantine imperial system. One should also mention a striking resemblance between St. Barbara in Trogir and some provincial Byzantine mini-basilicas, such as some small-scale buildings at Trebizond in Asia Minor. This group of buildings may be as close as one can get to something that might be called "Dalmatian Pre-Romanesque," although even some among them show impact of the Pre-Romanesque architecture in the hinterland, as we will show in the next chapter. They also show the extent to which the influence of mid-Byzantine art could be grafted on local building customs.

There are some rather unique buildings, difficult to classify. The ruins of the church at Begovača near Zadar reveal a building consisting of three short parallel naves with rounded apses (the center one longer than the rest), a type not unknown in Istria and the Kvarner Islands between the 6th and the 8th century (St. Martin



Sv. Nikola, Split.

St. Nikola, Split.



Sv. Luka, Lastovo.

St. Luka, Lastovo.

Kapitel iz crkve
Sv. Nikola, Split.Capital from
St. Nikola, Split.

doba pretvoreni u crkve Sv. Martina i Sv. Teodora (danas Gospa od Zvonika). U Sv. Martinu nalazi se najbolje sačuvana predromanička oltarna pregrada u Dalmaciji. Sv. Teodor (Gospa od Zvonika) je nadvišen najbolje sačuvanim ranoromaničkim zvonikom na istočnom Jadranu. Čini se da je i iznad Sv. Martina postojao toranj, koji je vjerojatno srušen još u srednjem vijeku.

Podsjetimo da su neke crkve, npr. Sv. Petar u Rižinicama, možda i Sv. Luka (Sv. Ivan) na Uzdolju, preinake ranokršćanskih gradnji. To vrijedi i za kapelu Sv. Danijela kraj Segeta, zapravo gotovo samostojeću apsidu okrenutu prema sjeveru, a to bi moglo značiti da je ta mala zgrada sazidana na mjestu kasnoantičke memorije, najvjerojatnije još poganske, samoapsidalnog tipa.

Na Puntamiki kraj Zadra rimska je cisterna iz II. stoljeća pretvorena u kriptu novoizgrađene izdružene jednobrodne crkve Sv. Stošije, koja je čini se postojala već 931. godine.

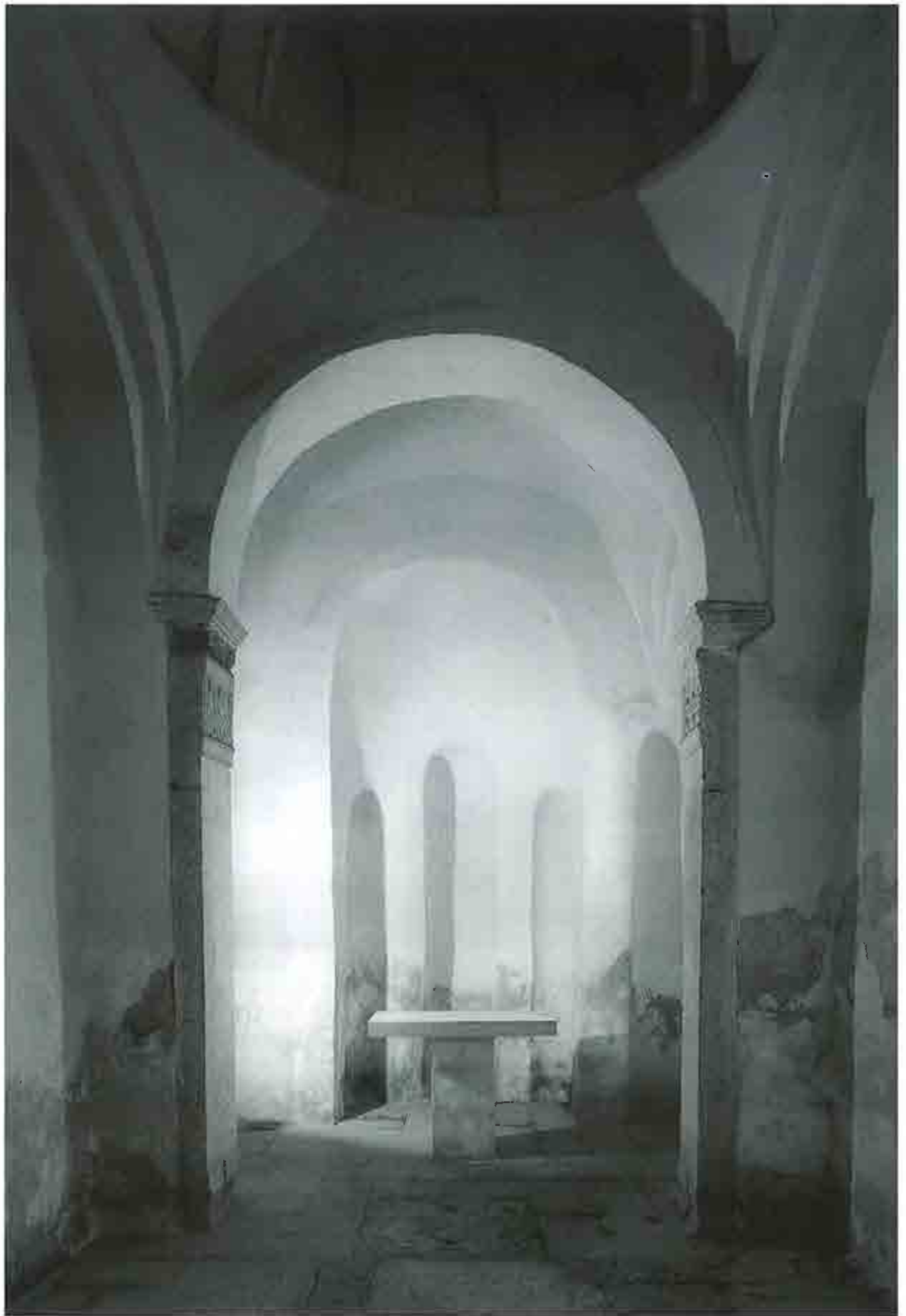
Bračke crkve Sv. Duha u Škripu i Sv. Ivana u Bolu su također, kako je pokazao Radoslav Bužančić, prepravljene kasnoantike građevine koje su u rano-

at Martnšćica on Cres, S. Toma near Rovinj in Istria). Not unlike is the church of St. Martin at Lepuri near Zadar, explored by Nikola Jakšić (Jakšić, 2000)

St. Platon at Suplatunski near Osor is a boxlike structure terminated with two rounded apses (one is reminded of St. Mary the Lesser at Bale in Istria, 10th–11th ct.), while another nearby building, at Dolac in Osor, was a plain elongated square box.

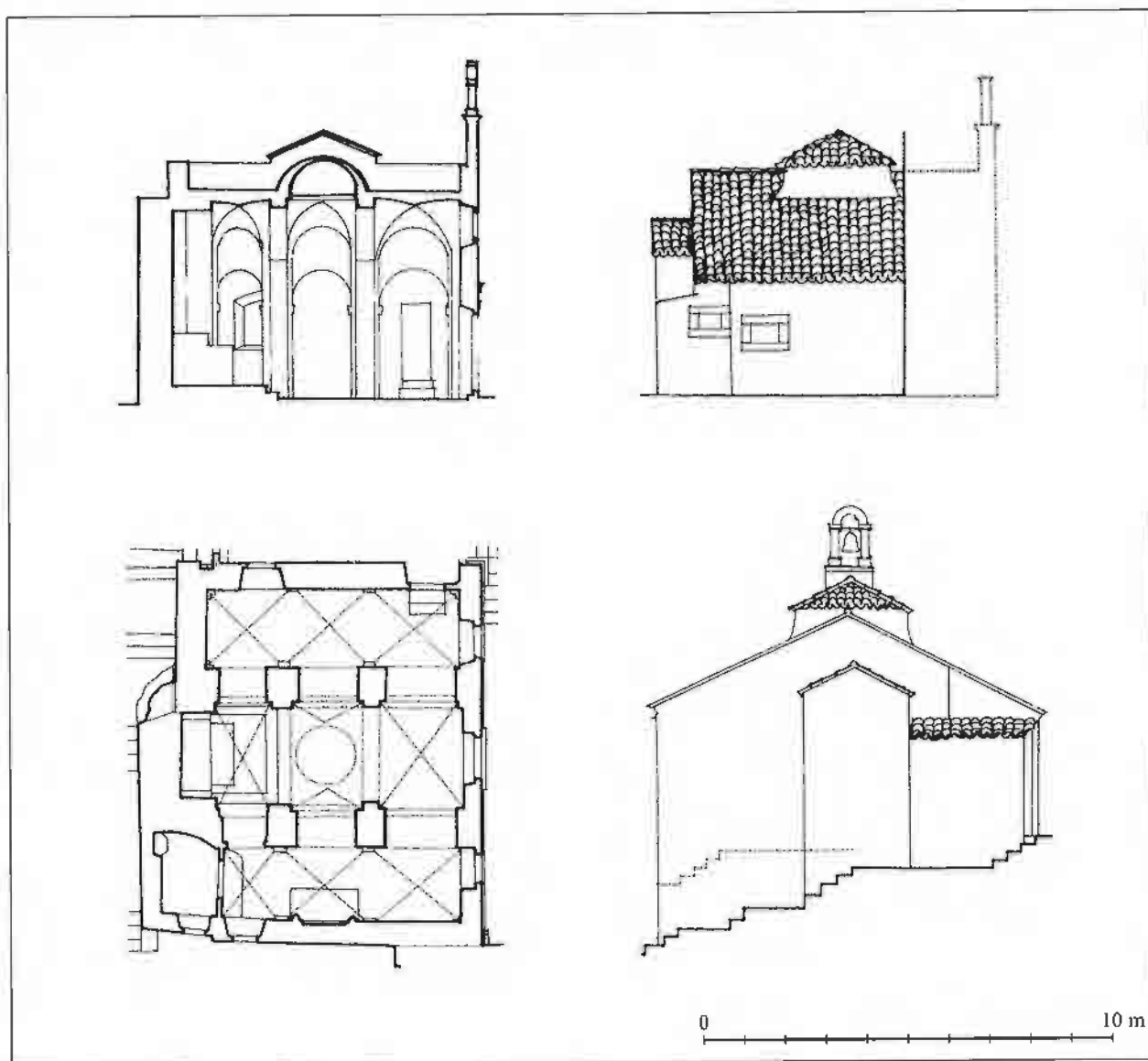
St. Petar "The Old" in Zadar was originally a square box with a lean-to roof propped against the apse of a well-preserved aisleless Early Christian church. Subsequently a system of supports and vaults was inserted turning the building into a two-aisled, two-apsidal building, covered by a gable roof. St. Platon and St. Petar "The Old" seem to recall a well-established practice of basilicae geminae in the Late Antique Dalmatia.

A number of ancient buildings, not necessarily churches were converted to religious usage in the Pre-Romanesque period. We have already mentioned the conversion of the Mausoleum of Diocletian into the Cathedral of Split. The temple of Jupiter was turned into a baptistery and once it bore a fine Early Romanesque tower. The crypt was converted into a church of St. Toma.



Sv. Petar, Priko.

St. Petar, Priko.



Nacrti crkve Sigurata,
Dubrovnik.

*The plans of the church
Sigurata, Dubrovnik.*

srednjvjekovnom obliku bile četvrtaste (Bužančić, 1991). I Fisković je podastrio niz primjera takvih adaptacija s dubrovačkog područja (na pr. Polače, Bačina, Sv. Ivan i Sv. Magdalena u Stonu; Fisković, 2000).

Neobična ruševina u Solinu, poznata kao "Crkva u Gradini", podsjeća svojim tlocrtom na čuvenu carigradsku crkvu vi. stoljeća Sv. Sergija i Bakha. Taj primjer ranobizantske arhitekture u Dalmaciji također je opremljen u predromaničko doba i ponovo pregrađen u vrijeme kad je Solin bio u turskim rukama, u xvi. stoljeću.

Konačno, za Sv. Trojicu u Biskupiji – neiskopanu – vjeruje se da je bila poligonalna i da je podsjećala na Dioklecijanov mauzolej, t.j. splitsku katedralu.

A Pre-Romanesque conversion was also undergone by the temple of Cibebe, and the church of St. Matthew, the mausoleum of the archbishops of Split, was also an adaptation of Roman buildings to the south of the Cathedral. Furthermore, the high corridors within northern and western gate of the Palace were converted in Pre-Romanesque times into the churches of St. Martin and St. Teodor (today Our Lady of the Bell-Tower). The former houses the best preserved example of a Dalmatian Pre-Romanesque choir-screen, the latter is topped by the best preserved Early Romanesque bell-tower in the Eastern Adriatic. A tower seems to have stood on top of St. Martin too. It was demolished probably already during the Middle Ages.

One should recall that some Pre-Romanesque churches such as St. Petar at Rižinice and possibly St. Luka



Sv. Marija Formoza,
kapela, Pula.

*St. Maria Formosa,
Pula, Chapel.*

at Uzdolje (St. Ivan) represent adaptations of Early Christian buildings. So also does the chapel of St. Danijel at Seget near Trogir. It is in fact an almost solo-standing apse pointing northwards, which may signal that this tiny building was constructed on the site of a Late Antique memoria – most likely still pagan structure of the solo-apse type.

At Puntamika near Zadar a second century Roman cistern was converted into an undercroft of a newly constructed elongated aisleless church. Dedicated to St. Stošija the church seems to have been in existence by 931.

The churches of Holy Spirit at Škrip and St. Ivan at Bol on the island of Brač were, according to Bužančić, adaptations of Late Antique structures, initially, in

Kao prilično zaklonjeni poluotok, Istra je izbjegla neke od potresa Seobe naroda, no vjerojatno je okusila posljedice pohoda Huna 452. Odoakar, vođa Rugijaca i Herula koji je srušio 476. zadnjeg zapadnorimskog cara, Romula Augustula, vlada Istrom do 493. kad i njega ruše Ostrogoti pod Teodorikom. Bizantski car Justinijan uspijeva povratiti Istru 539., a nakon konačnog pada Ostrogotske vlasti u Italiji 552.–553., Istra do 751. ostaje dijelom Ravenskog egzarchata. Bizantska vlast traje u Istri od 539. do 788., s međuigrom langobardske dominacije od 751. (kad Langobardi osvajaju Ravennu) i 774. Ovi posljednji datumi su sporni. Marušić, na pr. navodi (pod upitnikom) da Langobardi vladaju Istrom od 770. do 774. (Marušić, 1969). Nakon pada Langobardske države u Italiji pod franačku vlast Bizant se ponovo učvršćuje u Istri do 788., kad Istra ulazi kao grofovija u okvir



Eufrazijeva bazilika, Poreč.
The Basilica of Euphrasius
in Poreč.

Franačke države. Stanje se sankcionira mirom 813., a 827. izuzimaju se istarske biskupije ispod jurisdikcije patrijarha u bizantskom Gradu i podčinjavaju se franačkoj Aquileji.

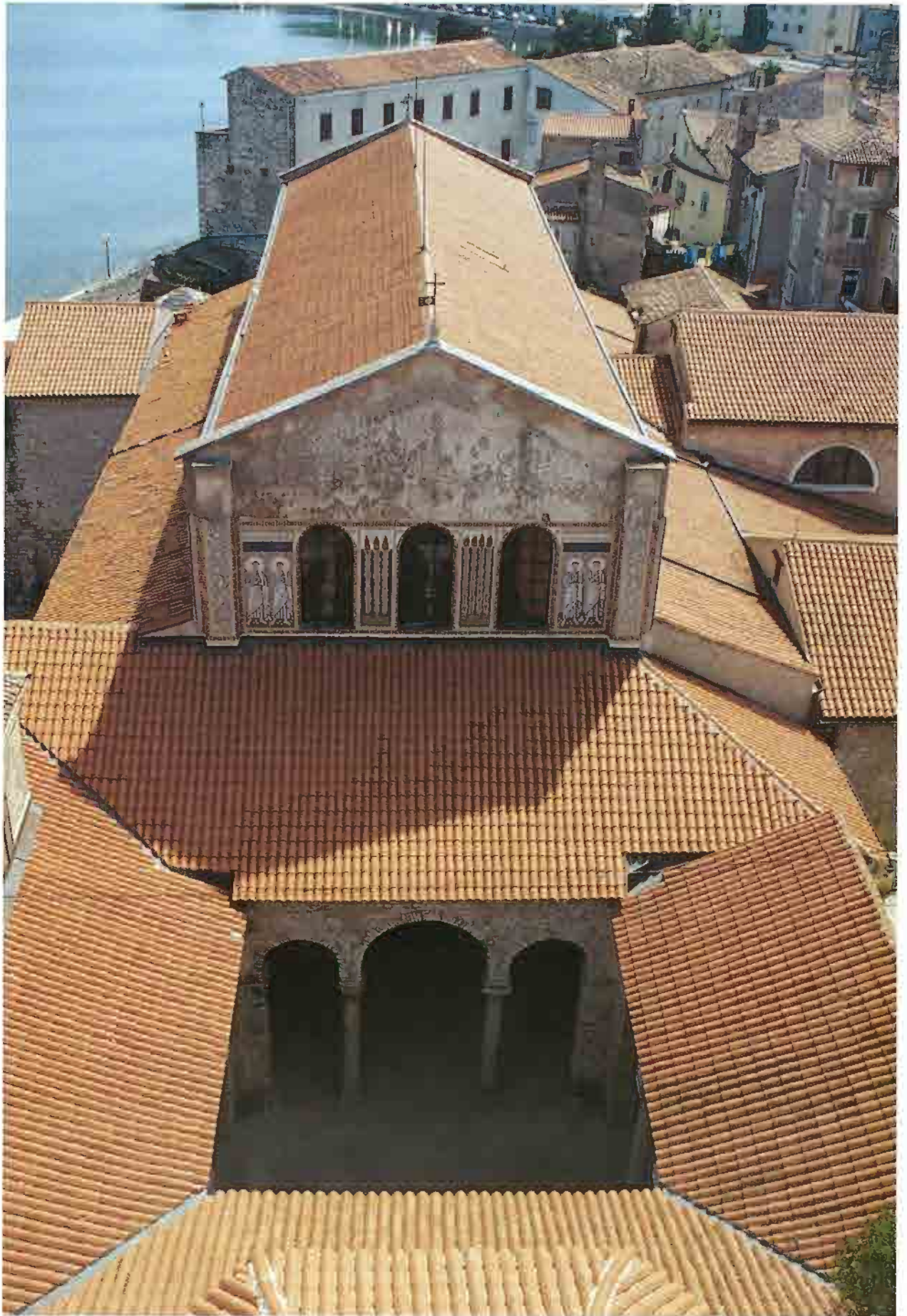
Krajem VI. stoljeća dolazi i do prvih Avaro-Slavenskih upada u Istru (599, 600, 602, 611). Afirmacija slaven-skog stanovništva na području Istre razvidna je iz arheoloških nalaza koji uključuju materijale iz razdoblja Prvog avarskog kaganata (Čelega kraj Novigrada, prva polovina VII. st.). Drugom avarskom kaganatu pripadaju nalazi iz Brkača kod Motovuna (VII. st.), koji uključuju i brončanu matricu za tiještenje limenog nakita sličnu onima iz Pliskova kod Knina. Slavenstvo prisustvo jasno iskazuju nalazi Bjelobrdskog tipa (Mala Vrata kod Buzeta, IX. i X. st., koji se ovdje miješaju i s nalazima Karantansko-Köttlaške kulture istočnih Alpi, te materijalima Hrvatsko-Dalmatinske kulture, kao i u Žminju i Dvigradu). Ovu vezu s ostalim djelovima koje su naselili Hrvati pokazuju već od kraja VIII. st. nalazi iz Žminja, istodobna nekropola u Dvigradu, te nalazi iz Sv. Mihovila nad Limom iz IX.–XI. st. Novi val hrvatskog doseljavanja u Istru nakon 774. označava podizanje utvrđenog ranohrvatskog naeselja Stari Gočan (na položaju nastavanom u predpovijesti i ranom srednjem vijeku), uz cestu Barban –

their early medieval version simply rectangular boxes (Bužančić, 1991). Igor Fisković has also pointed out a number of such adaptations in the Dubrovnik area (Polače, Bačina, St. Ivan and St. Magdalena in Ston; Fisković, 2000).

A curious ruined building known as the "Church in the Gradina" in Solin-Salona, recalls by its plan, on a smaller-scale, the famous Constantinopolitan sixth century church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. This example of Dalmatian Early Byzantine architecture was also refurbished in the Pre-Romanesque period, and again rebuilt while Solin was in Turkish hands in the sixteenth century.

Finally, the church at Holy Trinity in Biskupija, never excavated, is reported to have been a polygonal building recalling Diocletian's Mausoleum, i.e., the Cathedral of Split.

Istria occupies a special place among the East Adriatic lands settled by the Croats. As a fairly well-protected peninsula, it had avoided some of the traumas of the Migration Period, but it may have suffered some from the invasion of the Huns in 452. Odoacar, chieftain of the Rugians and Herulians who, in 476, overthrew the last Western Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus,



Eufrazijeva bazilika, Poreč.

*The Basilica of Euphrasius
in Poreč.*



Sv. Nikola, Nin.

St. Nikola, Nin.

Savičenta, određujući i glavni migracioni smjer – od Plominskog zaljeva prema Lirskom kanalu. Lijep pregled ranosrednjovjekovne materijalne kulture u Istri donosi katalog Branka Marušića i suradnika (Marušić, 1969).

S obzirom na kontinuitet bizantske uprave, u Istri se zapravo i ne može govoriti o nekom prekidu tradicije. Ono što se u malom događa u gradovima Dalmacije, a posebice se može pratiti u Splitu, ovdje se događa u daleko većem razmjeru; ustvari, do te mjere da je tipologija razvijena u ranom srednjem vijeku uvelike utjecala na arhitekturu Istre sve do kraja srednjovjekovnog razdoblja. Ta kasnoantična/ranobizantska baza uključivala je i niz vrhunskih spomenika, a neki od njih, u Poreču (kompleks Bazilike Euphrasiane) i Puli (kapela kompleksa Sv. Marije Formose ili "del Canetto") preživjeli su do naših dana. Ne radi se, dakle, o obnavljanju tradicije, već o njezinom kontinuitetu, naravno, uz neizbježne promjene.

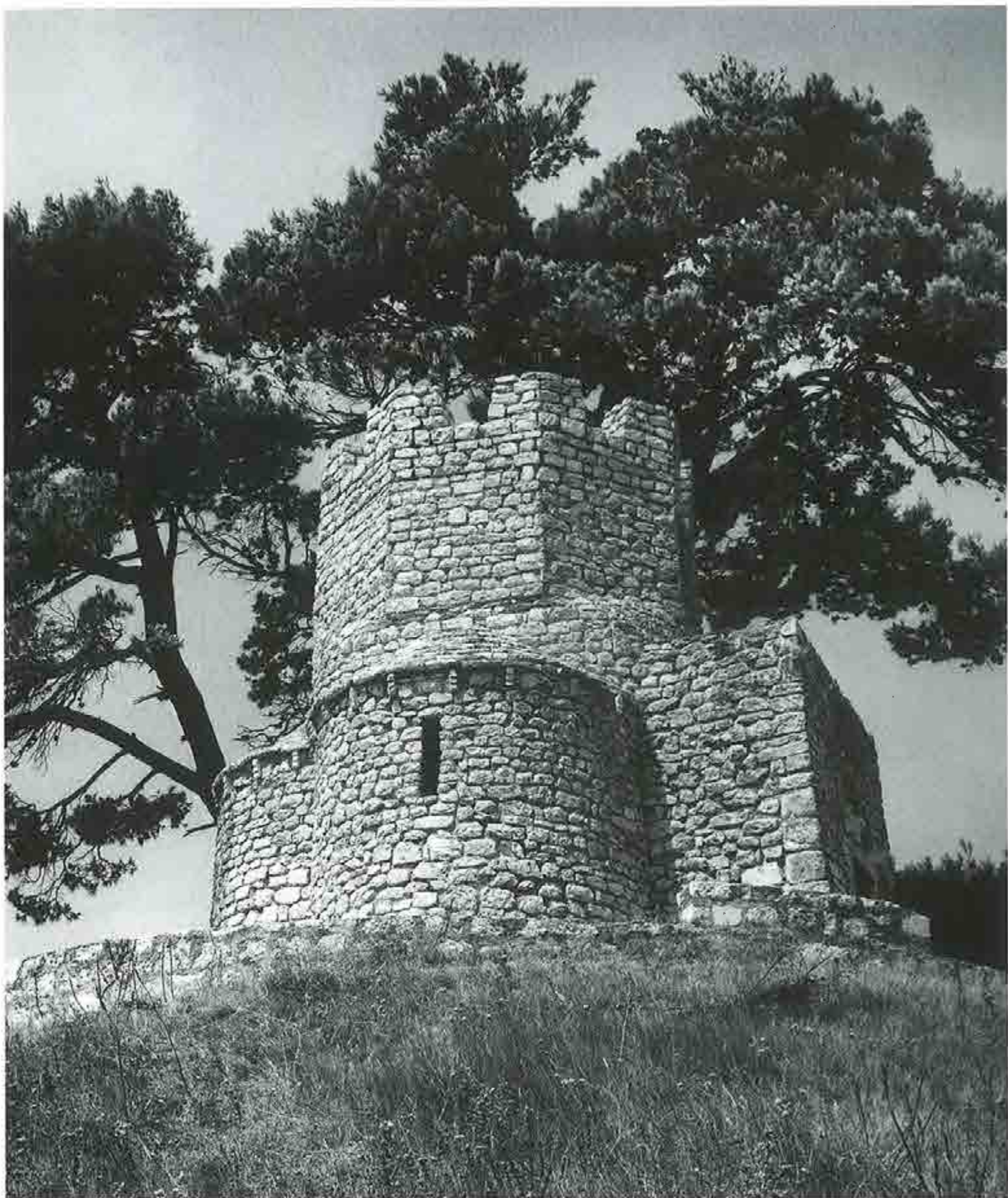
Iz ranobizantskog razdoblja ostalo je nekoliko centralnih građevina koje se mogu usporediti s onima u sjevernoj Dalmaciji (Sv. Vid u Zadru, Sv. Križ u Ninu), no to nikako nije dominantni tip. Među te se ubraja križna kapela, jedino što je preostalo od monumentalne bazilike Sv. Marije Formose ili "del

ruled Istria until 493, when he was himself overthrown by the Ostrogoths led by Theodoric. Byzantine Emperor Justinian was able to re-conquer Istria in 539, and after the final collapse of the Ostrogoth rule in Italy in 552–553, Istria remained a part of the Exarchate of Ravenna until 751. Byzantium ruled Istria between 539 and 788, with an intermezzo of Langobard domination (751–774). The last mentioned dates are debatable. Branko Marušić has suggested that the Langobards conquered Istria between 779 and 774 (Marušić, 1969). After the destruction of the Langobard state in Italy by the Franks (774), Byzantium returned to Istria through 788, when Istria finally became a Frankish march. This state of affairs was sanctioned by the Treaty of 813, and in 827 the Istrian bishoprics were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Byzantine patriarch at Grado, and subjected to the Frankish Aquileia.

The end of the 6th century also witnessed the first Avar and Slav incursions (599, 600, 602, 611). The presence of Slavic population is revealed by archaeological materials, which include those related to the First Avar Kaganate (Čelega near Novigrad, the first half of the 7th century). To the period of the Second Kaganate belong the finds at Brkač near Motovun (later 7th ct.), which also include a bronze matrix for jewelry production similar to those found at Pliskov

Sv. Nikola, Nin.

St. Nikola, Nin.





Sv. Vencet, Savičento.

St. Vencet, Savičento.

Canetto" u Puli (sredina vi. st.). Vremenu vi. ili vii. stoljeća pripadaju križne, troapsidalne, kupolne kapele Sv. Katarine na istoimenom otočiću ispred Pule, Sv. Klementa u samostanu Sv. Mihovila na Vrhukraj Pule, te Sv. Tome kod Rovinja. Ovu posljednju Matejčić danas datira u viii.–ix. stoljeće, a postavlja mogućnost slične datacije i za druge dvije (Hrvati i Karolinzi, 2000, str. 60–69). Upadljiva je sličnost sa sjevernodalmatinskim crkvama Sv. Vida u Zadru i Sv. Križa u Ninu. Sv. Eufemija kod Rovinja je vjerojatno kasnija (xi.st.) varijanta ovog tlocrtnog rasporeda, ali bez kupole.

Poligonalni tip zastupljen je u krstionicama u kompleksu Bazilike Pre-Euphrasiane i Euphrasiane u Poreču (v. i vi. st.) i Sv. Petra na rtu Zorno (moguća arijanska katedrala, 493.–536.) kod Poreča, te ne-

near Knin. The Slavic presence is clearly demonstrated by the finds of the Bijelo Brdo culture (Mala Vrata near Buzet, 9th and 10th ct., intermixed with materials belonging to the Carantanian-Köttlach culture from the Eastern Alps, and the materials of the Croatian-Dalmatian culture; the same happens at Žminj and Dvigrad). The links with the Croatian heartland is revealed by the finds at Žminj from as early as the end of the 8th century, and those from a contemporaneous cemetery at Dvigrad, as well as those from St. Mihovil at the Lim Bay from the 9th through the 11th century. The building of an early Croatian fort at Stari Gočan (at a site inhabited ever since prehistory), along the road from Barban to Savičento, and the key immigration corridor from the Plomin to the Lim Bay, marks the new wave of Croatian immigration after 778. A fine survey of ear-

ly medieval material culture in Istria was presented by Marušić in his catalogue (Marušić, 1969).

Given the long continuity of Byzantine rule in Istria, one really cannot speak of any break in tradition. What on a lesser scale was happening in Dalmatian cities, in particular in Split, assumed in Istria much larger dimensions. So much so that the typology developed in the Early Middle Ages influenced Istrian architecture through the end of the medieval period. This late Antique/Early Byzantine base involved a number of world class monuments such as the Basilica Euphrasiana in Poreč, and St. Maria Formosa or "del Canetto" in Pula. Thus we are faced with a continuing tradition undergoing, of course, inevitable modifications.

Some central Early Byzantine buildings of Istria could be compared to those of Northern Dalmatia (Sv. Vid in Zadar, Holy Cross in Nin), but this is not a dominant type. Here, one should list the cruciform chapel, the only physical remains of the sumptuous mid-sixth century basilica of St. Maria Formosa ("del Canetto") in Pula. The domed chapel of St. Katarina in the bay of Pula, of St. Klement at Vrh near Pula and St. Toma at Rovinj date from the 6th or the 7th century. A later, 8th/9th century date was recently proposed by Matejčić, who also seems inclined to do the same with the other two buildings (Hrvati i Karolinzi, 2000, pp. 60–69). There is a noticeable similarity with such North Dalmatian buildings as St. Vid in Zadar and Holy Cross in Nin. St. Eufemija near Rovinj is possibly a later (11th ct.) version of the same type, but without the dome.

The polygonal type is represented by the baptistery in the complex of the basilica Euphrasiana at Poreč (5th and 6th ct.), by the baptistery of the church at the Cape Zorno near Poreč (possibly the Arian cathedral, 493–536), and the lost baptistery at Novigrad. These buildings may have been reflected by the chapel of Holy Trinity at Rovinj, heptagonal outside and with eight rectangular niches inside. Two more such chapels stood in Rovinj and Andrija Mohorovičić saw in them an Istrian version of Dalmatian "free-form" architecture (Mohorovičić, 1957).

Triconchs are represented by a chapel within the complex of the Basilica pre-Euphrasiana and Euphrasiana in Poreč (5th and 6th century), and by the chapel of St. Andrija at Betika near Pula (5th ct.). The central portion of the church of St. Andrija on Crveni otok near Rovinj recalls the type we have encountered at the

stalom krstionicom katedrale u Novigradu. Odjek ovih poligonalnih građevina mogla bi biti romanička crkvice Sv. Trojice u Rovinju, sedmerokutna zgrada s osam pravokutnih niša u unutrašnjosti. U istom gradu postojale su još dvije takve romaničke crkvice, i dr. Andrija Mohorovičić ih smatra istarskom verzijom dalmatinskih "slobodnih oblika" (Mohorovičić, 1957).

Trikonhalni tip zastupljen je celom trihorom u kompleksu Bazilike Euphrasiane, s kupolicom i trijemom eliptičnog tlocrta. Trihora je bila i kapela Sv. Andrije u Betici kod Pule (v. st.). Središnji dio crkve Sv. Andrije na Crvenom otoku kraj Rovinja podsjeća na tip crkvice na Dugom Otoku (Savar), no ustvari radi se o središnjem djelu grčkog križa s apsidom. Datira se raznoliko, od vi. do ix. stoljeća, a Ante Šonje, vrstan poznavatelj arhitekture zapadne Istre, smatra je spomenikom nastalim netom nakon zlatnog bizantskog dona, dakle krajem vi. ili početkom vii. stoljeća (Šonje, 1982). Crkva je posjedovala tragove karolinških fresaka ix./x. stoljeća. Matejčić se i ovdje priklanja kasnijem datumu pri kraju viii. stoljeća (Hrvati i Karolinzi, str. 66–67).

Daleko je veća primjena longitudinalnih tipova. Pri tome javljaju se neka originalna lokalna ili regionalna rješenja. Od najranijih dana oratorija na mjestu Bazilike Euphrasiane (iii./iv. st.) u Poreču, Istra prakticira sakralni objekt bez apside, dakle jednostavnu pačetvorinastu dvoranu sa synthrononom, polukružnom klupom za kler u istočnom dijelu zgrade. Taj oblik se kodificira predeufrazijskom bazilikom (rano v. st.) te donjim slojem katedrale u Puli (vi. st.). Čak i troapsidalna monumentalna Euphrasiana pokazuje u vanjštini samo središnju, poligonalnu apsidu, dok su postrane, polukružne, utopljene u masu zida. Ovom obliku zgrade sa skrivenim apsidama, ili, još jednostavnije, s ravnim začelnim zidom, pripada velik broj jednobrodnih i višebrodnih spomenika, kakvi se podižu do u kasni srednji vijek.

Tipu crkve-dvorane s tri utopljene apside pripada Sv. Andrija u sklopu Eufrazijeve bazilike (vii. ili viii. st.), drugi sloj Sv. Sofije u Dvigradu (oko 700. ili 800.), Sv. Marija u Ružaru (rano ix. st.), Sv. Josip u Peroju (x. st.), Sv. Vincent u Savičenti ((ix. ili x. st., s pregradnjama u xi. i xiii.); bazilikalnom tipu s tri utopljene apside pripadaju Sv. Šimun kraj Gurana (vi/vii. st., dvorana pregrađena kao trobrodna krajem viii. st.), bazilika u Guranu, (kraj viii. st.), treći (romanički) sloj Sv. Sofije u Dvigradu, te Sv. Foška



Mala Gospa, Bale.

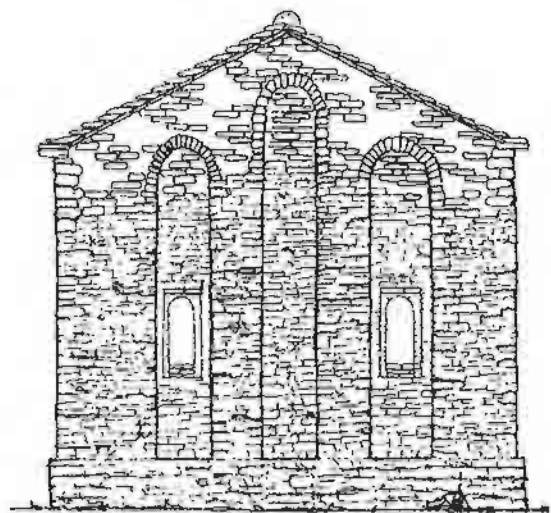
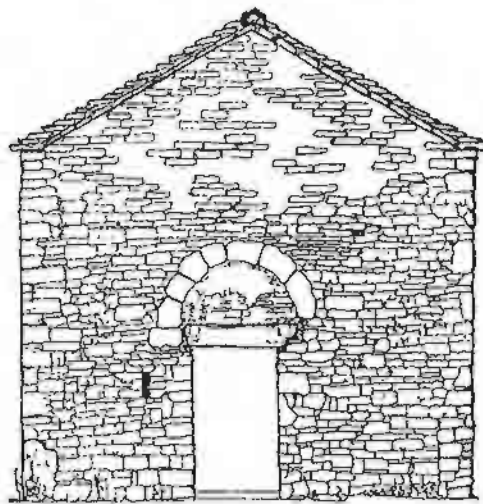
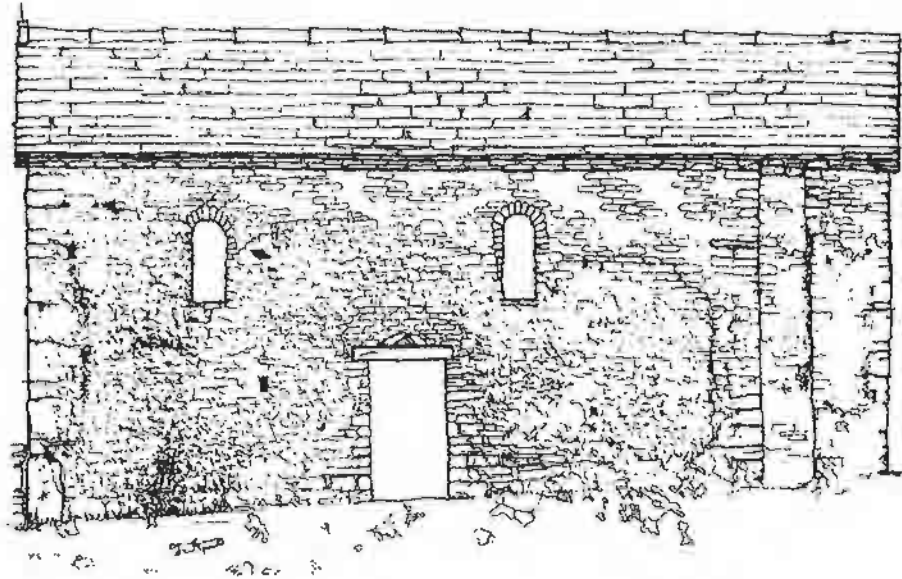
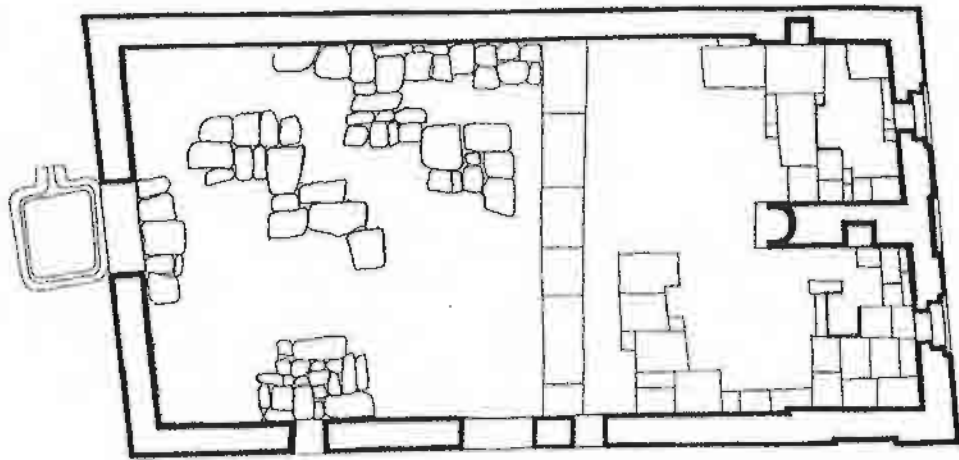
Mala Gospa, Bale.

u Peroju (VIII. i XII. st.). Nadalje, postoje razlike u tretmanu svetišta. Polukružne apside nalazimo u Sv. Andrije, Sv. Sofije (oba navedena sloja), Sv. Vincenta, uvjetno i Sv. Šimuna; pačetrovinaste završetke s polukalotama na trompama nalazimo kod Sv. Marije u Ružaru, Sv. Foške i Sv. Josipa u Peroju i bazilike u Guranu. Jednobrodna troapsidalna crkva SS. Gervazija i Protazija sjeverno od Bala (X. st.) pripada istom tipu, no srednja joj je apside dublja i šira.

Ovaj originalni oblik troapsidalne zgrade s ugrađenim apsidama nastaje, čini se, početkom sedmog stoljeća i to na područjima oko Poreča i Pule. Tip

Dugi Island in Dalmatia; however, the building seems to be the core of what once was a Greek-cross building. It is variously dated between the 6th and the 11th century. Dr. Ante Šonje, a most knowledgeable scholar of Istrian art considers it to be a monument of the last days of the golden Byzantine era, late 6th or early 7th century (Šonje, 1982). Traces of Carolingian frescoes were still visible a few decades ago, and Matejčić has proposed a date around 800 for the architecture, too (Hrvati i Karolinzi, 2000, pp. 66–67).

Longitudinal types predominate, and there are some original regional solutions. Since the earliest days of



Mala Gospa, Bale
(Matejčič, I.).

Mala Gospa, Bale
(Matejčič, I.).



Mala Gospa, Bale.

Mala Gospa, Bale.

nema izrazitih analogija na dalmatinskoj obali, osim u općem smislu preferiranja ravnih poteza i skrivenih prostora, no može se usporediti s predromaničkim spomenicima Raetijske skupine (danas švicarski kanton Graubünden, većinom VIII. i IX. st.), uz napomenu da se ovdje radi pretežno o troapsidalnim, jednbrodnim crkvama apside kojih su vidljive izvana (Müstair, Mistail, Dissentis, Chur; Zillis s ugrađenim apsidama). Sjevernoitalaski među-primjeri su Sesto Regghena i Sv. Maria Aurora u Milanu, obje s utopljenim apsidama. Kao primjer dvorane s tri slobodne apside možemo navesti župnu crkvu Sv. Marije u Balama u Matejčičevoj rekonstrukciji (VIII.–IX. st.) (Hrvati i Karolinzi, 2000, str. 14–15).

Slično stoji i s jednbrodnim prostorom s utopljenom apsidom. I ovdje prema klasifikaciji dr. Ante Šonje i dr. Branka Marušića, nailazimo na više oblika uređenja apside, no samo onaj s pravokutnom apsidom s polukulatnom na trompama (Sv. Servul na Sansaru kod Poreča, VII. ili VIII. st., Majka Božja kod Morožina, IX. ili X. st.) pripada ranom srednjem vijeku.

Istrian Christianity (3rd – 4th ct.), the buildings on the site of the Basilica Euphrasiana in Poreč show a simple boxlike plan with a synthronon, a semicircular bench for the clergy at the eastern end. This form was codified by the pre-Euphrasian basilica (early 5th ct.), and the lower layer of Pula Cathedral (6th ct.). Even the three-apsidal, monumental Basilica Euphrasiana makes a compromise with the local typology as only its central, polygonal, apse projects beyond the line of the chevet. To this type of a building with embedded apses, or, simply, with a flat termination wall, belong innumerable Istrain churches well into the late medieval period.

The type of a hall-church with three embedded apses is represented by St. Andrija within the complex of the Basilica Euphrasiana (7th or 8th ct.), the second layer of St. Sofija in Dvigrad (around 700 or 800), St. Mary at Ružar (early 9th ct.), St. Iosip at Peroj (10th ct.), St. Vincet at Savičenta (9th or 10th ct; rebuilt in the 11th and 13th ct.); St. Šimun near Guran (a 6th or 7th century three-apsidal hall rebuilt as aisled building around 800), the basilica at Guran (8th ct.); the third – Romanesque – layer of St. Sofija in Dvigrad, and St. Foška at Peroj (8th and 12th ct.)



Sv. Nikola, Pula.

St. Nikola, Pula.

are basilicas with three embedded apses. There are also variations in the form of sanctuary. Apses are rounded at St. Andrija and St. Sofija (both above mentioned layers of the latter), St. Vincent, and, maybe, St. Šimun; square endings with semi-domes on squinches are found at St. Mary at Ružar, St. Foška, and St. Josip at Peroj, and the basilica at Guran. The aisleless three-apsidal church of SS. Gervazije and Protazije (10th ct.) belongs to the same type, but its main apse is wider and deeper.

This original type of hall-church seems to have been introduced at the beginning of the 7th century, around Poreč and Pula. There are no close analogies in Dalmatia, except in terms of the general predilection

Najneobičnija je verzija s dvije apside. Ranom srednjem vijeku pripada crkva Male Gospe kod Bala, jednobrodna zgrada s dvije pravokutne apside pokrivene kalotama na trompama (x. st. ili ranije). U romanici se i ovdje javlja oblik s bačvastim pokrovom ili polukružna apsida (Sv. Kvirin u Jasenoviku). I u slučaju jednobrodnih i dvobrodnih rješenja dr. Šonje ukazuje na analogije u središnjim Alpama i Sj. Italiji (Isola Comacina, Chiericonico, Mendrisio, Mittelzell – jednobrodne, dvoapsidalne s vidljivim apsidama; Ems, Uznach – jednobrodne s polukružnom utopljenom apsidom) (Šonje, 1982). Podsjetimo se na Sv. Platona kod Osora, koji je jednobrodna crkvice s dvije vidljive polukružne apside, te Sv. Petra Starog u Zadru, koji u svom današnjem obliku predstavlja



Sv. Petar, Omiš.

St. Petar, Omiš.

dvobrodni tlocrt s dvije pravokutne apside prekrivene polukalotama na trompama – oblik koji neobično slični na Malu Gospu kod Bala i ukazuje još jednom na vezu Istra–Kvarner–Sjeverna Dalmacija.

Eufrazijeva bazilika, porečki Episkopij i Santa Maria Formosa ("del Canetto") u Puli postavile su visok standard za tip trobrodne bazilike s razvedenim svetištem. Sv. Agneza u Muntajani (oko polovine VII. st.) slijedi Episkopij u Poreču, tek su joj bočne apside polukružne. Niz trobrodskih, troapsidalnih spomenika iz druge polovine VII. st. ima polukružne apside (Sv. Mihovil u Banjolu, Sv. Stjepan u Puli, Sv. Kvirin kod Vodnjana, ova možda iz oko 800.), dok crkva samostana Sv. Mihovila na Vrhu kod Pule ima poligonalne apside. Polukružne apside ima i monumentalna bazilika Sv. Martina u Sv. Lovreču

for straight lines and hidden spaces. However, it can be compared to the buildings of the Raetian type in what is today the Swiss canton of Graubünden (mostly 8th and 9th ct.), noting, however, that in most cases these are hall churches with apses visible from the outside (Müstair, Mistail, Dissentis, Chur; embedded apses at Zillis). As a link between the two groups one may list north Italian examples at Sesto Reghena and St. Maria Aurora in Milan, both with embedded apses. St. Mary at Bale (around 800) as reconstructed by Matejčić would have been a hall with three free standing apses (Hrvati i Karolinzi, 2000, pp. 14–15).

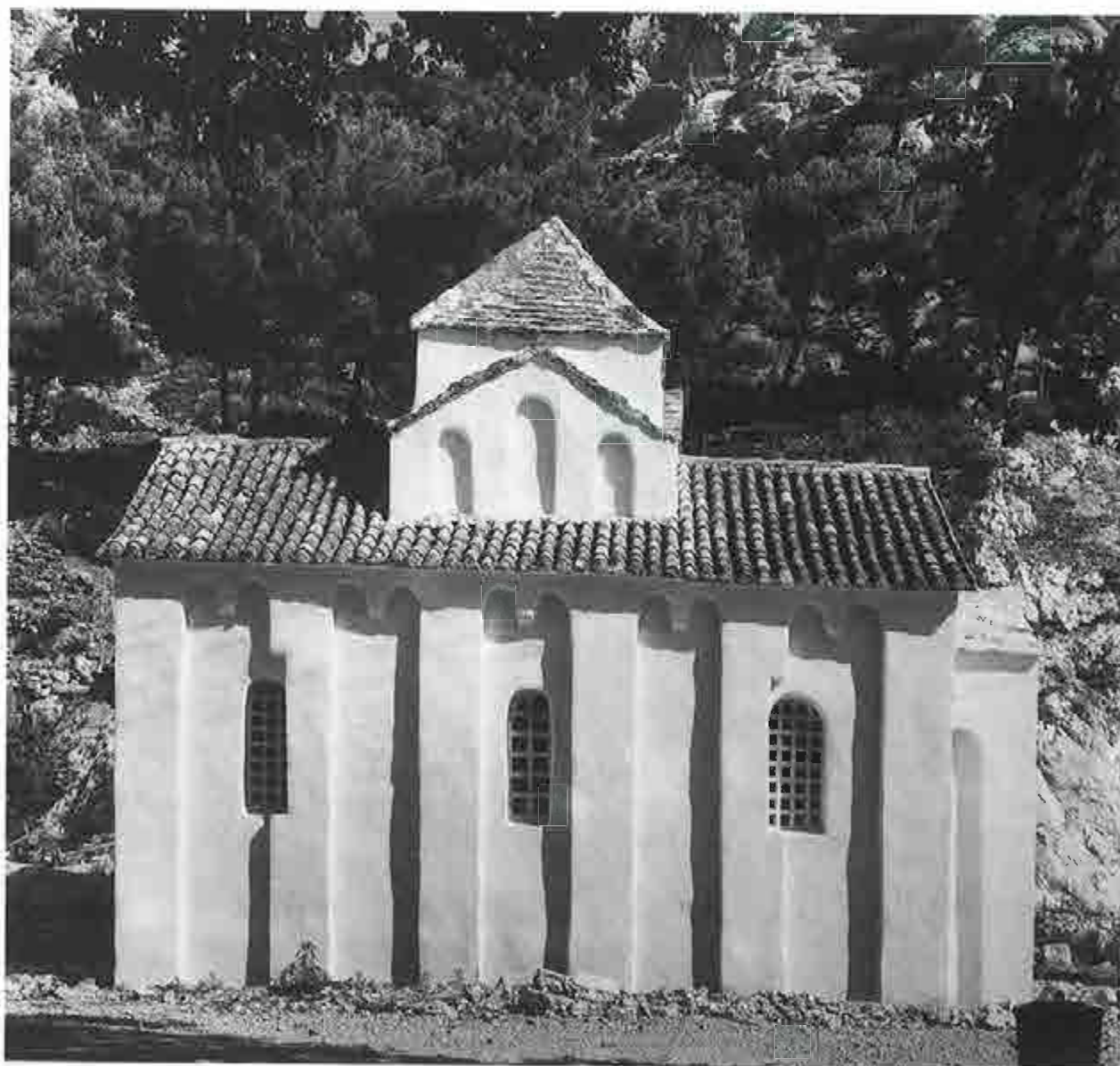
Situation is similar in case of aisleless buildings with an embedded apse. According to Šonje and Marušić there are several types of apsidal arrangements, but only the one with a square apse covered by a semi-

dome on squinches belongs to the Early Middle Ages (St. Servul on Sansar near Poreč, 7th or 8th ct., Our Lady at Morožine, 9th or 10th ct.).

The most unusual version is the one with two aisles. Our Lady the Lesser near Bale belongs to the Early Middle Ages (10th ct., or earlier), a two-aisled building with square apses covered by semi-domes on squinches. The Romanesque again introduces the barrel-vault, or the semicircular apse (St. Kvirin at Jasenovik). Both the aisleless and two-aisled solutions were compared by Šonje to the monuments of the Central Alps and Northern Italy (Isola Comacina, Chieronico, Mendrisio, Mittelzell – all aisleless, two-apsidal, the apses being visible; Ems, Uznach – aisleless with a single embedded apse) (Šonje, 1982). We should also recall St.

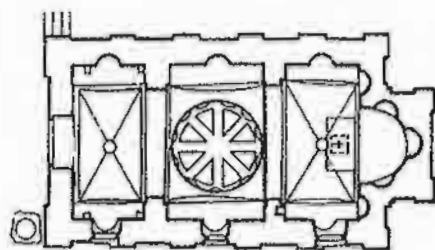
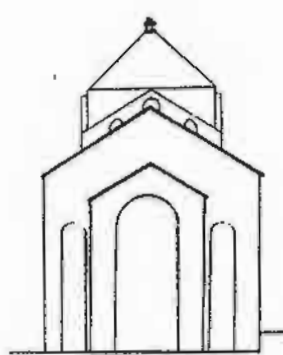
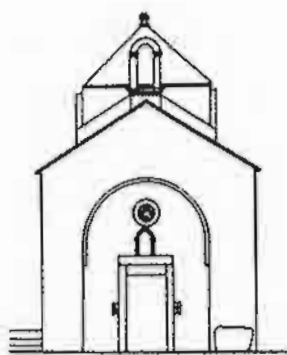
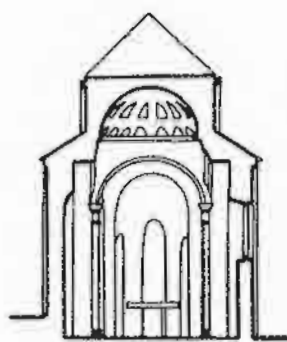
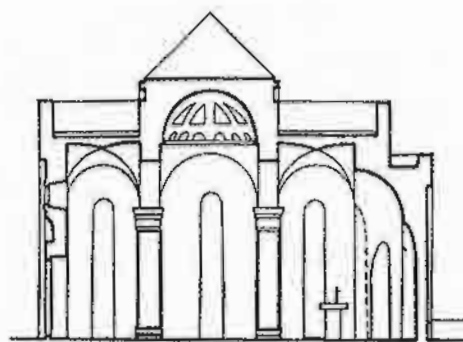
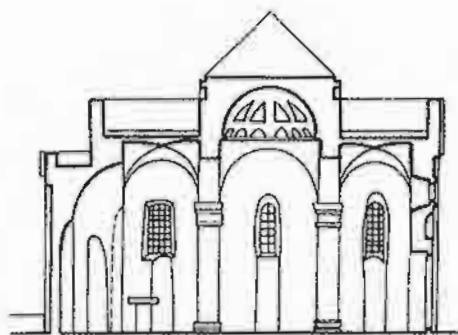
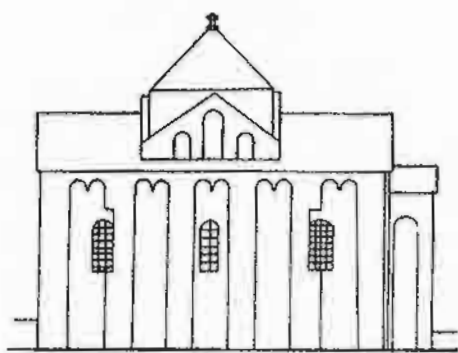
Pazenatičkom, a datira se od VI. do u XI. stoljeće (rana romanika). Tradiciju trobrodne bazilike (s jednom polukružnom apsidom) predstavlja u ranom srednjem vijeku faza iz VIII. st. bazilike (Sv. Marija od Mora) u vrsarskoj luci. Katedrala Sv. Pelagija u Novigradu (faza oko 800.) je trobrodna zgrada s polukružnom apsidom (i kriptom) koja je ugrađena u pravokutno izbočeno svetište. U IX. ili X. stoljeće Šonje datira prostranu Veliku Gospu kod Bala, trobrodnu i tropasidalnu baziliku s poligonalnim apsidama, koja se danas nakon detaljnih arheoloških istraživanja smješta u kasno VIII. stoljeće (Šonje, 1982; Jurković, 1999).

Dilema između poligonalnog i polukružnog plašta postoji i kod jednobrodnih crkava. Lijep primjer



Sv. Petar, Omiš.

St. Petar, Omiš.



Nacrti crkve Sv. Petar, Omiš.

*The plans of the church
St. Peter, Omiš.*

Platon near Osor, an aisleless church with two visible apses, and St. Peter "The Old" in Zadar, a two-aisled church with square apses covered by semi-domes on squinches – a form that closely resembles Our Lady the Lesser near Bale underlining the links between Istria and Dalmatia.

The Basilica Euphrasiana, the Episcopal Palace in Poreč, and Sta. Maria Formosa ("dell Canetto") in Pula had set up a high standard for aisled basilican structures with developed sanctuary. St. Agneza in Muntajana (mid 7th ct.) follows the Episcopal Palace, but its side apses are semicircular. The same is true of a number of aisled, three-apsidal buildings of the second half of the 7th century (St. Mihovil at Banjol, St. Kvirin near Vodnjan/today dated to ca. 800/, St. Stjepan in Pula). St. Mihovil at Vrh near Pula has polygonal apses. The monumental basilica of St. Martin at St. Lovreč Pazenatički has semicircular apses; it has been variously dated from the 6th to the 11th ct. The tradition of a single-apse basilica is represented by the 8th century phase of the church in the port at Vrsar (St. Mary of the Sea). The large church of Our Lady the Greater, aisled and three-apsidal with polygonal apses, was dated by Šonje to the 9th or 10th century. After thorough archeological investigations this building has been now assigned a date around 800 (Šonje, 1982; Jurković, 1999). The Cathedral of St. Pelagije at Novigrad (phase of around 800) is an aisled building with a rounded apse (and a crypt) embedded into a projecting square chevet

This dilemma between rounded and polygonal shell is also shared by aisleless churches. A nice example of the polygonal type is St. Elizej near Fažana, St. Petar on the Brijuni Islands, St. Nikola in Pula, and St. Marija in the complex of the monastery at the Lim Bay (in the case of the last three examples, the apse grows directly from the side walls). An example of this type in the early medieval period is St. Agata near Kanfanar, a 10th century church with impressive folk style frescoes of the 11th.

A fine example of an Early Christian church with a rounded apse as wide as the nave is St. Pelagije at Črvar (one is reminded of the church at Rižinice near Split which owes its arrangement to an Early Christian predecessor), while St. Petar at Pudarica near Poreč displays a narrower apse. The type with a projecting semicircular apse is rare in the Early Christian Istria. There are some in the early medieval period such as St. Lovreč Pazenatički (8th ct.) and St. Benedikt (8th/9th ct.) near St. Lovreč. The latter is rather unique in having irregularly spaced pilaster strips on its northern wall and a horse-shoe apse.

poligonalnog tipa je Sv. Elizej kod Fažane, te Sv. Petar na Brionima, Sv. Nikola u Puli i Sv. Marija u kompleksu Sv. Mihovila na Limu (u ove tri crkvice vanjska se linija apside veže na ugao broda). Primjer ovog tlocrta u ranom srednjem vijeku je Sv. Agata kod Kanfanara (x st., ukrašena dojmljivim freskama pučkog stila xi. st.).

Lijep primjer ranokršćanske crkve s prostranom polukružnom apsidom koja je široka kao i brod je Sv. Pelagije u Črvaru (podsjetimo se crkve poput one u Rižinicama ispod Klisa, koja svoju široku apsidu duguje također ranokršćanskom substratu), a s užom apsidom Sv. Petar u Pudarici kod Poreča. Tip s polukružnom izbočenom apsidom rijedak je u starokršćanskoj arhitekturi Istre. Javljaju se u ranom srednjem vijeku, kao na pr. Sv. Lovre (VIII. st.) i Sv. Benedikt (VIII./IX. st.) kod Sv. Lovreča Pazenatičkog. Posljednja je zanimljiva po pojavi neravnomjerno raspoređenih lezena na sjevernom zidu i potkova-stoj apsidi.

Konačno u ranom srednjem vijeku postoji i oblik bez apside (Sv. Križ kod Tara, VII. ili VIII. st.). Kao posebna varijanta ovog tipa javlja se crkvice bez apside, no s izlazom na istočnoj strani (Sv. Mauro kod Bala, VII. st., Sv. Cecilija kod Rovinja, x. st. ukrašena lezenama i slijepim lukovima). Starokršćanski model predstavlja crkvice Sv. Pavla kod Bala (v. ili vi. st.). Razlog za ovaj neobičan raspored nije pojašnjen, no Šonje misli da se radi o nekim obredima u vezi s poljoprivrednim radovima (ophodi polja), kojima se nastojalo suzbiti poganske rituale (Šonje, 1982).

Dozvoljava li nam ovaj kratki pregled da tradici-onlanu istarsku predromaniku tretiramo na sličan način kao *tradicionalnu skupinu* predromanike u drugim dijelovima Hrvatske? Istinu govoreći, ne. Kad se jednom, na prijelazu iz VIII. u IX. st. počinje masovno graditi na obali istočnog Jadrana, kad se uvelike preuzimaju oblici ranije arhitekture ili se elaboriraju novi, u Istri izrazito dominiraju tipovi neprekinute ranokršćanske i ranobizantske mjesne tradicije. Što je i razumljivo jer u Istri do kraja VIII. stoljeća ne dolazi do prekida političke tradicije, a i etnička slika se mijenja polagano i postepeno od VII. stoljeća nadalje. Arhitektura kršćanske Istre od svojih početaka do duboko u srednji vijek (svakako do kraja VIII. st.) je arhitektura u duhu mjesne tradicije. Primijetili smo slučajeve dodira Istre i Dalmacije, no ti su ograničeni na potez Istra–Kvarner–Sjeverna Dalmacija (kasnopredromaničke ili ranoromaničke bazilike, dvobrodne crkve, memorijalni tip poput



Sv. Foška, Peroj.

St. Foška, Peroj.

Sv. Vida u Zadru), a primijetiti ćemo ih i u daljem izlaganju. Obično se nekako Istru smatra "naprednijom" pa se pretpostavlja da su uzori za dalmatinski dio hrvatskog priobalja dolazili iz Istre. No crkvice poput Sv. Vida u Zadru i Sv. Križa u Ninu ne moraju se izvoditi iz Sv. Katarine pred Pulom, jer se radi o opće poznatom obliku. Graditeljstvo Istre stvara neke zanimljive oblike, poput crkava s utopljenim apsidama koje nastaju od VII. stoljeća nadalje i, po našem uvjerenju, predstavljaju najvrijedniji prilog Istre povijesti predromaničke arhitekture. Istra je ostala dio Bizantskog carstva, no upravo zbog toga do kraja VIII. stoljeća izolirana je od Europe i poticaji dolaze preko mora, iz Bizanta i područja istočnog Kršćanstva, kako je Šonje pokazao u svojoj knjizi o Bizantu i crkvenom graditeljstvu Istre (Šonje, 1981). Od najranijih početaka oratorija na položaju Eufrazijeve bazilike, Istra prakticira dvoranski tip bez izvana vidljivog svetišta, što određuje i oblik crkve s utopljenim apsidama. S druge strane, ranobizantska praksa uvodi troapsidalnost i poligonalne oblike apsida, te artikulaciju zida pomoću pilastara (kasnoantčki Sv. Nikola u Puli, Sv. Marija u kompleksu Sv. Mihovila na Limu; ranosrednje-

Finally, the early medieval period has examples without an apse (Holy Cross near Tar, 7th or 8th ct.). A special variant is the church without an apse but with a door at the eastern end (St. Mauro near Bale, 7th ct., St. Cecilija near Rovinj, 10th ct. decorated with pilaster strips and blind arcades). The Early Christian model is represented by St. Pavao near Bale (5th or 6th ct.). The reasons for this unusual layout are not quite clear. Šonje has suggested some rituals in connection with agricultural activities (processions through the fields), which would have been used to counter pagan traditions.

Would this brief survey of traditional Pre-Romanesque architecture in Istria allow us to treat it in the same way as the buildings of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque Group in other parts of Croatia? To tell the truth, no. Once the building activity took off in Dalmatia toward the end of the eighth century, when old forms were taken over, or new ones developed, Istria was displaying an uninterrupted tradition of local Early Christian and Early Byzantine building. This is understandable as political situation continued basically unchanged in Istria through the

end of the 8th century, while the ethnic picture has been changing slowly and gradually from the end of the seventh century on. The architecture of the Christian Istria remained an architecture steeped in the local tradition deep into the Middle Ages (certainly through the end of the 8th ct.). We have noticed points of contact between Istria and Dalmatia, but these were limited to the line Istria – Kvaner – Northern Dalmatia (Late Pre-Romanesque or Early Romanesque basilicas, two-aisled churches, memorial buildings such as St. Vid in Zadar), and we will notice some more as we proceed. Usually, one seems to consider Istria “more progressive,” assuming that initiatives to the rest of the Adriatic came from Istria. But chapels such as St. Vid at Zadar and Holy Cross at Nin need not be copies of St. Katarina in front of Pula, as the type is generally well-known. The architecture of the rest of coastal Croatia is far more creative and innovative, although Istria should be credited with some interesting forms, such as the churches with embedded apses which started appearing in the 7th century. In our opinion, they rep-

vjekovni Sv. Benedikt kod Sv. Lovreča) ili slijepih lukova (Sv. Cecilija kod Rovinja, i već ranoromanički Sv. Kristofor kod Rovinja). Spajajući elemente dvoranske crkve i višepasidalnosti Istra stvara svoj tip s ućahurenom apsidom. Mehanizam oživljavanja kasnoantičkog tipa možda se može primijetiti u slučaju Sv. Eufemije kod Rovinja (oko 1100.) koja se može doživjeti kao daleki odjek tipa Sv. Katarine pred Pulom.

Navedenoj tradiciji možemo pripisati i potpuno odsustvo svoda, osim u nevelikom broju malih centralnih objekata i u nadsvodenju svetišta. Upravo tu je golema razlika između Istre i Dalmacije. Istra se tvrdokorno drži ranokršćanskog principa lagane gradnje s drvenim stropom ili otvorenim drvenim krovijem. Stoga su pažnju istraživača s pravom privukle dvije crkve koje bi se upravo zbog pojave svoda mogle smatrati prilogom novodoseljenog hrvatskog etnikuma. Obje, Sv. Marija u kompleksu Sv. Mihovila na Limu i Sv. Foška kraj Žminja nalaze se na području izrazitog hrvatskog naseljavanja



Sv. Foška, Peroj.

St. Foška, Peroj.



Sv. Foška, Peroj.
St. Foška, Peroj.

resent the most valuable contribution of Istria to the history of Pre-Romanesque architecture. Istria remained a part of Byzantine Empire, but exactly for that reason, through the end of the eighth century, it remained isolated from the West; impulses kept coming from across the sea, from Byzantium and Eastern Christianity, as Dr. Šonje has shown in his book on Byzantium and Istrian architecture (Šonje, 1981). From the earliest oratoria on the site of the Basilica Euphrasiana, Istria was fond of hall churches without protruding sanctuaries, which was influential in the formation of the churches with embedded apses. On the other hand, Byzantine practice introduced three apses and polygonal forms, as well as a wall decoration consisting of pilaster strips (the Late Antique St. Nikola in Pula, Sv. Marija in the complex of the monastery at the Lim Bay; the early medieval St. Bendikt at St. Lovreč) or blind arcades (St. Cecilija near Rovinj, and the already Early Romanesque St. Kristofor near Rovinj). By combining the elements of three apses with those of a hall church, Istria created its own type with embedded apses. A revival of the old early Christian forms may be represented by St. Eufemija near Rovinj (ca. 1100), which may be seen as a late offshoot of St. Katarina in front of Pula.

The same tradition is responsible for an absence of vaulting, except in the case of a few small centralized structures, and sanctuary vaults. Here lies the major difference between Istria and Dalmatia. Istria stubbornly hung on to the Early Christian principle of light construction with a wooden ceiling or open timberwork roofing. Therefore, the scholars have been attracted, and rightly so, to those few examples of buildings which may have been covered by masonry vaults, and as such may have been interpreted as a contribution of the immigrating Croatian population. There are two such buildings, St. Marija in the complex of the monastery at the Lim Bay, and St. Foška near Žminj, both along the route from the Plomin to Lim Bay used by the Croats when settling in Istria. Evidence of typical Croatian material culture was also found in the vicinity. Is this "The Northwestern Border of Early Croatian Architecture," as eloquently proposed by Mohorovičić (Mohorovičić, 1957)? Dr. Šonje also emphasized that St. Marija was the only Istrian church covered by a "rounded vault" (Šonje, 1987). The issue is a complex one as the transverse arches that give the originally Late Antique St. Marija a look of early Croatian churches, may have been a late, even 19th century insert. Yet the vault itself may have been constructed in the 9th! The intensity of Croatian settlement in the area is confirmed by a

(linija Plominski zaljev – Limski kanal), a uz njih su nađeni i dokazi starohrvatske materijalne kulture. Radi li se o "svjerozapadnoj granici starohrvatske arhitekture", kako je rječito pisao Mohorovičić? (Mohorovičić, 1957) I Šonje ističe da je Sv. Marija jedina ranosrednjevjekovna istarska crkva presvođena "valjkastim svodom" (Šonje, 1987). Pitanje se komplicira jer su poprečni lukovi, koji današnjem obliku unutrašnjosti crkve daju zaista izgled presvođenih ranohrvatskih crkvice u Dalmaciji, vjerojatno kasniji dodatak, možda čak iz XIX. st. No svod je tu stajao ipak možda već u IX. stoljeću. Kompaktnost hrvatskog naseljenja u ovom području pokazuje i dokument iz 1030. koji cestu od Poreča prema Sv. Lovreču i Pazinu naziva "Via Sclava"!

Crkvu Sv. Foške kod Žminja Šonje izravno naziva "starohrvatskom". Crkva je podignuta na ruševinama ranije, iz VI. st., a nedaleko, na Babinoj brajdi nalazi se starohrvatsko groblje (VIII. st.) dok se drugo nalazi u samom Žminju (VIII. – IX. st.). Predromaničku fazu crkve dr. Šonje rekonstruirao kao jednobrodnu zgradu s polukružnom apsidom i zidovima ojačanim leženama, te, moguće, bačvastim svodom (Šonje, 1987).

Ponavljam, određivanje "etničke pripadnosti" arhitektonskih oblika i spomenika je nezahvalan posao, no ovdje se zaista radi o jakom dodatnom dokaznom materijalu. Ako se gorenavedena staništa prihvate, imali bi primjer prijenosa nekih građevinskih oblika i praksi iz Dalmacije u Istru, kako je uostalom teklo hrvatsko useljavanje. A ako je i ovaj zaključak točan, imamo itekako razloga da ponovo razmislimo o izrazitoj volji za svodenjem koje, za razliku od Istre, pokazuje ostala predromanička Hrvatska.

Vraćajući se na crkvu Sv. Marije na Limu Igor Fisković predlaže ponešto drugačiju sliku (Fisković, 1997) Sv. Marija bi u osnovi mogla biti iz VI. stoljeća; u sedmom pada žrtvom provala, a obnavlja se u osmom kad u jednom potezu nastaje i brod i svod. U devetom se produžuje brod na zapad te se nad tim zapadnim travejem podiže zvonik. Fiskovićev prijedlog koji bi, kako sam istraživač kaže, trebalo provjeriti detaljnim ispitivanjem zgrade, otvara, po mom mišljenju, neka zanimljiva pitanja u svjetlu razmišljanja Mohorovičića i Šonje (Mohorovičić, 1957; Šonje, 1982, 1987). Da li bi bilo moguće da je faza osinog (ranog devetog?) stoljeća nastala poslije karolinške okupacije Istre 788, i to na mjestu gdje su doseljeni Hrvati? Da li bi isti u to vrijeme imali

znanje i sposobnost podizanja svodova? Da li bi im poslužili domaći majstori (koji se baš nisu izlomili presvođujući longitudinalne prostore)? Ili majstor iz "nekog drugog" karolinškog kruga (a kojeg)? Pitanja ostaju otvorena a u svjetlu mogućih odgovora trebati će razmotriti i Sv. Fošku.

Na Istru ćemo se navraćati u razmatranju ostalih dvaju skupina, no materijala neće biti mnogo. Tradicija kakvu smo ovdje pokušali opisati predstavlja oko 99% predromaničke produkcije. No ona je ostavila zaista impresivan broj spomenika. Šonje navodi 47 lokaliteta na razmjerno malom području Porečke biskupije (Šonje, 1982)! Nakon novijih datacija Istra ima lijep fundus spomenika karolinškog vremena, i to onog vida koji se veže uz ranokršćansku tradiciju (trobrodne bazilike – Vela Gospa kod Bala, Sv. Pelagije u Novigradu, Sv. Kvirin kod Vodnjana), ili koji proizlazi iz istoga kruga (jednobrodne zgrade s troapsidalnim završetkom – župna crkva Sv. Marije u Balama). Ali "prave" karolinške arhitekture, s westwerkom ili suprostavljenim apsidama, zgrada u kojima se monumentalizira

document of 1030 calling the road from Poreč toward St. Lovreč and Pazin the "Via Sclava."

Šonje openly used the term "Early Croatian" when writing about St. Foška. The church was constructed over the ruins of an earlier, sixth century building, and, nearby, at Babina brajda, there is a large Early Croatian cemetery (8th ct.), another one being at Žminj itself (8th/9th ct.). The Pre-Romanesque phase of St. Foška was reconstructed by Šonje as an aisleless building with a semicircular apse, walls reinforced by pilaster strips, and, possibly, barrel-vaulted (Šonje, 1987).

Speaking of "ethnic affiliation" of architectural forms and monuments is a thankless affair, but collateral evidence in this case is indeed quite strong. If we accept it, this would indicate a transfer of some architectural forms from Dalmatia to Istria, as Croatian immigration went on. And if this conclusion is correct, we may indeed have to seriously rethink the issue of the explicit will-to-vault displayed by the rest of Pre-Romanesque Croatia as opposed to Istria.



Kapela, Rudine.

Chapel, Rudine.



Sv. Martin, Našice.

St. Martin, Našice.

Returning to St. Marija, Igor Fisković has painted a somewhat different picture (Fisković, 1997). The church may have originally been a 6th century building, destroyed during the invasions in the 7th, and rebuilt, body and vault, in the eighth. It was extended westwards in the 9th when a tower, a sort of a westwork, was erected over that western bay. The proposed solution which, as the author himself has noted, requires a careful study of the structure, would open, in my opinion, some very interesting questions. Could it be that St. Marija was built in the 8th (early 9th?) century after the Carolingian occupation of Istria, and by the Croats who had been settled there? Would the Croats have had enough skill and know-how to built vaults? Did they use local masons (who did not exactly bend backwards to built longitudinal vaults)? Did the masons come from some other (which?) "Carolingian circle?" These important questions seem to remain open, and in the light of possible future answers one will have to also reassess the case of St. Foška.

We will come back to Istria when discussing the other two groups, but we would like to warn in advance that those visits will be brief. The tradition we have tried to describe represents some 99% of Istrian Pre-Romanesque production. But the number of monuments it has left is impressive. Šonje, for example, lists 47 monuments just on the relatively small territory of

kako zapadni tako i istočni dio, nema; uz izuzetak tornja na Limu koji je lucidno naslutio Fisković (Fisković, 1997).

Poput ostalog hrvatskog priobalja, Istra je bogata pleternim reljefima. Zbog neprekinute tradicije, ovdje se može možda čak i bolje pratiti kontinuirani razvoj od kasnoantikne dekoracije do zrele pleterne skulpture. Ima sjajnih primjera, poput kapitela iz vremena oko 800. iz Vele Gospe kod Bala, no moj je osobni dojam da je istarska predromanička dekoracija općenito nešto rustičnija od one u Dalmaciji, gdje postoje remek-djela kako u maštovitosti obrade zadatka, tako i u tehnici izvedbe (ploče iz splitske krstionice, dekor Sv. Cecilije u Biskupiji, Ciborij prokonzula Grgura, plutej iz crkve u Koljanima, itd.). Uglavnom nedostaje i čitav sklop prelazne ranormaničke faze u kojoj se na više originalnih načina oživljava figuracija. Istarsko veliko stoljeće je šesto, i tradicija koja stoljećima preživljava u izolaciji (zaista neki vid "pasivne negacije") sklona je rustifikaciji. Možda bi se moglo primijetiti da u Istri nema vladarskog dvora, nema župana, niti velikih crkvenih institucija poput Nadbiskupije u Splitu ili Hrvatskog biskupa. Kreativnost se uzburkala u fazi romanike, a unutar okvira očuvanoga, posebnu vrijednost predstavljaju vrijedni ciklusi fresaka (Sv. Foška u Peroju, Sv. Agata u Kanfanaru, Sv. Jerolim u Humu).



Sv. Agata, Kanfanar.

St. Agata, Kanfanar.

Spomenici tradicionalne predromaničke skupine u Hrvatskoj šarolika su obitelj građevina različitih oblika i dimenzija, koje podsjećaju na rimske, ranokršćanske i ranobizantske uzore. Činjenica da su oblici tih građevina ukorijenjeni u predašnje stilove ne umanjuje njihovo pravo na izvornost i estetsku vrijednost. Ne treba suviše isticati konzervativnost lokalnih graditelja. Oni sebe nisu smatrali "prethodnicima" romaničke umjetnosti, već su stvarali kako bi zadovoljili praktičke i estetske potrebe svojih naručitelja u vremenima u kojima nije bilo dovoljno sigurnosti i prosperiteta.

Naslijeđeni su oblici često potpuno preradeni (na primjer, Sv. Juraj u Ravanjskoj; kupolne crkve južne

Poreč diocese (Sonje, 1982). After recent datings Istria has a respectable layer of buildings from Carolingian times, particularly of those which follow the Early Christian tradition (St. Marija the Greater at Bale, St. Pelagije in Novigrad, St. Quirin near Vodnjan) or are based on that tradition (three-apsidal halls – the parish church of St. Mary at Bale), but the "real" Carolingian architecture seems to be absent – no true westworks, opposed apses, special articulation of the western and eastern end of the church – although Fisković may have uncovered a westwork in the western annex to St. Marija at Lim (Fisković, 1997).

As elsewhere in the Adriatic, Istria is rich in interlace sculpture. Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition,

here one can even better follow the steps from Late Antiquity to the mature phase of interlace sculpture. There are stunning examples such as the capitals from St. Maria the Greater near Bale (around 800), but my personal impression is that, overall, Istrian interlace sculpture is a bit more rustic than that of Dalmatia, where masterpieces such as the panels from the Baptistry of Split, the decor of St. Cecilija in Biskupija, the Ciborium of Proconsul Grgur from Zadar, or the panel from Koljani, abound. Also, mostly missing is the transitional step between mature Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque reintroducing the human figure. The great Istrian century is the sixth, and the tradition which for centuries continues in isolation (indeed a certain form of the "passive negation") is inclined toward rusticity. One might also note that Istria had no ruler's court, no "župans," no Archbishop of Split or the Croatian Bishop. The creativity was stirred up in the Romanesque, and within the framework of what has been preserved a special place should be reserved for valuable wall-painting

Dalmacije). Neke male građevine prava su remek-djela složenosti i duhovitosti, te svjedoče o velikoj snazi mašte njihovih stvaratelja. Premda na njima više gotovo i nema slikovnog i skulptorskog urešavanja, one govore i domaćem i stranom posjetitelju, autentičnim jezikom o želji za stvaranjem, unatoč tome što su građevine nevelike a sredstva njihovih naručilaca ograničena. Sam broj je impresivan i svjedoči o stvaralačkoj groznici, neiscrpoj želji da se ostavi trag u krajoliku, da ga se osmisli uvođenjem ljudske komponente. I da ga se obogati, jer je smisao za smještaj zgrada u okoliš besprijekoran – na vrhovima brežuljaka, u malim morskim uvalama, uzduž vodenih tokova, na padinama pokrivenim maslinicima i vinogradima, ili pak u gradovima vješto ukomponirane u urbano tkivo.

Neke posudbe iz ranijih razdoblja zaista su jedinstvene, npr. Sv. Pelegrin i Sv. Viktor na Dugom



Sv. Lovro,
Sv. Lovreč Pazenatički.

St. Lovro,
Sv. Lovreč Pazenatički.



Sv. Pavle, Bale.

St. Pavle, Bale.

Otoku ili Sv. Danijel kraj Segeta. Među najuspješnijim, bolje sačuvanim gradnjama su Sv. Križ u Ninu, Sv. Lovro u Zadru, Sv. Barbara u Trogiru, Sv. Mihajlo u Stonu, Sv. Petar u Priku u Omišu, Sv. Trojica i Sv. Nikola u Splitu, Sv. Petar (kripta) u Dubrovniku. Isti se sud može primjeniti i na nestale spomenike kao što su Sv. Stjepan u Solinu, Sv. Nediljica i Sv. Vid u Zadru, te Sv. Eufemija u Splitu. Istra je dala svoj vrijedan prilog zgradama sa učahurenom apsidom (na pr., Sv. Šimun u Guranu, SS. Gervazije i Protazije kraj Bala, Sv. Marija u Balama).

U smislu dimenzija i izvedbe postoje građevine dostojne poštovanja – bazilikalne (Sv. Petar u Supetarskoj Drazu na Rabu, Velika Gospa kraj Bala u Istri) i centralne (Sv. Donat u Zadru). Složenost i hibridna narav čitave skupine može se osobito svjedočiti modernom kritičaru-nečistuncu, ali upravo te osobine određuju ove spomenike kao predromaničke, jer romanika, kako ćemo vidjeti, označuje povratak jednostavnosti te strukturnoj i dekorativnoj jasnoći.

cycles (e.g., St. Foška at Peroj, St. Agata at Kanfanar, St. Jerolim at Hum, etc.).

As we have seen, the monuments of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque group in Croatia represent a colorful family of buildings, greatly varying in shape and size, and recalling Roman, Early Christian and Early Byzantine models. The fact that the forms of those buildings were rooted in previous styles does not diminish their claim to originality and aesthetic value. The conservatism of the local masons should not be overstressed.

They did not think that they were supposed "to prepare" the Romanesque style, but they built in order to satisfy practical and aesthetic needs of their patrons at the times when both prosperity and safety were largely absent.

The inherited forms were often thoroughly reworked (e.g., St. Juraj at Ravanjska, the domed churches of Southern Dalmatia). Some small-scale buildings are real masterpieces of complexity and subtlety, and at-



Sv. Marija, Morožine.

St. Marija, Morožine.



Sv. Jakov, Bale.

St. Jakov, Bale.



test to a considerable imaginative power on the part of their creators. Even stripped of most of their painted and sculpted decor, with no whitewash to hide irregularities and crudeness of the masonry, they still seem to speak with an authentic voice, to both the native and foreign students alike, of a will to create, create successfully and with taste, in spite of modesty of scale of the buildings and of limited means of their patrons. The sheer number is impressive – 215 on our certainly not complete list – as if witnessing a sort of a creative frenzy, an insatiable desire to leave an imprint on the landscape, to humanize it through a man-added component. And to enrich it, since the environmental sense of locating the buildings is impeccable – on hilltops, in small sea bays, along the water courses, on the slopes covered with olive trees or vineyards; or in urban milieus harmoniously included into the city tissue.

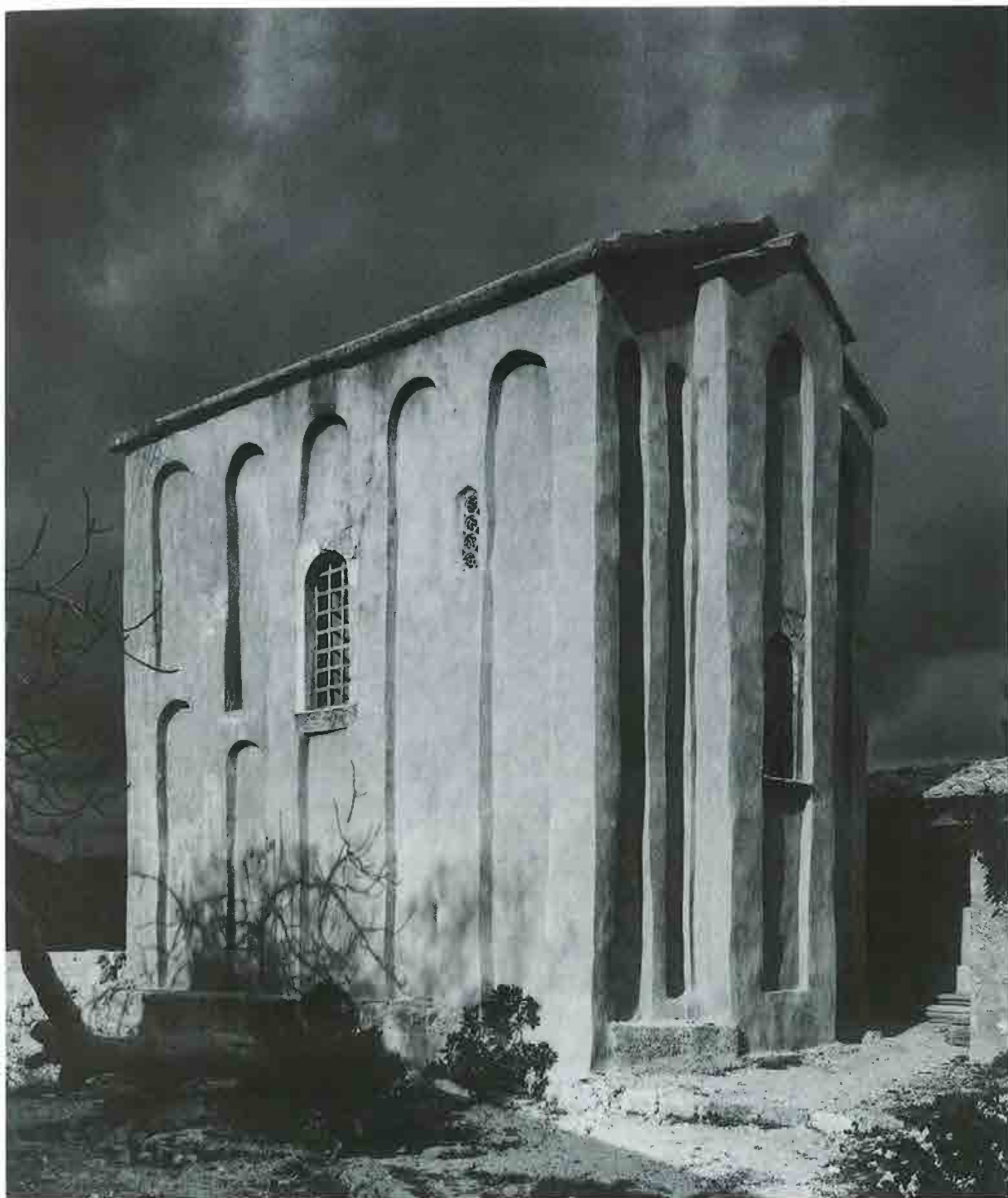
Some carry-overs from the earlier periods are quite unique, e.g., St. Pelegrin and St. Viktor on the Dugi Island, or St. Danijel near Seget. Among the finest better preserved buildings are Holy Cross at Nin, St. Lovro at Zadar, St. Barbara at Trogir, St. Mihajlo at Ston, St. Petar at Priko in Omiš, Holy Trinity and St. Nikola in Split, the crypt of St. Petar in Dubrovnik. The same would be true of St. Stjepan at Solin, St. Nediljica and St. Vid in Zadar, St. Eufemija in Split. Istria made its valuable contribution in terms of the buildings with embedded apses (e.g., St. Šimun near Guran, SS. Gervazije and Protazije near Bale, St. Mary in Bale). There are in terms of size and execution very respectable examples among monumental buildings, both rounded (St. Donat in Zadar) or basilican (St. Petar at Supetarska Draga on Rab, St. Stjepan at Sustipan in Split, Our Lady the Greater near Bale in Istria). The complexity and hybrid character of the entire group may especially appeal to a modern, non-purist critic, but those selfsame characteristics mark the buildings as Pre-Romanesque, since the Romanesque signifies, as we shall demonstrate, a return to simplicity and structural and decorative clarity.

Sv. Mihovil, Ston.

St. Mihovil, Ston.

Sv. Mihovil, Ston.

St. Mihovil, Ston.





KRALJEVSKA PREDROMANIČKA SKUPINA

ROYAL PRE-ROMANESQUE GROUP

Sv. Spas, Cetina.

St. Spas, Cetina.

While most of the architects of the land followed Pre-Slavic models, those working for the highest strata of the society turned their eyes toward the "modern", imperial architecture of the West. The result of their efforts was a small but remarkable group of buildings, commissioned by the ruler and his highest officers, bearing an imprint of Carolingian architecture.

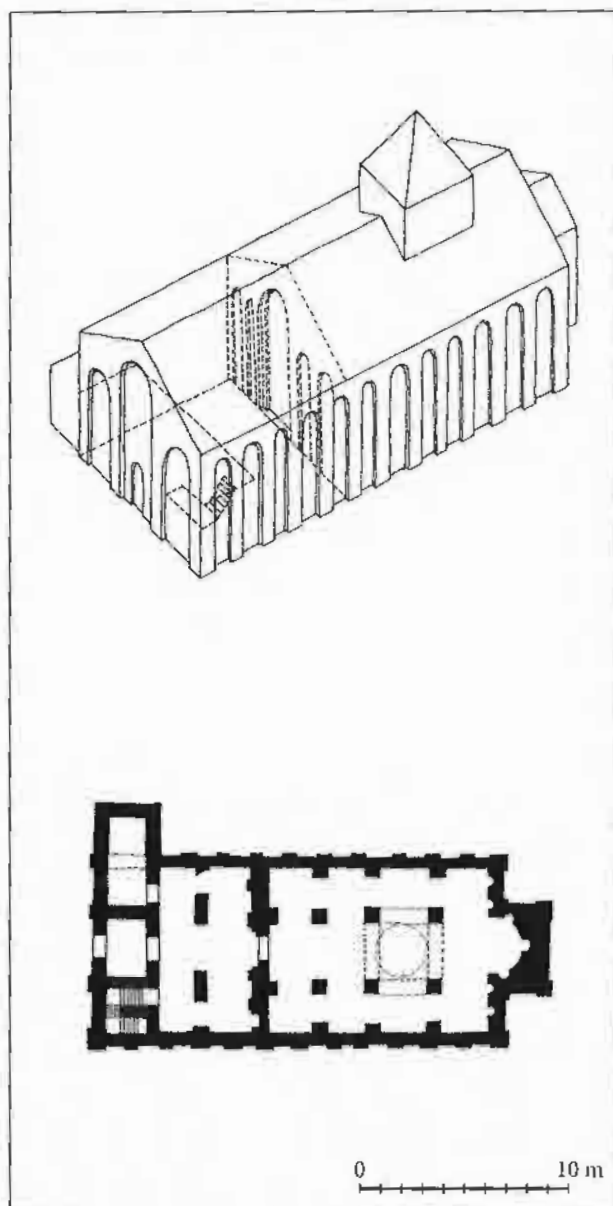
This interest in western artistic forms is not surprising. In the ninth century Croatian rulers were nominally subject to the Franks, and the Carolingian tradition was not dropped with the arrival of full national independence around 870. The king, judging from the relief in the Baptistry of Split wore a Frankish costume and crown. The entire scene, with a count sword bearer (there are other interpretations of that figure, but they do not change the factor of Carolingian provenance of the model) and a prostrated supplicant, was modeled upon the Carolingian and Ottonian ruler portraits, well-known from contemporary illuminations. The spurs found at the ducal tomb at Crkvina in Biskupija were a local work after a Carolingian model. The Croatian court was organized along Frankish lines; it was run by a Maior Domus, Croatian Ded, while king's officers, missi dominici, performed king's commissions in the provinces.

The earliest building of the group is most likely St. Marta, the church of the royal estate at Bijaći near Trogir. The court existed in 852, and the church itself was recorded in 892, but both the court and the church probably stood there already at the beginning of the century. The building was erected on a site of an aisled Early Christian basilica, with a rounded apse and a polygonal baptistry. The Pre-Romanesque building consisted of an aisled nave, a projecting rectangular apse,

Dok je većina predromaničkih graditelja slijedila predslavenske uzore, oni koji su radili za najviše društvene slojeve usmjeravali su se prema "modernoj", vladarskoj arhitekturi Zapada. Rezultat njihovih nastojanja bila je malena ali značajna skupina građevina s obilježjem karolinške arhitekture, izvedena po narudžbi vladara i najviših državnih dužnosnika

Ne začuđuje to zanimanje za zapadnjačke umjetničke oblike. U IX. su stoljeću hrvatski vladari bili nominalno podložni Francima, a karolinška tradicija nije napuštena pojavom pune nacionalne neovisnosti oko 870. godine. Sudeći prema reljefu u splitskoj krstionici, kralj nosi franačku halju i krunu, a čitav prizor, sa županom mačonošom (postoje i druge interpretacije toga lika, što međutim ne mijenja karolinško/otonsko porijeklo modela) i moliteljem do vladarevih nogu oblikovan je prema karolinškim i otonskim vladarskim portretima dobro poznatim iz suvremenih iluminacija. Ostruge nađene u kneževskom grobu u Crkvini kraj Biskupije lokalni su rad prema karolinškom uzorku. Hrvatski je dvor bio organiziran po franačkom shvaćanju, vodio ga je majordomus, hrvatski ded, dok su kraljevi izaslanici, missi dominici, izvršavali kraljevske odredbe u pokrajinama.

Najranija gradnja iz ove skupine vjerojatno je Sv. Marta, crkva vladarskog imanja u Bijaćima kraj Trogira. Dvor je tu postojao 852., a sama crkva se spominje 892., ali i crkva i dvor su tu zacijelo stajali već na početku stoljeća. Građevina je podignuta na mjestu trobrodne ranokršćanske bazilike, s polukružnom apsidom i poligonalnom krstionicom. Predromanička gradnja sastoji se od glavne i sporednih lađa, istaknute pravokutne apside i masivnog



zapadnog tornja. Tornju se pristupa i sa zapada i s juga, a taj je južni ulaz možda bio namijenjen vladaru. Po svoj prilici postojala je i vladarska galerija na prvom katu zvonika.

Sv. Marta posjeduje neke mjesne odlike – arhaiski bazilikalni tlocrt sa samo jednom izbočenom apsidom, prevlast ravnih linija, upotreba stupaca (iako su stupovi ranije crkve bili na dohvata ruke na gradilištu). Protivno tradiciji, crkva je presvođena. Prisutnost svodova potvrđena je dodavanjem grubih kasnosrednjovjekovnih upornjaka, radi osiguranja svodova. Nema artikulacije zida, pa se pokrov sastojao vjerojatno od neprekinutog bačvastog svoda koji se nesposredno stapao u zidnu površinu. Zide

and a bulky western tower. The tower was accessible from both the west and the south, the latter entrance most likely reserved for the ruler. There was probably a gallery for the ruler on the second story of the tower.

St. Marta displays some local features – the archaic basilican plan with only one projecting apse, predominance of straight lines, use of piers (although the columns from the earlier church were available at the site). Untraditionally, the vaults were inserted into an essentially basilican structure. Their presence is confirmed by late medieval additions of crude buttresses, securing the vaults which threatened to collapse. There is no wall articulation, so the cover probably consisted of a continuous barrel vault merging directly into the wall surfaces. The western tower is not in bond with the rest, but there is no difference in masonry between the two.

Since the appearance of the western tower – the westwork – is a hallmark of the entire group, it may be profitable to briefly review the problem of its origin and function. The Westwork is a key contribution of Carolingian architects to the history of European architecture – the first, successful, attempt to monumentalize the western façade of the Christian church. It is not just a tower, but much more. Although the westwork was not from the outset conceived of as a *Kaiserkirche* (place for the ruler), the terrestrial ruler quickly found its way into the iconography of western massifs. As the French scholar Carol Heitz demonstrated, the westwork seems to have originally been reserved for the liturgy commemorating and glorifying the Savior and His Resurrection. The climactic liturgical events of the year – Easter and Christmas – were concentrated around the westwork. The model inspiring the combination of a longitudinal church body, and the western massif, essentially a centralized structure, seems to have been the complex at the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.

German scholars on the other hand have maintained that the westwork was primarily a *Kaiserkirche*, claiming that the frequent dedication of the westwork to the Savior is a consequence of the merging of the cults of the Savior and the Emperor. The two contentions need not be mutually exclusive. Heitz allows for the role of the earthly ruler within the westwork iconography, while the Germans recognize the importance of the liturgy of the Savior, emphasizing, however, that the celebration of the Redeemer is inseparable from the Imperial cult (Goss, 1987). Heitz's reasoning seems to be valid for the central lands of the Carolingian Empire. But in the borderlands, secondary ramifications gain more prominence. The westwork is reserved for a person of distinc-

Sv. Marija i Stjepan, Solin, rekonstrukcija (Gvozdanović, S.).

St. Marija and Stjepan, Solin, reconstruction (Gvozdanović, S.).

Tlocrt crkve
Sv. Marija i Stjepan, Solin.

The ground plan of the church St. Marija and Stjepan, Solin.

tion. Or it serves as a burial chamber, or a true fortress defending the access to the church. The Croatian westworks are no exception. Their upper story gallery is reserved for a person of consequence, its ground floor for his or her burial, recalling the Pantheons of the Asturias, and the custom of planting tombs at the entrance of the church going back to the times of Constantine. This brief survey of the westwork scholarship will help us better understand the Croatian examples.

Some of the elements of St. Marta reappear on a more monumental scale at the church at Crkvina in Biskupija, almost certainly dedicated to SS. Mary and Stephen. It was a large aisled church with a flat chevet, preceded by a two story westwork and a transverse western porch. A group of buildings to the north, arranged around a rectangular courtyard, was identified as a monastery. The westwork, quite surprisingly, was not in bond with the church wall, but with that of the monastery. However, there is again no difference in masonry between the two units. The side rooms of the westwork's ground floor served as funerary chambers. The northern one contained a tomb of a nobleman, the

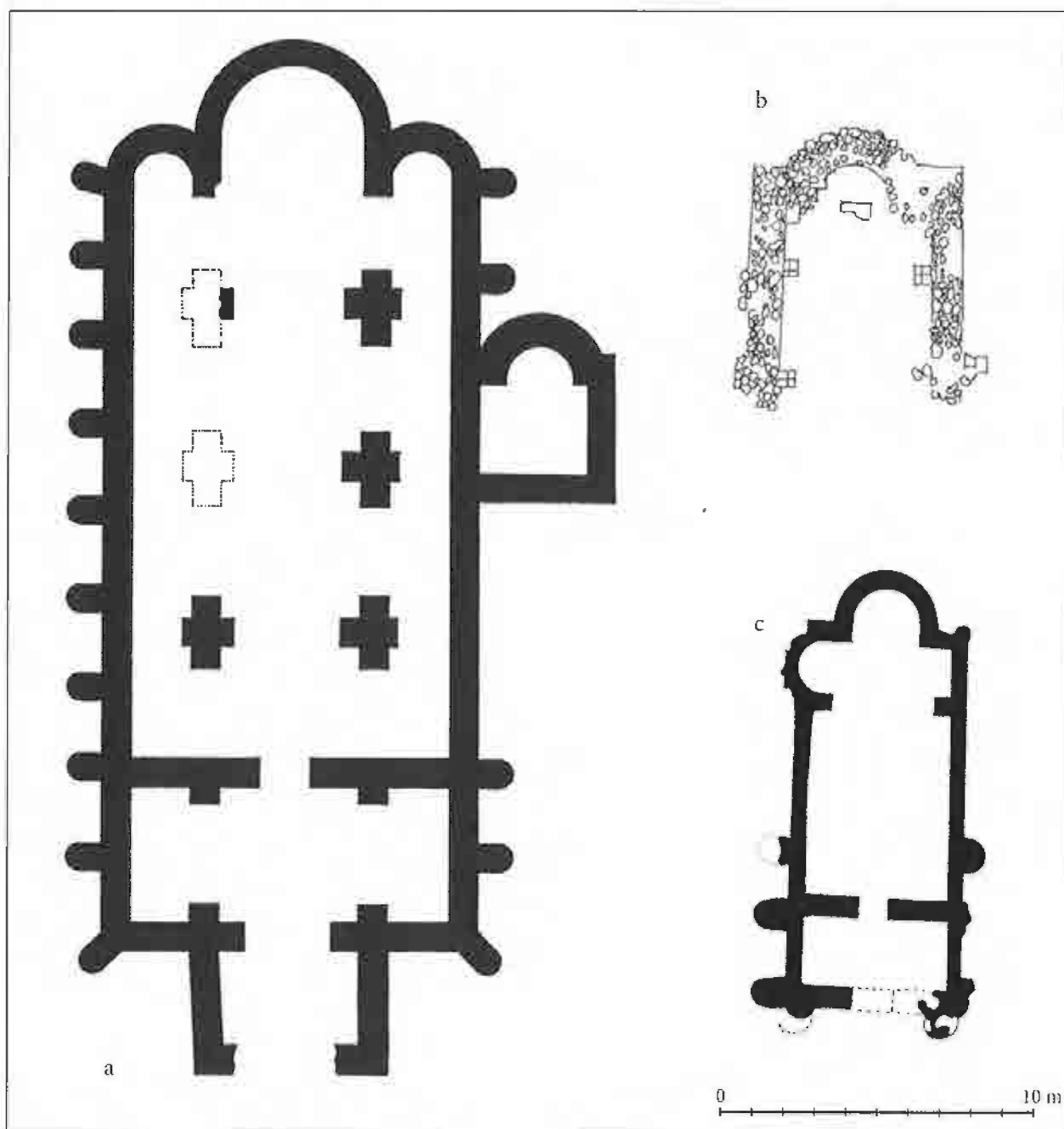
zapadnog tornja nije organski povezano s crkvom, ali nema razlike u strukturi zida.

Budući da pojava zapadnog masiva – westwerka obilježuje cijelu skupinu, bit će korisno ukratko objasniti njegovo porijeklo i namjenu. No prvo nekoliko riječi o tome što je "westwerk"? Radi se o ključnom doprinosu karolinške arhitekture povijesti zapadnog graditeljstva, o moćnom zapadnom masivu kojim se po prvi put u povijesti monumentalizira zapadna fasada. Westwerk nije niti toranj, već daleko složenije tijelo, i valja nam ukratko preipitati kako i zašto nastaje. Iako westwerk nije početno zamišljen kao *Kaiserkirche* (mjesto za vladara), zemaljski je vladar ubrzo našao put u ikonografiju zapadnog masiva. Kao što je pokazao francuski znanstvenik Carol Heitz, westwerk je početno bio namijenjen liturgiji u slavu Spasitelja i Njegova Uskrsnuća. Krunski liturgijski događaji godine – Uskrs i Božić odvijali su se oko westwerka. Čini se da je kompleks Svetog groba u Jeruzalemu bio uzor koji je nadahnuo spoj longitudinalnog crkvenog tijela sa zapadnim masivom, koji je u biti centralna konstrukcija.



Sv. Cecilija, Biskupija.

St. Cecilija, Biskupija.



Tlocrti crkvi:

- a Sv. Cecilija, Biskupija
- b crkva u Bukorovića Podvornice
- c Sv. Mihovil (?) na Lopuskoj Glavici, Biskupija

The plans of the churches:

- a St. Cecilia, Biskupija
- b church at Bukorovića Podvornice
- c St. Mihovil (?) at Lopuska Glavica, Biskupija

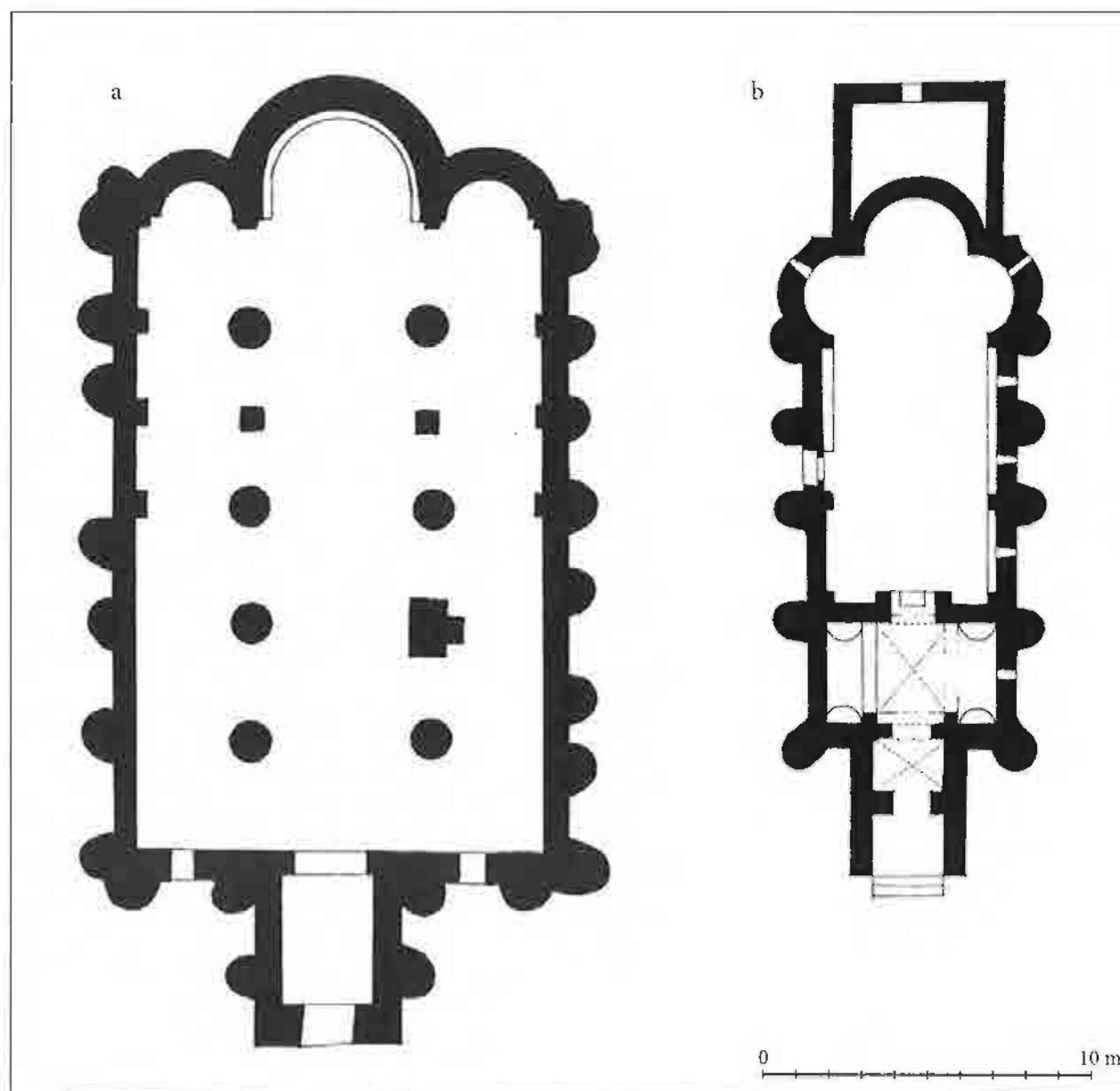
Njemački su znanstvenici smatrali da je westwerk prvenstveno *Kaiserkirche*, tvrdeći da je česta posveta westwerka Spasitelju posljedica spajanja kulta Spasitelja s kultom cara. Ovi naizgled suprotni stavovi međusobno se ne isključuju. Heitz dopušta ulogu zemaljskog vladara u ikonografiji westwerka, dok Nijemci priznaju važnost liturgije Spasitelja, naglašavajući međutim da je slavlje Isкупitelja nerazdruživo od imperijalnog kulta. Čini se da Heitzova razmišljanja vrijede za središnje zemlje karolinškog carstva. Ali u pograničnim zemljama prevladava sekundarno razgranjivanje. Westwerk

southern of a lady, both resting in sarcophagi assembled from ancient fragments. Another distinguished tomb was discovered underneath the lady's sarcophagus, and yet another at the western end of the southern aisle. Each contained a body of a boy. The quality of spurs, earrings, and scraps of clothing confirms a very high, probably princely, stature of the occupants. A coin of Emperor Basil I has been found in the ruler's sarcophagus. The burial must have occurred after 867, when Basil came to the Byzantine throne, and, possibly, ca. 900 after which date Basil's money would have been seen as obsolete.

The second story gallery was accessible from the monastery only, reaffirming the Carolingian practice of rulers using monastic premises as their quarters. The walls between the ground floor passage and the funerary chambers are inordinately thick, suggesting that there was a kind of roof projection, or tower, above the center of the westwork. The amount of the tufa stone recovered among the ruins speaks in favor of vaulting. The church vaults were supported by rectangular piers and judging by the absence of any wall articulation, these were continuous barrel-vaults merging directly into the wall surfaces. The church was probably covered by a uniform gable roof resting directly upon the vault, a practice well-known to the Mediterranean area.

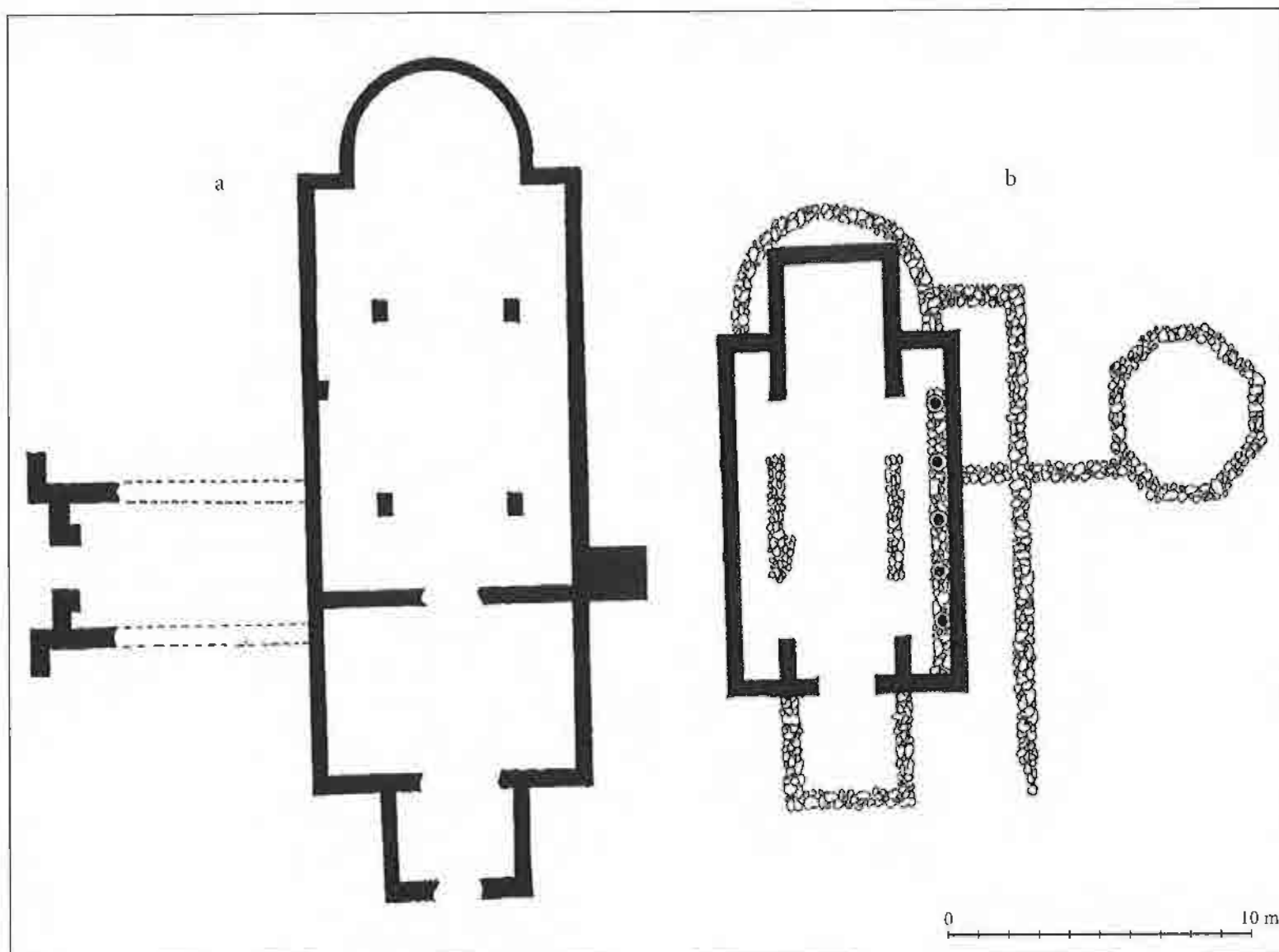
je mjesto za odličnike. Ili pak služi kao grobna komora, ili kao prava utvrda, braneći ulaz u crkvu (Goss, 1987). Ni hrvatski westwerk nije iznimka. Gornja je galerija namjenjena ličnosti važnog društvenog položaja, prizemlje njegovu ili njezinu pokopu, podsjećajući na panteone Asturije, a običaj da se postave grobovi uz ulaz crkve postoji još od Konstantinova vremena. Ovaj kratak pregled znanja o westwerku pomoći će nam da bolje shvatimo hrvatske primjere.

Neki elementi Sv. Marte ponovo se pojavljuju u monumentalnom mjerilu kod Crkvine u Biskupiji, crkve s ravnim istočnim završetkom, s dvokatnim westwerkom i poprečnim trijemom. Skupina zgra-



Tlocrti crkvi:
a katedrala, Biograd
b Sv. Spas, Cetina.

The plans of the churches:
a cathedral, Biograd
b St. Spas, Cetina.



da na sjevernoj strani, oko pravokutnog dvorišta, prepoznata je kao samostan. Zide westwerka, začudo, nije organski vezano uz zide crkve, nego uz zid samostana, ali nema nikakve razlike u strukturi zida. Pokrajnje prostorije prizemlja westwerka služe kao grobnica. U sjevernoj je grob nekog velikaša, u južnoj grob plemkinje, a oboje su u sarkofazima sastavljenim od antiknih ulomaka. Nadena su još dva istaknuta groba, ispod gospina sarkofaga, te na zapadnom kraju južne sporedne lade. U svakom je bilo tijelo dječaka. Kvaliteta ostruga, nakita i komadića odjeće potvrđuju vrlo visok, možda vladarski položaj posjednika. Kovanica cara Bazilija I nadena je u sarkofagu velmože. Pogreb je vjerojatno bio između 867., kad je Bazilije I. stupio na bizantsko prijestolje, i možda oko 900., iza kojeg bi se datuma njegov novac mogao smatrati zastarjelim.

Again, one discerns a blend of local and innovative features. The plan with a flat chevet is in harmony with the local tradition, but a complete vaulting, and a developed form of the westwork combining the functions of a royal lodge and a mausoleum, are innovative.

As already indicated, the church was quite certainly a royal mausoleum. Judging from fragments of inscriptions, it was dedicated to SS. Mary and Stephen just like the royal mausoleum at Solin. Also, judging from the same source, it was built by a "dux gloriosus" and "praeclarus", quite likely the ruler himself. The collateral branch of the ruling Trpimirović family is known to have had possessions in the Highlands. A member of the collateral branch, Branimir, ruled Croatia from 878 till 892. He left no heirs (and in the boys tombs

Tlocrti crkvi:

- a crkva u Žažviću
- b Sv. Marta, Bijaci.

The plans of the churches:

- a church at Žažvić
- b St. Marta, Bijaci.

at Crkvina we may have a graphic testimony that the ruling couple was predeceased by their male children), and the main branch – Duke Muncimir – reverted to the throne. This may narrow the date of SS. Mary and Stephen at Crkvina in Biskupija to the years of Branimir's rule, making it one of the most valuable sites of Croatian history.

Recent revisions (Ante Milošević, Maja Petrinec) have shed a somewhat different light (Milošević, 2002). Burials in the westwork date from as early as the end of the 8th century, while the question of the burials in the sarcophagi has also gotten more complicated (the coin of Basil I has been lost!). An earlier date has been proposed. Instead of a "monastery" the complex may have been a ruler's court (possibly also used by the Croatian Bishop under King Peter Krešimir IV in the 11th century). A projecting rounded apse has been suggested as termination of the nave.

Leaving aside the issue of revising something that was discovered in traces and inexpertly excavated more than one hundred years ago, the new suggestions do not change the function and importance of the site. The residential quarters were certainly a princely residence, and the westwork a mausoleum, if not of Branimir, than of one of his predecessors.

Another church, most likely similar to St. Marta and Biskupija, and therefore also datable to the ninth century, stood at Koljani, in the Highlands near Vrljka. Only the front part has been somewhat explored, showing an aisled building with extremely narrow aisles separated, presumably, by piers, and preceded by a bulky western tower. As with Bijaći and Crkvina, there was no wall articulation.

Another subgroup is best represented by a fairly well preserved ruin of St. Spas (Savior's Church) at Cetina. It is an aisleless structure with a triconch presbytery (the central conch was replaced by a rectangular apse in the late Middle Ages), a two story westwork, and a tall, tapering, five story tower. The fragment of a choir-screen confirms the original dedication to Christ, in honor of whom the church was built by "Župan" (iuppanus) Gastica (Gastiha; the exact position of the fragment does not seem to have been definitely determined) of Cetina, and St. Spas must have been the central church of the County, as witnessed by a huge necropolis around the church, of people both noble and common.

Galeriji na prvom katu westwerka pristupa se jedino iz samostana, potvrđujući karoliński običaj da se vladari služe samostanskim prostorijama za svoj boravak. Zidovi između prizemnog prolaza i pogrebnih prostorija vrlo su debeli, što upućuje na to da je nad sredinom bio neki istaknuti pokrov ili toranj. Količina sedrenog kamena u ruševinama govori u prilog nadsvodivanju. Crkveni su svodovi bili poduprti pravokutnim stupcima, a sudeći po tome što nije bilo nikakve zidne artikulacije, bio je to neprekinuti bačvasti svod stopljen neposredno sa zidom. Crkvu je vjerojatno natkrivao jedinstven zabatni krov, koji je počivao neposredno na svodovima, što je dobro poznat običaj na području Sredozemlja.

Kako je već spomenuto, crkva je bila gotovo sigurno vladarski mauzolej. Sudeći po ulomcima natpisa posvećena je Sv. Mariji i Stjepanu, baš kao i kraljevski mauzolej u Solinu. Također, sudeći po istom izvoru, izgradio ju je "dux gloriosus" i "praecclarus", dakle zaista sam vladar. Poznato je da je pobočna grana vladarske porodice Trpimirovića imala posjede u zaleđu, u Dalmatinskoj Zagori oko Knina. Član te pobočne grane, Branimir, vladao je Hrvatskom od 878. do 892. godine. Nije ostavio nasljednika (a u dječakim grobovima na Crkvini imamo očit dokaz da su muška djeca umrla prije vladarskog para), pa se glavna grana – putem kneza Muncimira – vratila na prijestolje. To bi Sv. Mariju i Sv. Stjepana na Crkvini u Biskupiji moglo smjestiti u godine Branimirovog vladanja, te je čini jednim od najvažnijih spomenika cjelokupne hrvatske povijesti.

Nedavne revizije (Ante Milošević, Maja Petrinec) dovode u pitanje dijelove ove interpretacije (Milošević, 2002). Pokopi na položaju westwerka počinju od kraja VIII. stoljeća, a pitanje ukopa u sarkofazima također se komplicira (novčić Bazilija I je izgubljen!) i predlaže se raniji datum. Milošević je mišljenja da je "samostan" ustvari kraljevski dvor koji kasnije, za kralja Petra Krešimira u XI. stoljeću koristi i hrvatski biskup, a također predlaže kao završetak srednjeg broda polukružnu izbočenu apsidu.

Ostavljajući postrani pitanje koliko se danas može revidirati nešto u tragovima i nestručno iskopano pred više od jednog stoljeća, ovi novi pogledi ne mijenjaju bitno važnost i pitanje namjene. Na Crkvini su nesumnjivo rezidirali hrvatski vladari, a westwerk je isto tako nesumnjivo mauzolej, ako ne Branimira, onda nekog od njegovih predhodnika na hrvatskom prijestolju.



Sv. Spas, Cetina.

St. Spas, Cetina.

Još jedna crkva slična Sv. Marti i Crkvini i stoga također datirana u IX. stoljeće, stajala je u Koljanima blizu Vrlike. Samo je pročelni dio donekle istražen, pokazujući trobrodnu građevinu s krajnje uskim sporednim lađama, odijeljenim – pretpostavlja se – stupcima, i s podebelim zapadnim zvonikom. Kao u Bijaćima i na Crkvini, nema artikulacije zida.

Drugu podskupinu najbolje predstavlja prilično dobro usčuvana ruševina Sv. Spasa u Cetini. To je jednobrodna zgrada s trolisnim svetištem (središnja konha zamijenjena je u kasnom srednjem vijeku pravokutnom apsidom), te s potpunim dvokatnim westwerkom i visokim peterokatnim tornjem koji se prema vrhu sužuje. Ulomak oltarne pregrade potvrđuje izvornu posvetu Kristu, u čiju je čast crkvu sagradio župan Gastica (Gastiha; dodajmo da pitanje izvornog smještaja Gastihinog fragmenta nije u potpunosti riješeno) i njegova majka Nemira. Župan Gastiha bio je kraljevski upravitelj Cetinske

The church was vaulted, a feature confirmed by the presence of a large quantity of the tufa, and by five pairs of robust, projecting rounded buttresses. The central ground-floor chamber of the westwork is covered by a groin vault, the lateral ones by barrel vaults. The vaults support a gallery on the second story of the westwork. It was accessible by the means of a staircase arriving from the north and landing on a platform in front of the second story of the tower. The platform stood above a porch, now almost completely in ruins. The gallery communicated visually with the nave by the means of three round-headed openings, the central, taller, enframed by pilaster-strips. This was probably the place reserved for the Count when he participated in the service, and wherefrom he may have administered justice. Both the nave and the westwork were covered by a uniform gable roof, and the units, except, of course, for the tower, would have remained indistinguishable from the outside.



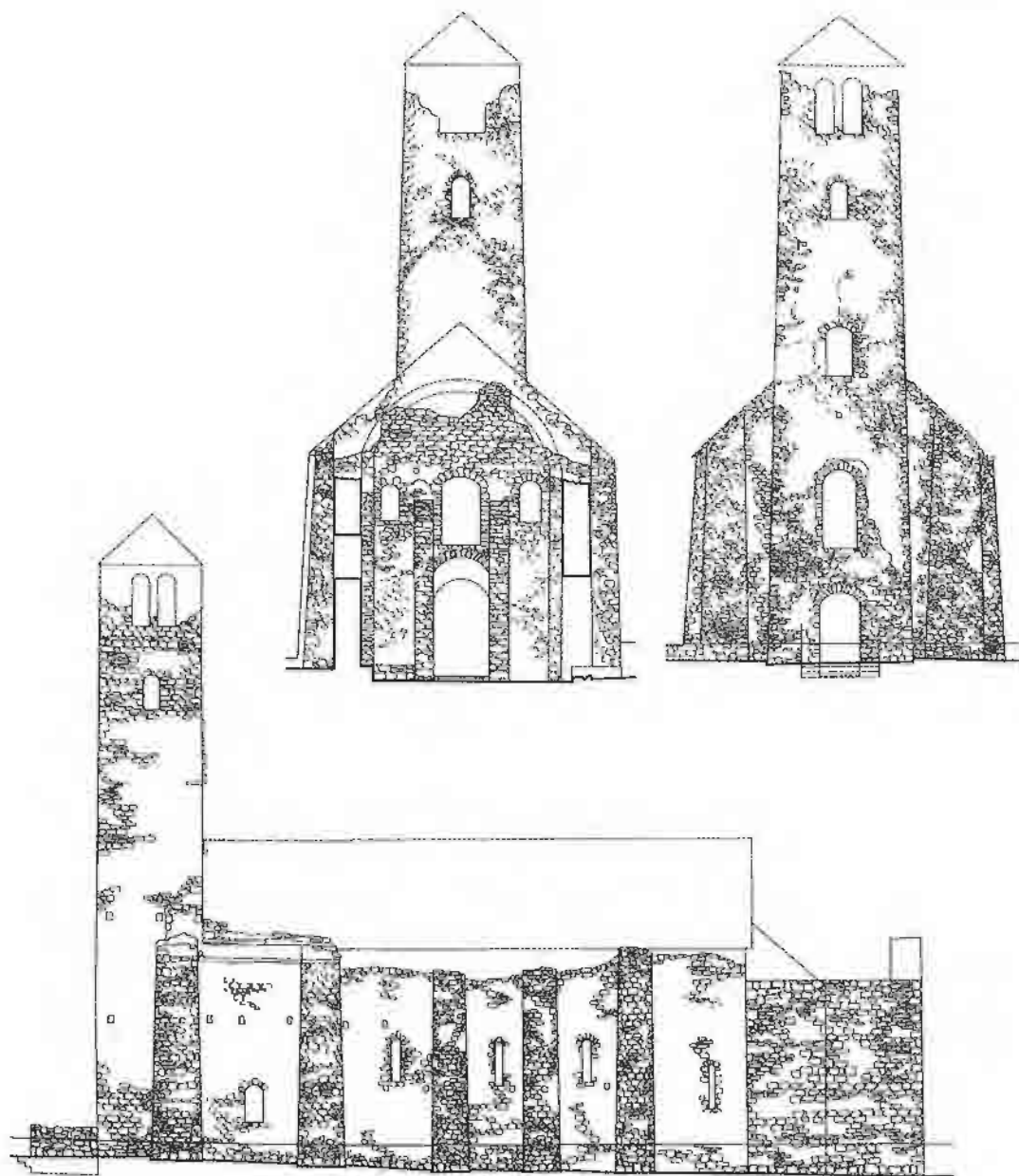
Sv. Spas, Cetina.

St. Spas, Cetina.

The dedication to the Savior, recalling the original iconographic content of the westwork, favors an early – ninth century – date. The County of Cetina as an administrative unit is known to have existed by the tenth century. The triconch presbytery is a concession to local Pre-Romanesque forms, another possible indication of an early date. Thus St. Spas may be a transitional building between relatively simple buildings of St. Marta type, and more complex solutions. The nave of St. Spas is about two meters wider than that of Crkvina, and since there were no aisles to act as lateral support, the architect introduced rounded buttresses. St. Spas is definitely more daring. Even visually, it is a departure from simple box-like buildings of the Crkvina type. The walls are articulated, and special groupings of forms emphasize the two key poles of a building – the entrance section and the presbytery – the westwerk and the ostwerk. The date of St. Spas may be thus narrowed to the end of the ninth century.

župe, a Sv. Spas je vjerojatno bio glavna crkva župe, o čemu svjedoči nekropola od više stotina grobova uokolo crkve, za plemiće i obični puk.

Crkva je bila presvođena, što potvrđuje prisutnost velike količine sedre, te parovi snažnih, izbočenih zaobljenih potpornjaka. Glavnu prizemnu prostoru westwerka pokriva križni svod, bočne bačvasti svodovi, a svi nose galeriju prvog kata westwerka. Pristupa joj se stubištem sa sjeverne strane, koje vodi na platformu u pročelju prvog kata zvonika. Platforma iznad portika danas je gotovo potpuno u ruševinama. Galerija se otvarala na lađu kroz tri polukružno završena otvora, središnji je bio viši i uokviren lezenama. To je vjerojatno bilo mjesto predviđeno za župana kad je prisustvovao službi božjoj i odakle je dijelio pravdu. I brod i westwerk bili su pokriveni jedinstvenim zabatnim krovom, i sve jedinice crkve – osim tornja – nisu se razabirale izvana.

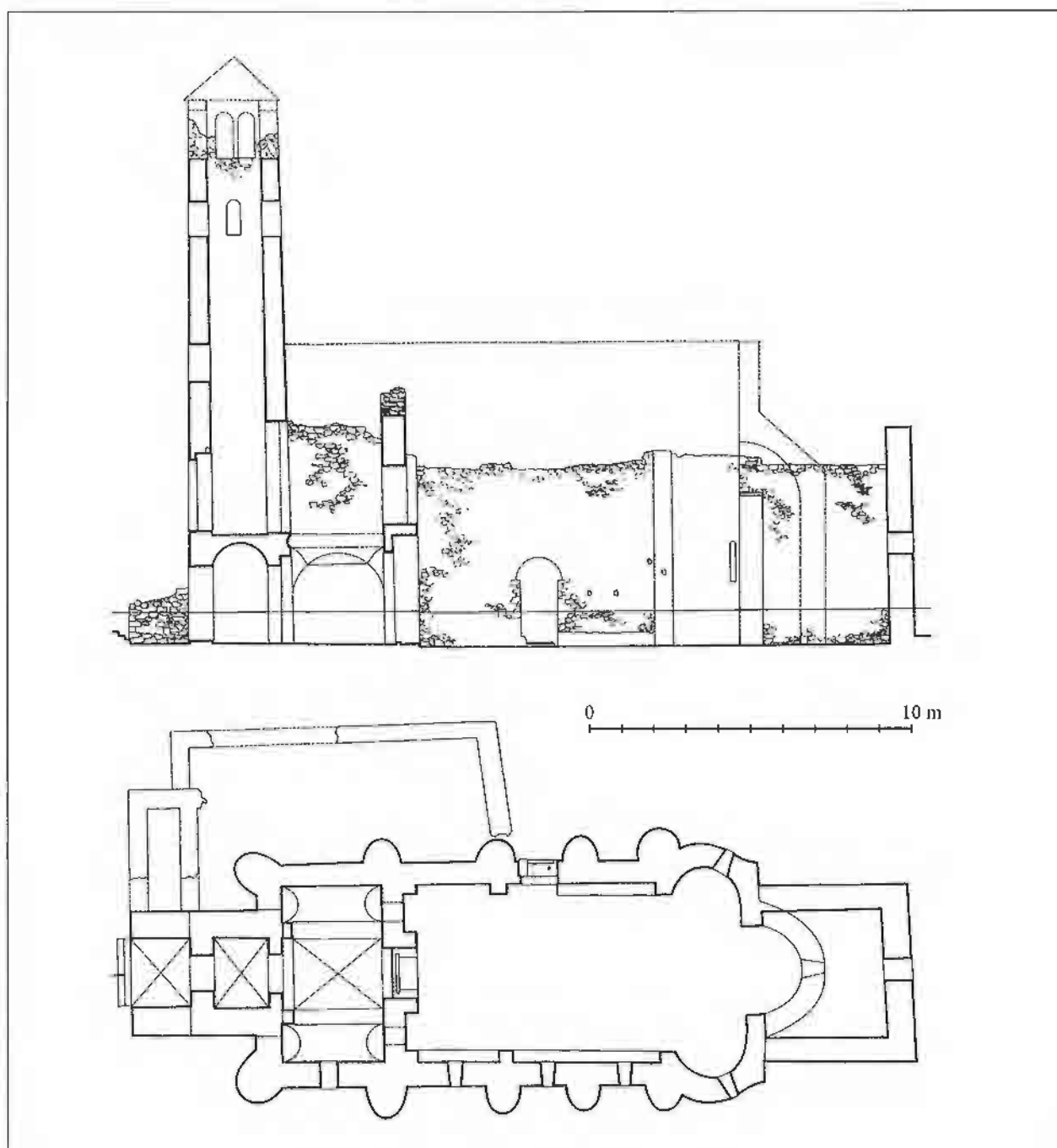


Nacrti crkve
Sv. Spas, Cetina.

*The plans of the church
St. Spas, Cetina.*

Posveta Spasitelju podsjeća na izvorni ikonografski sadržaj westverka i upućuje na rani datum – IX. stoljeće. Poznato je da je župa Cetina kao upravna jedinica postojala u X. stoljeću. Trolisno svetište ustupak je lokalnim predromaničkim oblicima, te još jedan pokazatelj ranog datuma. Tako bi Sv. Spas mogao biti prijelazna građevina između relativno jednostavnih gradnja tipa Sv. Marte i složenijih rješenja. Brod Sv. Spasa je oko dva metra širi od broda Crkvine. A budući da nema sporednih lada za prihvaćanje bočnog pritiska, graditelj je uveo zaobljene potpornjake. Sv.

To continue our study of the Royal group we must return to Biskupija. The ruins of the church on the Lopuska Glavica reveal a plan close to that of St. Spas, with a sort of triconch presbytery (strangely enough the southern conch is square), and a tower in front of the entire width of the western façade (Let us recall that a similar structure may have stood in front of St. Marija at Lim in Istria!). This was reinforced by four rounded buttresses. The fragments of interlace sculpture found at the site closely recall the fragments from Rižinice of about 852.



Nacrti crkve
Sv. Spas, Cetina.

*The plans of the church
St. Spas, Cetina.*

Traces of yet another church with rounded buttresses were discovered at Bukurovića Podvornice in Biskupija. It was an aisleless building with a rounded apse (the western end of the building remains unknown). The church was vaulted as indicated by a system of interior pilasters. The outside walls were reinforced by rounded buttresses. The system of vaulting on transverse arches supported by wall pilasters is a well-known local Pre-Romanesque device and this may indicate again a rather early date, ninth or tenth century.

Spas je u biti smioniji. Pa i vizualno se udaljuje od razmjerno jednostavnih, poput kutije, građevina tipa Crkvine. Zide je artikulirano, a posebno okupljanje oblika naglašava dva ključna pola građevine – ulazni dio i svetište. Tako bi se datum Sv. Spasa mogao ograničiti na kasnije IX. stoljeće.

Za nastavak pručavanja Kraljevske skupine valja nam se vratiti u Biskupiju. Ruševine crkve na Lopuškoj Glavici otkrivaju tlocrt blizak Sv. Spasu, s trolisnim svetištem (dosta je neobično što je juž-

na konha pravokutna!), te s tornjem u čitavoj širini zapadne fasade (Podsjećam da je takav možda bio i kod Sv. Marije na Limu u Istri!). Ulomci pleternih reljefa nađeni na gradilištu bliski su ulomcima iz Rižinica iz oko 852. godine.

Tragovi još jedne crkve sa zaobljenim upornjacima nađeni su kraj Bukurovića Podvornica u Biskupiji. To je jednobrodna građevina s polukružnom apsidom (zapadni dio ostaje nepoznat). Crkva je bila presvođena, što dokazuje sustav unutrašnjih pilastara. Vanjsko je zide učvršćeno zaobljenim upornjacima. Sustav svodova na poprečnim lukovima dobro je poznato geslo mjesne predromanike i to bi opet moglo upućivati na dosta rani datum: IX. ili X. stoljeće.

Međutim najistaknutija građevina čitave skupine je Sv. Cecilija na Stupovima u Biskupiji. To je prostrana troapsidalna trobrodna zgrada s westwerkom i zapadnim zvonikom. Sporedne su lade odvojene s tri para glomaznih križnih stupaca. Postojao je unutrašnji pristup galeriji iz južne prostorije trodjelnog prizemlja westwerka. Zid je učvršćen zaobljenim upornjacima. Uzduž južnog zida dva su dodatka – otvoreni trijem i kapela s apsidom, okrenutom prema istoku.

Mnogo sedre na gradilištu, debljina zida i oblik stupaca pokazuju da je crkva bila nadsvodena, najvjerojatnije bačvastim svodom na poprečnim lukovima.

Ta povećana crkva podignuta je na brzinu. Tlo nije čak ni dovoljno izravnano. Smatram da se s građenjem započelo na jugoistočnom uglu, gdje je potpornjak, okomit na zide, trebao preuzeti teret svoda apside. U vrijeme kad se stiglo do sjeveroistočnog ugla, osnova se promijenila, a potpornjak se naslonio dijagonalno na ugao.

Graditelj je odlučio presvoditi cijelu crkvu. Zid je nastavljen do trećeg upornjaka s istoka, kada se utemeljenjem najistočnijeg para stupaca učinilo potrebnim umetnuti još jedan potpornjak, nepovezan sa zidom. Na južnoj strani zid je možda već bio sagrađen dalje od trećeg potpornjaka, i kad se konačno odlučilo o presvođenju, trebalo je dodati drugi i treći potpornjak s istoka. No uskoro se od graditelja zatražilo da ubaci trijem i kapelu, pa su ostali potpornjaci s južne strane izostavljeni, jer su sami dodaci djelovali kao podupora. Gradnja trećeg potpornjaka prekinuta je, djelimično je uklopljen u

However, the most outstanding building of the entire group, was the church of St. Cecilija at the Stupovi, again in Biskupija. It was a spacious three-apsed aisled building with a westwork and a western tower. The aisles were separated by three pairs of bulky cruciform piers. There was an inner access to the westwork gallery from the southern chamber of the tripartite westwork ground floor. The walls were strengthened by rounded buttresses. Along the southern flank there used to be two annexes: an open porch and a chapel with an apse pointing eastwards.

The amount of tufa recovered at the site, the thickness of the walls and the form of piers all indicate that the church was covered by vaults, most likely barrel vaults supported by transverse arches.

This substantial building was constructed in a hurry. The ground was not even properly leveled. We believe that the construction was initiated at the southeastern corner where the buttress, perpendicular to the wall, was expected to assume the thrust of the apse vault only. By the time the northeastern corner was reached the conception had changed, and the buttress was made to lean diagonally against the corner. Thus the architect had decided to vault over the entire church! The wall was then extended to as far as the third buttress from the east, when, with the planting of the easternmost set of piers, it appeared necessary to insert another buttress, not in bond with the wall. On the southern side, the wall may have already been constructed beyond the third buttress, and when the vaulting was definitely decided upon, the second and third buttress (from the east) had to be added. Yet, very soon the architect was asked to provide for the lateral porch and the chapel, so the rest of the buttresses along the southern flank were omitted, the annexes themselves acting as supports. The construction of the third buttress was interrupted, and it was partly incorporated into the apse of the chapel. The westwork and the western tower, however, were built before the lateral porch, as the western wall of the porch leans against the important buttress reinforcing the partition wall between the westwork and the church body.

Admittedly, it is risky to draw too many conclusions from the meager traces of the building, but if they are even partially correct, they disclose a tentative and experimental character of the building which was built at a considerable speed. The uniformity of superb interlace sculpture fragments also speaks of a speedy construction. But when?



Sv. Spas, Cetina.

St. Spas, Cetina.



Sv. Spas, Cetina.

St. Spas, Cetina.

apsidu kapele. Westwerk i zapadni zvonik sagrađeni su, međutim, prije bočnog trijema, jer je zapadni zid trijema nasjeo na važan upornjak koji učvršćuje razdjelni zid između westwerka i tijela crkve.

Ne preporuča se povući odviše zaključaka iz oskudnih tragova gradnje, ali, ako su oni i djelimično ispravni, otkriva se izvjesna istraživačka nesigurnost graditelja, koji je zidao na brzinu. Jednoličnost izvanrednog pleternog ukrasa također govori o brznoj gradnji. Ali kada? Predpostavljalo se da je crkva postojala 1088. kada su kralja Zvonimira na ulazu u nju navodno sasjekli njegovi razjareni vazali. Složenost i mjerilo gradnje mogli bi upućivati na kasni datum – XI. stoljeće.

Zanimljivo je da postoje tragovi još jedne oveće crkve posvećene Sv. Ceciliji nedaleko Biskupije, na Ceceli kod Siverića (istraživanja u tijeku). Zašto Sv. Cecilija u srcu Dalmatinske Zagore? Cecilija, bogata rimska plemkinja, živjela je u doba Pape Urbana I (Sv. Urban, 222–230). Po napatku ovoga obratila je muža, plemića Valerijana i njegovog brata Tiburcija, posлавši ga Papi koji se krio u katakombama. Svi

The church may have existed in 1088 when King Zvonimir was allegedly cut to pieces in front of its entrance by his enraged retainers. The complexity and the size of the building may advocate a fairly late date – possibly eleventh century.

One should note that another church dedicated to St. Cecilia, not far from Biskupija, at Cecela near Siverić is currently being explored. One may justifiably ask: What the protector-saint of music and musicians has to do with Dalmatian Highlands? St. Cecilia, who lived during the reign of Pope Urban I (St. Urban, 222–230) converted her husband, patrician Valerianus and his brother, Tiburcius, by sending her husband to the Pope who hid in the catacombs. They were all duly martyred as preachers of Christianity, and Cecilia is supposed to have invented the organ to be able to express all the angelic tunes she has heard from Heaven. Whereas we know of nobody in the entourage of Croatian ninth century princes as particularly partial to music, Cecilia, and her position in life and her sacrifice, as well as her ties with St. Urban make her both an apt protector for a prince, particularly of one known as close to the Roman curia, as Branimir was. Vedrana Delonga has



Sv. Spas, Cetina.

St. Spas, Cetina.

su doživjeli martirij kao promicatelji Kršćanstva, a Cecilija, zaštitnica glazbe i glazbenika, se smatra izumiteljicom orgulja kako bi izrazila sve andeoske napjeve koje je čula s neba. Dok ne znamo u krugu hrvatskih vladara IX. stoljeća nekog posebnog ljubitelja glazbe, Cecilijin društveni položaj i njene veze sa svetim papom Urbanom čine je prikladnom zaštitnicom vladara koji održava jake veze s rimskom kurijom. A Vedrana Delonga je na temelju fragmenta natpisa iz Sv. Cecilije na Stupovima zaključila da se u crkvi pjevale "suptilna molitva *Exulteta*, omiljena u IX. stoljeću" (Hrvati i Karolinzi, 2000).

Nedavno je Tomislav Marasović iznio argumente za kasno IX. stoljeće, koristeći se u prvom redu datiranim ulomcima reljefa iz Nina i Muća i uspoređujući ih sa Sv. Cecilijom (Marasović, 1994). Eksperimentalna narav zgrade daje vjerodostojnost tim argumentima. No dodatno bi svjetlo moglo pružiti i rješenje pitanja: što je zapravo bilo u Biskupiji? Ovaj trnoviti problem nije nikada dokraja riješen. Tvrdnje da je Biskupija mjesto kninske katedrale, iako privlačne, nisu dokazane. Nema sumnje da je Biskupija bila vladarsko dobro u najranijoj hrvatskoj povijesti (IX.–XI. stoljeće), od vladarskog ukopa na Crkvini do navodnog Zvonimirova zborovanja na Stupovima. U XI. stoljeću ovdje stanuje i hrvatski biskup. Biskupija se također naziva "Pet crkava u Kosovu" (Kosovo polje stari je naziv za ovu visoravan). I, zaista, tu je pet ranih hrvatskih crkava (i još jedna ranokršćanska). Za petu, zasada potpuno nepoznatu građevinu ispod pravoslavne crkve Sv. Trojice znade se da je bila, prema opisu iz XVIII. stoljeća, osmerokutna zgrada slična splitskoj katedrali. Je li se ovdje koristio oblik Dioklecijanovog mauzoleja, jer je građevina bila povezana s hrvatskim biskupom, koji je želio oponašati svog čestog rivala, splitskog nadbiskupa i njegovu katedralu? Ili nas se želi podsjetiti na mauzolej Cara Dioklecijana, jer su ga hrvatski vladari smatrali svojim predšastnikom? Postoji još jedna aluzija na dioklecijansku arhitekturu – zaobljeni upornjaci. Podsjećaju li oni na nizove prislonjenih stupova, ili polustupova, koji se nerijetko pojavljuju u Palači? Ako je tako, trebaju li nas podsjetiti na starog svjetovnog vladara, ili na splitsku nadbiskupiju?

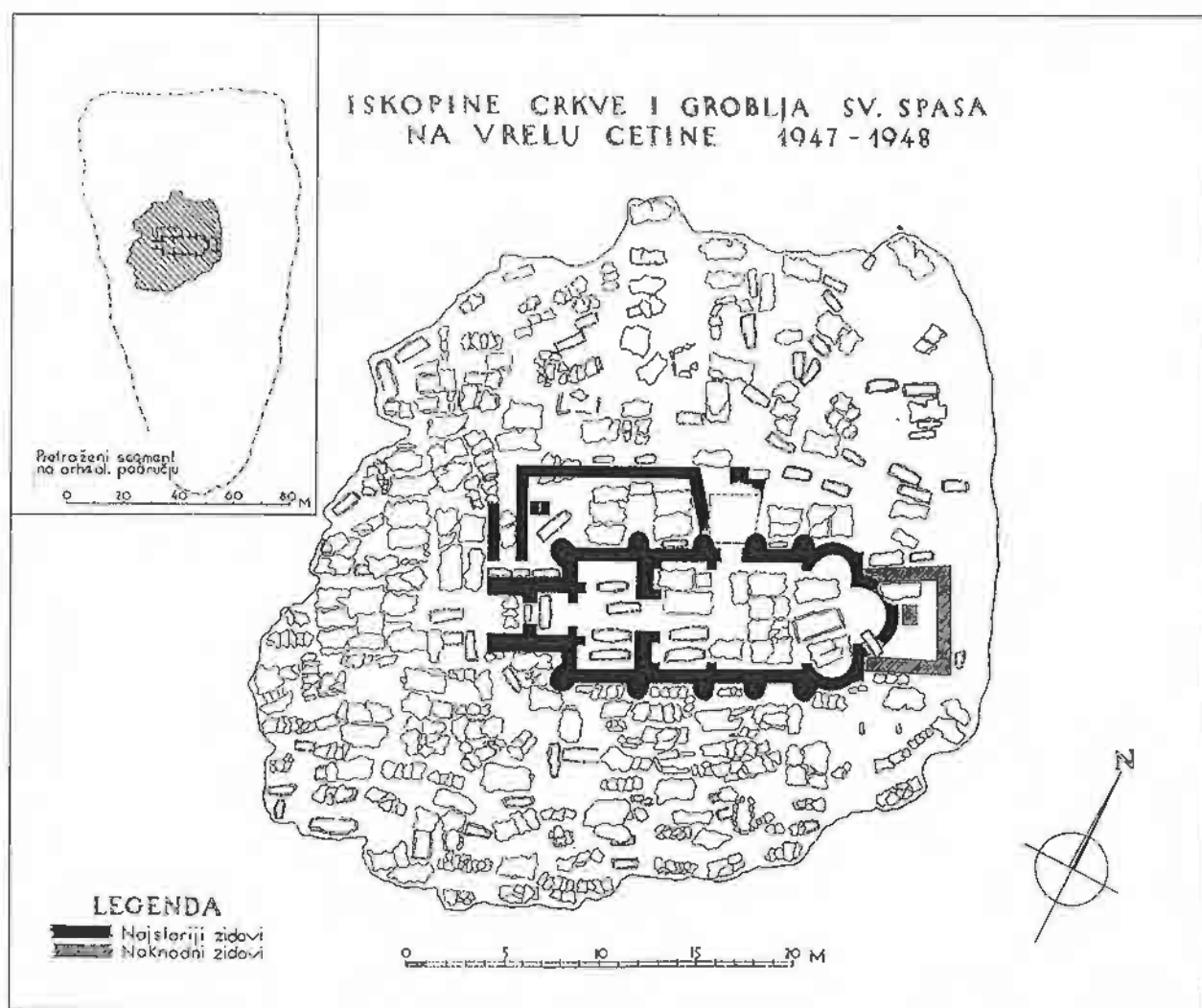
Treba razmisliti i o mogućoj namjeni crkava na Lopuskoj Glavici i Bukurovića Podvornicama. Crkva na Lopuskoj Glavici, na vrhu dosta strmog i istaknutog čunja, mogla je biti zaštitna kapela izgrađena u čast Sv. Mihovilu, štiteći čitavo područje Biskupije, kako vladara i plemstvo tako i pučane.

determined on the basis of inscription fragments that the famous *Exultet* prayer, popular in the 9th century, was sung in the church (Hrvati i Karolinzi, 2000).

Recently, Tomislav Marasović has advanced arguments for a late ninth century date, using primarily dated fragments of sculpture from Nin and Muć and comparing them to the sculpture of St. Cecilija (Marasović, 1994). The experimental character of the building adds plausibility to the arguments in favor of an earlier date. But some light may be shed also by resolving the question: what was indeed at Biskupija?

This thorny problem has never been quite solved. The arguments that Biskupija (the "Bishopric") was the site of the Cathedral of Knin, the seat of the Croatian Bishop, attractive as they are, are not conclusive. There is little doubt that Biskupija was a royal estate throughout the Early Croatian period (9–11th ct.), from the ducal burials at Crkvina, to Zvonimir's alleged convocation at the Stupovi. In the 11th century it may have been the seat of the Croatian Bishop. It was referred to also as "Five Churches in Kosovo" (Kosovo, the Field of Blackbirds, being the ancient name of the highland plateau in the midst of which sits Biskupija), and indeed five early Croatian (plus another Early Christian) churches were discovered there. That fifth, yet completely unknown building, underneath the much later orthodox church of St. Trojstvo, is known to have been, according to an 18th century description, an octagonal building thus not unlike the Cathedral of Split. Was the ancient Diocletian's Mausoleum invoked here because the building was linked indeed to the Croatian Bishop, who wanted to emulate his competitor, the Archbishop of Split, and his Cathedral? Or was it invoked as a mausoleum of an ancient monarch, who may have been seen by Croatian rulers as their local predecessor? Another reference to Diocletianic architecture may be the unique rounded buttresses of three of the Biskupija churches. Are they a reference to colonnades of engaged columns and semi-columns as they occur within the Emperor's palace? And if so, are they again a reference to the memory of a terrestrial ruler, or to the See of Split?

A thought should be given also to the possible function of the churches at the Lopuska Glavica and Bukurovića Podvornice. The church at the Lopuska Glavica, on top of a fairly steep and prominent hill, may have been a protective chapel built in honor of St. Michael, guarding the entire area of Biskupija and its population, both royal and common. It should be noted that the famous shrine of St. Michael at Le Puy is, essen-



Nekropola crkve Sv. Spas,
Cetina (Marasović, T.).

*The Graveyard around the
Church of St. Spas at Cetina
(according to T. Marasović).*

tially, a polyconchal structure, a feature not absent at the Lopuška Glavica. The church at the Bukurovića Podvornice, may have been a private chapel of a royal estate. Stylistically, these buildings and St. Cecilija make a group, leaving the fourth known church, at Crkvina, as an exception.

Some attractive, albeit risky, conclusions follow:

SS. Mary and Stephen at Crkvina preceded the rest of the church buildings at Biskupija. It was a monastic building and a mausoleum to Duke Branimir and his family, or of one of his predecessors. When Branimir died without an heir in 892, to be succeeded by a member of the main branch of the Trpimirović family, Duke Muncimir. The main branch took possession of Biskupija, and introduced a new style, based on the knowledge of Diocletianic architecture. As the main branch had its seats around Split – at Bijaći, at Rižinice, in Solin – this seems quite logical. What re-

Treba podsjetiti da je čuveno svetište St. Michel u Le Puyu u biti mnogolisna zgrada, oblik koje i nije dalek od crkve na Lopuškoj Glavici. Crkva na Bukurovića Podvornicama mogla je biti privatna kapela nekog vladarskog imanja. Stilistički te dvije crkve i Sv. Cecilija čine cjelinu ostavljajući Crkvinu kao izuzetak.

Slijede primamljivi iako rizični zaključci:

Sv. Marija i Sv. Stjepan predšasnik je ostalih crkava u Biskupiji. Bila je to samostanska (ili dvorska) crkva te mauzolej kneza Branimira i njegove obitelji, iz pobočne grane dinastije Trpimirovića, ili nekog ranijeg vladara 1x. stoljeća. Kad je Branimir umro 892. bez nasljednika, naslijedio ga je član izravne grane Muncimir, a glavni je ogranak preuzeo Biskupiju te uveo novi stil, zasnovan na poznavanju dioklecijanske arhitekture. Kako je glavni ogranak imao sjedište oko Splita – u Bijaćima,

Rižinicama i Solinu – ovo se čini sasvim logičnim. Ostaci kraj Bukurovića Podvornice donekle podsjećaju na Muncimirovu crkvu "Sv. Luke" (Sv. Ivana) na Uzdolju (jednobrodna, nadsvođena zgrada s pravokutnim upornjacima, predodređena ranokršćanskim položajem). Dodajmo međutim da istraživanja koja su u tijeku dovode u pitanje postojanje predromaničke faze ove posljednje crkve, dok bi poznati Muncimirov natpis potjecao s nekog još nepoznatog položaja u blizini. Crkva na Lopuskoj Glavici pridodana je kao dio tipičnog srednjovjekovnog obrasca krajolika. A budući da je crkva na Crkvini bila povezana s prethodnim vladarima (i da je možda bila samostanska crkva), pojavila se potreba za brзом gradnjom veće građevine, Sv. Cecilije na Stupovima, kao "obične" crkve za kongregaciju odličnika, s westwerkom i zapadnim tornjem koji naznačuju čestu prisutnost vladara.

Bilo bi beskorisno raspravljati o potpuno nepoznatoj građevini kraj Sv. Trojice, ali se treba podsjetiti da je konac ix. i početak x. stoljeća razdoblje borbe između splitske nadbiskupije i hrvatskih biskupa u Ninu (od Teodozija do Grgura Ninskog). Je li Hrvatski biskup namjerno odabrao oblik katedrale svog suparnika da naglasi svoja vlastita prava i moć? Manje je vjerojatno da bi crkva bila mauzolej. Glavna grana Trpimirovića već je vjerojatno imala svoj mauzolej Sv. Marije i Sv. Stjepana u Solinu.

Ove radne hipoteze dovedene su u pitanje novim sitaživanjima. Crkve s polukružnim podupiračima pripisuju se vremenu Kneza Branimira, te bi bile "znak" dolaska na vlast njega i njegovog ogranka. Radilo bi se o kompaktnom stilu koji se može zamisliti kao izraz jednog pokoljenja graditelja, dakle nekoliko desetljeća. Arhaičnija Crkvina bila bi mauzolej nekog ranijeg vladara, a u xi. stoljeću ovaj je spomenik urešen novim kiparskim uresom. No dopušteno nam je zaključiti da je Biskupija bila važno vladarsko sjedište, da je posjedovala mauzolej vladara koji je prethodnik naručitelja zgrada s polukružnim potpornjacima (Stupovi, Bukurovića Podvornice, Lopuska glavica). "Peta crkva" nalik na splitsku katedralu podignuta je najvjerojatnije također potkraj ix. ili na početku x. stoljeća.

Još jedna manja crkva s polukružnim potpornjacima identificirana je na samom rubu Zagore, Sv. Marija u Blizni na visoravni u zaleđu Trogira. Radi se o djelimično očuvanoj jednobrodnoj zgradi s westwerkom zidove koje ojačavaju polukružni potpornjaci. Crkvu je istražio Radoslav Bužančić, no rezultati

mains at the Bukurovića Podvornice is vaguely reminiscent of Muncimir's church of "St. Luka" (St. Ivan) at Uzdolje (aisleless, vaulted, buttressed building, however also predetermined by the Early Christian site; a study which may appear before this book, questions the very existence of a Pre-Romanesque St. Luka, indicating that the famous Muncimir inscription had come from some other site nearby). The Lopuska Glavica church was added as a part of a typical medieval landscape scheme. And, given that the Crkvina building was associated with the previous rulers, and was a monastic church, there appeared a need to quickly build a larger building, St. Cecilija at the Stupovi, as, so to say, an "ordinary" church for an outstanding congregation, with a westwork and a western tower indicating not infrequent presence of the ruler himself.

It would be unprofitable to speculate too much about a totally unknown building, the one at St. Trojica, but one should be reminded that the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century is a period of a struggle between the See of Split and the Croatian Bishops of Nin (from Theodosius to Grgur of Nin). Did the Croatian Bishop commission the building and on purpose chose the form of the Cathedral of his opponent, in order to emphasize his own rights and power? For it is less likely that the church was a mausoleum. The main branch of the Trpimirović family had its own at SS. Marija and Stjepan in Solin.

I submitted the above as a set of working hypotheses in the first edition of this book, and the hypothesis already needs to be seriously questioned. The churches with rounded buttresses have been attributed to the reign of Duke Branimir, thus a "sign" of his coming to power. It has been pointed out that we are dealing with a stylistically compact architectural phenomenon, occurring within a single generation of architects, i. e., several decades. The more archaic Crkvina would have been a mausoleum of an earlier ruler, and, as an important building was thoroughly refurbished in the 11th century. Still I believe that we are allowed to conclude that Biskupija was surely a very important princely seat, that it contained a princely mausoleum, and that much of the building went on under Branimir who could be credited with the Stupovi, Lopuska Glavica and Bukurovića Podvornice. The late ninth and early tenth century also seems to be the most likely time for the building of the octagonal "fifth church", reminiscent of the Cathedral of Split.

Yet another smaller church with semicircular buttresses has been identified at the very edge of the Highlands.



Sv. Marta, Bijaći.

St. Marta, Bijaći.

St. Marija at Blizna above Trogir (Bužančić, 2001). It is a partially preserved aisleless building with a westwerk, and the wall reinforced by rounded buttresses. The church has been explored by Radoslav Bužančić, but the results have not yet been completely published. A fragment of sculpted decoration appears to mention a iuppanus Stephen. The westwerk stood in front of the façade as at the Lopuska glavica, possibly topped by a tower (again, remember Sv. Marija at Lim in Istria!)

The features of the Royal group are also displayed by the Cathedral of Biograd, showing that the group was not limited to the Highlands. Biograd, at the coast, was one of the chief royal residences, and the appearance of the "royal" style could be expected. The cathedral was a sizeable building, a three-apsidal, aisled church with a western tower and rounded buttresses. The absence of diagonal buttresses, and the use of circular supports, intermingled in an apparently irregular fashion with rectangular piers, makes the building look archaic

još nisu u potpunosti objavljeni. Ulomak natpisa spominje i ovdje vladarskog dužnosnika – nekog župana Stjepana. Zna se da crkva ima westwerk ispred zapadnog pročelja (kao na Lopuskoj glavici) nad kojim se po mišljenju istraživača podizao toranj (Bužančić, 2001).

Oblici kraljevske skupine uočavaju se i u katedrali u Biogradu, pokazujući da skupina nije bila ograničena samo na Zagoru. Biograd, na moru, bio je važno vladarsko sjedište te se pojava "kraljevskog" sloga može i očekivati. Katedrala je oveća građevina, troapsidalna, trobrodna, sa zapadnim zvonikom i sa zaobljenim upornjacima. Odsutnost dijagonalnih upornjaka i korištenje kružnih podupora, izmiješanih naizgled na nepravilan način s pravokutnim stupcima, čini crkvu zastarjelom u usporedbi sa Sv. Cecilijom. No, prvi se biogradski biskup spominje 1059–60. Ruševine su iskopavane na brzinu oko 1900., a nalazište je kasnije uništeno. Valja primijetiti da su obalni gradovi uvijek davali prednost stupovima ili

kružnim stupcima i da bi ta pojava mogla biti rezultat utjecaja obalne gradske arhitekture na modele iz Zagore. Nakon Buškariolovih revizija, dr. Jurković datira crkvu u 9. st. (Jurković, 1997), a tada vjerojatno nastaje i zvonik (za ovaj se predlažu i kasniji nadnevcici) (Uroda, bez datuma). Katedrala u Biogradu je najbolji primjer onoga što Jurković naziva "reduciranom verzijom" westwerka (isto vrijedi i za crkve u Bijaćima i Koljanima)

Druga, jednako slabo poznata gradnja koja bi mogla pripadati ovoj skupini jest crkva u Žažviću u podnožju Bribirske Glavice, sjedišta moćne porodice Šubića, na oko pola puta između Biograda i Knina. Iskapanja prije 100 godina čini se da su otkrila trobrodnu građevinu s dubokom polukružnom apsidom i westwerk kao u Sv. Cecilije i Sv. Spasa. Zide je tanko i ne postoji sistem vanjskih podupora, pa je zgrada po svoj prilici bila natkrivena drvenim krovom. Raspored stupaca neobičan je i nedostatan. Vjerojatno treba zamisliti još jedan par stupaca između onih označenih na tlocrtu, te neku vrstu zidnih izdanaka kraj prilaza apsidi. Ova je popločena s *opus signinum* i vjerojatno je dio neke ranokršćanske crkve. Dosta pravilno zide ostataka upućuje na XI. stoljeće, ali stil pleternog ukrasa blizak je spomenicima sredine devetoga – Lopuskoj glavici i Rižinicama.

Oblik crkve mogao bi se protumačiti kao provincijska varijanta stila Zagore. Možda je pripadala porodici Šubića, u kojem su slučaju knezovi imali mjesto u westwerku, dok grobovi u prizemlju pokazuju da je crkva služila i kao mauzolej. Moramo se prisjetiti da westwerk nije bio nepoznat građevinama tradicionalne predromaničke skupine. Cjelokupni zapadni dodatak Sv. Marije i Stjepana na Otoku u Solinu, vjerodostojno datiran prije 976., dio je vladarskog mauzoleja. Dvokatni westwerk s tornjem Sv. Lovre u Zadru (po svoj prilici dodan u XI. stoljeću) mogao je također značiti kraljevski utjecaj. Crkva Sv. Lovre je sigurno bila kapela porodice Madija, zadarskih priora, koji su ženidbama bili povezani s hrvatskim vladarima.

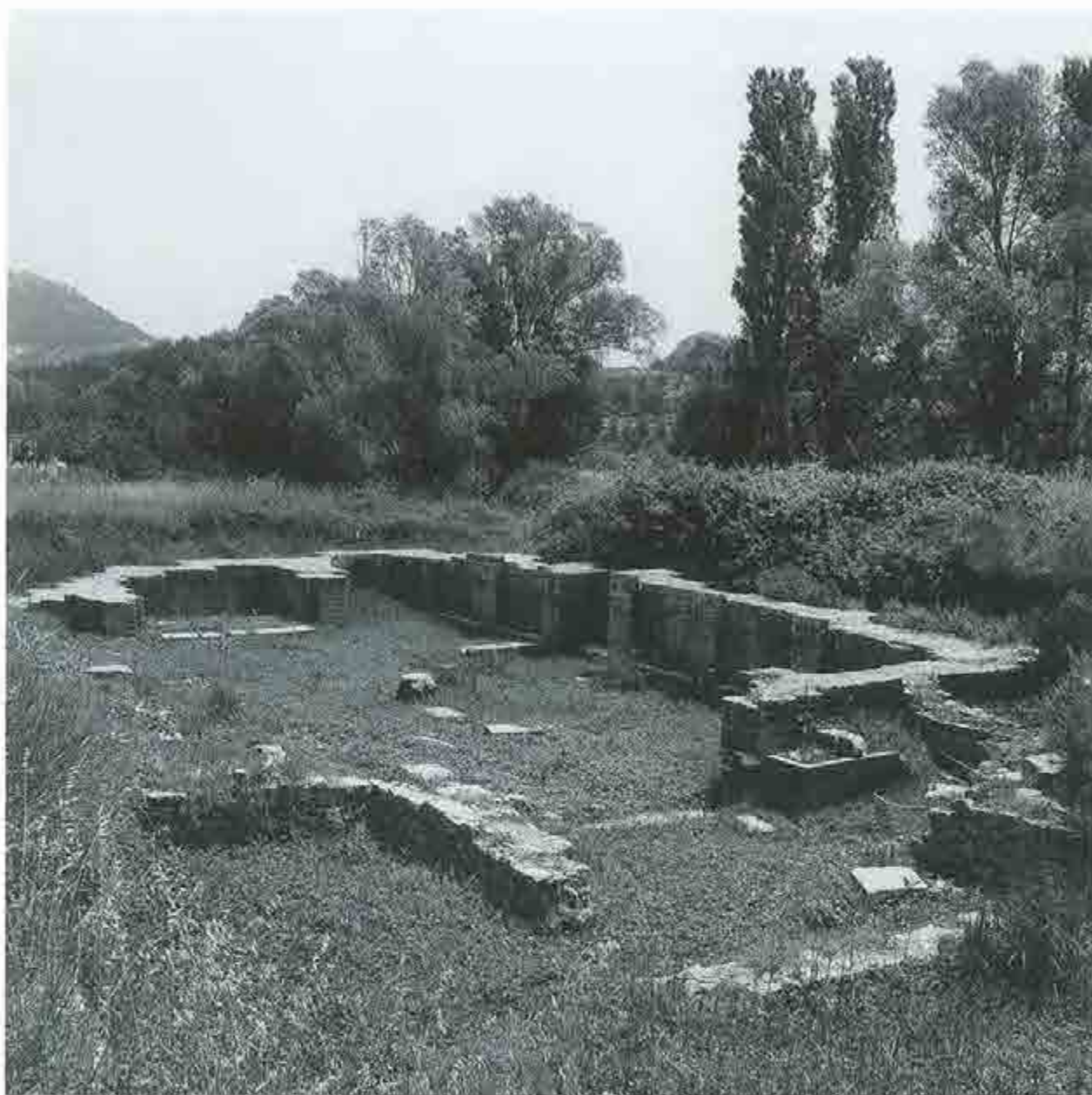
Miljenko Jurković podsjeća da je zapadni toranj u širini fasade stajao i pred crkvom Sv. Mihajla u Stonu, ključnoj tvrđi Zahumske kneževine koja je u 10. stoljeću, u doba Mihajla Viševića imala uske dodire s Hrvatskim Kraljevstvom, a knez Mihajlo je prisustvovao Spliskim crkvenim saborima 925. i 928. I ovdje se zapadni masiv veže uz zgradu tradicionalne skupine. Kraljevsku vezu potvrđuje slika nekog dukljanskog vladara oko 1100. na freski u unutrašnjosti

in comparison to St. Cecilija. Yet the first bishop of Biograd was mentioned in 1059–60. The ruins were excavated in a hurry some hundred years ago, and the place was subsequently vandalized. One may note that the coastal cities always preferred columns or circular piers, and that this feature may be a result of the influence of coastal, urban, architecture on the Highlands model. After Buškariol's reappraisals of the building, Jurković dated the church to the 9th century (Jurković, 1997). The tower may be of the same date, although there are also voices for its later dating (Uroda, n.d.). Jurković sees the tower of Biograd Cathedral as the best example of what he calls "a reduced westwork" (which also holds true for Bijaći and Koljani).

Another, equally poorly known building which may belong to the group, is that at Žažvić at the foot of the Hill of Bribir, the seat of the mighty Šubić family, about half way between Biograd and the Highlands center around Knin. The excavations, a hundred years ago, seem to have revealed an aisled building with a deep rounded apse, and a westwork similar to that of St. Cecilija and St. Spas. The walls were thin and there was no system of external supports, therefore the building was probably covered by a timber roof. The disposition of the piers on the plan is strange and insufficient. One should probably imagine another pair of piers between the two pairs marked on the plan, and some kind of wall-projections at the entrance to the apse. The latter was paved by *opus signinum* and is probably a part of an Early Christian church. A fairly regular masonry of the remains may indicate an eleventh century date, but the style of interlace sculpture is close to the ninth century examples – Rižinice and Lopuska glavica.

The form of the church may be explained as a "provincial" variant of the Highlands style. It may have belonged to the Šubić family in which case the Counts would have had their seat in the westwork, while tombs in the ground floor indicate that the church may have also been their mausoleum.

We must recall that westworks were not unknown among the buildings of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque group. The complex western annex of SS. Mary and Stephen at Otok in Solin is authentically dated before 976, and forms a part of a royal mausoleum. The two storey westwork with a tower of Sv. Lovro in Zadar (probably an eleventh century addition to the church) may also be due to "royal" influence. The church was, apparently, the chapel of the Madii family, the Priors of Zadar, who were linked, through marriage, to the Croatian rulers.



Sv. Petar i Mojsije, Solin.

St. Petar i Mojsije, Solin.

Jurković reminds us that a western tower stood in front of the entire width of the facade of St. Mihajlo at Ston, the key fortress of the Hum principality which, in the tenth century, had close relations with the Kingdom of Croatia. Its duke, Mihajlo Višević, was present at the church synods at Split in 925 and 928. Here we also have a case of a western massif being linked to a traditional Pre-Romanesque building. The royal connection is reinforced by a portrait of some Doclean ruler holding a model of the church (showing the western tower) in the fresco on the western wall (ca. 1100). St. Magdalena in Ston, an Early Christian church rebuilt in the Pre-Romanesque period was also provided with some form of western massif (Jurković, 1997).

crkve, koji drži u rukama model crkve s prikazom tog westwerka. Sv. Magdalena u Stonu, ranokršćanska crkva obnavljana u predromanici, također je imala neki vid zapadnog masiva (Jurković, 1997).

U sljedećem poglavlju obradit ćemo tri dodatna primjera – lijep westwerk s tornjem u pročelju osmerolista u Ošlju, zvonik Sv. Petra i Mojsija u Solinu (grobna kapela i galerija), te toranj Sv. Vida u Dobrinju. Sve te gradnje pripadaju ranoromaničkom slogu.

Graditelji kraljevske predromaničke skupine sasvim reinterpretiraju tradiciju. Dok korištenje trolisnog svetišta u nekim slučajevima još podsjeća na tradi-



Sv. Marija, Vrsar.

St. Marija, Vrsar.



Sv. Martin,
Sv. Lovreč Pazenatički.

St. Martin,
Sv. Lovreč Pazenatički.

Three additional examples will be taken up in the next chapter – the fine westwork with a tower in front of the octachora church at Ošlje, the tower of SS. Petar and Mojsije in Salona (funerary chapel and gallery), and the tower of St. Vid at Dobrinj. All these structures belong to the Early Romanesque style.

The architects of the Royal Pre-Romanesque group have undertaken a very thorough reinterpretation of the tradition. While the use of a trefoil sanctuary in some cases, still reminds one of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque forms, a new element, the westwork, boldly appears at the entrance of the building, counterbalancing the articulation of the eastern end. The church became bi-polar and both ends were enriched in the process. As opposed to stressing the center of the building by a dome, a practice favored by the first group, the royal architects emphasize the two functionally key areas – the entrance and the sanctuary. The entrance is furthermore stressed by the tower in front of the westwork itself, and the eastern end by a compact three-apsidal, or a trefoil chevet.

The rounded buttresses are an important innovation. They both enliven the walls, endowing them with a new

*cionalne predromaničke oblike, novi element – westwerk – smiono se pojavljuje na ulazu u građevinu, kao protuteža istočnom završetku. Crkva postaje bipolarnom, i oba su pola u tom procesu obogaćena. Nasuprot naglašavanju središta kupolom, kojem je običaju bila sklona prva skupina, kraljevski su graditelji naglasili dva namjenski ključna dijela zgrade – ulaz i svetište. Ulaz je povrh toga naglašen zvoničkom u pročelju westwerka, a istočni završetak zbije-
nim troapsidalnim ili trolisnim korom.*

Zaobljeni upornjaci važan su pronalazak. Oni i oživljuju zide, daju mu novu plastičnu snagu, i pomažu podupiranje svodova. Upornjaci su se izdašno koristili u ranokršćanskoj arhitekturi Salone, ali su beziznimno pravokutni. Već je spomenuto da se uzor za kružne upornjake može potražiti u kolonadama prislonjenih stupova ili polustupova u Dioklecijanovoj palači. Smijonija hipoteza potražiti će izvore u arhitekturi u drvu kako se ona odražava u očuvanim (naravno mnogo kasnijim) sjevernoeuropskim zgradama od drvenih stupaca (stabbau).

*Podrumi Palače mogli su također poslužiti kao pri-
ručnik za nadstvođenje, osobito složenijih građevina*



kao što je Sv. Cecilija. Hrvatski se kralj možda smatrao zakonitim nasljednikom antičkog cara. Stoga su graditelji, uz nasljedovanje suvremene imperijalne arhitekture Zapada, mogli tražiti nadahnuće u mjesnoj antičkoj carskoj arhitekturi.

U Istri nije bilo ni vladarskog dvora, niti sjela župana. Ne začuđuje da nema niti karolinške arhitekture hrvatskog "kraljevskog" tipa. Franačka vlast stiže u Istru 788., čini se prekasno da znakovitije utječe na mjesnu arhitektonsku praksu. Tek nekoliko aksijalnih zvonika ranoromaničkog tipa (na pr., Sv. Ilija kod Bala) na koje ćemo se još osvrnuti, podsjećaju na karolinški običaj podizanja zapadnih masiva, na koji možda ukazuje Sv. Marija na Limu. Na to podsjećaju i ranoromanička pregradnja Vele Gospe kod Bala (izvorno kasno VIII. st.). Zapadni dio broda pretvoren je oko 1100. u zatvoreni trijem sa zvonikom na južnoj strani. Taj prostor korišten je za ukop. Iskapanja Ivana Matejčića, Miljenka Jurkovića, Pascale Chevalier i Jean-Pierre Cailleta (nastavlja ih Ante Milošević) (Jurković, 1999; Chevallier i dr.,

plastic vigor, and help support the vaults. Buttresses were lavishly used in the Early Christian architecture of Salona, but they were without exception rectangular. We have already pointed out that the model for the rounded buttresses could be sought in the colonnades of engaged or semi-columns as they appear within the Palace of Diocletian. A more daring hypothesis might seek their origin in architecture in wood, as it is reflected by preserved (naturally much later) north European structures with wooden uprights (the *stabbau*).

The "caves", the underground chambers of the Palace, may have also acted as a handbook for vaulting, especially in complex buildings such as St. Cecilija. The Croatian king may have seen himself as a lawful heir to the Ancient emperor. Thus, in addition to emulating the forms of the contemporary imperial architecture of the West, the architects may have sought inspiration in the local Ancient imperial architecture.

As Istria had no royal courts or "župan," no wonder it had no Carolingian architecture of the "Royal" kind either. The Franks took over Istria in 788, probably too late to leave a more noticeable imprint on the local architectural practice. There are just a few axial bell-towers in Early Romanesque forms (e.g., St. Ilija near Bale) to which we will return in the next chapter, recalling the old Carolingian practices the presence of which may be indicated by St. Marija at Lim. These may have also been recalled by the 11th century rebuilding of Our Lady the Greater near Bale (originally late 8th ct.), when the western end of the nave was redone as an enclosed porch with a tower on its southern side. This area was used for burials. Investigations by Ivan Matejčić, Miljenko Jurković, Pascale Chevalier, and Jean-Pierre Caillet (continued by Ante Milošević) (Jurković, 1999; Chevallier, et al. 2000), revealed also a spacious monastic building to the south of the church, which seems to have been, to a considerable extent, constructed of wood. If the date of early 9th century is correct (and the current continuing excavations may shed more light) this would be one of the earliest Carolingian monasteries planned around a cloister court.

As we have already pointed out, Istria possesses a layer of chronologically Carolingian buildings. They fall within the category of those that resurrect Early Christian practices, or, like the three-apsidal halls stand as derivatives thereof.

The Royal Pre-Romanesque group represents the Southeastern border of Carolingian architecture. This seems quite clear. But how and from where the idea of

Sv. Martin,
Sv. Lovreč Pazenatički.

St. Martin,
Sv. Lovreč Pazenatički.



Sv. Martin,
Sv. Lovreč Pazenatički.

*St. Martin,
Sv. Lovreč Pazenatički.*

2000), otkrila su i prostrani samostan južno od crkve, dobrim dijelom, čini se, izgrađen od drva, koji bi se mogao smatrati jednim od najstarijih karolinških samostana zasnovanih oko klaustalnog dvorišta (rano ix.st.? – postoje i mišljenja za kasniju dataciju; no to će riješiti istraživanja koja su u tijeku).

Kao što smo naveli u prethodnom poglavlju, Istra posjeduje karolinški sloj u kronološkom smislu, no "prave" karolinške arhitekture nema. Odnosno, arhitektura karolinškog razdoblja u Istri pripada smjeru koji se bavi obnovom ranokršćanske tradicije, odnosno njegovih derivata u vidu dvorane s tri apside.

"Kraljevska" predromanička skupina predstavlja jugoistočnu granicu karolinške arhitekture. To je neupitno. No otkuda i kako je stigla na hrvatski dvor zamisao westwerka, *turris* Svetoga Spasa!? Logično bi bilo da je taj utjecaj stigao iz Italije, gdje ima velik broj građevina karolinškog razdoblja, no ne i spomenika s tipom dosta razvijenog westwerka kakav susrećemo u Hrvatskoj. Iskopavanja na Loboru pokazuju da se nešto slično nalazilo i ispred tamošnje trobrodne predromaničke crkve. Dok istarske dvoranske crkve s troapsidalnim završetkom predstavljaju vezu s područjem *Franciae Mediae*, koje je nakon Verdunskog mira (843) Istra postala dio, westwerk se i na Loboru, i u Dalmaciji, javlja vjerojatno prije toga datuma. Ne zaboravimo, ipak, da je loborska predromanička plastika vezana uz Sjevernu Italiju! Nedostaje nam nekoliko karika, i nadajmo se da će se taj *missing link* jednog dana i pronaći.

Unatoč svim pronalascima kraljevska je skupina ostala u biti predromaničkom. Unutrašnja se i vanjska artikulacija ne poklapaju. Vanjski upornjaci ne odgovaraju unutrašnjim stupcima. Barem dijelovi westwerka ne primjećuju se izvana. No graditelji su povukli nekoliko smjelih poteza. Odlučili su se za nadsvodenje građnji znatnog mjerila. Eksperimentirali su sa slaganjem pojedinačnih plastičkih oblika – westwerka, crkvenog tijela, svetišta. Ishod toga su masivne, teške, no samosvojne zgrade, po mom mišljenju najvrijedniji i najizvorniji doprinos Hrvatske općoj povijesti predromaničkog sloga. Ti su eksperimenti, lokalno, od goleme važnosti. Neki graditelji xi. stoljeća shvatili su poruku svojih "kraljevskih" kolega, pa su, upivši naslijeđe obaju predromaničkih skupina, stvorili izvjestan broj spomenika, doduše posebnih i neobičnih, no koji predstavljaju hrvatsku varijantu "prve romaničke umjetnosti".

westwork, of the turris Sancti Salvatoris, reached the Croatian court remains an open question. It would be logical to expect it to have come from Italy, where there are a great number of buildings of the Carolingian period, but no monuments comparable to the complex westwork of Croatian monuments. Dr. Filipec's excavations at Lobor to the northwest of Zagreb have disclosed that some kind of western massif existed also there, in front of a monumental aisled Pre-Romanesque building. Whereas the Istrian boxlike buildings represent a link with the practices of the Francia Media, a part of which Istria became after the Verdun Treaty (843), the westwork seems to have appeared, both in Dalmatia and in Continental Croatia before that date. Yet, the Pre-Romanesque sculpture at Lobor seems to be linked to Northern Italy. We seem to be missing a certain number of links. With some luck, we may yet find them.

In spite of all innovations, the Royal group remains fundamentally Pre-Romanesque. The interior and the exterior articulations are not related. The exterior buttresses do not correspond to the interior piers. At least parts of the westwork are indistinguishable from the outside. But the architects did make some daring moves. They were determined to vault over buildings of respectable size. They experimented with juxtaposition of individual plastic forms: the westwork, the body of the church, the presbytery. The result were buildings of massive, rugged, individuality, in our opinion, the most precious, and the most original, contribution of Croatia to the general history of the Pre-Romanesque style. These experiments were, locally, of paramount importance. Some of the eleventh century architects understood the lesson of their "royal" colleagues, and having assimilated traditions of both Pre-Romanesque groups, they created a number of monuments which, specific and peculiar as they may seem, constitute a Croatian variant of the "First Romanesque Art".



Sv. Martin,
Sv. Lovreč Paznaunski.

*St. Martin,
Sv. Lovreč Paznaunski.*



RANOROMANIČKA SKUPINA

EARLY ROMANESQUE GROUP

Sv. Donat, Krk.

St. Donat, Krk.

If we define Romanesque architecture as one in which external structure of the building corresponds to its internal organization, and the exterior volumes, basic geometric shapes, are related to equally clear-cut space units, an architecture where sculpted and painted decor is subordinated to the main lines of structure, then the easiest way to define Early Romanesque would be by saying that it still does not fulfill all the above requirements, or fulfils them only to a certain degree.

The "Early" or "First" Romanesque differs from both the Pre-Romanesque and mature, "Second" Romanesque. To distinguish it from the former, we may say that the building has become structuralized; it has undergone a certain simplification while the decor has been made to follow the lines of the architecture.

This is a fundamental difference in kind.

The difference from the mature Romanesque is only one of degree. The structuralization has not always been made fully evident; the plastic force of the building and its parts is still somewhat restricted; and the architectural decoration is limited to flat wall-surface articulation. The masonry, rubblework or partly dressed stone, has no specific expression of its own; therefore it is covered by plaster which, through its own uniformity, enhances the fine, flat decorative effect of the facades. Exterior sculptural decoration is rare.

The mature Romanesque will emphasize the volumes and relief of the architectural mass. The same will happen to the units of space. The wall decoration will stand out as a volume set in front of a background, and the elements of equal aesthetic or structural importance will

Ako romaničku arhitekturu definiramo kao arhitekturu u kojoj vanjska struktura zgrade odgovara unutrašnjoj organizaciji, a vanjski su volumeni – osnovnih geometrijskih oblika – povezani s jednako jasno određenim prostornim jedinicama, kao arhitekturu u kojoj je kiparski i slikarski ukras podređen glavnim potezima konstrukcije, onda ćemo najlakše odrediti ranu romaniku ako kažemo da ova još ne ispunjava gornje uvjete ili da ih ispunjava tek do određenog stupnja.

Rana ili "Prva Romanika" razlikuje se od predromanike i zrele, "Druge Romanike". Za razliku od predromanike, građevina se strukturira. Prošla je izvjesno pojednostavljenje, a ukras slijedi poteze arhitekture.

To je temeljna razlika.

Od zrele romanike, rana se romanika razlikuje samo u stupnju – strukturiranje nije uvijek potpuno provedeno, plastična snaga građevine i njenih dijelova još je ponešto ograničena, arhitektonski se ukras ograničava na plošnu artikulaciju zida. Zide, lomljenac ili pritesani kamen, nema vlastiti izraz, pa je stoga prekriveno žbukom, koja svojom jednoličnošću pojačava fini, plošni i dekorativni izraz pročelja. Rijedak je vanjski kiparski ukras.

Zrela će romanika naglašavati volumen i reljef arhitektonske mase. Isto se događa s prostornim jedinicama. Zidni se ukras pojavljuje kao volumen postavljen ispred pozadine, a elementi jednake estetske ili konstruktivne važnosti individualiziraju se kroz različitu obradu detalja. Ispupčenja i udubljenja postaju istaknutija, ili se barem tako optički čine.

Rana romanika u Hrvatskoj zadovoljava navedene standarde. Strukturiranje nije uvijek dosljedno provedeno, plastična snaga volumena i površina ograničena je, zide se u najboljem slučaju sastoji od poluobrađenog kamena, kiparski je ukras rijedak i prvenstveno primijenjen u unutrašnjosti. Ali nestaje složenost predromanike. Oblici nisu toliko brojni i njihovo se značenje unutar kompozicije lakše shvaća. Zidovi ostaju dosta plošni i nema posebno individualiziranih ukrasnih članaka.

Manje je istaknuta težnja k nadsvođenju. Svod je zacijelo vrijedno svojstvo i čvrsto određuje prostor, ali sam po sebi ne čini građevinu "romaničkom". Jesu li škole prve, pa čak i druge romanike imale prijeku potrebu za nadsvođenjem, ostaje upitno. Svodovi i tehničke poteškoće koje prate ovaj postupak mogle su čak dovesti do ponovnog pojavljivanja zamisli i provedbi koje su mogle naštetiti jasnoći strukture. Težnja za nadsvođenjem zajedno s nedostatnim znanjem građevne tehnike možda je upravo bila onaj činbenik koji je spriječio graditelje kraljevske skupine da stvore "pravu romaniku".

Ranoromaničke karakteristike mogu se naći u ograničenom broju ranih hrvatskih gradnji, te su vrlo rijetko sve nazočne unutar pojedine zgrade. Kod nekih slučajeva uzimamo kao kriterij strukturalnu, optičku ili dekorativnu logiku, u drugima namjerno pojednostavljenje tradicionalnog oblika, često praćeno s poboljšanim zidom. Priznajemo da klasifikacija nije uvijek lagana, te može biti izložena kritici. Pojedine građevine koje smo uvrstili u tradicionalnu predromaničku skupinu, ispunjavaju neke ranoromaničke standarde. U maloj crkvi Sv. Nikole na Lopudu, građevini južnodalmatinskog tipa, unutrašnja se organizacije podudara s obradom vanjskog zida. Tako je i u Sv. Eufemiji u Splitu, te Sv. Nediljici i Sv. Lovri u Zadru i u Sv. Petru u Dubrovniku (građevine XI. st.). No, kod Sv. Nikole na Lopudu postoje još uvijek "sakriveni oblici" (kupola, apsida), "sakrivene" su i apside Sv. Nediljice, te svetište i kupola Sv. Lovre, a dok vanjske mase Sv. Eufemije otvoreno izražavaju oblik unutrašnjosti, zidovi ostaju jednolični i prazni.

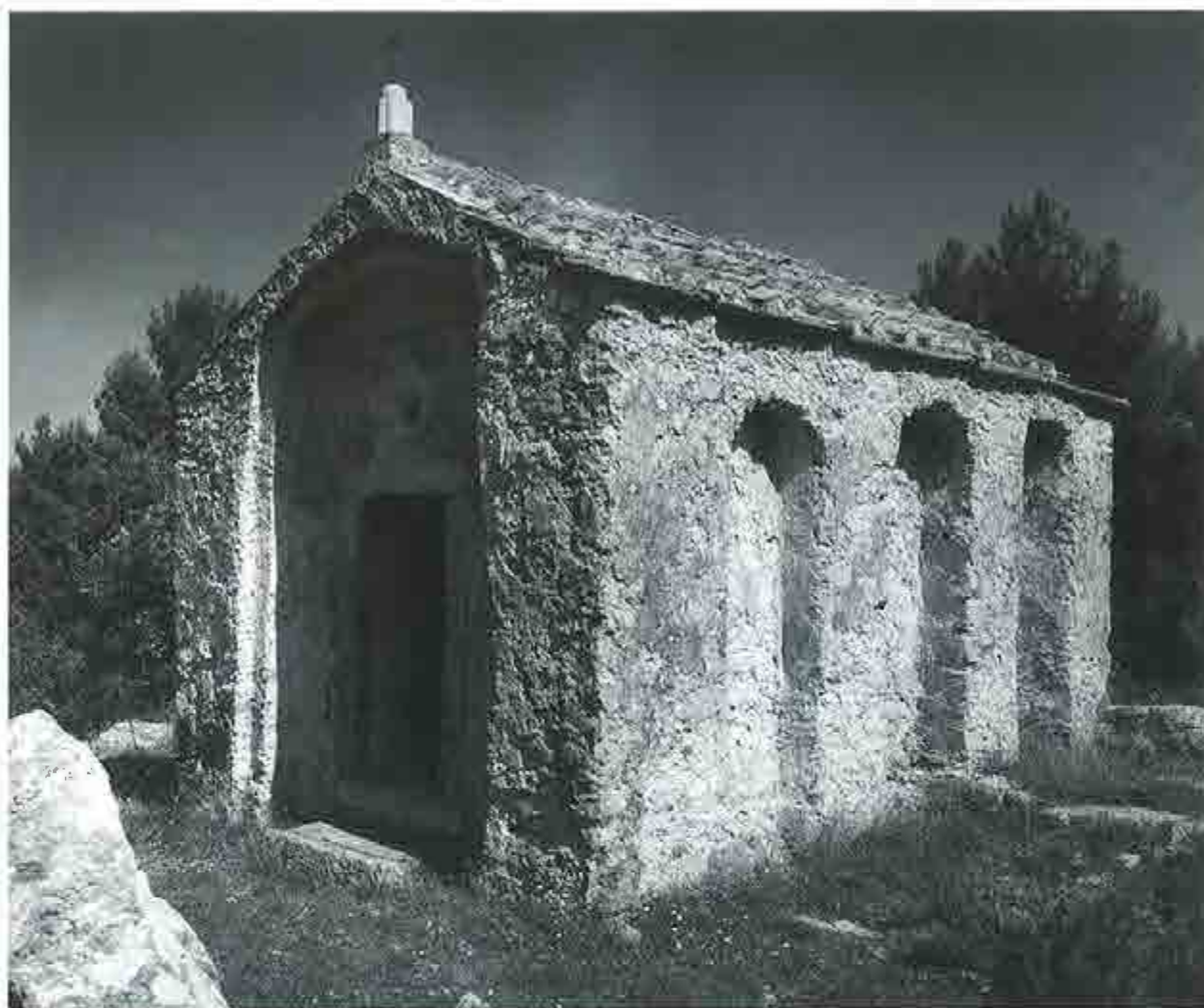
Sv. Ivan u Biogradu (takoder iz kasnijeg XI. stoljeća) pokazuje vrlo dosljednu upotrebu vanjskog arhitektonskog ukrasa, ali taj nije ni u kakvoj svezi s unutrašnjom organizacijom, a postoji i "skriveni" westwerk. Dileme oko ove crkve te Sv. Petra u Supetarskoj Dragi, Sv. Petra u Osoru, Sv. Marije u Ninu, Sv. Marije u Zadru, Sv. Andrije na Rabu i crkve samostana na Lokrumu već smo iznijeli. Ponavljam

become individualized through different treatment of detail. The projections and recessions will become more prominent, or, at least, optically so.

The Early Romanesque in Croatia falls in line with the above standards. The structuralization has not been always consequently carried through; the plastic power of volumes and surfaces is limited; the masonry, at best, consists of semi-dressed stone; sculptural decor is rare and applied primarily to the interior. But gone is the complexity of the Pre-Romanesque. The forms are less numerous and their significance within the composition is easier to grasp. The walls, however, remain rather flat and there are no specially individualized decorative members. The tendency to vault buildings is less prominent. The vault is certainly a valuable asset firmly defining the space from above, but in itself it does not make a building "Romanesque". It is questionable whether all the schools of the First – or even Second – Romanesque had an urgent need to vault. Vaulting and the technical difficulties which accompany the process, may even have led to the recurrence of devices and procedures harmful to the clarity of structure. A desire for vaulting coupled with insufficient knowledge of building techniques may have been exactly the factor that prevented the builders of the Royal group from creating "true Romanesque".

Early Romanesque characteristics can be found in a limited number of early Croatian buildings, and very rarely are they all present within a single building. In some cases we adopted as our criteria structural, optical and decorative logic, in others deliberate simplification of traditional form, often accompanied by improved masonry. Admittedly, classification is not always easy, and may be open to criticism. Some buildings classified as Traditional Pre-Romanesque, fulfill some of the "Early Romanesque" standards. The little church of St. Nikola on Lopud, a building of South Dalmatian group, displays a correspondence between the interior organization, and the division of the exterior wall surface. So also do St. Eufemija at Split, and St. Nediljica in Zadar (all buildings of a later 11th century date). To the same group one should add St. Petar in Dubrovnik. Yet, at St. Nikola there are still "hidden" forms (dome, apse), "hidden" are also the apses of St. Nediljica, and while the exterior massing of St. Eufemija honestly reflects the formation of the interior, the walls remain uniform and blank.

St. Ivan in Biograd (also later 11th century) displays a very consistent use of external architectural decor, yet this is in no way related to the interior organization, and there is a "hidden" westwork. Dilemmas around this church, and the churches of St. Petar in Supetarska Draga, St. Petar in



Sv. Luka, Lastovo.

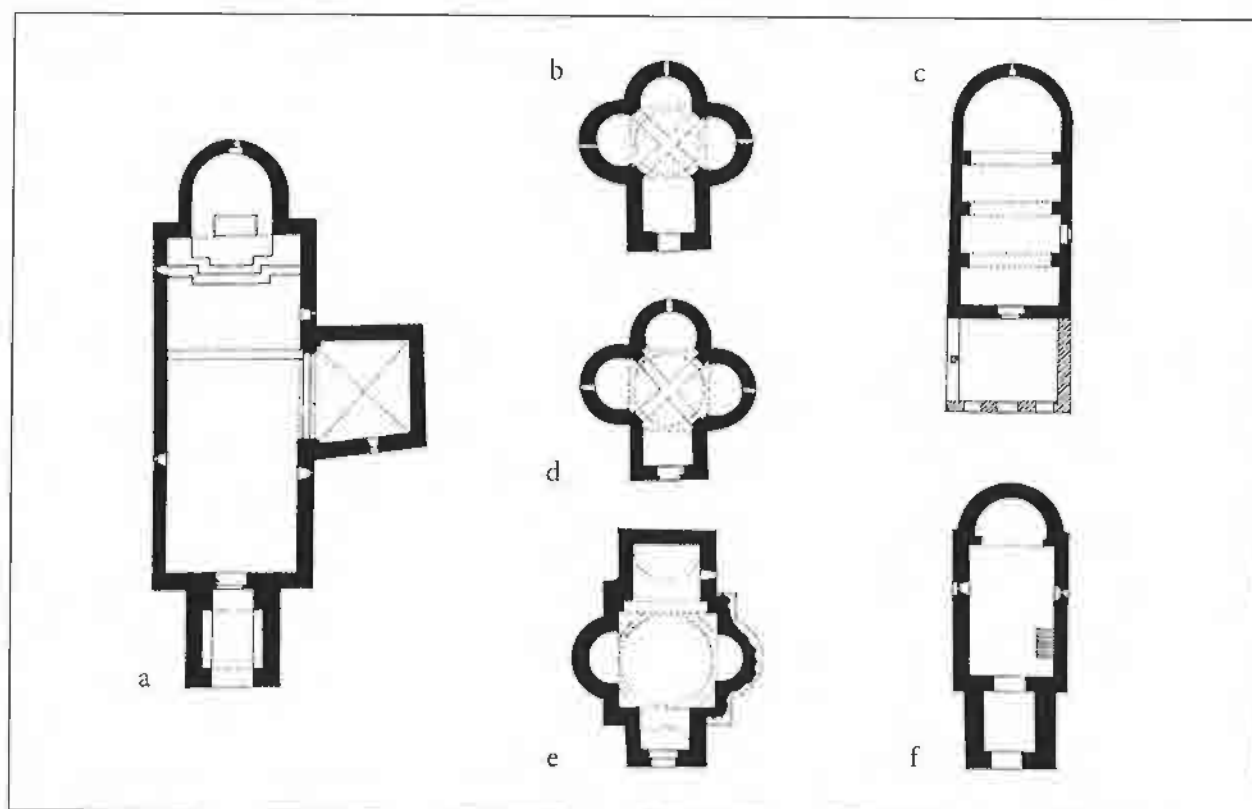
St. Luka, Lastovo.

Osor, St. Marija at Nin, St. Marija in Zadar, St. Andrija in Rab, and the church of the monastery on Lokrum have already been voiced. I repeat that classification is a matter of personal interpretation which does not change the fact that those monuments stand on the borderline between the Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque.

In the same sense one should also mention St. Martin at St. Lovreč Pazenatički, the most monumental example of the aisled, three-apsidal basilicas of the 11th century in the Eastern Adriatic, and St. Mihovil in the complex of the monastery at the Lim Bay (early 11th ct.), as an example of an aisleless building with a rounded apse, or the church of St. Dorliga at St. Lovreč Pazenatički which follows the same model. If one should attribute St. Ivan in Biograd to the Early Romanesque on the account of its external articulation, one should do the same for the aisleless St. Kristofor near Rovinj, the forms of which had been adumbrated already by St. Cecilija near Rovinj (10th ct.)

da je klasifikacija pitanje osobne interpretacije, i ne mijenja činjenicu da se ove zgrade zaista nalaze na točki između predromanike i romanike.

U istom svjetlu valja ovdje navesti u Istri crkvu Sv. Martina u Sv. Lovreču Pazenatičkom, najmonumentalniji primjer cijele skupine trobrodних i troapsidalnih bazilika xI. stoljeća na istočnom Jadranu, te Sv. Mihovila u sklopu Sv. Mihovila na Limu (rano xI. st.) kao primjer jednobrodne bazilike s polukružnom apsidom, odnosno crkve poput Sv. Dorliga u Sv. Lovreču Pazenatičkom koje slijede isti tip. Ako se ranoj romanici može pripisati Sv. Ivan u Biogradu zbog artikulacije vanjskih zidnih površina, onda to isto vrijedi za jednobrodnog Sv. Kristofora kraj Rovinja, oblike kojeg već u x. stoljeću najavljuje Sv. Cecilija kraj Rovinja. Istom logikom ranoromaničim se mogu smatrati i još nedovoljno istražene jednobrodne slavonske crkvice iz vremena oko 1100 (Vinkovci, Borinci, Rudina).



Tlocrti crkvi:

- a Sv. Lucija, Jurandvor
- b Sv. Krševan, Krk
- c Sv. Lucija, Krk
- d Sv. Nikola, Nin
- e Sv. Donat, Krk
- f Sv. Vid, Dobrinj (Krk).

The plans of the churches:

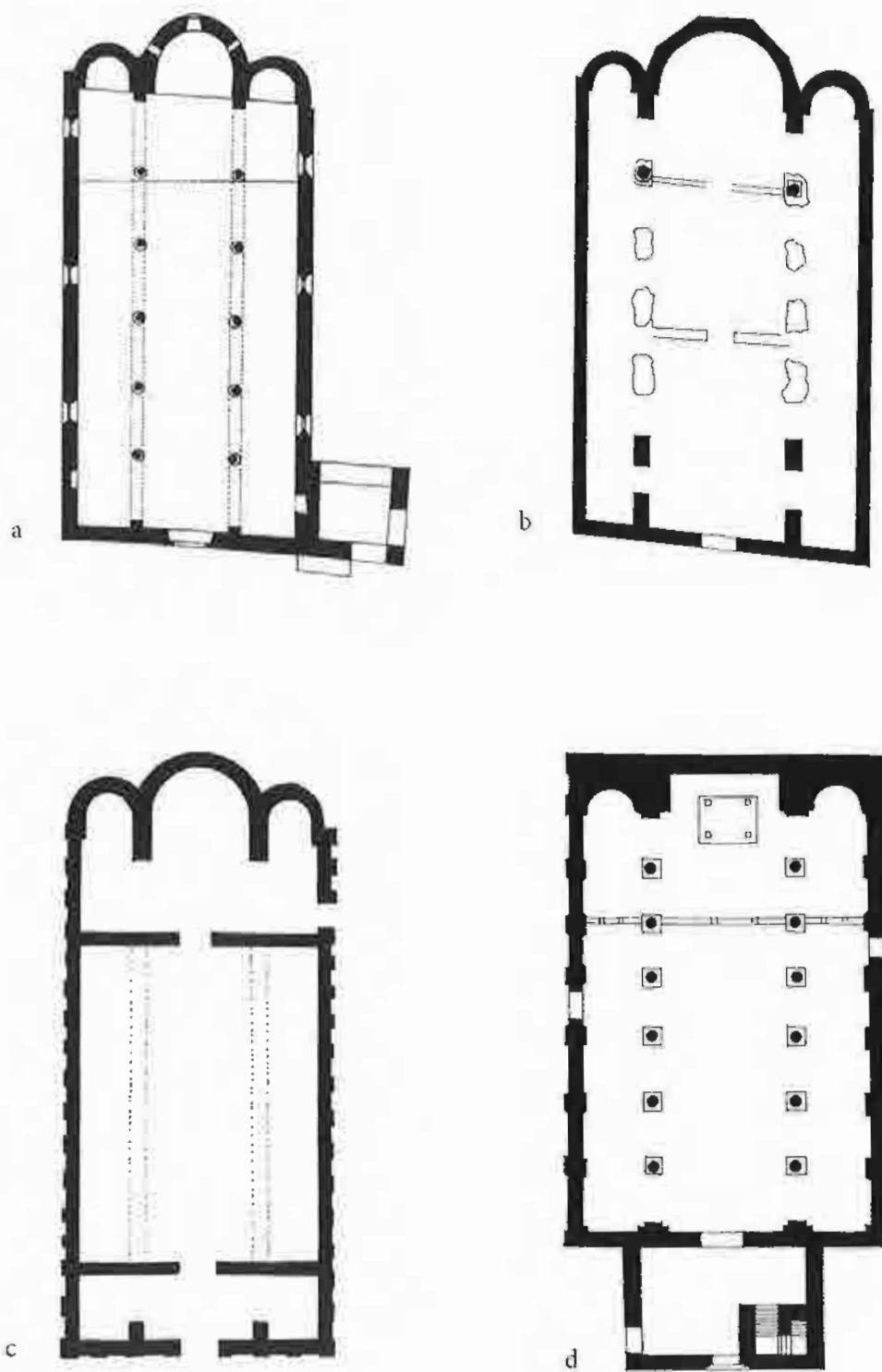
- a St. Lucija, Jurandvor
- b St. Krševan, Krk
- c St. Lucija, Krk
- d St. Nikola, Nin
- e St. Donat, Krk
- f St. Vid, Dobrinj (Krk).

Najsavršenija ranoromanička građevina u Hrvatskoj je crkva kraljevskog samostana Sv. Petra i Mojsija u Solinu, spomenuta prvi put 1070. godine. Ova značajna građevina bila je svjedokom slavne krunidbe kralja Dimitrija Zvonimira krunom što mu je poslao Papa Grgur VII. godine 1076. Stoga se smije pretpostaviti da je bila jedna od najmodernijih i najsjanijih crkava kraljevstva.

Sada u ruševinama (još je stajala 1571., a srušena je tek oko 1700. godine da posluži kao kamenolom za neki mlin), Sv. Petar i Mojsije bila je prostrana trobrodna građevina s ravnim korom, pravokutnom apsidom i polukružnim apsidiolama, podignuta na mjestu još veće ranokršćanske crkve. Pokrajnje lade bile su odvojene od glavnog broda s pet pari stupova, s kojima su se podudarali nizovi ležena na unutrašnjem i vanjskom zidu. Nema konačnog dokaza da je crkva bila nadstrovena, iako bi podudaranje podupora moglo govoriti u prilog nadstrovenju. Trobrodnom tijelu prethodi masivni zapadni toranj (ali ne i "skriveni" westwerk). Prizemlje tornja sadržavalo je sarkofag, služilo je dakle kao pogrebni prostor. Tragovi stubišta koje je vodilo na galeriju još su vidljivi u jugoistočnom uglu prizemlja. Zide od izduljenih, djelomično obrađenih kamenova, predstavlja zamjetno poboljšanje u odnosu na zide

The most perfect Early Romanesque building in Croatia is the church of the royal monastery of SS. Petar and Mojsije in Solin, mentioned for the first time in 1070. This remarkable building was honored with witnessing the famous coronation of King Dimitri Zvonimir with the crown sent by Pope Gregory VII in 1076. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that it was one of the most modern and most splendid buildings of the realm.

SS. Petar and Mojsije, now in ruins (it still stood in 1571 and was destroyed only ca. 1700, when it served as a quarry for a mill), was a spacious, aisled building with a flat chevet, a square apse and rounded side apses. It was built on the site of an even larger Early Christian church. The aisles were separated from the nave by five pairs of columns to which correspond pilaster strips on both the inner and outer faces of the wall. There is no conclusive evidence as to whether the church was vaulted, although a perfect correspondence of supports may speak in favor of vaulting. The aisled body was preceded by a massive western tower (but no "hidden" westwerk). The ground-floor of the tower contained a sarcophagus, thus it was used as a burial chamber. Traces of a staircase leading to the gallery are still visible in the southeastern corner of the ground-floor. The masonry, consisting of elongated, partly dressed pieces,



Tlocrti crkvi:

- a Sv. Petar, Supetarska
Draga (Rab)
- b Sv. Marija, Nin
- c Sv. Ivan, Biograd
- d Sv. Petar i Mojsije, Solin.

The plans of the churches:

- a St. Petar, Supetarska
Draga (Rab)
- b St. Marija, Nin.
- c St. Ivan, Biograd
- d St. Petar i Mojsije, Solin.

0 10 m



Oltarna pregrada crkve
Sv. Stošija, Zadar.

Choir-screen panel,
St. Stošija, Zadar.

predromaničkih građevina. Tlocrt s plošnim istočnim završetkom zastario je, te podsjeća na Crkvinu u Biskupiji iz IX. stoljeća, dok se zapadni masiv pojavljuje kao vjeran pratilac građevina vezanih uz dinastiju. No, unutar tog ponešto tradicionalnog okvira, graditelj je zamislio i izveo savršeno logično konstruktivno rješenje i pravilan sistem arhitektonске dekoracije.

Druga longitudinalna građevina s ranoromaničkim obilježjem jest westwerk dodan u pročelju osmerolisne crkve u Ošlju. Unutrašnji raspored čini se ponešto nepravilnim (možda je to i zbog nedovoljnog očuvanja ruševine). Razlikuje se središnji prolaz, u koji se kroči kroz utrostručen stepenasti portal, i jedak u predromaničkom graditeljstvu, te dva uska, izdužena, pobočna prostora, od kojih južni sadrži tragove stubišta. Zapadni završetak prolaza bio je vjerojatno nadvišen tornjem. Vanjština je sustavno opremljena lezenama. Zide iz poluobrađenog kamena jasno se razlikuje od lomljenca kojim je građena osmerolisna crkva. Svi ti elementi upućuju na kasnije XI. stoljeće.

Dok se o odnosu unutrašnjosti i vanjštine ne može raspravljati pri sadašnjem stanju ruševine, sustavni vanjski ukras, istaknuti toranj, stepenasti portal i

marks a considerable improvement over the masonry of the Pre-Romanesque buildings. The plan, with its flat eastern end is archaic, and recalls the ninth century church at Crkvina in Biskupija, while the western massive appears as a faithful companion of the buildings associated with the dynasty. But within this somewhat traditional frame, the architect has designed and executed a perfectly logical structural solution and a regularized system of architectural decoration.

Another longitudinal structure of Early Romanesque character is the westwork added in front of the octachora at Ošlje. The interior disposition of the building appears somewhat irregular (which may be due to imperfect state of preservation of the ruin). One can distinguish a central passage entered by a triple, stepped-in, portal, unusual in Early Croatian architecture, and two narrow, elongated lateral chambers, the southern containing traces of a staircase. The western end of the passage was most likely surmounted by a tower. The exterior is systematically decorated by pilaster-strips. The masonry, of semi-dressed stone, is in a marked contrast to the rubblework of the octachora itself. All these elements support a later eleventh-century date.

While the relationship of the interior and exterior cannot be discussed based on the state of the ruin, the sys-



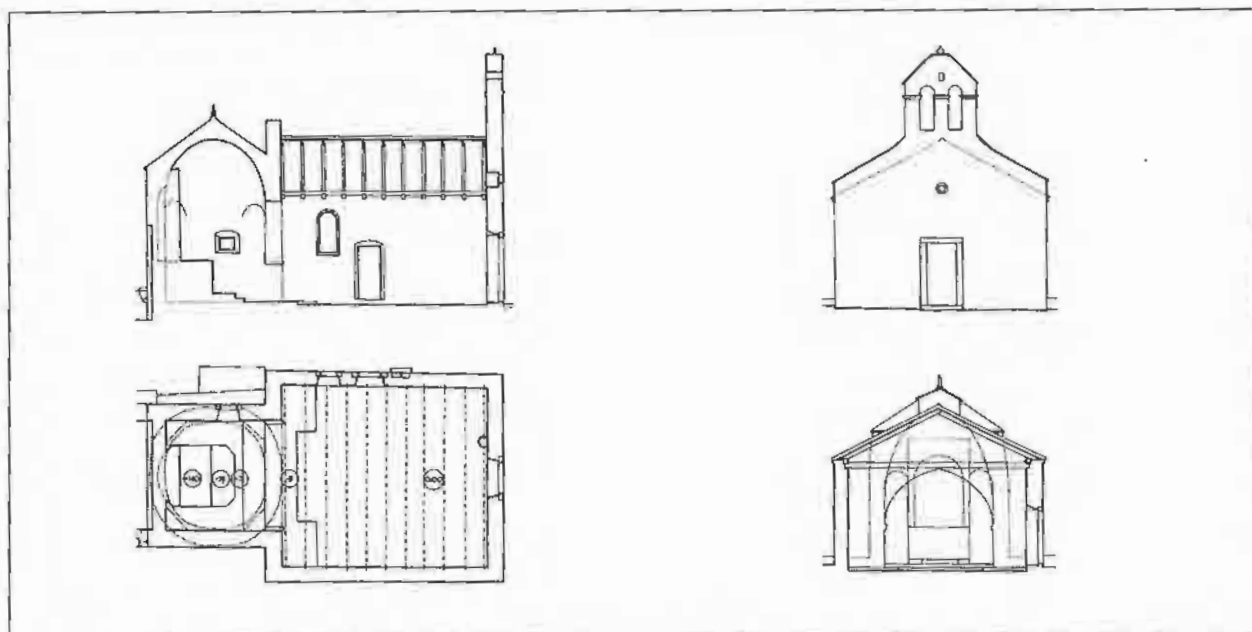
Sv. Mihovil, Pridraga.

St. Mihovil, Pridraga.



Sv. Mihovil, Pridraga.

St. Mihovil, Pridraga.



Nacrti crkve Sv. Pelegrin,
Savar (Dugi otok).

*The plans of the church
St. Pelegrin, Savar
(Dugi otok).*

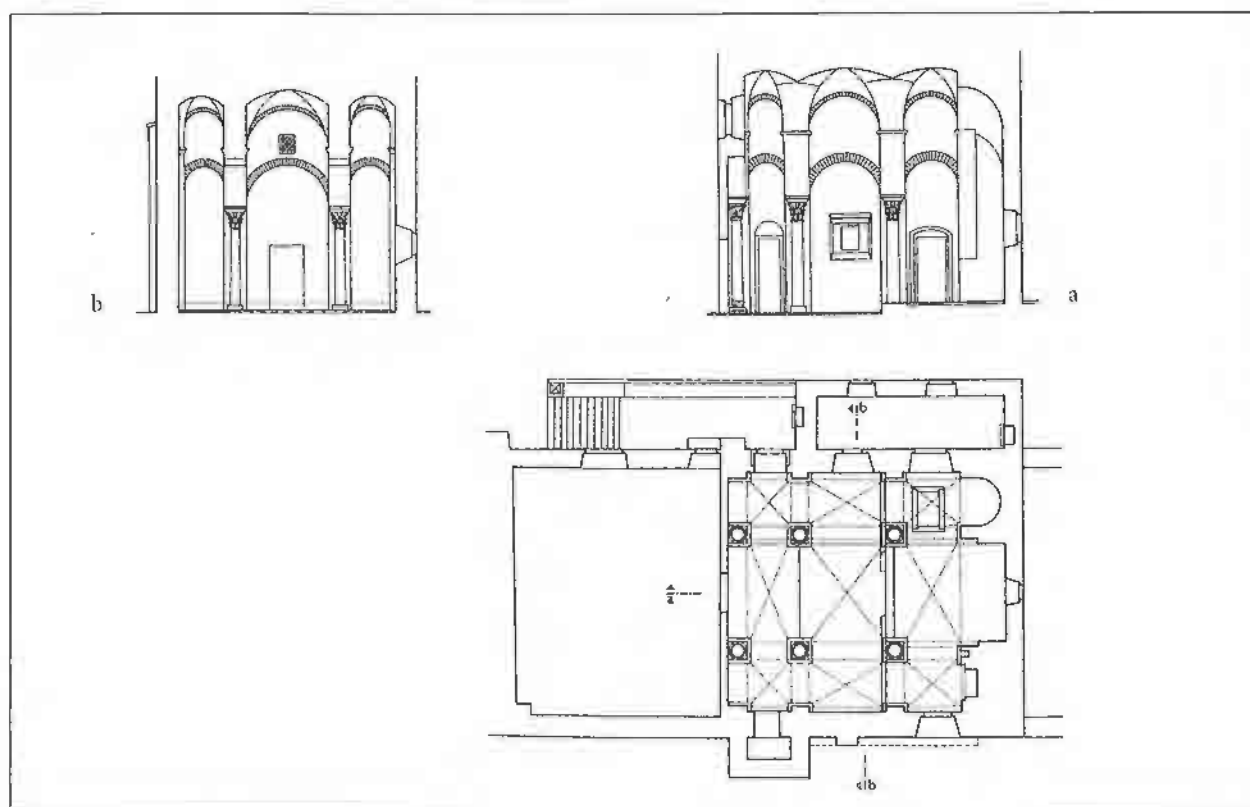
napredno zide stavljaju ovu zgradu unutar ranoromaničke porodice (drugi zanimljiv istaknuti portal, zapravo minijaturni trijem, stoji u pročelju jednobrodne crkve Sv. Kuzme i Damjana blizu Blata na Korčuli).

Mali tornjevi za koje se pretpostavlja da su iz XI. stoljeća stajali su nekoć kraj Sv. Marije (Stomorice) i Sv. Nediljice u Zadru, a toranj Sv. Lovre u Zadru potpuno je opkoljen kasnijim okolnim gradnjama. Nestao je i toranj na splitskoj krstionici. Već spomenuti zapadnoistarski aksijalni tornjići pripadaju istom tipu. To su onaj Sv. Ilije kod Bala (jednobrodna crkvice s ućahurenom pravokutnom apsidom natkrivenom polukulatnom na trompama), tornjić koji je nožda nekoć stajao pred sličnom crkvicom-memorijom u sklopu samostana uz Velu Gospu kraj Bala, te onaj u obližnjoj Gajani.

Naš jedini neposredni izvor za oblik ranoromaničkog tornja XI. stoljeća u Dalmaciji jest onaj što još uvijek stoji iznad kapele Naše Gospe od Zvonika (Sv. Teodor) unutar Željeznih (zapadnih) vrata Dioklecijanove palače. To je četverokatni zvonik s pojedinačnim otvorima na tri kata i biforom na vrhu. Uglovi su naglašeni lezenama. Pročelje završava ravnim vijencem na nazubljenim konzolama, kakve nalazimo kod Sv. Petra u Supetarskoj Drazu na Rabu i Sv. Nikole u Ninu, o kojem ćemo nešto reći podalje. Taj element bi mogao biti uvoz sa sjevera, iz Lombardije, pa se možda najprije pojavio na Sjevernom Jadranu. Zide tornja dosta je arhaič-

tematic exterior decor, the individualized tower, the remarkable stepped-in portal, and improved masonry, place this structure within the Early Romanesque family (another interesting individualized projecting portal, actually a miniature porch, stands in front of the aisleless church of SS. Kuzma and Damjan near Blato on Korčula).

Small, presumably eleventh century, towers which stood at St. Marija (Stomorica) and St. Nediljica in Zadar have been destroyed, and the tower of St. Lovro is completely enveloped by later buildings. Gone is also the tower on top of the Baptistry of Split. So our only direct source about the form of an eleventh century Early Romanesque tower is the one still standing above the chapel of Our Lady of the Bell-Tower (St. Teodor) within the Iron (western) Gate of Diocletian's Palace. It is a four storey tower with single openings on three lower stories and biforae on the top. The corners are marked by pilaster strips. There is a flat corbel table at the upper end of the facade, resting on indented corbels similar to those found at St. Petar in Supetarska Draga on the Island of Rab, and at St. Nikola at Nin, to be discussed shortly. This element may be an import from the North, from Lombardy, and it may have made its appearance first in the Northern Adriatic. The masonry of the tower is rather archaic and the capitals carry interlace ornament, indicating a pre-1100 date. Yet there is a clear tendency to mark the most important architectural lines – the corners and the top of the facade which is consistent with Romanesque vocabulary.



Nacrti crkve
Sv. Nediljica, Zadar.

The plans of the church
St. Nediljica, Zadar.

The already mentioned axial towers of western Istria belong to the same type. We have spoken of the tower of the aisleless church of St. Ilija near Bale with an embedded apse. Next there is possibly a small tower in the facade of a similar small chapel within the monastery complex of Our Lady the Greater near Bale, and the tower at Gajana nearby.

Another Romanesque element, a domical vault on top of heavy square ribs may have come from the North. The earliest dated example is the vault of the second storey of the tower of St. Marija in Zadar (1105), the first truly mature Romanesque building in Croatia. This vault may have been preceded by several years by those of St. Krševan near Glavotok on the Island of Krk and St. Nikola at Nin. Unless the opposite is true and St. Marija preceded St. Nikola and St. Krševan. In each case the vault is applied to the central room of a small triconch church. The two buildings are very close in shape and size, only at St. Nikola the square entrance bay is covered by a barrel vault, and at St. Krševan by a semi-dome, emphasizing the multi-lobed nature of the building. The ribs are constructed from dressed stone, probably spoils from ancient buildings, intermixed with rubble. The masonry is half-way between rubble and ashlar. The portal of St. Nikola, from polished stone and with a fully developed lunette, is already representative of the modest type

no, glavice nose pleter, a sve to upućuje na vrijeme prije 1100. godine. I tu je jasna težnja da se naglase najvažniji potezi zgrade – uglovi i vrh fasade – što je u skladu s romaničkim rječnikom.

Još jedan romanički element, kupolasti svod po vrh teških kvadratičnih rebara, mogao je doći sa sjevera. Najranije datirani primjer jest svod prvog kata zvonika Sv. Marije u Zadru (1105.), prve istinske zrele romaničke građevine u Hrvatskoj. Toj je zgradi možda prethodio nekoliko godina Sv. Krševan kod Glavotoka na otoku Krku i Sv. Nikola u Ninu. Ukoliko nije obrnuto, to jest Sv. Marija prethodi Sv. Nikoli i Sv. Krševanu. U oba slučaja svod se primjenjuje na centralni prostor male trolisne crkve. Obje su zgrade bliske po obliku i mjerilu, samo što je kod Sv. Nikole ulazno polje natkriveno bačvastim svodom, a kod Sv. Krševana polukupolom, naglašujući mnogolisnu narav zgrade. Rebra se sastoje od obrađenog kamena, vjerojatno antičkih spolija, izmiješanih s lomljencem. Zide je nešto između lomljenca i tesanog kamena. Portal Sv. Nikole, od klesanog kamena i s potpuno razvijenom lunetom već je predstavnik tipa skromnog romaničkog portala. Petricioli je točno zapazio ranoromaničku bit ovih spomenika (Petricioli, 2002).



Sv. Pelegrin, Savar
(Dugi otok).

St. Pelegrin, Savar
(Dugi otok).

Zanimljivo je da je trolisni tlocrt postao omiljen na početku zrele Romanike. Mora da se taj oblik svidao ranoromaničkim majstorima i njihovom osjećaju za strukturalne i optičke efekte. Glavni potezi zgrade, sjecišta listova, vode oko prema kupoli, kruni čitave konstrukcije. U unutrašnjosti su isti zadatak preuzela rebra i njihove podupore. Suprotno zamršenim šestero i osmerolisnim građevinama, trolisti na Krku i u Ninu jasno razlikuju zaobljene apside i pravokutno ulazno polje, što građevini daje izrazitiji osjećaj usmjerenja. Sve se to još više ističe u slučaju još jedne crkve na Krku, Sv. Donata kraj Punta, koja maštovito spaja tradicije mnogolisnog tipa s tipom Sv. Križa u Ninu i Sv. Pelegrina u Savru. Dvije postrane školjke izlaze iz kvadratične jezgre, kojoj je dodano kvadratično ulazno polje i kvadratični prezbiterij. Uglovi jezgre, između školjki i kvadratičnih polja jasno podcrtavaju optički pokret prema masivnoj kupoli u sredini. Snažno individualizirane zaobljene i pravocrtne mase također su u skladu s romaničkim težnjama. A tako i žide, jer se ostaci izvorne zidne oplata mogu smatrati gotovo klesancima.

Ipak, smjesta dodajmo da su sve tri građevine ipak i nastavak predromanike, u obliku prihvatljivom romaničkom načinu mišljenja, kao što se to događa i

of mature Romanesque portal. Petricioli has correctly pointed out the Early Romanesque characteristics of those buildings (Petricioli, 2002).

It is interesting that the trichora type became popular at the outset of the mature Romanesque. The form may have appealed to the structural and optical reasoning of Early Romanesque masons, as the main lines of architecture, the meeting places of the conchs, lead one's eye toward the dome, the crown of the entire construction. In the interior, the same task is assumed by the ribs and their supports. As opposed to complex hexachora and octachora buildings, the two trichoras at Glavotok and Nin also differentiate between the rounded forms of the three apses and the square shape of the entrance bay, giving the building also a more prominent sense of direction. All this appears to have been made even more explicit in case of another church on Krk, St. Donat near Punat, which in an imaginative way combines traditions of the polyconchal type with those of Holy Cross at Nin or St. Pelegrin at Savar. Two side conchs project from the square core, to which are added a square entrance bay and a square presbytery. The corners of the core unit, in between the conchs and the square bays, strongly underline the optical motion toward a massive dome in the middle. Powerfully individualized rounded and cubic masses are also in har-

mony with Romanesque tendencies. So is the masonry the original layer of which can almost be called ashlar.

Still, we hasten to say that the forms of all three buildings should be seen as a Pre-Romanesque survival, not unattractive to Romanesque way of thinking, as witnessed by some other "traditionally-minded" eleventh and even twelfth century milieus such as Catalonia, Rousillion, or some parts of the Languedoc.

The last two buildings to examine, both on the Island of Krk, represent a path toward the Romanesque through radical simplification. St. Lucija in Jurandvor is an elongated, unvaulted church with a rounded apse (the western tower is a later, twelfth century, addition), a return to the simplest form of Early Christian architecture, yet the walls are constructed from perfect ashlar. If we dis-

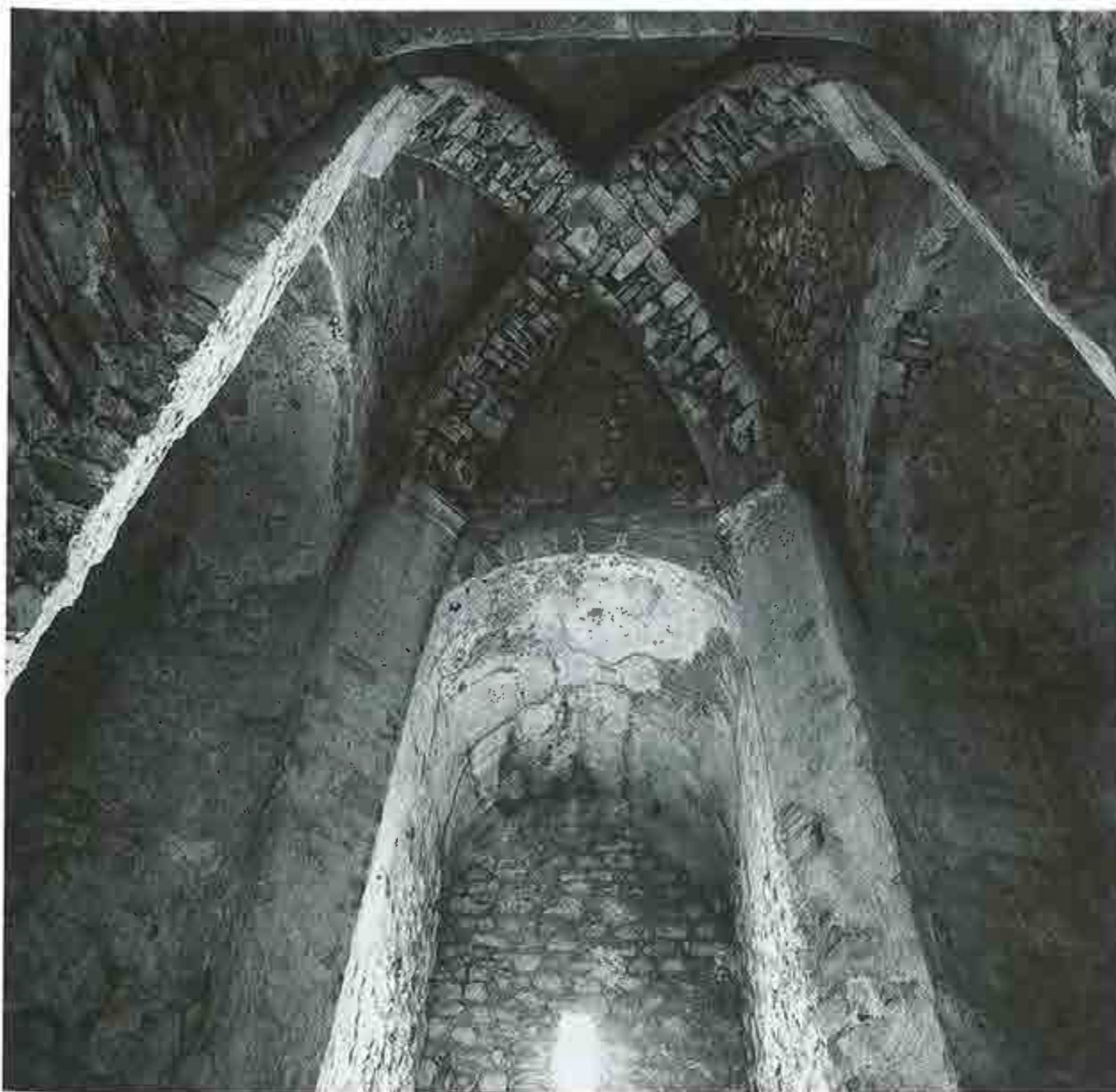
u graditeljstvu nekih drugih "konzervativnih sredina", poput Katalonije, Rousilliona ili nekih dijelova Languedoca.

Posljednje dvije građevine ovog pregleda, obje na Krku, predstavljaju put k romanici radikalnim pojednostavljenjem. Sv. Lucija u Jurandvoru izduljena je, nesvođena crkva s polukružnom apsidom (zapadni je zvonik dodatak iz kasnog XII. stoljeća), dakle povratak najjednostavnijem obliku ranokršćanske arhitekture, ali su zidovi građeni od savršenih klesanaca. Vrijeme nastanka građevine, oko 1100., određuje glagoljaški natpis na čuvenoj Baščanskoj ploči, dijelu oltarne pregrade, danas u Hrvatskoj akademiji znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu. Izuzmemo li strukturu zida, crkva podosta podsjeća na Sv. Mihovila na Limu u Istri s početka 11. stoljeća



Sv. Pelegrin, Savar
(Dugi otok).

St. Pelegrin, Savar
(Dugi otok).



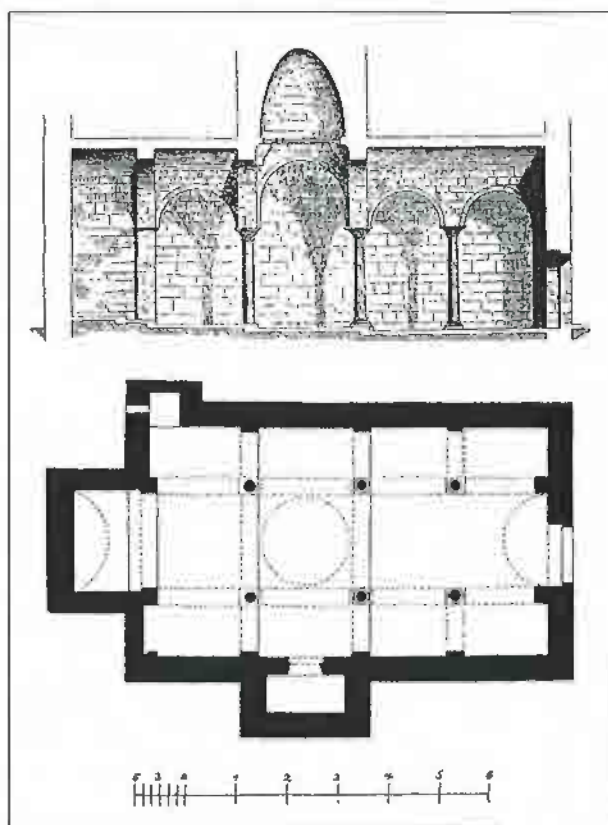
Sv. Krševan, Glavotok (Krk).

St. Krševan, Glavotok (Krk).

Konačno, crkva Sv. Vida u Dobrinju na Krku (posvećena 1100.), pogodan je zaključak našeg pregleda. To je kratka, nesvođena zgrada s ponešto izduljenom polukružnom apsidom, te masivnim četverokatnim zvonikom. Napadna je jednostavnost građevine. Nema arhitektonskog ukrasa, ni unutra ni vani, a efekt se postiže međudjelovanjem triju individualnih, jasno ocrtanih volumena – apside, tijela i zvonika. Kao zaklada mjesnog plemića, crkva je po svoj prilici “posudila” toranj od građevina kraljevske skupine. To je ujedno i posljednji predromanički element, koji ubrzo nestaje. Ishod toga je jednostavna romanička crkva, pravokutni prostor, nadsvođen ili ne, s polukružnom apsidom, kakvu poznajemo iz bezbrojnih primjera rasutih duž jadranske obale.

regard the masonry, the church recalls St. Mihovil at the Lim Bay in Istria (early 11th ct.). The date of the building around 1100 is established by the famous “Panel of Baška,” a donation text inscribed in Croatian glagolitic script on one of the choir-screen panels, nowadays at the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Zagreb.

And finally, the church of St. Vid near Dobrinj (consecrated in 1100) is a fitting conclusion to our survey. It is a short, unvaulted structure with a somewhat elongated rounded apse, and a massive, four storey tower. The starkness of the building is striking. There is no architectural decoration, either inside or out, and the total impact has been achieved through interplay of three individualized, clearly outlined volumes – the apse, the body,



Sv. Eufemija, Split
(Strzygowski, I.).

St. Eufemija, Split
(Strzygowski, I.).

and the tower. As a foundation of a local nobleman, the church has probably "borrowed" the tower from the buildings of the Royal group. The tower is the last "Pre-Romanesque" element, and it will soon disappear. The result will be a simple Romanesque church, a rectangular chamber, either vaulted or not, with a rounded apse – known from innumerable examples scattered along the coast of the Adriatic.

As opposed to their "royal" colleagues, the architects of the Early Romanesque group have either thoroughly reinterpreted the tradition, or grafted imported Romanesque forms upon it. This latter tendency is most apparent in the Northern Adriatic, indicating that the Romanesque may have spread from the North, i.e., from Northern Italy. The more radical and original solutions, such as SS. Petar and Mojsije in Solin stand in Central Dalmatia, the heart of the kingdom, which favored monumentalization still combined with some carry-overs from the local tradition.

A building such as SS. Petar and Mojsije could have prepared the ground for a local, distinct, Romanesque school. But no such school appeared; at the beginning of the twelfth century the country was flooded by mature forms of the Mediterranean Romanesque style.

Sv. Vid, Dobrinj (Krk).

St. Vid, Dobrinj (Krk).

Suprotno svojim "kraljevskim" kolegama, graditelji su ranoromaničke skupine ili potpuno preinačili tradiciju ili u nju usadili uvozne romaničke oblike. Ova posljednja sklonost najočitija je na sjevernom Jadranu, ukazujući da se romanika širila sa sjevera, tj. iz sjeverne Italije. Radikalnija i izvornija rješenja poput Sv. Petra i Mojsija u Solinu, nalaze se u srednjoj Dalmaciji, srcu Kraljevstva, koje je sklonu monumentalizaciji, ali u spoju s oblicima mjesne tradicije.

Gradevina kao Sv. Petar i Mojsije mogla je pripremiti tlo za posebnu, mjesnu romaničku školu. No takva se nije pojavila. Na početku XII. stoljeća zemlju su preplavili zreli oblici romaničkog izraza Sredozemlja.





SVJETOVNO GRADITELJSTVO

SECULAR ARCHITECTURE

The forms of early medieval secular or utilitarian architecture in coastal Croatia are best known through the remains found in Dalmatian cities, primarily in Split, but also in Trogir and Zadar. Credit for their identification and investigation is due mostly to Tomislav Marasović, so here, with some additions, we sum up the results of his research (Marasović, 1994).

The city with most early medieval secular structures on record is Split (fourteen so far). The thirteenth century chronicler, Thomas Archidiaconus of Split, records in "Historia Salonitana" the arrival of the refugees from Salona and their settlement within the Palace of Diocletian: "Since it was unsafe to stay among the ruins of the old city, they were advised to seek shelter within the Palace of Diocletian, from the safety of which they may be even able to cultivate at least a plot or two of their land, until such time as new improved condition may allow the rebuilding of Salona (Solin). This advice finally attracted all the people, both noble and common, and they jointly concluded an agreement that the richer will build their own homes; and those who did not have enough money for house building, will be allowed to use as their residence the surrounding towers. The rest of the people will live in the underground chambers and crypts." The question of early medieval adaptations within the Palace has also been dealt with by Radoslav Bužančić (Bužančić, 2003, 2004).

The truthfulness of Thomas's description is born out by the finding of a "turnjačnica", an olive mill, in the Diocletian Palace underground, once a basement of a Pre-Romanesque home. One such home still stands to the east of the Vestibule. It is a three level building. The ground floor contained some kind of a workshop,

Oblici ranosrednjovjekovnog svjetovnog ili utilitarnog graditeljstva obalne Hrvatske najbolje su poznati po ostacima iz dalmatinskih gradova, osobito Splita, a također iz Trogira i Zadra. Zasluga za njihovo prepoznavanje i istraživanje pripada gotovo potpuno Tomislavu Marasoviću, pa ćemo ovdje ukratko prikazati njegova otkrića uz neke dodatke (Marasović, 1994).

Split je grad s najviše primjera ranosrednjovjekovnih stambenih zgrada (do sada prepoznato četrnaest). Kroničar XIII. stoljeća, Toma Arhidakon Splitski opisao je u djelu *Historia Salonitana* dolazak izbjeglica iz Salone i njihovo naseljavanje unutar Dioklecijanove palače: "Budući da nije bilo sigurno boraviti unutar ruševina starog grada, savjetovalo im se da potraže zaklon u Dioklecijanovoj palači, pod čijim su okriljem čak mogli obrađivati barem jednu ili dvije parcele zemlje do vremena kad bi poboljšane prilike ponovo dopustile gradnju Salone. Taj je savjet na kraju privukao narod, i plemstvo i obično građanstvo, te su zaključili sporazum da bogati sgrade vlastite kuće, a onima bez dovoljno novaca za vlastite kuće dopušteno je da se smjeste u okolne kule. Ostatak će živjeti u podzemnim prostorijama i kriptama". Problematikom ranih preinaka Dioklecijanove palače bavi se i Radoslav Bužančić (Bužančić, 2003, 2004).

Istinitost Tomina opisa potvrdio je pronalazak "turnjačnice", mlina za masline, u podzemlju Dioklecijanove palače, gdje je nekoć bio predromanički dom, kakav još uvijek stoji istočno od Vestibula. To je trokatna zgrada, koja u prizemlju ima neku vrstu radionice, na prvom katu (na koji se dolazi posebnim vanjskim stubištem iznad "balatura" – svoda

koji nosi balkon) dnevni je prostor, a na drugom je katu kuhinja. Kuća je građena od lomljenca, a detalji, poput dvostepene bifore, u skladu su s predromaničkim rječnikom. Dvije slične kuće stajale su u ulici Dosud i zapadno od Vestibula. Poznate su samo po starim fotografijama, ali je Muzej grada Splita sačuvao lijepu biforu posljednje spomenute kuće, ukrašenu visokokvalitetnim pleterom. Dakle, i razmjerno skromni domovi mogli su sebi dozvoliti luksuz skulptorskog ukrasa!

Ti primjeri, kao i tragovi drugih predromaničkih kuća u Splitu potvrđuju da se višekatne, jednočelijske nastambe, popularne u romaničko i gotičko doba, temelje na predromaničkom graditeljstvu. Malo je ostataka predromaničkih kuća u Trogiru i toliko su izmiješani s kasnijom izgradnjom da ne dopuštaju točniju rekonstrukciju.

U Zadru još nisu otkriveni tragovi ranosrednjovjekovnih nastambi. Mogu se, međutim, prepoznati predromanički potezi gradskih zidina uz današnja glavna gradska vrata i u jugozapadnom području, gdje se mogu vidjeti ostaci kula. Bedemi su građeni od lomljenca s podosta antičkih spolija.

Otkriveni su i tragovi najranijih utvrđenja Dubrovnika, na otoku Lause ("stijene" na dalmatinskom romanskom, od tuda, "Rause" – Ragusa), te nedavno u području katedrale, a neke prerade na zidovima Dioklecijanove palače mogu također potjecati iz predromaničkog razdoblja. Može se također očekivati i prepoznavanje dijelova kninske utvrde sagrađenih od hrvatskih vladara.

Knin, te ostala kraljevska prebivališta – gradovi Nin, Biograd, Šibenik, kao i izvangradski vladarski posjedi poput Klisa i Bijaća – mogli bi nam dati uvid u arhitekturu vladarskog dvora. Nisu još istraženi tragovi što postoje u Ninu i Bijaćima. U Bijaćima su zgrade vladarskog imanja uselile u antičku vilu, ali otkriće stanovitog broja obrađenih greda upućuje na pregradnje i obnovu u ranom srednjem vijeku. Da su ondje bili dvorovi hrvatskih vladara pokazao je preciznom komparativnom studijom ponovo Tomislav Marasović (Marasović, 1999).

Među utilitarnim zgradama Marasović navodi i samostane, primjerice na Crkvini (po Miloševiću, dvori), u Pridrazi (razmjerno pravilna skupina prostorija uokolo kvadratičnog dvorišta), Kašiću (još nepotpuno istražen), na Sustipanu u Splitu (ponešto nepravilno trapezoidno dvorište) (Marasović, 1994,

the first floor (also accessible by a separate outside staircase above a "balatur," a vault carrying a balcony) the living quarters, and the top storey a kitchen. The house is executed in typical early medieval rubble-work, and its details, such as a double stepped window arches are compatible with the Pre-Romanesque vocabulary. Two similar homes stood in the Dosud Street and to the west of the Vestibule. They are known only through old photos but the City Museum of Split has preserved a fine bifora window from the latter home, adorned with quality interlace carvings. Thus even relatively ordinary homes could afford the luxury of sculptural embellishment!

No traces of early medieval residential architecture have yet been found in Zadar. However, it was possible to identify Pre-Romanesque stretches of city walls next to the present-day main city gate and in the southwestern area, where one can even see the remains of wall towers. The walls were built from rubble with considerable immixture of ancient spoils.

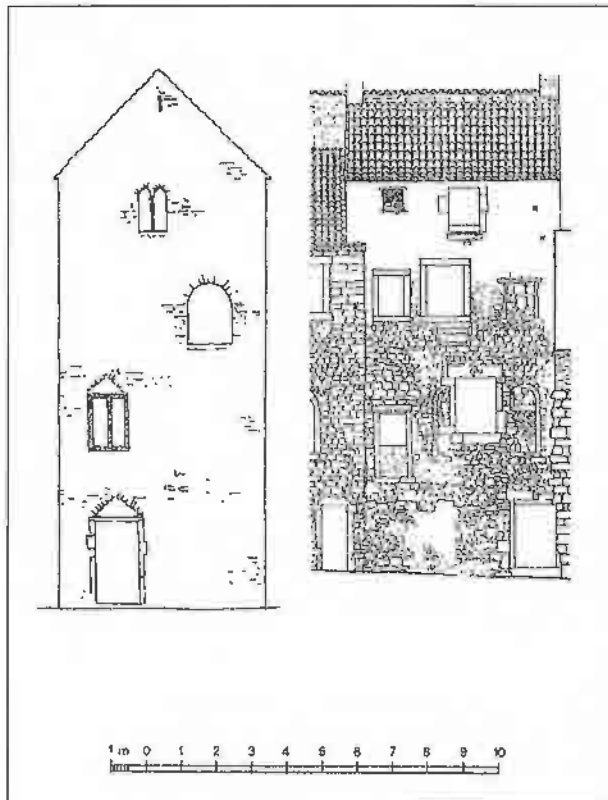
It has also been possible to trace the early sections of the fortifications of Dubrovnik (on the Lause Island = "Rocks" in Dalmatian Romance, hence "Rause" – Ragusa, and more recently, the sections around the site of the Cathedral), and some re-workings on the walls of the Diocletian palace may also date back to the Pre-Romanesque period. One may also expect to be able to identify early Croatian sections within the fortress of Knin.

Knin, as well as other royal residences – cities of Nin, Biograd, Šibenik, and extra-urban royal estates such as Klis or Bijaći, should provide us with some insight into the architecture of the royal court. The traces that exist at Nin and Bijaći have not yet been fully explored. At Bijaći the buildings of the royal estate have moved into an ancient villa, but the discovery of a number of carved early medieval lintels, indicates some rebuilding and refurbishing during the Early Middle Ages. Tomislav Marasović has written some very insightful pages on the Bijaći court offering comparative examples from Western Europe (Aachen, Ingolstadt, Paderborn, etc.) (Marasović, 1999).

He has also listed monasteries among utilitarian structures, such as identified at Crkvina, Pridraga (relatively regular groupings of rooms and buildings around a square courtyard), at Kašić (yet to be fully explored), and at Sustipan in Split (a somewhat irregular, trapezoid courtyard). The remains of the monastery of St. Benedikt (St. Eufemija) in Split were demolished in

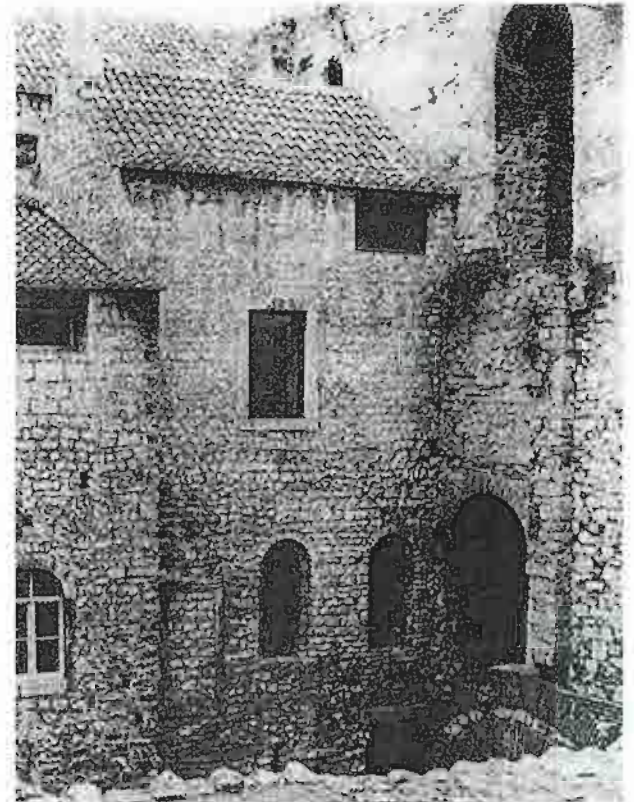
Kuće zapadno i istočno
od Vestibule, Split
(Marasović, T.).

*The houses to the west and
east of the Vestibule, Split
(Marasović, T.).*



Kuća istočno od Vestibule,
Split (Marasović, T.).

*The house to the east
of the Vestibule, Split
(T. Marasović).*



1945. Let us also recall the newly discovered monastic complex at Our Lady the Greater near Bale in Istria (Jurković, 2001).

Little is known about suburban or extra-urban residential architecture of the Early Middle Ages, but Marasović has suggested that some of the rubblework buildings in the Veli Varoš suburb of Split may date back to the Pre-Romanesque times, or reflect early medieval types. The same scholar also suggests that more could be learned by investigating recorded old settlements such as Ošlje (mentioned in *De Administrando Imperio* by Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus), or some old villages near Split – Gornje Sitno, Podstrana, Jesenice.

More light on the issue has been thrown by the pioneering works by Professor Andrija Mohorovičić on the islands of Lošinj, Cres, Susak and Srakane. He was able to identify mono-cellular Illyrian dwellings in dry wall technique, with a single opening – the door – and a hearth in the right hand corner away from the door (Mohorovičić, 1955, 1957, 1973, 2004) covered either by some light material – hides, reed, branches – or by large stone slabs up to two meters in length (at Važmine). This mono-cellular Illyrian type was taken over by the Croats who densely immigrated to

Milošević, 2002). Ostaci samostana Sv. Benedikta (Sv. Eufemije) u Splitu uništeni su 1945. Podsjetimo se i nedavno otkrivenog samostana uz Velu Gospu kod Bala u Istri (Jurković, 2001).

Malo se zna o pučkoj arhitekturi ranog srednjeg vijeka, ali Marasović smatra da neke od pučkih zgrada u splitskom predgrađu Velom Varošu mogu biti iz vremena predromanike ili su odraz ranosrednjovjekovnih tipova. Isti znanstvenik misli da bi se više moglo saznati istraživanjem poznatih starih naselja, kao što je Ošlje (spomenuto u spisu cara Konstantina Porfirogeneta *De administrando imperio*) ili nekih starih naselja u okolici Splita – Gornjeg Sitnog, Podstrane, Jesenica.

Više svjetla na tu problematiku bacaju pionirski radovi Andre Mohorovičića na području otočne skupine Cres–Lošinj–Susak–Srakane. Mohorovičić je uspio identificirati ilirske jednočelijske stanbene objekte zidane suhozidom s jednim otvorom, vratima, i ognjištem bez dimnjaka u desnom daljem kutu od ulaza (Mohorovičić, 1955, 1957, 1973, 2004). Prekrivene su bile nekim laganim materijalom (trska, šibljica, koža) kojem se zameo svaki trag, a ponekad i velikim kamenim pločama, čak do dva metra dužine (Važmine). Hrvatski živalj koji gusto naseljuje

otočnu skupinu posebice oko godine 1000. preuzima od Ilira suhozidni jednočelijski oblik s jednim otvorom, preuzima i položaj ognjišta, ali prostor prekriva dvovodnim krovom koji počiva na konstrukciji od dvaju vertikalnih "stolica" ukotvljenih po sredini u zidovima kraćih strana, koje sežu od poda do podsljemenske roženice. Radi se o sustavu koji su Hrvati koristili u svojoj pradomovini, poznat istraživačima ranoslavenske kulture. Mohorovićić zaključuje da su Hrvati zadržali tipičnu koncepciju jednoprostorne nastanbe, koja je oblikovno identična onoj starih Ilira, no našavši se u zemlji kamena, preuzimaju od Ilira tehniku suhozida, dok za izgradnju krovista zadržavaju konstrukciju koju su razvili u pradomovini. Ovakove suhozidne jednočelijske zgrade s dvovodnim krovom, prekrivene trstikom ili šibljem, bile su do pred pedesetak godina u funkciji na navedenim otocima, posebice na otoku Srakane Vele, gdje je posljednja takva kuća napuštena 1954.

Od Ilira, Hrvati su u obalnom području preuzimali i dobro zaštićene položaje na vrhuncima brežuljaka (ilirski kasteljeri) i pretvarali ih u vlastita naselja. Lijep primjer, koji također navodi Mohorovićić, je Stari Gočan u Istri uz cestu Barban – Savičenta, kompleksno utvrđeno naselje podignuto na predpovijesnoj gradini, organizirano duž glavne ulice kojom dominira četverougona branić-kula, i na koju se vežu sporedne uličice, a uski duguljasti prostor uz tu arteriju, u kojem se nalaze pučke nastanbe, okružen je bedemom s devet kula (Mohorovićić, 1973).

Iako je grada oskudna, mogu se predložiti neki zaključci.

Svjetočno predromaničko graditeljstvo, stambeno i tvrđavno, ponavlja obrasce posudbe i preinaka poznate s područja crkvene arhitekture. Tip gradske kuće pripada ranosrednjovjekovnom razdoblju, a u svjetovnom graditeljstvu koriste se dekorativni oblici prisutni u vjerskim spomenicima.

Najraniji hrvatski doseljenici na kontinentalnom području stvorili su brojne utvrde, kružne humke zaštićene vodom i drvenim palisadama, poznate pod imenom "gradišta". Neka poput onog u Mrsunjskom Lugu u Slavoniji uz rijeku Savu istražena su, ali velika većina nije, pa je znanje o njihovoj arhitekturi vrlo oskudno. Gradišta središnje kontinentalne Hrvatske (devdeset i jedno na broj) bila su nedavno tema magistarskog rada Tatjane Tkalčec (Tkalčec, 2004). Njezino istraživanje jasno pokazuje kako je teško datirati gradišta bez stručnih arheoloških zahvata,

the islands around 1000, but they covered the space with a saddle-back roof resting on two upright "stools" at the center of the side walls, and reaching up to the main longitudinal beam. This system was known to the Croats in their old country, as established by the Early Slavic archeology. Mohorovićić has concluded that the Croats retained the typical one-room dwelling similar to that of the Illyrians, but they took over from them the technique of dry wall construction. The roofing, however, reflects the old Slavic practices. Such mono-cellular huts with a saddle-back roof, covered by branches or reed, were still in use on the islands half a century ago. The last to be decommissioned and turned into a storage was a home on the island Srakane Vele abandoned in 1954.

The Croats took over from the native Illyrians also the well-protected hilltops (the Illyrian "kasteljeri"), and turned them into their own settlements. A fine example, quoted by Mohorovićić is Stari Gočan in Istria along the Barban – Savičenta road, a complex fortification constructed atop a prehistoric settlement. It is organized along a central lane dominated by a square keep. Side roads connect to that central avenue, and the entire rather narrow elongated area of homes is surrounded by a wall with nine towers (Mohorovićić, 1973).

Although the materials are meager some conclusions may be drawn: secular Pre-Romanesque architecture, residential and fortifications, reveals the same pattern of reuse and pastiche known from the field of religious building; in terms of urban residential architecture the building type was set by the Early Middle Ages; and, secular architecture did not refrain from using decorative devices available to church architects.

In the continent, the earliest Croatian settlers created numerous forts, circular hillocks protected by water and wooden palisades (these are known as "gradište," pl. "gradišta"). Some of them, like the "gradište" at Mrsunjski Lug, have been explored, but the majority has not, and our knowledge about their architecture is very scarce. Gradišta in the central portion of Continental Croatia (ninety-one of them) were recently the theme of a very informative Master's thesis by Tatjana Tkalčec (Tkalčec, 2004). Her work clearly indicates how difficult it is to date a gradište without expert archeological investigations. Only a small number could be, without any doubt, dated to the Pre-Romanesque. However, one should also recall the historical logic. Gradišta along the Drava river and on the northern slopes of the Bilogora mountain would



Arhitektonski detalj, Knin.

Architectural detail, Knin.

have lost their defensive logic once the Commonwealth of Hungary and Croatia was established in 1102. Still, without archeological investigations such an attractive thought remains a hypothesis. Ms. Tkalcic demonstrated the richness of forms – there are rounded, oval, rectangular gradistas, some are double, or even triple. The latter could conceivably be seats of the earliest church parishes, as in some cases it has been possible to find traces of religious architecture within one of the elements.

One should also point out the mysterious “cyclopean” ruins at Kiringrad, to the South of Sisak, the refuge of the Siscia’s Christians, and draw attention to another fortified settlement of the “Latins” – Romanized population – Koželin/Kuzolin (from Latin “castellione”) in the eastern ranges of the Zagreb Mountain, and, maybe the fortress of Kostelgrad near Pregrada in Transmontane Croatia to the Northwest of Zagreb. Sisak may have been fortified by Duke Ljudevit (ca. 810–823), and the masons to build the walls were sent to the Duke by the Patriarch of Grado in Northeastern Italy. None of Sisak’s Pre-Romanesque buildings has yet come to light. Another site which may once shed more light on secular, both residential architecture and fortifications, in continental Croatia is, of course, Zagreb, or, more precisely one of its historic cores, Gradec, the “Upper Town,” which, given its ideal position must have been inhabited also in the Early Middle Ages. An analysis with C-14 carried out on the samples from the fortifications underneath the City Museum in the northeastern section of the Gradec produced the date of 679. So a prehistoric settlement on the site was rebuilt in the days of Avar and Slavic conquest, if not even earlier.

te se stoga jako mali broj može vremenski smjestiti u predromaničko doba. Naravno, postoji i povijesna logika izgradnje – gradišta uz Dravu i na sjevernim obroncima Bilogore gube smisao nakon uspostavljanja hrvatsko-ugarskog kraljevstva 1102, no bez arheološkog dokaznog materijala takva zamisao ostaje tek radna hipoteza. Autorica je pokazala bogatstvo oblika (kružna, ovalna, pravokutna gradišta). Neka su dvostruka, pa čak i višestruka, i upravo pojedina od tih bila su vjerojatno izvorna sjedišta ranih sred-njevjekovnih crkvenih župa, jer se u jednom od elemenata mogu naći tragovi sakralne arhitekture.

Treba spomenuti i misteriozne “kiklopske” ruševine Kiringrada, južno od Siska, zbjege sisačkih kršćana, te upozoriti na druga naselja “Latina” – romaniziranog stanovništva – poput Kozelina (od latinskog “castellione”) nedaleko Zagreba na istočnom lancu Zagrebačke gore, pa možda i Kostel-grada kod Pregrade u Hrvatskom Zagorju sjeverozapadno od Zagreba. Znamo da je Sisak utvrdio knez Ljudevit (oko 810–823.) i da mu je patrijarh Grada (Grado, važno ranosrednjekovno središte u sjeveroistočnoj Italiji) poslao majstore za gradnju utvrda. Na vidjelo još nije došlo ništa od sisačkih predromaničkih gradnji. Naravno, Zagreb, odnosno jedna od njegovih povijesnih jezgri, Gradec, mogao bi baciti više svjetla na svjetovno – stambeno i tvrđavno graditeljstvo u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj, jer je zbog idealnog položaja zacijelo bio naseljen u ranom srednjem vijeku. Analiza metodom C-14 provedena na drvenim fragmentima na sjeveroistočnoj strani Gradeca dala je datum 679. Na istom je položaju bilo prapovijesno naselje, koje se obnavlja u ranim danima avaro-slavenskog naseljavanja ako ne već i u kasnoj Antici.

Ipak, čini se da Hrvatska posjeduje rijedak primjer dosta dobro očuvane ranosrednjovjekovne utvrde. To je Klokoč na obroncima Petrove gore u središnjoj Hrvatskoj, s pravokutnim dvorištem okruženim visokim zidom od lomljenca. Uglovi su zida zaobljeni, a na jedan je nasjela kružna kula, kakve se ovdje podižu u doba turskih ratova.

Izvorni dio Klokoča, koji se doima kao golema kada za kupanje, u potpunosti se podudara s tipom male pogranične utvrde iz karolinškog vremena.

Klokoč nije jedinstveni slučaj "zaobljenih" uglova. Postoji još niz lokaliteta, gradišta, u međuriječju Save i Drave, koji u današnjem obliku nagovješćuju da bi mogli biti tragovi sličnih utvrda. To su, da nabrojimo tek neke, Gradić u Torčecu, Zvonik-Dvorna kraj Farkaševca, Kraljeva Velika, Gradina kod Velikog Poganca i Mihalj kod Osijeka Vojkovačkog, svi u sjeverozapadnom dijelu Hrvatske. Ponavljam, radi se o neistraženim gradištima, no navodim ih ipak kao mjesta koja bi valjalo što prije istražiti. To posebice vrijedi za Mihalj na južnoj padini Kalnika, uz staru i zaboravljenu prekokalničku vezu Križevaca i doline Bednje. Radi se o izrazitom "karolinškom" položaju, a postoje tragovi vjerojatno i svjetovne i sakralne arhitekture u kamenu.

No i neki kameni burgovi kontinentalne Hrvatske mogli bi datirati iz predromaničkog vremena. To su prvenstveno oni koji poput Klokoča predstavljaju ustvari kamene okole, manje-više nepravilnog tlocrta (koji ovisi o konfiguraciji terena), zidane od lomljenca i oblutaka, na primjer, Pusta Bela, Gradište kraj Margečana u Hrvatskom Zagorju, sjeverozapadno od Zagreba, i, nadasve monumentalni i još razmjerno dobro očuvani sklop Zrina na Banovini (središnja Hrvatska). U svim takvim slučajevima, obranbene kule, ukoliko nisu kasniji dodaci, nalaze se unutar a ne ispred zidina, što je također indicacija za rani datum. Takva praksa postoji i kod utvrđenja građanih od drva – ranosrednjovjekovni *castrum* Gornji Vrbljani na izvoru rijeke Sane u zapadnoj Bosni koji navodi Milošević (Milošević, 2001). Dodajmo da je Drago Miletić na temelju analize zida sugerirao predromanički datum najranijoj fazi utvrde Okića nedaleko Zagreba (Miletić, 1987).

Croatia may have preserved a unique example of Early Medieval fortification. This is the castle of Klokoč, on the Petrova Gora mountain, to the south of Sisak in Central Croatia. It is a simple rectangular courtyard surrounded by a tall rubble-work wall. The corners of the structure are smoothly rounded. A circular tower was added at one of the corners in the period of Turkish wars (15th century or later).

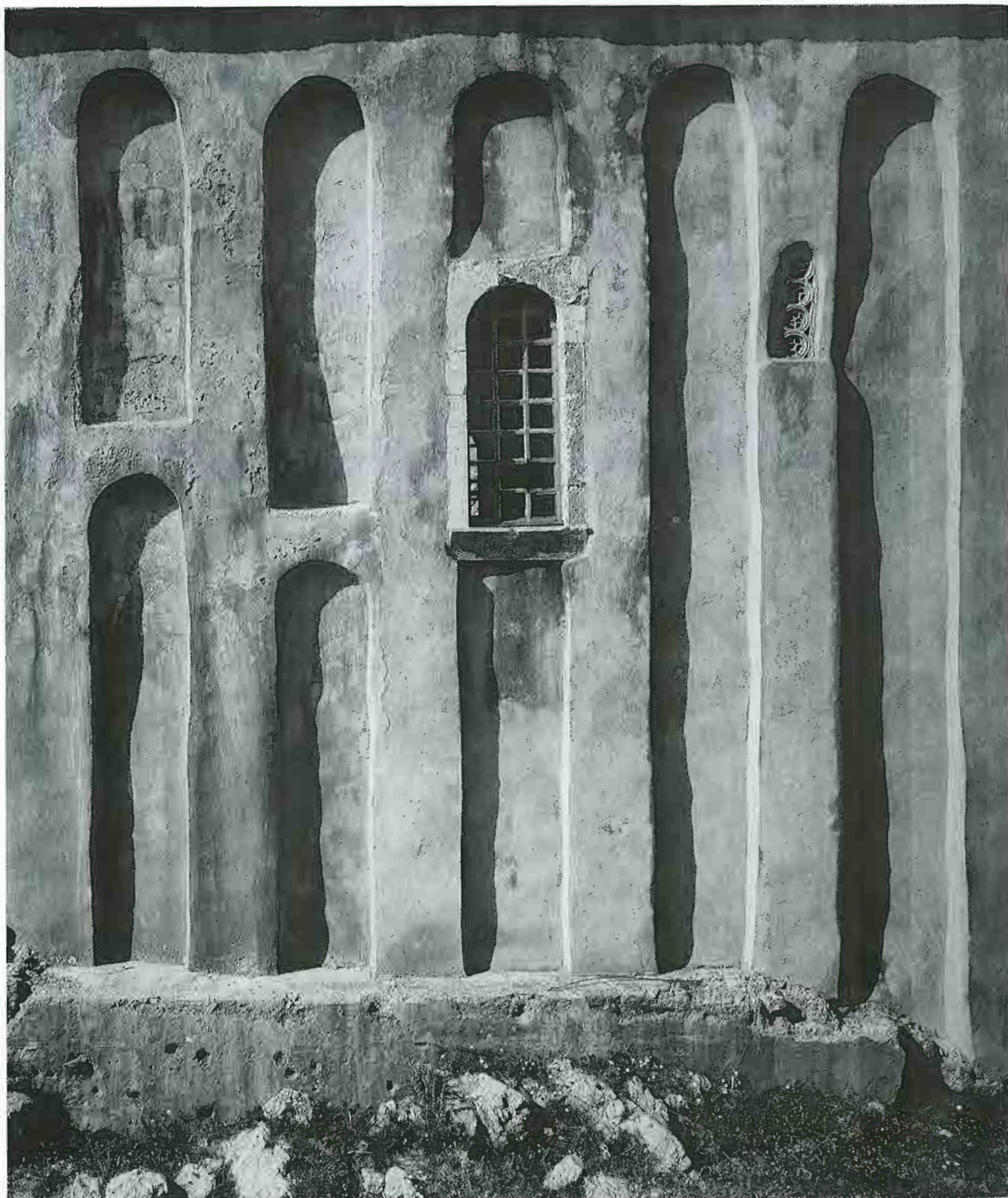
The original part of Klokoč appears as a gigantic bathtub. In this it faithfully reproduces the form of a small Carolingian border fort. But it is not the only example of the "rounded corners." There is a series of gradišta between the Sava and the Drava rivers which in their current form indicate that they may be remains of similar forts. Let us just list some of them: Gradić in Torčec, Zvonik-Dvorna near Frakaševac, Kraljeva Velika, Gradina at Veliki Poganac, and Mihalj near Osijek Vojkovački, all in Northwestern Croatia. I repeat, none of them has been explored, but they should be as soon as possible. This is especially true of Mihalj on the Kalnik Mountain, along the old and forgotten road from Križevci to the Bednja valley, a typical "Carolingian" position with traces of architecture in stone.

Even some stone castles of Continental Croatia may date from the Pre-Romanesque period, first of all those which, like Klokoč, appear as stone rings of a more or less irregular plan depending on the site, and built from rubble and pebbles (Pusta Bela, Gradište near Margečan, in Transmontane Croatia; the truly monumental and relatively well-preserved castle of Zrin in Banovina to the south of Zagreb). In most such cases the towers, unless later additions, are found attached to the wall on the inside of the ring (as also in early medieval architecture in wood as shown by Milošević in the case of the castle at Gornji Vrbljani in Western Bosnia, at the source of the Sana river; Milošević, 2001). On the basis of masonry, Drago Miletić has suggested that parts of the castle of Okić near Zagreb may also be Pre-Romanesque (Miletić, 1987).



Sv. Foška, Žminj.

St. Foška, Žminj.



ZAKLJUČAK

CONCLUSION

Sv. Mihovil, Ston.

St. Mihovil, Ston.

It is tricky to apply current national and geographic terms to the world of one thousand to thirteen hundred years ago. Therefore, calling the entire body of the material we examined in this study "Croatian", "Early Croatian", or "Old-Croatian", could be considered unscholarly and incorrect, even, God forbid, nationalistic!

One might consider such a title as "Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque Architecture in Croatia", (this was actually the title of my dissertation), since Croatia is a recognized geographic and administrative unit, just like France, Italy, Spain, etc., and there are dozens of books on "Pre-Romanesque Art, Architecture, etc.", in France, Italy, Spain, etc., although in the times of the Pre-Romanesque (and for that matter even Romanesque and Gothic), there were no such units as "France", "Spain", "Italy". Works on "L'art roman en France", deal not only with the monuments of the "Franks", but with those of the Visigoth, Catalans, Burgundians. The Languedoc was conquered in the 13th century (some parts were wrestled from the English only in the fifteenth), and Burgundy was fully integrated into "France" only in the 15th century. A look at "Italy", "Spain", "Belgium", "Germany", "Poland" discloses the same situation.

The problem with titles such as "Pre-Romanesque Art in ..." is that it obscures the variety of contributions made by various peoples and cultures that existed on the territories of "France", "Germany", etc.

The same is true of a title "Early Medieval Art of ...," an additional hurdle being that for various authors "Early Medieval" has different chronological, or even ethnic or stylistic content.

Teško je primijeniti današnje nacionalne i zemljopisne pojmove na svijet od prije 1000–1300 godina. Stoga nazvati cjelokupno istraženo gradivo "hrvatskim", "starohrvatskim", ili "ranohrvatskim" moglo bi se smatrati nenaučnim, netočnim, pa i, nedaj Bože, "nacionalističkim".

Da prihvatimo naslov "Predromaničko i ranoromaničko graditeljstvo u Hrvatskoj" (zapravo naslov moje dizertacije), budući da je Hrvatska priznata zemljopisna i upravna jedinica? Postoje desetine knjiga o "Predromaničkoj arhitekturi u ...", o "Predromaničkoj umjetnosti u ..." Francuskoj, Španjolskoj, Italiji, itd., premda u vrijeme predromanike nije bilo takvih jedinica kao što su "Francuska", "Španjolska", "Italija". Djela naslovljena "L'art roman en France," bave se ne samo spomenicima "Franaka", već i Vizigota, Katalonaca, Burgunda. "Franci" osvajaju Languedoc tek u XIII. stoljeću (neki su dijelovi oteti od Engleza tek u XV.), a Burgundija je potpuno uklopljena u Francusku u XV. stoljeću. Slično je s "Italijom", "Španjolskom", "Njemačkom", "Belgijom", "Poljskom".

Problem s naslovima poput "Predromanička umjetnost u ..." u tome je što prikriva sudjelovanje različitih naroda i kultura na teritoriju "Francuske", "Njemačke", itd. Isto vrijedi za naslov "Ranosrednjovjekovna umjetnost u ..." uz dodatnu poteškoću da različiti autori daju "ranom srednjem vijeku" različit kronološki, pa čak i etnički i stilistički sadržaj.

Okolnosti nastanka umjetnosti i graditeljstva u Dalmaciji od oko godine 600. do oko 800. prilično su jasne. Susrećemo predromanički stav, poznat iz drugih krajeva, to jest, pregradnje u smanjenom mjerilu,

popravke i preinake. Takav stav i njegove rezultate dobro su opisali Tomislav Marasović, Igor Fisković i Andre Mohorovićić baveći se adaptacijama (Nijemci to jako dobro zovu "not-kirche") u Splitu, Osoru i na južnodalmatinskim otocima (Marasović, 1994; Fisković, 1988, 2000, Mohorovićić, 1955, 1957, 2004). U Istri, manje se "krpa" u fizičkom smislu, no stilistika ostaje usko vezana uz velika stoljeća istarskog ranog kršćanstva i ranog Bizanta – v. i vi. Možda bi se moglo razmisliti o stvaranju posebne (pod)stilske kategorije za tu umjetnost Dalmacije i Istre vii. i viii. stoljeća – pred-predromanika!

Čak i nakon 800. godine može se u govoriti o posebnom "urbanom dalmatinskom" obliku kao u slučaju centralnih građevina u dalmatinskim gradovima (Sv. Lovro u Zadru, Sv. Stjepan u Trogiru, Sv. Eufemija u Splitu, Sv. Petar u Dubrovniku, i sl.). U Istri graditeljstvo predromanike je izrazito vezano uz kasnoantičku tradiciju, s važnim ali malobrojnim intervencijama koje bi se mogle izravnije pripisati djelatnosti novih doseljenika. Istarska se tradicija tek u kasnijim radobljima modificira kako je to lijepo pokazao Mohorovićić (Mohorovićić, 1957)

NARAV GRADE

U gradi za ovu radnju razlikovali smo predromaničke i ranoromaničke osobine. Razliku između predromaničke i romaničke opisali smo ovako:

1. Predromanika pokazuje pomanjkanje podudarnost između prostorne organizacije i organizacije vanjskog zida. Ne podudaraju se ni unutrašnji ni vanjski upornjaci. Kao primjer mogu poslužiti brojne građevine, poput crkava južnodalmatinskog tipa ili onih sa zaobljenim upornjacima.
2. Oblik prostora predromaničke zgrade ne podudara se s oblikom ljuske. Zapazili smo brojne primjere pravokutnih apsida i tornjeva koji kriju zaobljene niše i kupole.
3. Kod predromaničkih građevina ima skrivenih prostora, postojanje kojih se ne može predvidjeti iz analize vanjštine. Upozorili smo na tu pojavu kod brojnih westwerka i istočnih završetaka građevina, a ovamo spadaju i cjelokupna troapsidalna svetišta unutar istarskih "kutija".
4. U stanovitom broju predromaničkih građevina tijelo raste prema središnjem akcentu – tornjiću ili kupoli – dok je unutrašnji prostor upravljen lon-

The situation of art and architecture in Dalmatia is rather simple in the period of ca. 600 through ca. 800. Here we encounter a typical Pre-Romanesque attitude, well-known from elsewhere, of scaled-back rebuilding, adaptations and architectural pastiches. This attitude and its results have been well described by Messrs. Tomislav Marasović, Igor Fisković and Andre Mohorovićić (Marasović, 1994; Fisković, 1988, 2000, Mohorovićić, 1955, 1957, 2004) dealing with such constructions in and around Split, at Osor, and in Southern Dalmatia (Germans have a very good term: the "not-kirche"). In Istria, adaptations are less frequent in a physical sense, but stylistically Istria remained closely tied to the great early centuries – the 5th and the 6th. For such phenomena in the early medieval architecture of Istra and Dalmatia (7th–8th century) one might even consider a special (sub)style category – Pre-Pre-Romanesque.

Even after 800, one may argue for specific "urban Dalmatian" forms as in the case of a handful of centralized buildings in Dalmatian cities. In Istria the architecture of the Pre-Romanesque period is closely tied to the Late Antique tradition with a few, albeit important interventions which might be attributed to the new settlers. Istrian tradition was modified only later as aptly described by Mohorovićić (Mohorovićić, 1957).

NATURE OF THE MATERIAL

Within the material discussed in this study we have distinguished two groups of Pre-Romanesque and one of Romanesque character. The distinction between the Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque has been established on the basis of the following:

1. *The Pre-Romanesque displays lack of correspondence between the organization of space and the organization of exterior wall surfaces. The space organization is not "projected" on the exterior wall surfaces. The inner and outer supports do not correspond. Numerous buildings, such as the South Dalmatian type, or the churches with rounded buttresses, can serve as examples.*
2. *The form of the space of a Pre-Romanesque building does not correspond to the form of the shell that contains it. We have seen innumerable examples of square apses and turrets encasing rounded niches and domes.*
3. *In Pre-Romanesque buildings there are "hidden" spaces, the existence of which can not be anticipated*



Sv. Nikola, Selce (Brač).

St. Nikola, Selce (Brač).

by an analysis of the exterior. We have observed this phenomenon in the case of numerous westworks and eastern ends of our buildings. One may also add the embedded apse of Istrian "box" churches.

4. *In a number of Pre-Romanesque buildings the corpus grows toward a central accent – turret or dome – whereas the interior space is longitudinally directed toward the apse. The South Dalmatian churches are a good example of this tendency toward bi-axiality.*
5. *A number of Pre-Romanesque buildings notably St. Lovro in Zadar, St. Cecilija in Biskupija, the Cathedral at Biograd, display a predilection for narrow passages and bulky supports, briefly for spatial discontinuity.*

gitudinalno prema apsidi. Južnodalmatinske crkve dobar su primjer te sklonosti k biaksijalnosti.

5. Stanovit broj predromaničkih gradnji, kao što su Sv. Lovro u Zadru, Sv. Cecilija u Biskupiji ili katedrala u Biogradu, pokazuje sklonost uskim prolazima i glomaznim podupiračima, ukratko, prostornom diskontinuitetu.

Te su karakteristike zajedničke objema predromaničkim skupinama. Razlikuje se izvor nadahnuća. U slučaju tradicionalne predromaničke skupine to je raniji lokalni stil, pa ta skupina, općenito govoreći, izrasta iz prije-romaničkog graditeljstva Dalmacije (odnosno, dalmatinskih gradova). Kraljevska se skupina prvenstveno nadahnjuje iz stranog izvora – imperijalne karolinške arhitekture Zapada.



Sv. Kristofor, Rovinj.

St. Kristofor, Rovinj.

Obje skupine postoje istodobno u prostoru i vremenu, ali nemaju iste naručioce. Za kraljevsku se skupinu može tvrditi da joj naručioci pripadaju hrvatskom vladarskom dvoru i društvenoj klasi blisko povezanoj s dvorskim ličnostima. Tradicionalna bi se predromanička skupina mogla nazvati i (odbacimo li negativni prizvuk) "pasivnom negacijom antike", kako te spomenike naziva Milan Prelog u svojim radnjama o najranijem hrvatskom graditeljstvu (Prelog, 1954). Sa stanovitim ograničenjima mogla bi se također nazvati "populističkom" (pučkom), dok je kraljevska skupina općenito više "kozmpolitska" i "učena". No ne zaboravimo: dok su karolinške (i ottonske) crkve s westwerkom – Sv. Riquier u Centuli, Sv. Michael

These characteristics are common to the both Pre-Romanesque groups. What distinguishes the two groups is the source of inspiration. In the case of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque group, the sources are earlier local styles, and this group, generally speaking, grows out of the Before-the-Romanesque architecture in Dalmatia (i.e., the Dalmatian cities). The Royal group is primarily inspired by foreign sources, the imperial, Carolingian architecture of the West.

The two groups coexist in space and time, but their patrons seem to be different. At least, one may assert for the buildings of the Royal group that their patrons belonged to the royal court and the class of people closely

related to the royalty. The Traditional Pre-Romanesque group may be (if we discard the negative connotation of the phrase) described as "Passive negation of Antiquity", the phrase coined by Professor Prelog in his studies of the early Croatian material (Prelog, 1954). It could also be, with due reservations, titled "populist", while the Royal group would be in general more "cosmopolitan" or "learned". Still, let us not forget that, whereas Carolingian and Ottonian churches with a westwork (St. Riquier at Centula, St. Michael at Hildesheim, etc.) are covered by timber construction, the Croats used to vault their Carolingian basilicas.

The Romanesque seems to signify the elimination of all the "contradictions" and "complexities" listed above.

u Hildesheimu, pokrivene drvenom konstrukcijom, Hrvati presvođuju kamenom svoje nemale karolinške bazilike.

Romanika naznačuje isključenje svih gore navedenih protuslovlja i zamršenosti. Rana romanika u tom pogledu pokazuje put, iako uvijek ne rješava sve "probleme" u istoj gradnji. Korak je donekle učinjen, ali cilj još nije dosegnut. Treba ponoviti da u vrijeme kad se pojavljuju prvotni oblici romanike još djeluju majstori drugih dviju skupina pa se građevine predromaničkog sloga grade i u sljedećim stoljećima, osobito u konzervativnim sredinama. Najmanje pola stoljeća – od oko 1050 do oko 1100. – predromanički i romanički obrasci postoje jedni uz druge.



Sv. Elizej, Fažana.

St. Elizej, Fažana.

VAŽNOST ZA STUDIJ PREDROMANIKE

Prešlo bi okvire ovog rada dokazivanje da se pet gore spomenutih karakteristika nalaze u svim predromaničkim školama ili da su to jedina obilježja predromaničkog graditeljstva. Međutim, činjenica je da se nalaze u više od 200 građevina predromaničke arhitekture u Hrvatskoj, a čak će i površan pogled na ostala područja pokazati da nisu ograničene samo na Hrvatsku.

U mozarabskom su graditeljstvu (Španjolska) potkovaste apside skrivene u kvadratičnim masama (Melque, Penalba, Escalada ...). Kupole se skrivaju u kvadratične tornjeve (Melque, Celanova, Mazote ...). Potpun trolist krije se u pravokutnom završetku (Mazote). Prevladava diskontinuitet prostora.

In this respect, the Early Romanesque shows the way, without always solving all of the "problems" within the same building. It is a step in a certain direction, and not yet arrival at the goal. We must repeat that when the early forms of the Romanesque announce themselves, other masons are still active, and that buildings in Pre-Romanesque style may have continued to be constructed, especially in more conservative milieus, for centuries to come. For at least half a century, ca. 1050 – ca. 1100, Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque modes existed side by side.

RELEVANCE FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRE-ROMANESQUE

It would be going beyond the scope of this work to assert that the five characteristics we listed above occur



Sv. Spas, Cetina
(Marasović, T.).

St. Spas, Cetina
(Marasović, T.).



Sv. Marija (Stomorica),
Zadar.

St. Marija (Stomorica),
Zadar.

in all Pre-Romanesque schools, or that they are the only characteristics of Pre-Romanesque architecture. The fact is, however, that they are found in some 100 or more buildings of Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia, and even a cursory look at other areas, will show that they are not limited only to Croatia.

In Mozarabic architecture horse-shoe apses hide within rectangular masses (Melque, Penalba, Escalada ...).

U Graubindenskoj skupini središnjih Alpi (Raetia) troapsidalni završeci priključeni su jednobrodnoj kutiji (Sv. Martin i Sv. Marija u Dissentisu, Mistail, Müstair, Pleiv). Trodjelni prezbiterijski završetak skriva se u plošnom istočnom završetku (Sv. Agata u Dissentisu).

Anglo-saksonsku arhitekturu, osobito složenije gradnje, obilježuje prostorni diskontinuitet (Bradford-on-Avon, St. Pancras i SS. Peter i Paul u Canterburyju,

Deerhurst, Ramsey, Stow ...). Nema međusobnog podudaranja između ukrasa zidne površine i unutrašnjeg izgleda zgrade (Barnack, Earl's Barton, Sompting, Woolbeding ...).

Takva se različitost pojavljuje i u nekim karolinškim i otonskim centralnim gradnjama (Deutz, Mettlach, Würzburg). Također obratimo pažnju na skrivenu apsidu u plošnom završnom zidu westwerka u Mittelzellu, ili apsidiole skrivene u plošnom završnom zidu u Helmstedtu i Deventeru. U karolinškom i otonskom graditeljstvu također postoji sklonost biaksijalnosti ili, točnije, bipolarnosti (Sv. Riquier u Centuli, Sv. Michael u Hildesheimu). Dioba glavne lade s pomoću naizmjeničnih podupora u Genrode (ABAB) ili u Sv. Michaela u Hildesheimu (ABBABB) ni na koji se način ne odražava na vanjskim zidnim površinama. Hrvatska predromanika ne postoji u nekoj veličanstvenoj izolaciji, već je dio sveeuropskog stila.

VAŽNOST ZA STUDIJ ROMANIKE

Ako na romaniku treba gledati kao na "razrješenje protuslovlja" i ako ona posjeduje snažnu optičku i strukturalnu logiku, što se i ostvaruje oko 1100., tada niz građevina koje se klasificiraju u "prvu romaniku" iznevjeruje taj standard. Zapravo, samo nekoliko građevina, među onima što ih je u Kataloniji proučio Jose Puig i Cadafalch (Cardona, Bosost, Verdun), a u Lombardiji Arthur K. Porter (Rivolta d'Adda, San Salvatore a Capo di Ponte, San Ambrogio u Milanu) zaista zadovoljavaju romaničke kriterije. Gornje pretpostavke potvrđuje i studija rane romanike u Hrvatskoj. Jednako je prijelazno stoljeće, a prijelaz sam po sebi uzima različite oblike u različitim dijelovima Europe.

Govoreći striktno u smislu stila, moglo bi se tražiti "romaničke" građevine "prije njihova vremena". Takva je, na primjer, S. Maria de Naranco kraj Ovieda u Asturiji. Naravno, ima i nastavaka predromanike "nakon njenog vremena", pa tako i u Hrvatskoj.

VAŽNOST ZA KASNIJE LOKALNE STILOVE.

Nakon pregleda predromanike, romanika se u Hrvatskoj doima pomalo skromno. Postoje neke nesumnjivo izvanredne gradnje i gomila rustičnih rješenja. No, nema neke lokalne škole u monumentalnoj arhitekturi. Nakon grozničave aktivnosti predromanike, graditeljima je preostalo tek nekoliko monumentalnih narudžbi. U Krku, Rabu i Zadru preoblikovali

Domes hide within square turrets (Melque, Celanova, Mazote ...). An entire triconch hides within a rectangular eastern end (Mazote). Spatial discontinuity is prevalent.

In the Graubünden group in the Central Alps (Raetia) triapsidal chevets are attached to simple aisleless box (St. Martin and St. Mary at Dissentis; Mistail; Müstair; Pleiv). A tripartite presbytery hides within a flat termination wall at St. Agatha in Dissentis. Anglo-Saxon architecture (more complex buildings) is noted for spatial discontinuity (Bradford-on-Avon, St. Pancras and SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury, Deerhurst, Ramsey, Stow ...). There is no correlation between the wall surface decoration and the interior layout (Barnack, Earl's Barton, Sompting, Woolbeding ...).

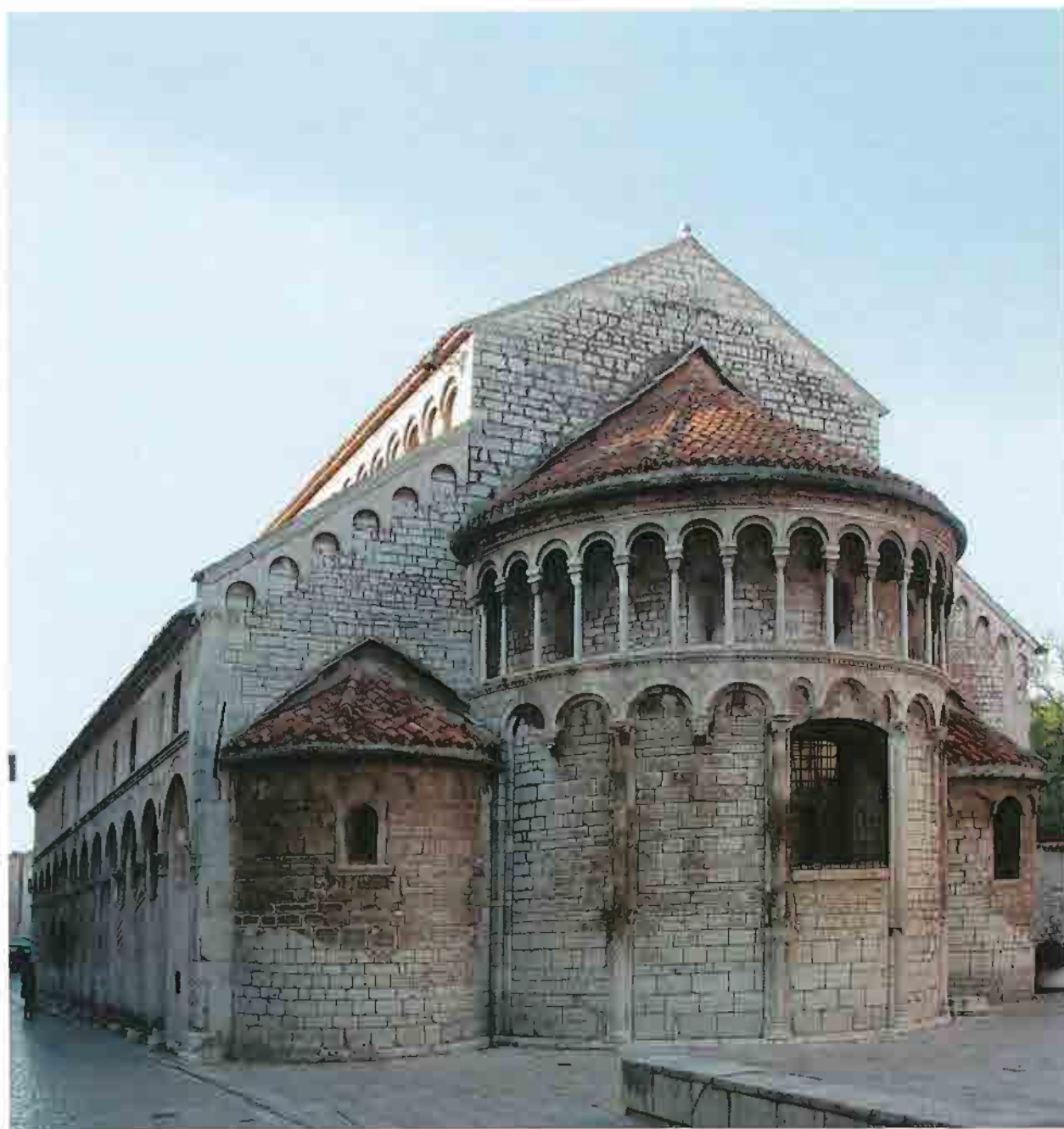
The same disparity occurs in a number of Carolingian and Ottonian centralized structures: Deutz, Mettlach, Würzburg. Also note the apse hidden within the westwork at Mittelzell, or apsidioles within a flat termination wall at Helmstedt and Deventer. In Carolingian and Ottonian architecture there is also a tendency toward bi-axiality, or, more precisely, bi-polarity (St. Riquier at Centula, St. Michael at Hildesheim). The division of the nave by means of alternation of supports at Gernrode (ABAB) or at St. Michael at Hildesheim (ABBABB) is in no way reflected on the exterior wall surfaces.

Croatian Pre-Romanesque does not exist in a splendid isolation, but forms a province of an all-European style.

RELEVANCE FOR THE STUDY OF THE ROMANESQUE

If Romanesque is to be seen as a resolution of "contradictions," and if it is to stand for a powerful optical and structural logic, as it does around 1100, then a series of buildings classified as "First Romanesque" fail to meet those standards. In fact, only a few such buildings studied in Catalonia by Jose Puig i Cadafalch (Cardona, Bosost, Verdun) and in Lombardy by Arthur K. Porter (Rivolta d'Adda, San Salvatore a Capo di Ponte, San Ambrogio in Milan) truly meet the "Romanesque" criteria. A study of Early Romanesque in Croatia confirms the above assumptions. The eleventh century is a period of transition, and the transition itself assumes various forms in various parts of Europe.

If we speak strictly in terms of style, then it should be possible to look for "Romanesque" buildings "before



Sv. Krševan, Zadar.

St. Krševan, Zadar.

their time". Such is, for example, S. Maria de Naranco near Oviedo in Asturia. And, of course, there may be survivals of the Pre-Romanesque "after its time". And we indeed find them in "conservative milieus" (such as Croatia).

RELEVANCE FOR LATER LOCAL STYLES

After a study of the Pre-Romanesque, the Romanesque in Croatia appears relatively modest. There are, no doubt, some fine individual buildings, and a mass of humble, rustic solutions. But on the monumental scale

su ranokršćanske katedrale. Sv. Krševan u Zadru, lijepo ostvarenje iz XII. stoljeća, u biti je monumentalizirana ranokršćanska bazilika urešena na "pizanski način". Nema čak ni podudaranja između organizacije unutarnjeg prostora i vanjskih zidnih ploha!

Gradevine započete iz temelja odaju znakovite individualne oznake. Katedrala u Trogiru uspješno spaja lombardske i apulske značajke. Katedrale u Dubrovniku (srušena u potresu 1667.) i Kotoru, obje bazilike s kupolom, spajaju mjesnu tradiciju s utjecajem južne i srednje Italije.

U kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj monumentalna je arhitektura gotovo posve uništena tatarskom provalom 1242. i stoljećima turskih ratova (xv.–xviii. stoljeće). Osim nekoliko ulomaka malo što je preostalo od katedrala u Zagrebu i Krbavi, ili velikih samostanskih crkava, kao što su Bijela, Rudine, Nuštar i Topusko. Preostalo je nešto seoskih crkava koje se mogu usporediti sa Srednjom i Sjevernom Europom. No upravo u unutrašnjosti Hrvatske, čekaju nas još velika otkrića kako sakralne tako i profane arhitekture u trajnom materijalu, a i tragovi one u drvu, pa se stoga ovi zaključci moraju uzeti "sa zrn timer soli".

we can hardly identify anything like a local school. After the frenzied activity of the Pre-Romanesque, few monumental commissions were available to the Romanesque architects. At Krk, Rab and Zadar they remodeled Early Christian buildings. St. Krševan in Zadar, a fine 12th century piece, is essentially a monumentalized Early Christian basilica decorated in the "Pisan" manner. There is even no correspondence between the organization of the interior and the exterior!

The buildings constructed (mostly) from scratch show some remarkable individual traits. The Cathedral of Trogir combines successfully Lombard and Apulian features. The Cathedrals of Dubrovnik (destroyed in the earthquake in 1667) and Kotor, both of them domed basilicas, combine local tradition with influences from Southern and Central Italy.

The monumental Romanesque architecture in the continent almost completely perished during the Tartar invasion of 1242 and the period of Turkish wars (15th–18th ct.). Apart from a few fragments little has survived of the Cathedrals of Zagreb and Krbava, or large monastic churches at Bijela, Rudine, Nuštar and Podborje. What remains, is a few dozen rural churches which find analogies in Central and Northern Europe. Yet, it is exactly in the continent where we may expect pleasant surprises, both in religious and secular architecture in durable materials, as well as in terms of traces of architecture in wood. Thus, any conclusions should be taken with a grain of salt.



Sv. Lovro, Trogir.

St. Lovro, Trogir.

POPIS SPOMENIKA

Ovaj je popis, uz manje prepravke, spoj popisa dr. Marasovića iz knjige *Prilozi proučavanju starohrvatske arhitekture* (Tomislav Marasović, i drugi., Split, 1978), popisa i tlocrta dr. Sena Gvozdanović-Sekulić iz iste knjige, i mogeg iz knjige *Early Croatian Architecture* (London, 1987). Istarski primjeri temelje se na radovima Miljenka Jurkovića, Branka Marušića, Andre Mohorovičića i Ante Šonje.

Svaki broj sadržava

IME MJESTA I ZGRADE (STRANICA NA KOJOJ JE ILUSTRACIJA),

KRATKI OPIS

(npr., "trobrodna troapsidalna"),

KLASIFIKACIJU

TPS – tradicionalna predromanička skupina,

KPS – kraljevska predromanička skupina,

RRS – ranoromanička skupina,

IT – istarska tradicionalna,

IK – istarska karolinška,

SP – svjetovna predromanika;

dodatno KA označuje kasnoantikni,

a RK ranokršćanski sloj,

DATUM

označen kad je potrebno kao "vjerojatan", "moguć", ili "?";

ili s OP – opće predromanički, VI. – XI. st.,

KA – kasnoantikni,

RK – ranokršćanski,

K – kasni, nakon 1100.

I MJERE kad postoje (približna duljina i širina);

ako ih nema stoji n.m. – nema mjera;

BH – Bosna i Hercegovina.

BAČINA, SV. ANDRIJA,

jednobrodna s polukružnom apsidom,

RK, PR preinaka, ca. 16. 80 × 7.80

BALE, SS. GERVAZIJE I PROTAZIJE,

dvorana s tri apside, IT, 10. st., 10.60 × 5.90.

BALE, SV. ILIJA,

jednobrodna s ugrađenom apsidom,

IT/RRS (zvonik), 12.25 × 6.00.

BALE, SV. MARIJA (ŽUPNA CRKVA),

jednobrodna, troapsidalna, IT, 8. – 9. st, n.m.

BALE, SV. MAUR,

jednobrodna bezapsidalna s istočnim

otvorom, IT, 7. st., 10.10 × 5.60.

BALE, MALA GOSPA, (140–142),

IT, dvobrodna, 10. st. ili ranije, 10.60 × 5.50.

BALE, VELIKA GOSPA,

IT/IK, trobrodna troapsidalna, kasno 8. st., 26 × 12.

BALE, VELIKA GOSPA, MEMORIJA,

jednobrodna s ugrađenom apsidom,

ITS/RRS (zvonik), 6.25 × 4.25.

BALE, VELIKA GOSPA, SAMOSTAN,

9. st.?, IK?, ca. 38.75 × 36.35.

BEGOVAČA, CRKVA,

tri uske paralelne prostorije, TPS, 9. st., 13 × 11.60.

LIST OF MONUMENTS

This list, with some amendments, is a compilation of Dr. Marasović's list in Prilozi istraživanju starohrvatske arhitekture (Tomislav Marasović, et als., Split, 1978), Dr. Sena Gvozdanović-Sekulić's lists and plans from the same book, and my own list from the Early Croatian Architecture (London, 1987). Istrian examples are based on the works by Miljenko Jurković, Ivan Matejčić, Branko Marušić, Andre Mohorovičić, and Ante Šonje.

Each entry contains

THE NAME OF THE PLACE,

THE NAME OF THE BUILDING,

(PAGE WITH ILLUSTRATION),

BRIEF DESCRIPTION

(e.g., "aisled three-apsidal"),

CLASSIFICATION

TPR – Traditional Pre-Romanesque,

RPR – Royal Pre-Romanesque,

ER – Early Romanesque,

SPR – Secular Pre-Romanesque,

IT – Istrian Traditional,

IC – Istrian Carolingian;

additionally LA or EC signify Late Antique

or Early Christian strata,

DATE

qualified when appropriate by

"probably", "possibly", and by "?";

or by PR – broadly Pre-Romanesque, 6–11th ct.,

LA – Late Antique,

EC – Early Christian,

L – late, after 1100),

and MEASUREMENTS (approximate length and width when avail-

able and applicable; n. a. = not available);

BH – Bosnia and Herzegovina.

BAČINA, ST. ANDRIJA,

aisless with rounded apse, EC, PR adaptation, ca. 16. 80 × 7.80

BALE, SS. GERVAZIJE AND PROTAZIJE,

three-apse hall, IT, 9th ct., 10.60 × 5.90

BALE, ST. ILIJA,

aisleless with embedded apse, IT, ER (tower), 12.25 × 6.80

BALE, ST. MARIJA (PARISH CHURCH),

aisleless three-apsidal, IT, 8th–9th ct., n.a.

BALE, ST. MAUR,

aisleless with eastern opening, IT, 7th ct., 10.10 × 5.60

BALE, MALA GOSPA (OUR LADY THE LESSER), (140–142),

IT, two-aisled, 10.60 × 5.50

BALE, VELIKA GOSPA (OUR LADY THE GREATER),

IT/IC, aisled, three-apsidal, late 8th ct., 26 × 12.

BALE, VELIK GOSPA, MEMORIJA (OUR LADY THE GREATER,

MEMORIAL CHAPEL),

aisleless, embedded apse, IT/ER (tower), 6.25 × 4.25.

BALE, MONASTERY,

9th (or 11th ct.?), IC (or ER), ca. 38.75 × 36.35.

BEGOVAČA, CHURCH,

three short parallel chambers, TPR, 9th ct., 13 × 11.60.

- BIJAČI, ST. MARTA, (166, 179),
aisled with western tower, RPR, EC, early 9th ct., 14.80 × 8.3.
- BIJAČI, ROYAL ESTATE,
SPR, ca. 800.
- BIOGRAD, CATHEDRAL, (165),
aisled three-apsidal with western tower,
RPR, 9th ct. (and later?) 29.80 × 14.30.
- BIOGRAD, ST. IVAN, (193),
aisled three-apsidal with westwork, TPR,
consecrated 1076, 27.50 × 12.50.
- BIOGRAD, ST. TOMA,
aisled, triapsidal, TPR, shortly before 1061–62, n.a.
- BISKUPIJA, ST. CECILIJA AT STUPOVI, (163, 164),
aisled, three-apsidal with westwork and tower,
RPR, probably around 850–900, 35.00 × 13.00.
- BISKUPIJA, SS. MARY AND STEPHEN
(CHURCH AND MONASTERY OR ROYAL COURT),
aisled with westwork, RPR, mid or late 9th ct., 32.60 × 13.20.
- BISKUPIJA, ST. MIHOVIL (?) AT LOPUŠKA GLAVICA, (164),
aisleless with westwork, RPR, probably
mid to later 9th ct., 15 × 7.20.
- BISKUPIJA, CHURCH AT BUKUROVIĆA PODVORNICE,
aisleless, RPR, possibly 9–10th ct., 9 × 6.80 (incomplete).
- BISKUPIJA, CHURCH AT ST. TROJICA,
polygonal, TPR, PR period, demolished.
- BIŠEVO, ST. SILVESTAR, (81),
aisleless, TPR, founded 1050, rebuilt later, 15.70 × 6.40.
- BLAŽUJ (BH), CHURCH AT ROGČIĆI,
hexachora, TPR, late PR?, n.a.
- BLIZNA, ST. Marija,
RPR, 9th ct. (in course of exploration).
- BORINCI,
aisleless with rounded apse (?), TPR, late 11th ct., n. a.
- BRAČ, ST. DUH AT ŠKRIP,
aisled, TPR, EC and PR period, rebuilt, 12.50 × 7.25.
- BRAČ, ST. ILIJA AT DONJI HUMAC,
aisleless, TPR, possibly L, 8.40 × 4.80.
- BRAČ, ST. IVAN AT BOL,
aisleless, TPR, EC and PR period, 8.50 × 4.40.
- BRAČ, ST. JURAJ AT NEREŽIŠĆA, (74),
aisleless, TPR, possibly toward, 1100, 6.80 × 3.60.
- BRAČ, ST. JURAJ ON THE STRAŽEVNIK,
aisleless, TPR, before 1111, 7.40 × 4.60.
- BRAČ, ST. KLIMENT NEAR PRAŽNICE,
aisleless, TPR, L (?), 6.40 × 4.20.
- BRAČ, SS. KUZMA AND DAMJAN ON THE SMRČEVIK,
aisleless, TPR, PR period (?), 6.50 × 4.40.
- BRAČ, ST. Marija AT GRADAC,
aisleless, TPR, PR period (?), 7.20 × 4.20.
- BRAČ, ST. MARTIN AT BOBOVIŠĆA,
aisleless, TPR, PR period (L?), 8.20 × 4.80.
- BRAČ, ST. MIHOVIL AT DOL,
aisleless (once possibly domed?), TPR, PR period, 8.40 × 4.80.
- BRAČ, ST. NIKOLA NEAR SELCA, (50, 54, 74, 108, 109, 116, 118, 213),
aisleless domed, TPR, possibly 1050–1100, 5.25 × 3.55.

- BIJAČI, SV. MARTA, (166, 179),
jednobrodna sa zapadnim tornjem,
KPS, RK, početak 9. st, 14.80 × 8
- BIJAČI, KRALJEVSKO IMANJE,
SR, oko 800.
- BIOGRAD, KATEDRALA, (165)
trobrodna i troapsidalna sa zapadnim tornjem,
KPS, možda 9. st. i kasnije, 29.80 × 14.30
- BIOGRAD, SV. IVAN, (193),
trobrodna i troapsidalna sa "westwerk",
TPS, posvećena 1076., 27.50 × 12.50
- BIOGRAD, SV. TOMA,
trobrodna i troapsidalna, TPS, kratko prije 1061. – 62., n.m.
- BISKUPIJA, SV. CECILIJA, STUPOVI, (163, 164),
trobrodna i troapsidalna sa "westwerk" i tornjem,
KPS, vjerojatno kasno 9. st., 35.00 × 13.00.
- BISKUPIJA, SV. STJEPAN I Marija U CRKVINI
(CRKVA I SAMOSTAN ILI VLADARSKI DVOR),
trobrodna sa "westwerk", KPS, 9. st., 32.60 × 13.20
- BISKUPIJA, SV. MIHOVIL (?) NA LOPUŠKOJ GLAVICI, (164),
jednobrodna sa "westwerk", KPS, po svojoj
prilici sredina ili kraj 9. st., 15 × 7.20.
- BISKUPIJA, CRKVA U BUKUROVIĆA PODVORNICAMA,
jednobrodna, KPS, vjerojatno 9.–10.
st., 9 × 6.80 (nepotpuna).
- BISKUPIJA, CRKVA SV. TROJICE,
poligonalna, TPS, OP razdoblje, srušena.
- BIŠEVO, SV. SILVESTAR, (81),
jednobrodna, TPS, utemeljena 1050.,
pregrađena, 15.70 × 6.40.
- BLAŽUJ (BH), CRKVA U ROGAČIĆIMA,
šesterolisna, TPS, kasna OP?, n.m.
- BLIZNA, S. Marija,
jednobrodna s westwerk, KPS, 9. st., n.m.
- BORINCI,
jednobrodna s polukružnom apsidom
(?), TPS, kraj 11., n. m.
- BRAČ, SV. DUH U ŠKRIPU,
jednobrodna, TPS, RK i OP razdoblje, pregrađena.
- BRAČ, SV. ILIJA U DONJEM HUMCU,
jednobrodna, TPS, možda K, 8.40 × 4.80.
- BRAČ, SV. IVAN U BOLU,
jednobrodna, TPS, RK i OP razdoblje (kasnije?), 8.50 × 4.40.
- BRAČ, SV. JURAJ KOD NEREŽIŠĆA, (74),
jednobrodna, TPS, možda prema 1100., 6.80 × 3.60.
- BRAČ, SV. JURAJ KOD STRAŽEVNIKA,
jednobrodna, TPS, prije 1111., 7.40 × 4.60.
- BRAČ, SV. KLIMENT KOD PRAŽNICA,
jednobrodna, TPS, K (?), 6.40 × 4.20.
- BRAČ, SV. KUZMA I DAMJAN NA SMRČEVIKU,
jednobrodna, TPS, OP razdoblje (?), 6.50 × 4.40.
- BRAČ, SV. Marija U GRADCU,
jednobrodna, TPS, OP razdoblje (?), 7.20 × 4.20.
- BRAČ, SV. MARTIN KOD BOBOVIŠĆA,
jednobrodna, TPS, OP razdoblje (K?), 8.20 × 4.80.

- BRAČ, SV. MIHOVIL U DOLU,
jednobrodna (jednom možda pod kupolom?),
TPS, OP razdoblje, 8.40 × 4.80.
- BRAČ, SV. NIKOLA KRAJ SELACA,
(50, 54, 74, 108, 109, 116, 118, 213),
jednobrodna pod kupolom, TPS,
možda 1050–1100., 5.25 × 3.55.
- BRAČ, SV. TOMA U GORNJEM HUMCU,
jednobrodna, TPS, K?, 6.80 × 4.20.
- BRAČ, SV. TUDOR KOD NEREŽIŠĆA,
jednobrodna, TPS, RK i OP?, 7.20 × 4.10.
- BRIBIR, SV. IVAN,
šesterolist ili osmerolist, TPS, OP razdoblje, 10.80.
- BRNAZE, SV. MIHOVIL,
šesterolist, TPS, 9–10. st., 11.
- CETINA, SV. SPAS, (52, 160, 165, 168–171, 173–175, 177, 216),
jednobrodna sa "westworkom" i tornjem,
KPS, kasnije 9. st., 21.50 × 8.
- CISTA VELIKA, CRKVA, COMPLEX
EC/PR site in course of investigation.
- ČEPIKUĆE,
jednobrodna s apsidom poligonlanonm izvana i
potkovastom unutra RK, PR preinaka, 9 (?) × 5.70.
- DUBAC, SV. STJEPAN,
jednobrodna, TPS, OR, 6.80 (?) × 3.90.
- DUBROVNIK, KATEDRALA,
trobrodna s kupolom, TPS, Bizant/OR, 35.70 × 16.50.
- DUBROVNIK,
četverolist (memorijalna kapela) baptisterij, TPS,
Bizant/OR, 8.5.
- DUBROVNIK, SS. KUZMA I DAMJAN,
jednobrodna s tri male apside, TPS,
sredina 11th ct., ca. 6.30 × ca. 4.50.
- DUBROVNIK, SV. LUKA,
jednobrodna s kupolom, TPS, K, 6.20 × 3.05.
- DUBROVNIK, SV. NIKOLA, (110),
jednobrodna s kupolom TPS, možda
oko 1000.–1050., 10 × 4.60.
- DUBROVNIK, SV. PETAR,
upisani križ, TPS/RRS, 11. st., 38.10 × 20.00,
križna kript sa aditusom, 6.10 × 2.70.
- DUBROVNIK, SIGURATA, (132),
jednobrodna s kupolom, TPS, 11. st., 9.25 × 4.35.
- DUBROVNIK, SV. STJEPAN,
jednobrodna, TPS, prije 950, n.m.
- DUBROVNIK, DIJELOVI GRADSKIH BEDEMA
SP, OP razdoblje.
- DUGI OTOK, SV. IVAN U TELAŠĆICI, (74),
jednobrodna, TPS, prije 1060.–65., 10.75 × 5.55.
- DUGI OTOK, SV. PELEGRIN, SAVAR, (72, 169, 198, 199),
kvadrat pod kupolom, TPS, 9.–10. st., 4.55 × 4.35.
- DUGI OTOK, SV. VIKOR U TELAŠĆICI,
kvadrat pod kupolom, TPS, prije 986.–999.
(vjerojatno 9–10 st.), 6.60 × 4.50.
- BRAČ, ST. TOMA AT GORNJI HUMAC,
aisleless, TPR, L?, 6.80 × 4.20.
- BRAČ, ST. TUDOR AT NEREŽIŠĆA,
aisleless, TPR, EC and PR?, 7.20 × 4.10.
- BRIBIR,
hexachora or octachora, TPR, PR period, 10.80.
- BRNAZE, ST. MIHOVIL,
hexachora, TPR, 9–10th ct., 11.
- CETINA, ST. SPAS (SAVIOR'S CHURCH),
(52, 160, 165, 168–171, 173–175, 177, 216),
aisleless with westwork and tower, RPR,
before or around 900, 21.50 × 8.
- CISTA VELIKA, CRKVA, COMPLEX
EC/PR site in course of investigation.
- ČEPIKUĆE,
aisleless with an apse polygonal without and horse-
shoe within, EC, PR adaptation, 9 (?) × 5.70.
- DUBAC, ST. STJEPAN,
aisleless, TPR, PR, 6.80 (?) × 3.90.
- DUBROVNIK, CATHEDRAL,
aisled with a dome, TPR, Byzantine/PR, 35.70 × 16.50
- DUBROVNIK,
quaterfoil (memorial chapel) baptistry,
TPR, Byzantine/PR, 8.5.
- DUBROVNIK, SS. KUZMA AND DAMIAN,
aisleless with three small apses, TPR,
mid-11th ct., ca. 6.30 × ca. 4.50.
- DUBROVNIK, ST. LUKA,
aisleless domed, TPR, L, 6.20 × 3.05
- DUBROVNIK, ST. NIKOLA, (110),
aisleless domed, TPR, possibly around 1000–1050, 10 × 4.60.
- DUBROVNIK, ST. PETAR,
inscribed cross TPR/ER, 11th ct., 21.20 × 9.60,
cruciform crypt with additus, 6.10 × 2.70.
- DUBROVNIK, SIGURATA, (132),
aisleless domed, TPR, possibly 11th ct.
(and earlier?), 9.25 × 4.35.
- DUBROVNIK, ST. STJEPAN,
aisleless, TPR, before 950 (possibly 8th ct.), n.a.
- DUBROVNIK, SECTIONS OF CITY WALLS,
SPR, PR period.
- DUGI OTOK, ST. IVAN IN TELAŠĆICA, (74),
aisleless, TPR, before 1060–65, 10.75 × 5.55.
- DUGI OTOK, ST. PELEGRIN, SAVAR, (72, 196, 198, 199),
square domed, TPR, 9–10th ct., 4.55 × 4.35.
- DUGI OTOK, ST. VIKTOR IN TELAŠĆICA,
square domed, RPR, before 986–999
(probably 9–10th ct.), 6.60 × 4.50.
- DVIGRAD, ST. SOFIJA, (75, 115),
three-apse hall, 2nd phase, 770, 12.50 × 8.20
aisled with flat termination, 3rd phase, ca.
1150, Romanesque, 27.70 × 15.60.
- GABRILI, ST. DIMITRIJE,
aisleless, TPR, possibly late 11th ct., 6.90 × 4.55.

- GAJANA, BELL-TOWER,
ER.
- GRADAC, ST. PETAR,
aisleless with rounded apse (?), TPR, PR, n. a.
- GURAN, BASILICA,
aisled box, 17. 7th ct. (?), late 8th ct.
- GURAN, ST. ŠIMUN,
three-apse hall, 17. 6th – 7th ct., rebuilt
8th – 9th ct., 14.25 × 8.45.
- IGRANE, ST. MIHOVIL, (80, 112, 113),
aisleless, TPR, L?, 8.80 × 4.30.
- IŽ MALI, ST. Marija, (104),
rotunda, TPR, PR, 6.10.
- JESENICE, ST. MAKSIM,
aisleless, TPR, before 1080, 6.70 × 2.60.
- KAKMA,
hexachora, TPR, PR, n. a.
- KANFANAR, ST. AGATA, (154),
aisleless with polygonal sanctuary, 10th ct., 13.40 × 6.25.
- KAŠIĆ, ST. MIHOVIL (?) AND MONASTERY,
hexachora, possibly 9–10th ct., 11.50.
- KAŠTEL STARI, ST. JURAJ AT RADUN, (106, 107),
aisleless, TPR, PR (possibly 11th ct.?), 10.15 × 5.05.
- KOLOČEP, ST. ANTE, (68, 69),
aisleless domed, TPR, probably L, 6.70 × 2.60.
- KOLOČEP, ST. BARBARA,
aisleless (domed?), TPR, PR (11th ct.?), 4.80 × 2.30.
- KOLOČEP, ANUNCIJATA,
aisleless, TPR, PR, ca. 6.70 × 3.40.
- KOLOČEP, ST. MIHAJLO,
aisleless domed, TPR, late 11th ct., n.a.
- KOLOČEP, ST. NIKOLA, (53, 66, 67, 74),
aisleless domed, TPR, possibly 1000–1050
(and earlier?), 5 × 2.30.
- KOLOČEP, ST. SRB,
aisleless (domed?), TPR, L(?), 6.20 × 2.40.
- KOLJANE, CHURCH,
aisled with tower, RPR, 9th ct. (?), 18 × 6.80 (incomplete).
- KORČULA, ST. KUZMA AND DAMJAN NEAR BLATO,
possibly around 1100, 7.70 × 4.20.
- KRK, ST. DONAT NEAR PUNAT, (31, 55, 188, 192),
complex centralized, ER, late 11th ct., or later, 9.60 × 7.50.
- KRK, ST. KRŠEVAN NEAR GLAVOTOK, (88, 192, 200),
trichora, ER, late 11th ct., or later, 7.80 × 7.
- KRK, ST. LUCIJA AT JURANDVOR, (192),
aisleless, ER, toward 1100, 16.55 × 5.95.
- KRK, ST. LUCIJA AT KRK, (192),
aisleless, EC/ER, probably EC and 11th ct., 10.10 × 4.90.
- KRK, ST. PETAR NEAR KAMPELI,
aisleless, ER, 11/12th ct., n.a.
- KRK, ST. VID AT DOBRINJ, (192, 201),
aisleless with tower, ER, 1100, 10.70 × 4.70.
- KULA ATLAGIĆA, ST. PETAR, (78),
ER, late 11th ct., 11.20 × 6.45.
- DVIGRAD, SV. SOFIJA, (75, 115),
dvorana s tri apside, 2. faza, 770., 12.25 × 8.20;
trobrodna s ravnim završetkom, 3 faza,
oko 1150., romanika, 27.70 × 15.60.
- GABRILI, SV. DIMITRIJE,
jednobrodna, TPS, možda kraj 11. st., 6.90 × 4.55.
- GAJANA, ZVONIK,
RRS.
- GURAN, BAZILIKA,
trobrodna s ravnim završetkom, 17. 7. i 8. st.,
- GURAN, SV. ŠIMUN,
triapsidalna dvorana, 17. 6–7. st.,
pregrađen 8–9. st., 14.25 × 8.45.
- IGRANE, SV. MIHOVIL, (80, 112, 113),
jednobrodna, TPS, K?, 8.80 × 4.30.
- IŽ MALI, SV. Marija, (104),
rotunda, TPS, OR, 6.10.
- JESENICE, SV. MAKSIM,
jednobrodna, TPS, prije 1080., 6.70 × 2.60.
- KAKMA,
šesterolist, TPS, PR, n. m.
- KANFANAR, SV. AGATA, (154),
jednobrodna s poligonalnom apsidom,
17. 10. st., 13.40 × 6.25.
- KAŠIĆ, SV. MIHOVIL (?),
šesterolist i samostan, TPS, možda 9.–10. st., 11.50.
- KAŠTEL STARI, SV. JURAJ U RADUNU, (106, 107),
jednobrodna, TPS, OR, možda XI. st., 10.15 × 5.05.
- KOLOČEP, SV. BARBARA,
jednobrodna (pod kupolom?), TPS, OR (11. st.?), 4.80 × 2.30.
- KOLOČEP, SV. ANTE, (68, 69),
jednobrodna pod kupolom, TPS, po
svoj prilici K, 6.70 × 2.60.
- KOLOČEP, ANUNCIJATA,
jednobrodna, TPS, OR, 6.70 × 3.90.
- KOLOČEP, SV. NIKOLA, (53, 66, 67, 74),
jednobrodna pod kupolom, TPS,
možda 1000.–1050., 5 × 2.30.
- KOLOČEP, SV. SRB,
jednobrodna (s kupolom?), TPS, K(?), 6.20 × 2.40.
- KOLJANE,
trobrodna s tornjem, KPS, 9. st. (?), 18 × 6.80 (nepotpuna).
- KORČULA, SV. KUZMA I DAMJAN KRAJ BLATA,
možda oko 1100., 7.70 × 4.20.
- KRK, SV. DONAT KOD PUNTA, (31, 55, 188, 192),
složena centralna, RRS, kraj 11. st., ili kasnije, 9.60 × 7.50.
- KRK, SV. KRŠEVAN KOD GLAVOTOKA, (88, 192, 200),
trolist, RRS, kraj 11. st., ili kasnije, 7.80 × 7.
- KRK, SV. LUCIJA U JURANDVORU, (192),
jednobrodna, RRS, oko 1100., 16.55 × 5.95.
- KRK, SV. LUCIJA U KRKU, (192),
jednobrodna, RK i RRS, vjerojatno RK i 11. st., 10.10 × 4.90.
- KRK, SV. PETAR KRAJ KAMPELI,
jednobrodna, RRS, 11./12. st., n.m.

- KRK, SV. VID KOD DOBRINJA, (192, 201),
jednobrodna s tornjem, RRS, 1100., 10,70 × 4,70.
- KULA ATLAGIĆA, SV. PETAR, (78),
RK, kasno 11. st., 11,20 × 6,45.
- LASTOVO, SV. CIPRIJAN,
jednobrodna, TPS, OP, 4,80 × 3,20.
- LASTOVO, SV. LUKA, (70, 74, 130, 191),
jednobrodna, TPS, vjerojatno oko 1100., 5,60 × 4,35.
- LASTOVO, SV. PETAR U UBLIMA,
jednobrodna, TPS, OP, n.m.
- LEPURINE, SV. MARTIN,
tri usporedne apsidalne dvorane na
RK polžaju, TPS, 9. st., n. a.
- LIMSKA DRAGA, SV. MARIJA,
jednobrodna s poligonalnom apsidom, RK
i TPS, 9. st. i ranije, 8,60 × 4,80.
- LIMSKA DRAGA, SV. MIHOVIL,
jednobrodna s polukružnom apsidom,
RRS/TPS, poč. 11. st., 13,20 × 6,80.
- LOBOR, SV. MARIJA GORSKA,
trobrodna s westwerkom, KPS, 9. st., n.m.
- LOKRUM, SAMOSTANSKA CRKVA,
trobrodna troapsidalna, RRS/TPS i romanička, 11. st. i
kasnije (na temeljima ranije zgrade?), 26,90 × 11,35.
- LOPUD, SV. ILIJA, (75),
jednobrodna (s kupolom?), TPS,
možda kasno 11. st., 5 × 2,50.
- LOPUD, SV. IVAN, (75, 120, 121),
jednobrodna s kupolom, TPS, možda
početak 11. st., 6,35 × 2,30.
- LOPUD, SV. MAUR,
jednobrodna s polukružnom apsidom, TPS, PR, 6,50 × 4,20.
- LOPUD, SV. NIKOLA, (75),
jednobrodna s kupolom, TPS, oko 1100., 4,80 × 2,30.
- LOPUD, SV. PETAR,
jednobrodna, TPS, OP, 7,30 × 3,80.
- MAISAN, MEMORIJALNA KAPELA,
jednobrodna (vjerojatno s kupolom),
TPS, RK i prije 800., 7,80 × 4,80.
- MLJET, CRKVA U POLAČAMA,
jednobrodna s trijemom, TPS, RK i OP?, 16 × 5,90.
- MLJET, SV. PANKRACIJE U BABINU SELU,
jednobrodna, TPS, OP?, n.m.
- MLJET, SS. PETAR I PAVAO,
jednobrodna s tri učajurene apside, TPR, PR, 4,70 × 2,75.
- MOROŽINE, SV. MARIJA, (157),
jednobrodna s ugrađenom apsidom,
IT, 9. ili 10. st., 9,40 × 6,45.
- MRKAN, SV. MIHOVIL, (74),
jednobrodna s RK kriptom, TPS, RK i OP, 4,30 × 2,90.
- MUĆ DONJI, SV. PETAR,
jednobrodna, RK, TPS, RK, 888., n.m.
- NIN, SV. KRIŽ, (26–29, 62, 72, 82–85),
slobodan križ, TPS, vjerojatno oko 800., 8,90 × 8,80.
- LASTOVO, ST. CIPRIAN,
aisleless, TPR, PR, 4.80 × 3.20.
- LASTOVO, ST. LUKA, (70, 74, 130, 191),
aisleless, TPR, possibly around 1100, 5.60 × 4.35.
- LASTOVO, ST. PETAR IN UBLI,
aisleless, TPR, PR, n.a.
- LEPURINE, ST. MARTIN,
three parallel aisled halls on EC foundations, TPR, 9th ct., n. a.
- LIMSKA DRAGA, ST. MARIJA,
aisleless with polygonal apse, EC and TPR
(?), 9th ct. and earlier, 8.60 × 4.80.
- LIMSKA DRAGA, ST. MIHOVIL,
aisleless with rounded apse, ER/TPR, early 11th ct., 13.20 × 6.80.
- LOBOR, ST. MARIJA GORSKA,
aisled with westwork, RPR, 9th ct., n.a.
- LOKRUM, MONASTERY CHURCH,
aisled, three-apsidal ER/TPR and Romanesque, 11th ct.
and later (on top of an earlier building), 26.90 × 11.35.
- LOPUD, ST. ILIJA, (75),
aisleless (domed?), TPR, possibly late
11th ct. (and earlier?), 5 × 2.50.
- LOPUD, ST. IVAN, (75, 120, 121),
aisleless domed, TPR, possibly around 1000, 6.35 × 2.30.
- LOPUD, ST. MAUR,
aisleless with rounded apse, TPR, PR, 6.50 × 4.20.
- LOPUD, ST. NIKOLA, (75),
aisleless domed, TPR, toward 1100, 4.80 × 2.30.
- LOPUD, ST. PETAR,
aisleless, TPR, PR, 7.30 × 3.80.
- MAISAN, MEMORIAL CHAPEL,
aisleless (probably domed), TPR, EC
and before 800, 7.80 × 4.80.
- MLJET, CHURCH AT POLAČE,
aisleless with a porch, TPR, EC and PR?, 16 × 5.90.
- MLJET, ST. PANKRACIJE AT BABINO SELO,
aisleless, TPR, PR?, ca. 6.40 × ca. 3.40.
- MLJET, SS. PETAR AND PAVAO,
aisleless with three small embedded
apses, TPR, PR, 4.70 × 2.75.
- MOROŽINE, ST. MARIJA, (157),
aisleless with embedded apse, IT, 9th or 10th ct., 9.40 × 6.45.
- MRKAN, ST. MIHOVIL, (74),
aisleless with an EC crypt, TPR, EC and PR, 4.30 × 2.90.
- MUĆ DONJI, ST. PETAR,
aisleless, EC/TPR, EC/888, n.a.
- NIN, ST. KRIŽ (HOLY CROSS), (26–29, 62, 72, 82–85),
free cross, TPR, probably around 800, 8.90 × 8.80.
- NIN, ST. MARIJA, (193),
aisled three-apsidal, TPR, Early
Byzantine/late 11th ct., 23 × 12.80.
- NIN, ST. NIKOLA, (38, 136, 137, 192),
trichora, ER, late 11th ct., or later, 7.30 × 6.80.
- NIN, BAPTISTERY,
tetrachora (?), ca. 800 – questionable.

- NOVIGRAD, CATHEDAL (ST. PELAGIJE),
aisled with an embedded rounded apse and
crypt, EC, 8th–9th ct., IT/IC., n. a.
- OMIŠ, ST. PETAR U PRIKU, (75, 144–146),
aisleless domed, TPR, before 1074–90,
probably ca. 1050–70, 9.25 × 5.70.
- OSOR, ST. PLATON AT SUPLATUNSKI, (76),
two-apsidal, TPR, possibly early 9th ct., 12.40 × 6.50.
- OSOR, ST. PETAR,
aisled three-apsidal, TPR, early 11th ct., 23.00 × 12.80.
- OSOR, CHURCH IN DOLAC,
elongated box, TPR, possibly early 9th ct., 14.70 × 4.60.
- OŠLJE, CHURCH, (32, 73),
octachora with westwork, TPR/ER, possibly 10th and
late 11th ct., radius 12, westwork 8.65 × 6.65.
- OTRES, ST. PETAR,
devastated site, TPR (?), 9th ct. n. a.
- PAG, ST. JURAJ NEAR PAG,
aisleless, TPR, PR, 11 × 5.20.
- PAG, ST. NIKOLA AT POVLJANA, (76),
aisleless, TPR, possibly 10th ct., 11.80 × 4.75.
- PAŠMAN, ST. MARTIN AT NEVIDANE,
aisleless, TPR, PR, n. a.
- PEROJ, ST. FOŠKA, (78, 148–150),
aisled box, IT and Romanesque, 8th ct.
(?), 12th ct., 14.40 × 10.40.
- PEROJ, ST. JOSIP,
three-apse box, IT, 10th ct., 17.00 × 7.00.
- PODACA, ST. IVAN,
aisleless, TPR, PR (11th ct.?), n. a.
- POLOŽAC DONJI, ST. MIHOVIL,
aisleless with rounded apse TPR on EC site, n. a.
- PONIKVE, SS. FILIP AND JAKOV,
aisleless with three small apses, TPR,
probably L, 6.15 × 3.30 (incomplete).
- PONIKVE, ST. JURAJ,
aisleless with three small apses, TPR, probably L, 5.60 × 3.45.
- POREČ, ST. ANDRIJA,
three-apse box, IT, 7th or 8th ct., n. a.
- PRIDRAGA, ST. MIHOVIL AND MONASTERY, (72, 195),
hexachora, TPR, probably 9–10th ct., 10.
- RAB, ST. PETAR AT SUPETARSKA DRAGA, (193),
aisled, three-apsidal, TPR, before 1060, 21.60 × 10.30.
- RAB, ST. ANDRIJA,
aisled three-apsidal, TPR/ER, 11th ct., 17.95 × 9.65.
- RAVANJSKA, ST. JURAJ, (30, 86, 87),
aisleless domed, TPR, before 1071,
probably 9–10th ct., 4.60 × 2.80.
- ROVINJ, ST. ANDRIJA ON THE CRVENI OTOK,
domed square, IT, 6th–7th ct., or 8th ct., 5.80 × 5.80.
- ROVINJ, ST. CECILIJA,
aisleless with eastern opening, IT, 10th ct., 11.40 × 6.50.
- ROVINJ, ST. EUFEMIJA,
free-cross version, IT, 11th ct., 10.00 × 7.80.
- NIN, SV. MARIJA, (193),
trobrodna i troapsidalna, TPS, rani
Bizant/kasno 11. st., 23 × 12.80.
- NIN, SV. NIKOLA, (38, 136, 137, 192),
trolist, RRS, kraj XI st., ili kasnije, 7.30 × 6.80.
- NIN, BAPTISTERIJ (KRSTIONICA),
četverolist, oko 800. (?).
- NOVIGRAD, KATEDRALA (SV. PELAGIJE),
trobrodna s ućahurenom apsidom i
kriptom, RK, 8. i 9. st., IT/IK., n. a.
- OMIŠ, SV. PETAR U PRIKU, (75, 144–146),
jednobrodna s kupolom, TPS, prije 1074.–90.,
vjerojatno oko 1050.–70., 9.25 × 5.70.
- OSOR, SV. PLATON U SUPLATUNSKOM, (76),
dvoapsidalan, TPS, možda početak 9. st., 12.40 × 6.50.
- OSOR, SV. PETAR,
trobrodna i troapsidalna, TPS, početak 11. st., 23.00 × 12.80.
- OSOR, CRKVA U DOLCU,
produljena kutija, TPS, vjerojatno
početak 9. st., 14.70 × 4.60.
- OŠLJE, CRKVA, (32, 73),
osmerolist s westwerkom, TPS/RRS, možda 10. i
kraj 11. st., promjer 12, westwerk 8.65 × 6.65.
- OTRES, SV. PETAR,
uništen, TPR (?), 9. st., n.m.
- PAG, SV. JURAJ KOD PAGA,
jednobrodna, TPS, OR, 11 × 5.20.
- PAG, SV. NIKOLA U POVLJANI, (76),
jednobrodna, TPS, vjerojatno 10. st., 11.80 × 4.75.
- PAŠMAN, SV. MARTIN U NEVIDANIMA,
jednobrodna, TPS, OR, n.m.
- PEROJ, SV. FOŠKA, (78, 148–150),
trobrodna s ravnim završetkom, IT, romanika,
kasnije, 8. (?) i 12. st., 14.40 × 10.40.
- PEROJ, SV. JOSIP,
dvorana s tri apside, IT, 10. st., 17.00 × 7.00.
- PODACA, SV. IVAN,
jednobrodna, TPS, OP (11. st.?), n.m.
- POLOŽAC DONJI, SV. MIHOVIL,
jednobrodna s polukružnom apsidom,
TPS na RK položaju, n. m.
- PONIKVE, SV. FILIP I JAKOV,
jednobrodna, TPS, možda K, 6.15 × 3.30 (nepotpuno).
- PONIKVE, SV. JURAJ,
jednobrodna, TPS, možda K, 5.60 × 3.45.
- POREČ, SV. ANDRIJA,
dvorana s tri apside, IT, 7. st. ili 8. st., 17.70 × 7.70.
- PRIDRAGA, SV. MIHOVIL I SAMOSTAN, (72, 195),
šesterolist, TPS, vjerojatno 9.–10. st., 10.
- RAB, SV. PETAR U SUPETARSKOJ DRAZI, (193),
trobrodna i troapsidalna, TPS, prije 1060., 21.60 × 10.30.
- RAB, SV. ANDRIJA,
trobrodna i troapsidalna, RRS/TPS, 11. st., 17.95 × 9.65.
- RAVANJSKA, SV. JURAJ, (30, 86, 87),
jednobrodna s kupolom, TPS, prije 1071.,
po svojoj prilici 9–10. st., 4.60 × 2.80.

- ROVINJ, SV. ANDRIJA NA CRVENOM OTOKU,
čelverokut pod kupolom, IT, 6.–7. st. ili 8. st., 5.80 × 5.80.
- ROVINJ, SV. CECILIJA,
jednobrodna bezapsidalna s istočnim
otvorom, IT, 10. st., 11.40 × 6.50.
- ROVINJ, SV. EUFEMIJA,
derivacija slobodnog križa, IT, 11. st., 10.00 × 7.80.
- ROVINJ, SV. KRISTOFOR, (214),
jednobrodna s polukružnom apsidom,
RRS, 11. st., 12.30 × 8.35.
- ROVINJ, SV. TOMA,
slobodni križ, IT, 6.–7. st. i kasnije, 12.95 × 12.95.
- RUŽAR, SV. MARIJA,
dvorana s tri apside, IT, 12.15 × 7.15, poč. 9. st.
- SANSAR, SV. SERVUL,
jednobrodna s ugrađenom apsidom,
IT, 7. ili 8. st., 8.90 × 4.70.
- SEGET, SUDANEL U SEGETU GORNJEM, (76),
solo-apsida, TPS, KA/OR, 5.95 × 6.60.
- SELINE, SV. PETAR,
jednobrodna s postranim tornjem, TPS, kasna OR, n.m.
- SOLIN, SV. PETAR U RIŽINICAMA,
jednobrodna, RK, TPS, RK 852., 14.50 × 7.40.
- SOLIN, SV. MARIJA I STJEPAN, (162),
trobrodna s kupolom i westwerkom,
TPS, prije 976., 21.70 × 9.10.
- SOLIN, SV. PETAR I MOJSIJE, (181, 193),
trobrodna s tornjem, RRS, kratko prije 1070.
- SPLIT, KATEDRALA (DIOKLECijanov MAUZOLEJ), (13, 61),
oktagon, KA/TPS, adaptacije oko 300/OR.
- SPLIT, SV. ANDRIJA "DE FENESTRIS",
7. i 9. st., RK preinaka, PR, n. m.
- SPLIT, KRSTIONICA (JUPITEROV HRAM),
KA/OR adaptacije, oko 300/OR.
- SPLIT, KRSTIONICA, SV. TOMA (KRIPTA),
KA/OR adaptacije, oko 300/OR.
- SPLIT, KRSTIONICA – TORANI,
RRS, kraj 11. st.
- SPLIT, CRKVA (HRAM CIBELE),
KA/OR adaptacije, oko 300/OR.
- SPLIT, SV. MATIJA,
KA/OR adaptacije, oko 300/OR.
- SPLIT, SV. MARTIN (U PORTA AUREA), (76),
KA/OR adaptacije, oko 300/OR.
- SPLIT, SV. TEODOR ILI GOSPA OD ZVONIKA
(U PORTA FERREA), (64, 65, 76),
KA/OR adaptacije, oko 300/OR, toranj,
RRS, druga polovica 11. st.
- SPLIT, SV. BENEDIKT (SV. EUFEMIJA) I SAMOSTAN,
trobrodna s kupolom, TPS, 1068., 17.30 × 6.40.
- SPLIT, SV. IZIDOR, U SUČIDARU,
jednobrodna, TPS, OR, 8 × 4.80.
- SPLIT, SV. JURAJ NA MARJANU,
jednobrodna, TPS, OP (možda 8.–9. st.), 8.20 × 5.80.
- ROVINJ, ST. KRISTOFOR, (214),
aisleless with rounded apse, ER, 11th ct., 12.30 × 8.35.
- ROVINJ, ST. TOMA,
free-cross, IT, 6th – 7th ct., or later (8th ct.), 12.95 × 12.95.
- RUŽAR, ST. MARIJA,
three-apse hall, IT, early 9th ct., 12.15 × 7.15.
- SANSAR, ST. SERVUL,
aisleless with embedded apse, IT, 7th or 8th ct., 8.90 × 4.70.
- SEGET, SUDANEL AT SEGET GORNJI, (76),
solo-apse, TPR, LA/PR, 5.95 × 6.60.
- SELINE, ST. PETAR,
aisleless with a side tower, TPR, late PR?, n.a.
- SOLIN, ST. PETAR AT RIŽINICE,
aisleless, EC, TPR, EC/852, 14.50 × 7.40.
- SOLIN, SS. MARIJA AND STJEPAN, (162),
aisled domed with westwork, TPR, before 976, 21.70 × 9.10.
- SOLIN, SS. PETAR AND MOJSIJE, (181, 193),
aisled with tower, ER, shortly before 1070.
- SPLIT, ST. ANDRIJA "DE FENESTRIS",
7th and 9th ct., LA adaptation, PR.
- SPLIT, CATHEDRAL (DIOCLETIAN'S MAUSOLEUM), (13, 61),
octagonal, LA/PR adaptations, c.300/PR.
- SPLIT, BAPTISTERY (JUPITER'S TEMPLE),
LA/PR adaptations, c.300/PR.
- SPLIT, BAPTISTERY, ST. TOMA (CRYPT),
LA/PR adaptation, c.300/PR.
- SPLIT, BAPTISTERY – TOWER,
ER, late 11th ct.
- SPLIT, PR CHURCH (CIBELE'S TEMPLE),
LA/PR adaptation, c.300/PR.
- SPLIT, ST. MATIJA,
LA/PR adaptation, ca. 300/PR.
- SPLIT, ST. MARTIN (IN PORTA AUREA), (76),
LA/PR adaptation, ca.300/PR.
- SPLIT, ST. TEODOR OR OUR LADY OF THE BELL TOWER
(IN PORTA FERREA), (64, 65, 76),
LA/PR adaptation, ca.300/PR;
Tower, ER, second half of the 11th ct.
- SPLIT, ST. BENEDIKT (ST. EUFEMIJA) AND MONASTERY,
aisled with dome, TPR, 1068, 17.30 × 6.40.
- SPLIT, ST. ISIDOR AT SUČIDAR,
aisleless, TPR, PR, 8 × 4.80.
- SPLIT, ST. JURAJ AT MARIAN,
aisleless, TPR, PR (possibly 8–9th ct.), 8.20 × 5.80.
- SPLIT, ST. MIHOVIĆ,
aisleless, TPR, 7–8th ct., 11.30 × 7.50.
- SPLIT, ST. NIKOLA IN VELI VAROŠ, (119, 129, 130),
cruciform, TPR, 11th ct. and later, 10.85 × 5.25.
- SPLIT, ST. PETAR AT KAMEN,
aisleless, TPR, PR, n.a.
- SPLIT, ST. STJEPAN AT SUSTIPAN, (79),
aisled with a single apse and monastery,
TPR, around 1020, 43 × 22.

- SPLIT, ST. TROJICA, (90, 91),
octachora, TPR, ca. 800, 10.30.
- SPLIT, HOUSE TO THE EAST OF THE VESTIBULE, (205),
SPR, PR, 9.20 × 5.30.
- SPLIT, HOUSE TO THE WEST OF THE VESTIBULE, (205),
SPR, PR, demolished.
- SPLIT, HOUSE IN DOSUD ST.,
SPR, PR, demolished.
- SPLIT, HOUSE AT THE CARRARA FIELD,
SPR, PR, n.a.
- SPLIT, OLIVE MILL ("TURNJAČNICA")
IN THE BASEMENT OF THE PALACE,
SPR, LA/PR.
- SPLIT, WALLS OF DIOCLETIAN PALACE,
possible PR adaptations, LA/PR.
- STON, GOSPA U LUŽINAMA (OUR LADY IN THE MARSHES),
aisleless with a tower, TPR, EC/PR, (possibly a PR
church with a tower), and later (?), 16 × 7.30.
- STON, ST. IVAN,
aisleless, TPR, EC/PR and later (?), 9.20 × 4.80
- STON, ST. JURAJ (OR ST. STJEPAN),
aisleless, TPR within an EC basilica, EC/PR, 7.20 × 3.40.
- STON, SS. KUZMA AND DAMJAN,
aisleless crypt, TPR, possibly PR, 3.70 × 2.90.
- STON, ST. MAGDALENA,
aisled with westwork, EC/RPR (?), PR, 36 × 10.60
- STON, ST. MARTIN,
aisleless, TPR, 11th cl. (?), 6.20 × 3.50.
- STON, ST. MIHOVIL, (43, 75, 158, 159, 210),
aisleless domed with westwork (demolished),
TPR, late 11th cl. (and earlier), 6.25 × 4.50.
- STON, ST. PETAR,
gemina (two aisleless units), TPR, EC/PR/
later, 7.20 × 4.90, and 12 × 4.95.
- SUMPETAR, ST. PETAR IN SELO,
aisled with a single apse, TPR, EC/
consecrated 1080, demolished.
- SUŠAC, ST. NIKOLA,
aisleless, TPR, EC?-PR (or L), 7 × 4.50.
- SV. LOVREČ PAZENATIČKI, ST. BENEDIKT,
aisleless with rounded apse, IT, 8th – 9th cl., 12.30 × 7.40.
- SV. LOVREČ PAZENATIČKI, ST. DORLIGO,
aisleless with rounded apse, ER/
TPR, around 1050, 14.30 × 5.40.
- SV. LOVREČ PAZENATIČKI, ST. LOVRO, (155),
aisleless with rounded apse, IT, 8th cl., 8.4 × 5.8.
- SV. LOVREČ PAZENATIČKI, ST. MARTIN, (36, 183–185, 187),
aisled three-apsidal, ER/TPR, 11th cl.
(and earlier), 33.00 × 15.50.
- ŠĆEDRO, ST. MARIJA,
aisleless (domed?), TPR, EC and PR, 9.10 × 4.80.
- ŠIPAN, ST. BARBARA,
aisless, two-bay, TPR, PR (or L), 5.90 × 2.85.
- ŠIPAN, CHURCH AT BISKUPIJA,
aisleless (domed?), TPR, EC and PR, 10.40 × 5.20.
- SPLIT, SV. MIHOVIL,
jednobrodna, TPS, 7.–8.st., 11.30 × 7.50.
- SPLIT, SV. NIKOLA U VELOM VAROŠU, (119, 129, 130),
križni, TPS, 11. st. i kasnije, 10.85 × 5.25.
- SPLIT, SV. PETAR U KAMENU,
jednobrodan, TPS, OP, n.m.
- SPLIT, SV. STJEPAN U SUSTIPANU, (79),
trobrodan s jednom apsidom i
samostanom, TPS, oko 1020., 43 × 22.
- SPLIT, SV. TROJICA, (90, 91),
osmerolist, TPS, oko 800., 10.30.
- SPLIT, KUĆA ISTOČNO OD VESTIBULA, (205),
SR, OR, 9.20 × 5.30.
- SPLIT, KUĆA ZAPADNO OD VESTIBULA, (205),
SR, OR, srušena.
- SPLIT, KUĆA U ULICI DOSUD,
SR, OR, srušena.
- SPLIT, KUĆA NA CARRARINOJ POLJANI,
SR, OR, n.m.
- SPLIT, MLIN ZA MASLINE ("TURNJAČICA")
u podrumu Palače, SR, KA/OR.
- SPLIT, ZIDOVİ DIOKLECIJANOVE PALAČE,
moguće OP adaptacije, /OP.
- STON, GOSPA U LUŽINAMA,
jednobrodna s tornjem, TPS, RK/OR i kasnije (možda
predromanička crkva s tornjem), 16 × 7.30.
- STON, SV. IVAN,
jednobrodna, TPS RK/OR i kasnije (?), 9.20 × 4.80.
- STON, SV. JURAJ (ILI SV. STJEPAN),
jednobrodna, TPS unutar RK bazilike, RK/OR, 7.20 × 3.40.
- STON, SV. KUZMA I DAMJAN,
jednobrodna kript, TPS, možda OR, 3.70 × 2.90.
- STON, SV. MAGDALENA,
trobrodna s westwerkom, RK i KPS (?), OR, 36 × 10.60.
- STON, SV. MARTIN,
jednobrodna, TPS, 11. st. ili kasnije, 6.20 × 3.50.
- STON, SV. MIHOVIL, (43, 75, 158, 159, 210),
jednobrodna s kupolom, TPS, kraj
11. st. (i ranije?), 6.25 × 4.50.
- STON, SV. PETAR, GEMINA,
(dvije jednobrodne jedinice), TPS, RK/
OP kasnije, 7.20 × 4.95 i 12 × 4.95.
- SUMPETAR, SV. PETAR U SELU,
trobrodna s jednom apsidom, TPS, RK
posvećena 1080., srušena.
- SUŠAC, SV. NIKOLA,
jednobrodna, TPS, RK?-OP (ili K?), 7 × 4.50.
- SV. LOVREČ PAZENATIČKI, SV. BENEDIKT,
jednobrodna s polukružnom apsidom,
IT, 8.–9. st., 11.60 × 7.30.
- SV. LOVREČ PAZENATIČKI, SV. DORLIGO,
jednobrodna s polukružnom apsidom,
RRS/IT, oko 1050., 14.30 × 5.40.
- SV. LOVREČ PAZENATIČKI, SV. LOVRO, (155),
jednobrodna s polukružnom apsidom, IT, 8. st., 8.4 × 5.8.

- SV. LOVREČ PAZENATIČKI, SV. MARTIN, (36, 183-185, 187),
trobrodna i troapsidalna, RRS/TPS, 11.
st. (i ranije?), 33.00 × 15.50.
- ŠČEDRO, SV. Marija,
jednobrodna (s kupolom?), TPS, RK i OP, 9,10 × 4,80.
- ŠIPAN, CRKVA U BISKUPIJI,
jednobrodna (s kupolom?), TPS, RK i OP, 10,40 × 5,20.
- ŠIPAN, SV. BARBARA,
jednobrodna, dvotravejna, TPS, PR (ili K), 5,90 × 2,85.
- ŠIPAN, SV. IVAN U ŠILOVOU SELU,
jednobrodna, TPS, možda oko 1100., 6,40 × 3,60.
- ŠIPAN, SV. MIHOVIL,
jednobrodna, TPS, 7. st., 8,20 × 3,10.
- ŠIPAN, SV. MIHOVIL U PAKLJENI, (71, 105),
jednobrodna s kupolom, TPS, prva
polovica 11. st. 7,50 × 4,30.
- ŠIPAN, SV. PETAR NA VELOM VRHU, (74),
jednobrodna s kupolom, TPS, možda oko 1000., 8 × 4,25.
- ŠKABRNJA, SV. JURAJ,
šesterolist, TPS, možda 9. st.
- TAR, SV. KRIŽ,
jednobrodna bez apside, IT, 7. ili 8. st., 11,80 × 7,40.
- TROGIR, GOSPA OD MORA U ČIOVU,
jednobrodna, TPS, možda kraj 11. st., 6,40 × 4,10.
- TROGIR, SV. Marija na TRGU, (73),
šesterolist, TPS, 715.-717., 11.
- TROGIR, SV. MARTIN (SV. BARBARA), (77),
trobrodna s tornjičem, TPS, po svoj
prilici 9. st. i kasnije, 12,30 × 6,20.
- TROGIR, SV. STJEPAN,
križna, TPS, OP, srušena.
- UGLJAN, GOSPA NA OŠLIJAKU,
jednobrodna, TPS, OP (ili kasnije), 10 × 4,60.
- UGLJAN, SV. KUZMA I DAMJAN,
jednobrodna, TPS, OP (?), n.m.
- UGLJAN, SV. IVAN U PREKU,
jednobrodna, TPS, 11. st. i kasnije (?), 12 × 5,60.
- UZDOLJE, SV. LUKA (SV. IVAN), (76),
jednobrodna, RK/TPS, RK/895.(?), 13,20 × 6,20.
- VINKOVCI, SV. ILIJA, (74),
jednobrodna, TPS, oko 1100., 11,45 × 6,75.
- VIS, SV. MIHOVIL,
jednobrodna, TPS, OP i kasnije?, 8,50 × 4,20.
- VODNJAN, SV. KVIRIN,
jednobrodna troapsidalna, 6. i 8./9. st., 1K?, n. a.
- VRGADA, SV. ANDRIJA, (75),
jednobrodna, TPS, vjerojatno prije 1050., 11 × 4,90.
- VRŠAR, SV. Marija, (34, 182),
faza 8. st., trobrodna s jednom
apsidom, IT, 8. st., 22,20 × 14,45.
- VRŠI, SV. TOMA,
tragovi OP trolista (?).
- ZADAR, KATEDRALA SV. STOŠIJE, (194),
preobrazba RK crkve, RK/OP.
- ŠIPAN, ST. IVAN IN ŠILOVO SELO,
aisleless, TPR, possibly toward 1100, 6.40 × 3.60.
- ŠIPAN, ST. MIHOVIL,
aisleless, TPR, 7th cl., 8.20 × 3.10.
- ŠIPAN, ST. MIHOVIL IN PAKLJENA, (71, 105),
aisleless domed, TPR, first half of the 11th cl., 7.50 × 4.30.
- ŠIPAN, ST. PETAR ON THE VELI VRH, (74),
aisleless domed, TPR, possibly around 1000, 8 × 4.25.
- ŠKABRNJA, ST. JURAJ,
hexachora, TPR, possibly 9th cl.
- TAR, ST. KRIŽ,
aisleless without apse, IT, 7th or 8th cl., 11.80 × 7.40.
- TROGIR, GOSPA OD MORA (OUR LADY BY THE SEA) AT ČIOVO,
aisleless, TPR, possibly late 11th cl., 6.40 × 4.10.
- TROGIR, ST. Marija ON THE SQUARE, (73),
hexachora, TPR, 715-717, 11.
- TROGIR, ST. MARTIN (ST. BARBARA), (77),
aisled with a turret, TPR, probably
9th cl. and later, 12.30 × 6.20.
- TROGIR, ST. STJEPAN,
cruciform, TPR, PR, demolished.
- UGLJAN, OUR LADY ON OŠLIJAK,
aisleless, TPR, PR (and later?), 10 × 4.60.
- UGLJAN, SS. KUZMA AND DAMJAN,
aisleless, TPR, PR (?), n.a.
- UGLJAN, ST. IVAN IN PREKO,
aisleless, TPR 11th cl. and later (?), 12 × 5.60.
- UZDOLJE, ST. LUKA (ST. IVAN), (76),
aisleless, EC/TPR, EC/895, 13.20 × 6.20.
- VINKOVCI, ST. ILIJA, (74),
aisleless, TPR, toward 1100, 11.45 × 6.75.
- VIS, ST. MIHOVIL,
aisleless, TPR, PR and later?, 8.50 × 4.20.
- VODNJAN, ST. KVIRIN,
aisled three-apsidal, 6th and 8th/9th cl., 1C?, n. a.
- VRGADA, ST. ANDRIJA, (75),
aisleless, TPR, probably before 1050, 11 × 4.90.
- VRŠAR, ST. Marija, (34, 182),
8th cl. phase, aisled with one apse, IT, 8th cl., 22.20 × 14.45.
- VRŠI, ST. TOMA,
traces of a PR trichora (?).
- ZADAR, CATHEDRAL OF ST. STOŠIJA, (194),
refurbishing of the EC church, EC/PR.
- ZADAR, ST. DONAT, (37, 42, 94-96, 98-103),
rotunda, TPR, 8-9th cl., 21.00.
- ZADAR, ST. IVAN (ST. NEDILJICA), (33, 40, 46, 47, 77, 123, 197),
aisled with cruciform crypt and side
tower, TPR, late 11th cl., 8 × 7.40.
- ZADAR, ST. KRŠEVAN AT KOLOVARE,
hexachora, TPR, PR, demolished.
- ZADAR, ST. LOVRO, (44, 77, 126),
cruciform with westwork, TPR, probably
10-11th cl. 14.15 × 6.40.

ZADAR, ST. Marija ("DE PUSTERLA," "STOMORICA"), (73, 217),
hexachora with a tower, TPR, possibly
11th ct. and earlier, 14.20.

ZADAR, ST. Marija,
aisled three-apsidal ER/TPR, 11th ct., 22.40 × 13.00.

ZADAR, ST. PETAR STARI, (77, 114, 127),
two-aisled, TPR, EC/possibly 10th ct. and later, 8.60 × 4.50.

ZADAR, ST. STOŠIJA AT PUNTAMIKA,
aisleless with crypt, LA/TPR, LA/ possibly 9th ct. 16.10 × 6.50.

ZADAR, ST. VID,
free cross, TPR, probably 8th ct., demolished.

ZADAR, CHURCH AT CITY GATE,
aisleless, TPR, EC repaired in PR, incomplete (6.20? × 5.80).

ZADAR, SECTIONS OF CITY WALLS,
SPR, LA/PR.

ZAVALA (BH), ST. PETAR,
cruciform (?), TPR, L?, n.a.

ŽAŽVIĆ, CHURCH, (166),
aisled with one apse, westwork and tower, RPR,
EC/PR (11th ct.? or earlier), 26.90 × 8.65.

ŽMINJ, ST. FOŠKA, (58, 59, 209),
aisled with rounded apse, TPS (?), around
800 and earlier (EC), 14.50 × 7.70.

Some other buildings have been suggested as possibly Pre-Romanesque: St. Duh at Posedarje, St. Blaž at Komiža, St. Juraj at Putalj, St. Juraj at Žestinj, and a few more buildings on the Islands of Brač, Korčula and Hvar. Traces of Pre- or Early Romanesque buildings might be underneath the churches of Nijemci and Nova Rača in Continental Croatia.

As I prepared the list I realized how little we still know about the subject. Are, for example, the rather simple and crude churches on central Dalmatian Islands (Brač, Korčula, Lastovo ...) all very late? Are all crude buildings, wherever they are, in fact, post-Pre-Romanesque? Or, on the contrary, very early? Why there are no Pre-Romanesque buildings in the Vinodol area, or on the Islands of Hvar (some may have been identified by Nikša Petrić) or Šolta?

Chronologies of some clearly defined groups – polyconchal churches, South Dalmatian type – have been improved, but they still seem imperfect.

Aren't there too many buildings dated toward the end of the eleventh century? Too many to the ninth century? To the beginning and to the end?

This list, incomplete as it is, should remind us that we still have a way to go toward a more precise identification and dating.

ZADAR, SV. DONAT, (37, 42, 94–96, 98–103),
rotunda, TPS, 8.–9. st., 21.00.

ZADAR, SV. IVAN (SV. NEDILJICA), (33, 40, 46, 47, 77, 123, 197),
trobrodan kvadrat s križnom kriptom i
postranim tornjem, TPS, kraj 11. st., 8 × 7.40.

ZADAR, SV. KRŠEVAN U KOLOVARIMA,
šesterolist, TPS, OP, srušena.

ZADAR, SV. LOVRO, (44, 77, 126),
križna s "westwerkom", TPS, vjerojatno
10.–11. st., 14.15 × 6.40.

ZADAR, SV. Marija,
trobrodna i troapsidalna, RRS/TPS, 11. st., 22.40 × 13.80.

ZADAR, SV. Marija ("DE PUSTERLA," "STOMORICA"), (73, 217),
šesterolist s tornjem, TPS, možda 11. st. ili ranije, 14.20.

ZADAR, SV. PETAR STARI, (77, 114, 127),
dvobrodan, TPS, RK/ možda 10. st. i kasnije, 8.60 × 4.50.

ZADAR, SV. STOŠIJA U PUNTAMIKI,
jednobrodna sa kriptom, KA/TPS, KA/
možda 9. st., 16.10 × 6.50.

ZADAR, SV. VID,
slobodan križ, TPS, vjerojatno 8. st., srušena.

ZADAR, CRKVA U GRADSKIM VRATIMA,
jednobrodna TPS, RK obnovljena OP,
nepotpuna (6.20? × 5.80).

ZADAR, DIJELOVI GRADSKIH BEDEMA,
SP, KA/OP.

ZAVALA (BH), SV. PETAR,
križna (?), TPS, K?, n.m.

ŽAŽVIĆ, (166),
trobrodna s apsidom, "westwerkom" i tornjem,
RPS, RK/OP (11.st.? ili ranije), 26.90 × 8.65.

ŽMINJ, SV. FOŠKA, (58, 59, 209),
jednobrodna s polukružnom apsidom,
TPS (?), oko 800. i ranije,

Još se neke zgrade spominju kao predromaničke: Sv. Duh u Posedarju, Sv. Blaž u Komiži, Sv. Juraj na Putalju, Sv. Juraj u Žestinj, te još nekoliko spomenika Brača, Korčule i Hvara.

Dok sam pripremao ovaj popis shvatio sam koliko ustvari malo znamo o predmetu rasprave. Da li su, na primjer, malene i grube crkvice na srednjedalmatinskim otocima (Brač, Korčula, Lastovo ...) spomenici kasnog doba? Da li su sve grublje crkvice, bilo gdje, ustvari, post-predromaničke? Ili, naprotiv, da li su vrlo rane? Zašto nema spomenika predromanike u Vinodolu, ili na otocima Hvaru (neki su možda prepoznati u radu Nikše Petrića) i Šolti?

Kronologije nekih jasno određenih skupina mnogolisnog ili južnodalmatinskog tipa znatno su unaprijeđene, no nisu savršene.

Nije li odviše spomenika datirano krajem XI. stoljeća? Odviše tijekom devetog? Na početku i na kraju?

Nek nas ovaj popis podsjeti da nam predstoji još dug put do točnijeg prepoznavanja i datiranja.

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dr. sc. Vladimir Peter Goss,
redovni profesor

Vladimir Peter Goss (Vladimir Gvozdanović) rođen je 3. siječnja 1942. u Zagrebu, gdje je završio Klasičnu gimnaziju. Diplomirao je engleski i povijest umjetnosti (oboje pod A) na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu (1965 i 1966). Na istom fakultetu izradio je magistarski rad pod naslovom *Vinodolski teritorij i njegova prostorna organizacija* koji je obranio u lipnju 1968. a doktorsku disertaciju pod naslovom *Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque Architecture in Croatia* obranio je u lipnju 1972 na Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.. Od rujna 1972 Assistant Professor, University of Michigan, od proljeća 1975 Associate Professor, od proljeća 1980 Full Professor, 1979–80 Visiting Professor, University of Tel-Aviv, 1983 i 1984 summer visiting professor University of North Carolina. Od lipnja 2003 redovni je profesor na Sveučilištu u Rijeci. U sklopu poslijediplomskog studija Odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti u Zagrebu predaje od 2003. godine.

Vladimir P. Goss djeluje u znanosti gotovo četiri decenija. Glavna područja istraživanja su predromanika u Hrvatskoj i Europi, romanička fasadna plastika i ranija srednjovjekovna umjetnost Srednje Europe i Karpatskog bazena. Objavio je tri knjige o predromaničkoj arhitekturi, a ko-autor je ili urednik još četiri knjige na razne srednjovjekovne teme. Objavio je 42 znanstvena rada pretežno u inozemstvu (navodimo prestižnije časopise: *Cahiers archeologiques*, *Commentari*, *Arte Veneta*, *Arte Lombarda*, *Napoli Nobilissima*, *Studies in Medieval Culture*, *East European Quarterly*) ali i u Hrvatskoj (*Peristil*, *Arhitektura*, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, *Vjesnik Arheološkog Muzeja u Zagrebu*, *Hortus artium medievalium*, *Prilozi instituta za arheologiju*, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*), te u zbornicima u zemlji i inozemstvu. Nastupio je kao govornik na 30 te kao predsjedatelj sekcija na 16 znanstvenih skupova u SAD, Italiji, Belgiji, Luxemburgu, Mađarskoj, Izraelu i Hrvatskoj. Od brojnih znanstveno-izložbenih projekata izdvajamo "Meeting of the Two Worlds", University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1981, "An Armenian Treasury in Michigan", *ibid.*, 1983, "Sigismundus, rex et imperator" (jedan od deset članova međunarodnog organizacionog odbora), Budimpešta–Luxemburg, 2006, te "Romaničke skulptura u muzejima i zbirkama između Save i Drave", Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, u pripremi za 2007.

Predsjednik je Upravnog odbora Instituta za povijest umjetnosti.

Nositelj je projekta "Romanika u međuriječju Save i Drave i europska kultura" (MZOŠ 0009032).

Vladimir Peter Goss, Ph.D.,
full professor

Vladimir Peter Goss (Vladimir Gvozdanović) was born in Zagreb in 1942, where he completed the Classical Gymnasium. He holds a B.A. in English and a B.A. in Art History (1965, 1966), and an M.A. in Art History (1968) from the University of Zagreb. His Master's Thesis was entitled *Vinodolski teritorij i njegova prostorna organizacija*. He obtained his Ph.D at Cornell University in 1972 with a Doctoral Thesis entitled *Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque Architecture in Croatia*. He taught at the University of Michigan (Assistant Professor, Associate Professor, Full Professor), the University of Tel-Aviv (1979–80 Visiting Professor), and the University of North Carolina (1983 and 1984 summer visiting professor). Since 2003 he has been a full professor of Art History at the University of Rijeka (Croatia). He has been a member of the graduate faculty at the University of Zagreb since 2003.

Vladimir P. Goss has been active in art history research for almost four decades. His main interest is the Pre-Romanesque in Croatia and Europe, Romanesque sculpture, and the earlier medieval art of Central Europe and the Carpathian basin. He has published three books on Pre-Romanesque architecture, and was a co-author or editor of four more books on medieval art topics, 42 scholarly papers (more prestigious journals: *Cahiers archeologiques*, *Commentari*, *Arte Veneta*, *Arte Lombarda*, *Napoli Nobilissima*, *Studies in Medieval Culture*, *East European Quarterly*), and also in Croatia (*Peristil*, *Arhitektura*, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, *Vjesnik Arheološkog Muzeja u Zagrebu*, *Hortus artium medievalium*, *Prilozi instituta za arheologiju*, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*), and numerous contributions to conference proceedings and miscellanea. He spoke at 30, and presided over 16 sessions at scholarly conferences in the U.S, Italy, Belgium, Luxemburg, Hungary, Israel i Croatia. Among his involvement with scholarly projects and exhibitions we single out the "Meeting of the Two Worlds", University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1981, "An Armenian Treasury in Michigan", *ibid.*, 1983, "Sigismundus, rex et imperator" (member of International Advisory Board), Budapest–Luxemburg, 2006, and "The Romanesque Sculpture in Museums and Collections between the Sava and the Drava Rivers." Archeological Museum in Zagreb, in preparation for 2007.

He is the President of the Governing Council of the Institute for Art History of Croatia, and the Director of the Project "The Romanesque Art Between the Sava and the Drava River and European Culture (Ministry of Science of Croatia).

Dr. sc. Srebrenka Sekulić-Gvozdanović

Srebrenka Sekulić-Gvozdanović (1916–2002) was an architect, and a corresponding member of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Science. She took her B.A. degree at the School of Architecture of Zagreb University in 1940, where she also obtained her Ph.D. with a dissertation on the Fortified Churches in Croatia in 1975. She was a full professor and Professor Emeritus at the Chair for the History of Architecture from 1975 through 2002. From 1979 through 1982 she was the Dean of Faculty. She also taught at graduate studies in Zadar, Split, Sarajevo and Belgrade, and presented visiting lectures at the Cornell University, University of Maryland, University of Michigan and Harvard University in the U.S., and the University of Toronto in Canada. She was invited speaker at numerous scholarly conferences all around the world. She was a member of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, The Society of Architectural Historians, Archeological Institute of America, Société Française d'archéologie, etc. Her scholarly output of ca. 250 units includes studies on the origin and development of medieval castles in Croatia, on specific types of churches (i.e., fortified), but also of world wide themes such as the Muslim architecture. She made a special contribution by collecting materials in the field, making architectural drawings of ground plans, sections, reconstructions in particular of Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque buildings in Croatia. Many of her drawings are present in this book

Andrija Mutnjaković, Member of Academy

Architect Andrija Mutnjaković (1928). Member of Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences, took a B.A. degree at the School of Architecture of Zagreb University in 1954, followed by a course of graduate studies in the master workshop of architect Drago Ibler at the Art Academy in Zagreb. Besides being a professional designer, he is interested in theory and history of architecture on which he has widely published both at home and abroad. His books are mostly bilingual editions, and they can be divided into two groups: investigations of architectural and urban design theory (Biourbanizam, Rijeka 1983; Endemska arhitektura, Osijek, 1987; Tercijarni grad, Osijek, 1988; Arhitekturna bionika (coauthor), Moscow, 1990; Kinetička arhitektura, Zagreb 1995, and questions of architectural history: Varaski Theater, Zagreb, 1968; Andreas Alexius Epirota (in Albanian), Priština, 1981; Frührenaissancestadt, Zagreb, 1991; The Ducal Palace of Urbino, Zagreb, 1992; The Happy Town, Zagreb, 1993; Der Architekt Josip Pičman, Zagreb, 1997; Wiederaufbau der Kirchen in Kroatien, Zagreb, 1997; Andrea Alessi, Zagreb, 1998; Luciano Laurana, Architect, Zagreb, 2004. He also designed, edited, and provided with forewords books by other authors, such as Kornelije Budinić, Arhitektonske studije, Pula, 1984; Slavoluk Sergijevaca, Pula, 1998; Frano Petrić, La città felice, Zagreb, 1999; Andre Mohorovičić, Istarski limes, Žminj, 2004; Dane Gruber and Vjekoslav Spinčić, Povijest Istre, Zagreb-Žminj, 2005. The book Pre-Romanesque Architecture in Croatia, Zagreb, 1996, by Vladimir P. Goss belongs to the same group. The theme of that study, expanded and visually enriched is presented in this book.

Dr. sc. Srebrenka Sekulić Gvozdanović

*Arhitektica Srebrenka Sekulić Gvozdanović (1916.–2002.) dopisni je član Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti. Diplomirala je 1940. na Arhitektonskom fakultetu u Zagrebu, gdje je i doktorirala 1975. disertacijom *Crkve-tvrđave u Hrvatskoj*. Redovni profesor i profesor emeritus na katedri *Razvoj arhitekture* istog fakulteta bila je od 1975. do 2002. godine, te dekan fakulteta od 1979. do 1982. godine. Predavala je na postdiplomskim studijima u Zadru, Splitu, Sarajevu i Beogradu, te kao gost-predavač na sveučilištima u Americi (Cornell, Maryland, Michigan, Harvard-Cambridge) i Kanadi (Toronto), te sudjelovala na brojnim znanstvenim skupovima u svijetu. Bila je član nekoliko međunarodnih institucija kao što su Museum of Modern Art, New York; Society of Architectural Historians, Philadelphia; Archaeological Institute of America, New York; Société Française d'Archeologie, Paris; i drugih. Znanstveni opus od preko 250 radova pretežno obuhvaća istraživanje nastanka i razvoja srednjovjekovnih gradova-burgova i novovjekovnih gradova na području Hrvatske, istraživanje funkcije i oblikovanja specifičnih crkvi građenih kao skloništa župljana u ratnim opasnostima, ali i istraživanje svjetski interesantnih tema kao što je povijesni pregled muslimanske vrtne arhitekture. Posebno vrijedna njena istraživanja obuhvaćaju snimanja na terenu, izradu nacрта i komparativnih shema, te grafičkih rekonstrukcija mogućeg izvornog izgleda, velikog broja predromaničkih i romaničkih crkvi u Hrvatskoj. Dio tih istraživanja prezentiran je u ovoj knjizi.*

Akademik Andrija Mutnjaković

*Arhitekt Andrija Mutnjaković (1929.) redovni je član Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti. Diplomirao je 1954. na Arhitektonskom fakultetu u Zagrebu, te pohađao post-diplomski studij u Majstorskoj radionici Drage Iblera pri Likovnoj akademiji u Zagrebu. Uz profesionalni projektanski rad bavi se izučavanjem teorije i povijesti arhitekture objavljene u domaćoj i stranoj periodici, te knjigama. Knjige su pretežno tiskane dvojezično, te ih je moguće svrstati u dvije osnovne grupacije. Teoretska istraživanja arhitekture i urbanizma obuhvaćaju knjige: *Biourbanizam*, Rijeka 1983; *Endemska arhitektura*, Osijek 1987; *Tercijarni grad*, Osijek 1988; *Arhitekturna bionika* (s grupom autora), Moskva 1990; *Kinetička arhitektura*, Zagreb 1995. Istraživanja povijesti arhitekture obuhvaćaju knjige: *Varaski theater*, Zagreb 1968; *Andreas Alexius Epirota* (albanski), Priština 1981; *Ranorenesansni grad / Frührenaissancestadt*, Zagreb 1991; *Vojvodska palača u Urbino / The Ducal Palace of Urbino*, Zagreb 1992; *Sretan grad / The Happy Town*, Zagreb 1993; *Arhitekt Josip Pičman / Der Architekt Josip Pičman*, Zagreb 1997; *Obnovljena crkva u Hrvatskoj / Wiederaufbau von Kirchen in Kroatien*, Zagreb 1997; *Andrija Aleši / Andrea Alessi*, Zagreb 1998; *Acta Architectonica: Josip Pičman*, Zagreb 1998; *Arhitekt Lucijan Vranjanin / Luciano Laurana*, Zagreb 2004. Također je koncipirao, uređio, popratio predgovorom nekoliko knjiga drugih autora, među kojima: Kornelije Budinić, *Arhitektonske studije*, Pula 1984; Slavoluk Sergijevaca, Pula 1989; Frano Petrić, Zagreb 1999; *Sretan Grad / La città felice*, Zagreb 1999; Andre Mohorovičić, *Istarski limes*, Žminj 2004; Dane Gruber i Vjekoslav Spinčić, *Povijest Istre*, Zagreb-Žminj 2005. U ovu skupinu spada i knjiga Vladimir P. Goss, *Predromanička arhitektura u Hrvatskoj / Pre-Romanesque Architecture in Croatia*, Zagreb 1996. Tema navedene knjige sadržajno je dopunjena i adekvatno likovno opremljena, te je prezentirana u ovoj knjizi.*

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