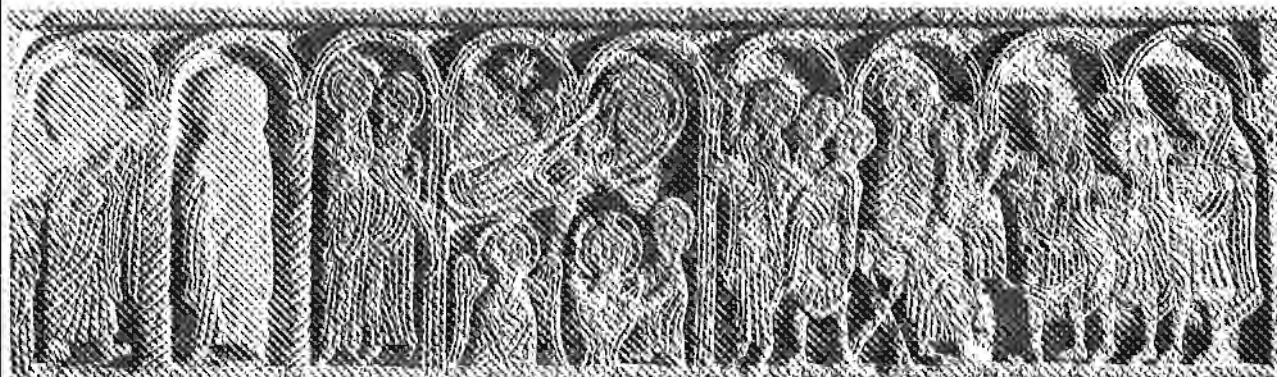


ARCHITECTONICA CROATICA

PREDROMANIČKA ARHITEKTURA
U HRVATSKOJ

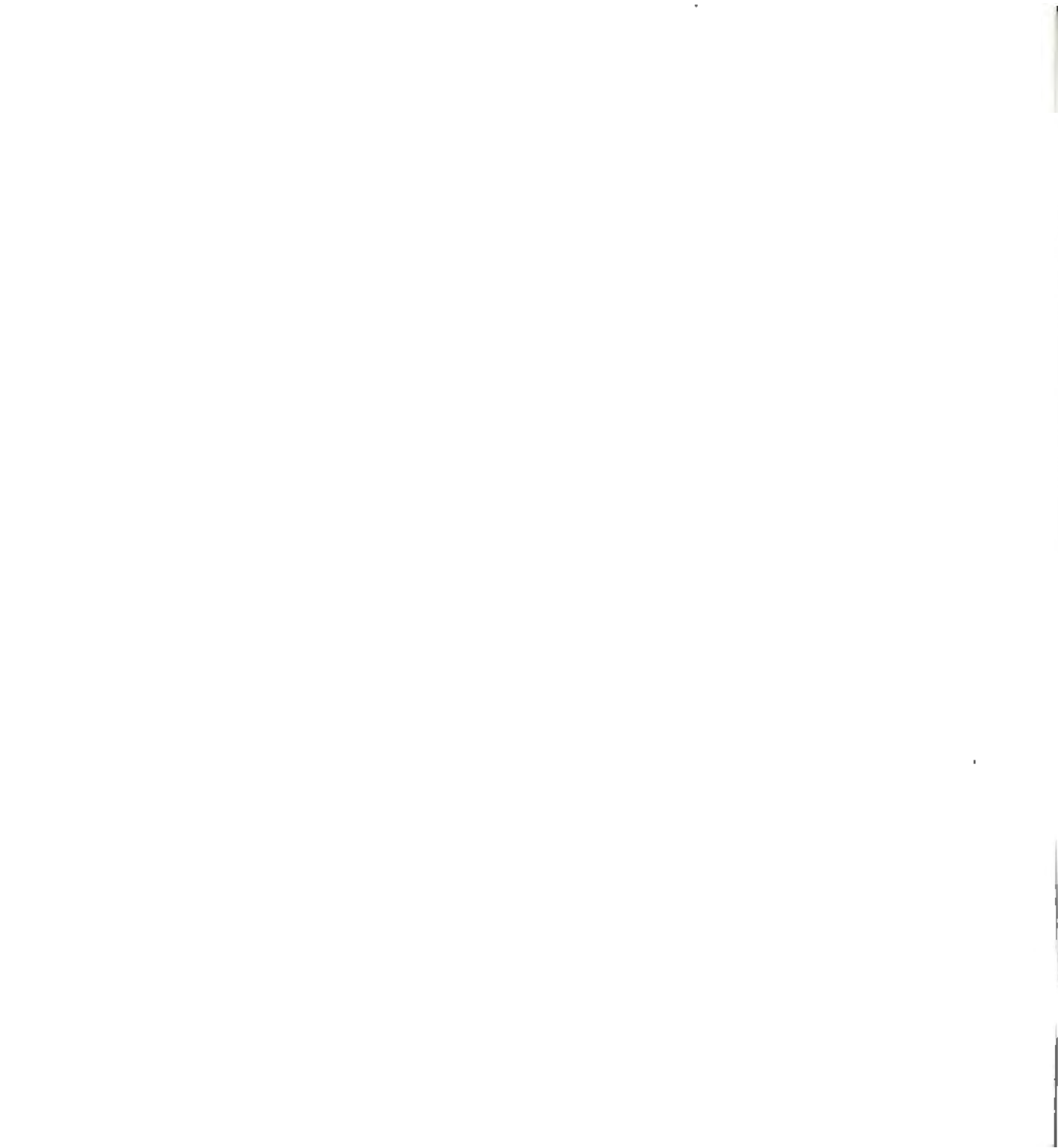
VLADIMIR P. GOSS

PRE-ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE
IN CROATIA



Razdoblje predromanike jedno je od najplodnijih u hrvatskoj umjetnosti i graditeljstvu. Autor ove knjige nastoji prikazati bitne osobine predromaničkog graditeljstva u Hrvatskoj, odrediti njegove izvore, i utjecaj na kasniju hrvatsku umjetnost, utvrditi njegovu estetsku vrijednost i mjesto u povijesti umjetnosti i kulture europskog Zapada. Materijal je podijelio u tri skupine: *Tradicionalna predromanička umjetnost* skupina je kojoj pripadaju brojni spomenici zasnovani na ranijoj mjesnoj tradiciji; u skupini *Kraljevska predromanička umjetnost* zamašniji su graditeljski pothvati viših društvenih slojeva, koji slijede oblike suvremene karolinške odnosno otonske umjetnosti Zapada; *Ranoromanička umjetnost* specifična je hrvatska varijanta "prve romanike" sredozemnog kulturnog kruga. Detaljno razmatranje graditeljskih tipova kao i najznačajnijih pojedinačnih spomenika u tim skupinama glavni je predmet ove studije. Autor na kraju daje pregled povijesti istraživanja i znanstvenog rada s područja predromanike u Hrvatskoj, popis spomenika (crkvene i svjetovne arhitekture), te izbor literature. Oblici predromaničkog graditeljstva u Hrvatskoj objašnjavaju se i u kontekstu kontinuiteta mjesne baštine, te u odnosu prema suvremenoj umjetnosti Zapada i Istoka. Analizom bitnih odrednica europske predromanike i rane romanike utvrđuje se bliska povezanost graditeljstva predromaničkog razdoblja s umjetnošću zapadno-europskog predromaničkog i ranoromaničkog kulturnog kruga. Knjiga sadrži i izvatke (glave 29, 30 i 31) iz spisa *O upravljanju carstvom (De administrando imperio)* bizantskog cara Konstantina VII Porfirogeneta pisane oko 950. godine.

Art and architecture of the Pre-Romanesque period represent one of the richest chapters of artistic activity of Croatia. This book is an attempt to present the essential aspects of Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia, to identify its sources, its importance for later Croatian art, its esthetic value, and its place within the art and culture of the European West. The author proposes a tripartite division of the material. *The Traditional Pre-Romanesque Group* consists of numerous monuments the form of which are rooted in local heritage. *The Royal Pre-Romanesque Group* includes larger buildings commissioned by the highest strata of the society and influenced by the contemporary art of the Carolingian and Ottonian courts of the West. *The Early Romanesque Group* presents a specific Croatian variant of the "First Romanesque Art" of the Mediterranean. A detailed discussion of the architectural types and key individual monuments of all three groups is the main task of the study. In addition, the author discusses the history of investigation and scholarship in the Pre-Romanesque architecture of Croatia, and offers a list of monuments as well as a select bibliography. The forms of Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia are explained both within the context of the continuity of local artistic tradition, and in relation to the contemporary art of West and East. Through an analysis of the key features of the European Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque art, the architecture of the Pre-Romanesque period in Croatia is intimately linked with the art of the Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque West. The book also contains sections (chapters 29, 30, 31) of the treatise by the byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus *On the governing of the empire (De administrando imperio)* written around 950.



Vladimir P. Goss

Predromanička arhitektura u Hrvatskoj
Pre-Romanesque Architecture in Croatia

VLADIMIR P. GOSS

PRE-ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE
IN CROATIA

FOREWORD

Andrija Mutnjaković

ARCHITECTURAL DESIGNS

Sena Sekulić-Gvozdanović

APPENDIX

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus

905 - 959

De Administrando Imperio

ARCHITECTONICA CROATICA

VLADIMIR P. GOSS

PREDROMANIČKA ARHITEKTURA
U HRVATSKOJ

PREDGOVOR

Andrija Mutnjaković

ARHITEKTONSKI NACRTI

Sena Sekulić-Gvozdanović

PRILOG

Konstantin VII Porfirogenet

905 - 959

O upravljanju carstvom

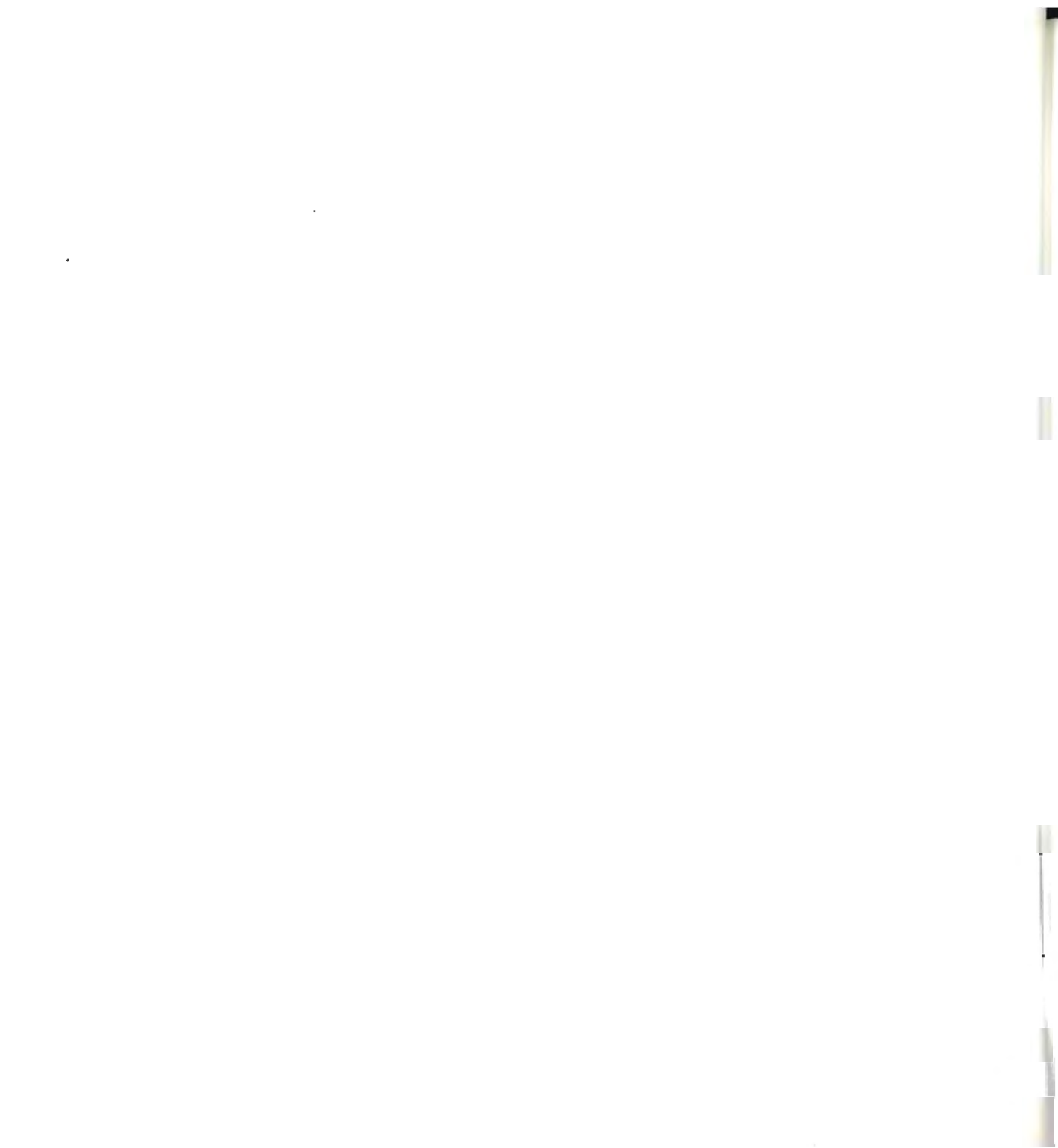
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PREDGOVOR

FOREWORD

Kada je engleski arhitekt Thomas Graham Jackson proučavao i opisivao hrvatske predromaničke crkve, došao je do zaključka da je našao najmanje katedrale svijeta. Te crkve su doista malene u gabaritima, one gotovo liče na neke minijaturne modele, ali je već hrvatski književnik i enciklopedista Miroslav Krleža konstatirao njihov suštinski značaj smatrajući da svi njihovi "arhitektonski elementi plana, rasporeda i omjera, povećani na velike razmjere, dali bi monumentalne bazilike visokoodnjegovanog ukusa". Kako je bitna arhitektonska kvaliteta proporcija a ne veličina, i kako te malene katedrale doista imaju profinjeno uskladene proporcionalne odnose to je opravdano razmatrati ih u suglasju s dostignućima istovremene predromanike europske arhitekture.

Gradenje tih brojnih pretežno sačuvanih crkvi duž istočne obale Jadranskog mora i njegovog zaleda nastavlja se na bogatu lokalnu antičku tradiciju (Dioklecijanova palača u Splitu, Amfiteatar u Puli, i dr.) i razvijenu ranokršćansku arhitekturu (Salona, Eufrazijeva bazilika u Poreču, i dr.), tako da pojava predromanike u VII. stoljeću kauzalni je fenomen izražen minimalnim dimenzijama ali snažnim kreativnim identitetom.

Analizirajući taj identitet kroz naredno razdoblje afirmirane hrvatske države na području između Jadranskog mora na jugu i rijeka Drave i

When the British architect Thomas Graham Jackson studied and described the Croatian Pre-Romanesque churches, he came to the conclusion that he had found the smallest cathedrals of the world. These churches have been really small in their dimensions, they are almost like some miniature models, but the Croatian writer and encyclopedian Miroslav Krleža already identified their essential significance, stating that "all of their architectural elements of the design, disposition and proportions, increased to great sizes, would result in monumental basilicas of highly refined taste". As the architectural quality of proportions is crucial and not their size, and since these small cathedrals have indeed refinedly harmonized proportional relations, it is only justified to consider them jointly with the achievements of the contemporary Pre-Romanesque European architecture.

The building of these numerous mostly well-preserved churches along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea and of its hinterland is a continuation of the rich local antique tradition (The Diocletian Palace in Split, Amphitheatre in Pula and sim.) and of the early Christian architecture (Salona, Basilica of Efrasius in Poreč and sim.) so that the emergence of Pre-Romanesque in the VIIth century is a causal phenomenon expressed in minimal sizes but vigorous creative identity.

In analysing this identity throughout the next period of the affirmed Croatian State in the area between the Adriatic Sea at the south and the rivers Drava and Danube on the north during

Dunava na sjeveru tokom VIII - XI. stoljeća povjesničar arhitekture Andre Mohorovičić daje pregnantnu sintezu stvarnog značaja ovog mnoštva od nekoliko stotina očuvanih, ruševnih ili identificiranih sakralnih objekata: "Međutim, maleno je mjerilo (osim u početnoj fazi prodora u tada iliro-romanske gradove - Zadar, i u završnoj fazi razvoja za prvog jačeg prodora romaničkog utjecaja) karakteristično za kontinentalce koji se privikavaju novom odnosu prema kamenu, egzaktnoj obradi i monumentalnosti. I ovdje moramo naglasiti, da se u širem teritorijalnom prostoru pojava ovih objekata, središnje područje Dalmacije izdvaja daleko najvećim brojem istih, zatim da se u okviru mnogih od njih nalaze uklesana imena hrvatskih župana, knezova i kraljeva, te konačno, da su im mnogi elementi (trompe, zaobljeni kontrafori, neovisan položaj gurta, zvonik u osi ulaznih vrata, kameni namještaj s troprutim pletenim reljefnim ornamentom, svodovi, kupole, tlocrtne nepravilnosti, tipološke raznolikosti realizirane u mnoštvu varijacija) u ovom širem geografskom području posve individualni i raznoliki od mogućih starijih ili istovremenih uzora, tako da s pravom ovim starohrvatskim arhitektonskim objektima priznajemo originalan položaj u normalnom razvojnom slijedu ostvarenja pod nazivom starohrvatske kulture i umjetnosti".

Istu temu razmatra i povjesničar umjetnosti Ivo Petricioli analizirajući grupaciju trobrodskih bazilika iz IX. stoljeća (crkve u Biskupiji, Lopuškoj Glavici, izvoru Cetine i Biogradu), pa smatra da: "Tih nekoliko crkava jasnih karakteristika nisu mogle nastati u nekom širokom vremenskom rasponu jer odražavaju

the VIIIth and IXth centuries, the historian of architecture, Andre Mohorovičić offers a concise synthesis of the actual importance of this multitude of several hundred preserved, in bad state of repairs or identified sacral objects: "However, the small scale (except in the initial stage of the penetration into the then Illyrico-Romanic towns - Zadar and in the closing stage of evolution of the first stronger penetration of the Romanic influence) is characteristic for the continental people, who have been getting used to the new relation towards the stone, towards the exact stonecutting and monumentality. Here again we have to point out that in the broader territorial zone of the emergence of these structures, the area of Central Dalmatia stands out by far the greatest number of same; further, that within the framework of many of these churches we find carved names of the Croatian provincial rulers, dukes and kings; and finally, that many elements, trompes, rounded counterforts, independent position of the links, the belfry in the axis of the entrance gate, stone furniture with the relief ornaments of three-rod plaids, vaults, domes, groundplan irregularities, typological differences incorporated in a number of variations) have been, in this broader geographical area, quite individual and distinctive from the possible older of contemporary models, so that it is correct to recognize to old-Croatian architectural structures an original place in the normal evolution sequence of realisations under the name of the old-Croatian art and culture". The same subject has been treated by the art historian Ivo Petricioli, when he analysed the groupment of three-nave basilicas dating from

isti ukus, iste stilske i konstruktivne osobine, koje mogu biti svojstvene samo jednoj generaciji arhitekata. Polukružni kontrafori su jedna jako izrazita specifičnost koja tim spomenicima daje izuzetnu vrijednost. Takvi kontrafori su nepoznati u predromaničkoj i romaničkoj arhitekturi Europe“.

Istovjetna karakteristična lokalna obilježja moguće je naći i u drugim oblicima hrvatske predromaničke arhitekture: brojne longitudinalne crkvice sa središnjom kupolom povjesničar arhitekture Tomislav Marasović smatra izrazitim regionalnim fenomenom čija geneza je “spoj dviju arhitektonskih koncepcija: longitudinalne, koja se javlja u kontinuitetu zapadne bazilikalne tradicije, i centralne, što se vezuje uz sferu bizantskog umjetničkog utjecaja“. Istina da se takove građevine nalaze i u Apuliji (Italija) ili Atici (Grčka), ali je razlika ipak očita: kod ovih crkava kupola se oslanja na vanjski povišeni zid, a kod starohrvatskih crkava kupola samostalno izlazi iz korpusa krova, tako da je opravdano govoriti o autohtonom arhitektonskom tipu. Istu temu istražuje jedan od najznačajnijih povjesničara starohrvatske arhitekture Milan Prelog, i sintetski zaključuje: “Traženje novog prostornog rješenja pomoću spajanja (sinteze) raznih osnova (longitudinalne i centralne), predstavlja s obzirom na neposrednu tradiciju - prvi mogući izraz kreativnog odnošaja prema toj baštini“. Da taj kreativan izraz hrvatske predromanike nema samo lokalno značenje ustvrdio je S. Guyer

the IXth century (churches at Biskupija, at Lopuška Glavica, at the source of river Cetina and Biograd), and in his opinion: “These few churches of clean-cut characteristics could not have been constructed within a wide time span, as they express the same taste, the same stylish and constructional properties, which have been proper to only one generation of architects. The semi-rounded counterforts have been a pronounced peculiarity giving to these monuments an exceptional value. Such counterforts are unknown in the Pre-Romanesque and Romanic architecture of Europe.

Identical characteristic local features could be found in other forms of the Croatian Pre-Romanesque architecture too: a great number of the longitudinal churches with a central dome the historian of architecture Tomislav Marasović considers as a specific regional phenomenon, the genesis of which is “a link between two architectural conceptions: a longitudinal one which emerges in the continuity with the western basilica tradition and a central one, connected with the sphere of Byzantine art influence.“ It is a fact that such buildings can be found in Apulia (Italy) or Atica (Greece) too, but the difference is however obvious: at those churches, the dome leans against the outer perimeter raised wall, but at the old Croatian churches the dome grows independently out of the body of the roofing, so it is justified to talk about the autochthonous architectural type. The same theme has been investigated by one of the most renowned historians of the old Croatian architecture, Milan Prelog, who concluded with

smatrajući da geneza križnih bazilika Zapada teče posredstvom Dalmacije.

Interesantno je mišljenje i nestora hrvatske arhitektonske historiografije Ljube Karamana, koji u tim kamenim sakralnim građevinama nalazi protagonističku kvalitetu: "Starohrvatske su crkvice prekrivene svodovima i kupolicama, u vrijeme, kad je monumentalno crkveno graditeljstvo na zapadu Europe upotrebljavalo gotovo isključivo drveni strop". Svakako da ograda "gotovo" opravdava smisao ove tvrdnje i svakako da male dimenzije svodova olakšavaju graditeljski pothvat (kao što je to prisutno kod apsida, kapela ili bočnih brodova zapadnoeuropskih crkava), ali je ipak činjenica da su trobrodne bazilike Sv. Barbare u Trogiru ili Sv. Nediljice u Zadru integralno prekrivene kamenim svodovima na način kako su u isto vrijeme građene isto tako malene bazilike u Lombardiji, Španjolskoj ili južnoj Francuskoj kao minijturni prototipovi budućih monumentalnih romaničkih trobrodskih bazilika.

Još jednu karakteristiku hrvatske predromanike bitno je registrirati. Danski arhitekt Ejnar Dyggve baveći se arheološkim istraživanjima u Saloni pokraj Splita pedantno je načinio komparativni pregled arhitektonskih tipova kasnoantičke i predromaničke crkvene arhitekture u Dalmaciji i praktički za svaki tip građevine (longitudinalni, jednobrodni, dvobrodni ili trobrodni, centralni ili križni,

a synthesis: "The search for the new spatial solution by means of linking (synthesis) of various bases (longitudinal and central) is, having in view the direct tradition, the first possible expression of the creative relation in respect of this heritage." That this creative expression of the Croatian Pre-Romanesque has not only a local significance was established by S. Guyer, who considered that the genesis of the cross basilicas of the West was flowing by the mediation of Dalmatia.

It is interesting to note also the opinion of the nestor of the Croatian architectural historiography Ljubo Karaman, who finds a protagonist quality in these sacral buildings: "The old Croatian churches are covered by vaults and domes at a time when the monumental building-craft in western Europe used almost entirely a wooden ceiling." Certain that the reserve "almost" justifies the sense of this statement and no doubt that small sizes of the vaults facilitate the building itself (as present in abscissas, chapels or lateral naves of west-European churches), but it remains nevertheless a fact that the three-nave basilicas of St. Barbara in Trogir or St. Nediljica in Zadar are integrally covered by stone vaults in a way equally small basilicas in Lombardy, Spain or southern France were built as miniature proto-types of future monumental Romanic three-nave basilicas.

It is important to register another feature of the Croatian Pre-Romanism. The Danish architect Ejnar Dyggve dealing with archaeological excavations in Salona near Split made an accurate comparative table of architectonic types

kupolni, jednoapsidni ili višeapsidni) definirao je kako antički uzorak tako i rano-srednjovjekovnu repliku. Izuzetno bogati registar arhitektonskih oblika antičke i starokršćanske umjetnosti građenja uzrokovao je veliku mogućnost izbora predložaka, pa su tako starohrvatski donatori i graditelji, slijedeći lokalnu tradiciju, iskoristili praktički sve antičke modele za građnju svojih crkava.

Ovaj neobičan fenomen potaknuo je Vladimira Gvozdanovića (Vladimir P. Goss) da u prethodnoj radnji uporedi ovu situaciju s istovremenim ostvarenjima europskog Zapada, i da iz toga izvede zaključak: "No ono, što nedostaje u većini zapadnih škola, ili se tek minimalno zapaža, jest naša bogata riznica oblika preuzetih od kasne antike. Ukoliko naidemo na "neobične" oblike u drugim zapadnim školama, što je mnogo rjeđi slučaj nego u nas, upravo naša situacija može služiti kao argument da ti oblici nisu uopće "neobični", već su dio interesa za kasnoantičku arhitekturu". Dokazavši se tako kao baštinici antičke kulture i tradicije, i dograđujući bogatu riznicu oblika u neuobičajenoj koncentraciji crkava, hrvatska predromanika pokazala je snažni i osobujni vitalitet u inače teškom i stagnantnom vremenu europske arhitekture.

Stagnacija tokom ranog srednjeg vijeka odrazila se u konstantnom opadanju kvalitete građevne tehnike, u neprociznosti dimenzioniranja i

of late antique and Pre-Romanesque ecclesiastical architecture in Dalmatia and has practically defined for each type of the edifice (longitudinal, one-nave, two-nave or three-nave) both the antique model and its early medieval replica. The exceptionally rich register of the architectural forms of antique and old Christian art of building had caused a great possibility of selection of the pattern, so that both old Croatian donators and builders, by following the local tradition, have utilized practically each and any of the western model for the construction of their churches.

This curious phenomenon moved Vladimir Gvozdanović (Vladimir P. Goss) in his earlier treatise to compare this situation with the simultaneous realisations of the European West and to deduce: "But what is missing in the majority of western schools, or is only hardly noticeable, is our rich treasure of forms taken over from the late antique. In as much as we find the "unusual" forms in other western schools, which is a much less frequent case than in our country, just this situation may serve as an argument that these forms are not at all "unusual", but are just a part of the interest for the late-antique architecture." In proving itself as the heir of the antique culture and tradition, upbuilding this treasure of forms in an unusual concentration of churches has also shown a strong and particular vitality in the otherwise difficult and stagnant period of the European architecture.

The stagnation during the early Middle Age has been reflected in the constant decline in quality

primitivnoj obradi građevinskih detalja, pa su te opće karakteristike prisutne i u hrvatskoj predromanici. Nedovoljno uočavajući ovu paneuropsku pojavnost strani istraživači (Monneret de Villard, Dagobert Frey) smatrali su da istovjetne tehničke nezgrapnosti i nepravilnosti hrvatskih crkvice imaju svoje uzroke u neškolovanim i teškim rukama "barbarskog" hrvatskoga naroda. Činjenica je da su te crkvice građene od netesanog kamena, da su česte pojave raznih otklona i nesimetrije, da razmaci između očekivanog ritma stupova nisu jednaki, i slično, ali je i činjenica da je to opća pojava u arhitekturi toga doba. Međutim, detaljnija izučavanja ovih nezgrapnosti dovela su do iznenađujućih rezultata. Arhitekt Mladen Pejaković načinio je nekoliko studija proporcija tih naizgled nepravilnih crkvice (Sv. Trojica u Splitu, Sv. Križ u Ninu, Sv. Pelegrin u Savru, Sv. Juraj u Rovanjskoj, Sv. Petar u Priku, Sv. Petar u Ižu Malom, Sv. Nediljica u Zadru, i druge), te ukazao da su sve te disproporcije i nesimetrije podređene neobično strogoj pravilnosti, čitljivom modulu i egzaktnoj proporciji: tlocrti i presjeci se mogu upisati u istovjetni kvadrat, sekundarno kvadriranje i dijagonale kvadrata određuju položaj bitnih dijelova građevine, nepravilni raspored stupova kod Sv. Nediljice rezultat je zlatnog reza, otkoni stranica kod Sv. Križa imaju u odnosu na kvadrat isti kut koji je sinhron s otklonom opisanog kvadrata prema podnevnici, a crkva je sama po sebi fantastičan gnomon kojemu sunčeve zrake ekvinocija i solsticija određuju osnovne vodoravne i okomite proporcije prostora. Teško je vjerovati u slučajnost ovih nalaza pa se čini razumnim imati povjerenje u kreativnu imaginaciju kojom su ove

of the building technique, in the imprecision of dimensioning and primitive elaboration of building details, so that these general features are also present in the Croatian Pre-Romanesque. Insufficiently noting this Pan-European emergence, the foreign researchers (Monneret de Villard, Dagobert Fray) were of the opinion that technical incongruities and imprecisions of the Croatian churches have their origin in untrained and heavy hands of the "Barbarian" Croatian people. The fact is that these churches were built from uncut stone, that the emergence of various declines and lack of symmetry is frequent, that the intervals between the expected rhythm of columns are not equidistant or similar, but it is also a fact that this phenomenon often occurs and is present in the architecture of the period.

However, a more detailed investigation of these incongruities brought about surprising results. The architect Mladen Pejaković made several studies of the proportions of these seemingly irregular churches (Sv. Trojica in Split, Sv. Križ at Nin, Sv. Pelegrin in Savar, Sv. Juraj in Rovanjka, Sv. Petar in Priko, Sv. Petar in Mali Iž, Sv. Nediljica in Zadar and he has shown that all these disproportions and asymmetries have been subjected to an unusually strict regularity, to a readable module and exact proportions: the groundplans and cross-sections can be inscribed in an identical square. Secondary squaring and the diagonals of the squares define the position of essential parts of the construction, the irregular disposition of columns at St. Nediljica are the result of the "Golden Cut", the deviations of the plans at Sv. Križ have, in relation to the square, the same angle, which is

crkvice stvorene i koja im osigurava dolično mjesto u zbirci europske predromanike.

Ovim nije iscrpljena tema stvaralačkog doprinosa hrvatske predromanike porodici europske arhitekture, već su samo naznačene neke poticajne prolegomene u želji da pobude interes za te brojne crkvice razbacane po ubavim dolcima, pustim brežuljcima, zagubljenim otocima ili utopljene u urbane strukture gradova istočne obale Jadranskog mora. Sintetski i sistemski prikaz većeg dijela tih sakralnih građevina dat je u inventivnom tekstu Vladimira P. Gossa, iz kojega se mora apostrofirati dijelić zaključnih rečenica: "Predromanika je na neki način jedno od zlatnih poglavlja hrvatske umjetnosti".

Knjizi je priključen i izvadak (29,30 i 31 poglavlje) iz spisa bizantskog cara Konstantina VII. Porfirogeneta *De administrando imperio* (*O upravljanju carstvom*) pisanog u središnje doba (oko 950 godine) građenja razmatrane arhitekture, sa svrhom pružanja autentičnih informacija o zemlji koju nastanjuju Hrvati, o njihovoj vojnoj moći, i njihovim karakternim osobinama. Lijepo je pročitati među tom Konstantinovom kronikom europskih ratova, ubojstava i osvajanja kako su se Hrvati zavjetovali apostolu Petru da se nikada neće izvan svoje zemlje s drugima zaratiti, da će živjeti u miru sa svima koji to budu htjeli, i da ih je papa blagoslovio tako da im Bog i Kristov

synchronous to the deviation of the described square to the moon-line, and the church itself is a phantastic gnomon, where the sunray of equinox and solstitius determine the basic horizontal and vertical proportions of the space. It is hard to believe in the coincidence of these findings, so it appears only reasonable to trust the creative imagination which had built those churches and which guarantees to them an adequate place in the collection of the European Pre-Romanesque.

The above does not exhaust the creative contribution of the Croatian Pre-Romanesque in the family of the European architecture, but it only indicates some stimulating prolegomena in the desire to initiate the interest for these numerous churches scattered along charming valleys, arid hills, lost islands or sunk in the urban structure of the cities of the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea. A synthetical and systematical presentation of these sacral buildings has been given in the inventive text by Vladimir P. Goss, where a part of the closing sentences has to be pointed out: "In a way, the Pre-Romanesque represents one of the golden chapters of Croatian art."

An Annex has been added to the book (Chapters 29, 30 and 31) from the Charter of the Byzantine Emperor of Constantin VII Porphyrogenet "De administrando imperio" (Of Administering the Empire), written in the mid-period - about 950 - of building of the architecture under consideration, with the purpose to offer authentic information about the country inhabited by the Croats, about their

učenik Petar pomognu ako koji drugi narod pođe na zemlju Hrvata. Valjda se stoga u toj zemlji i nalazi to obilje Kuća božjih.

Najmanje katedrale svijeta imaju tako svoju tihu ljepotu, imaju svoju misaonu poruku, imaju znakovitost identiteta. A to su vrijednosti koje oplemenjuju dušu naroda i usrećuju čovječanstvo.

military power, their marked characteristics. It is pleasant to read in this chronicle by Constantin on European wars, killings and conquests, that the Croats had given their vow to the Apostle Peter that they will never make wars to anybody outside their borders, that they would live in peace with all who would want it and that The Pope blessed them so that God and Christ's disciple Peter may help them if any other nation invaded the land of Croats. Maybe that is the reason why there is this abundance of Houses of God in this country.

The smallest cathedrals of the world have thus their placid beauty, they have their message full of sense, they have the symbolism of identity. And those are virtues that ennoble the soul of the nation and make the mankind happy.



*PREDROMANIČKA
ARHITEKTURA U
HRVATSKOJ*

*PRE-ROMANESQUE
ARCHITECTURE IN
CROATIA*

UVOD

Današnji putnik istočnom Likom, Dalmatinskom Zagorom ili Ravnim Kotarima zapitat će se dali je bilo kakav oblik razvijene civilizacije mogao ikada izrasti na tom kršu, s divljom kupinom, čičkom i paprati. Pa ipak, prije tisuću i dvjesto godina ti su krajevi bili središte značajne ranosrednjovjekovne države-hrvatske kneževine i kasnije kraljevstva - koju su osnovali Hrvati nakon dolaska na istočne obale Jadrana u sedmom stoljeću naše ere.

Pogleda li naš putnik pozornije zapazit će poteze plodne zemlje uz rijeke što izviru u brdima - Liku, Krbavu, Zrmanju, Krku, Cetinu - i njihove brojne potočne pritoke. Ta je zemlja mogla prehraniti razmjerno malobrojno ranosrednjovjekovno pučanstvo. Uzvišice Knina, jednog od glavnih gradova ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države, pa Bribira, Ostrovica, Zvonigrada, omogućile su prilično siguran život od početaka povijesti, pa tako i u ranom srednjem vijeku.

Iz tih sigurnih visinskih krajeva Hrvati su se spustili do mora, gdje su osnovali svoje gradove Biograd i Šibenik, podigli svoje dvorove nadomak starih rimskih (pa i grčkih) gradova, u Ninu nedaleko Zadra, u Bijaćima uz sam Trogir, u Rižinicama na izalzu iz napola srušene Salone i u blizini njezina nasljednika, Splita. Već u XI. stoljeću slavenski tj. hrvatski element postaje dominantan u središtima stare carske Dalmacije - na otocima i u gradovima, Krku, Osoru, Rabu, Zadru, Trogiru, Splitu, Dubrovniku, Kotoru. Istaknuti Hrvati, čak i članovi

INTRODUCTION

A present-day traveller through Dalmatian Highlands, eastern Lika, or even Dalmatian Lowlands regions of the Republic of Croatia, will inevitably ask himself - how could any kind of advanced civilization ever come into being among those stretches of barren rock and wild raspberry, thistle and fern. And yet, twelve hundred years ago this was the center of a respectable early medieval state, Croatian Principality, later Kingdom, founded by the Croats who had arrived to the eastern shores of the Adriatic in the course of the seventh century A. D.

If our traveller looks harder he will notice fairly generous stretches of fertile land along the rivers which spring forth in the Highlands - Lika, Krbava, Zrmanja, Krka, Cetina - and their numerous, short tributaries. These lands could probably easily sustain a rather scarce early medieval population. The hills at Knin, one of the early medieval capitals of Croatia, Bribir, Ostrovica, Zvonigrad, which had sheltered human beings ever since the dawn of time, again provided a reasonably safe life in the Early Middle Ages.

From that Highland base, safe and prosperous, Croats descended to the sea, founded their own cities of Biograd and Šibenik, set their courts at the gates of ancient Roman (and even Greek) towns, Nin not far from Zadar, Bijaći next to Trogir, Rižinice at the outskirts of the semi-ruined Salona, and not far from its successor, Split. Already by the end of the eleventh century, the Slavic, Croatian, element was dominant in the old imperial Dalmatia - cities and islands of Osor, Krk, Rab, Zadar, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik, Kotor. Outstanding Croats, even the members of the

vladarske obitelji sele u gradove ili ondje stvaraju svoje zaklade. Stanovnici romanskih gradova posjeduju zemlju i daruju posjede na slavenskom području. Proces koji će dovesti do stapanja dalmatinskih Romana i hrvatskih Slavena u jednu naciju u punom je tijeku.

Usprkos svoj privlačnosti gradskog života, izvangradska, često visinska područja ostaju kvasac hrvatskog političkog života. U tim prostorima stoje moćne plemenišaške obitelji Šubića, Kačića, Nelipića, Babonića, Kurjakovića i Karlovića, koje su u srednjem vijeku krojile sudbinu Hrvatske.

Od doseljstva i najranijih etapa u razvoju hrvatskog društva i države, pa sve do ulaska u personalnu uniju s mađarskim Arpadovićima na početku XII. stoljeća, povijest Hrvata odlikuje se, usprkos povremenim sukobima i razdobljima netolerancije, suživotom i stapanjem s prethodnom civilizacijom i njezinim nosiocima. Pri tom ne valja zaboraviti da su zagorske uzvisine bile zaista u srcu države, jer su cijela Slavonija i današnja zapadna Bosna do početka XVI. stoljeća bili dio Hrvatske.

Ta se slika nasilno mijenja u XVI. stoljeću, kad Zagora postaje rubno područje i postupno se pretvara u kamenu pustoš divljeg čička i neimaštine. Razlog tomu je golema nesreća koja je zadesila narode jugoistočne Europe, četiri stoljeća neprestanih izгона i seoba zbog turskih osvajanja. U svom prodoru na Zapad - dvaput do samih zidina Beča - Turci su pred sobom tjerali mase balkanskih izbjeglica, slavenskih Srba, Crnogoraca, Makedonaca i Bugara te neslavenskih, romaniziranih ili neromaniziranih, Ilira, Vlaha, Morlaka, Aromuna,

ruling family, settled or made endowments within the cities. The Roman cityfolks possessed land and made donations on the territory ruled by the Slavs. The process that would weld Dalmatian Romans, and Croatian Slavs, into one nation was well under way.

But for all the allure of the city life, it was the extraurban, often Highland core, that remained the yeast of Croatian political life. This is where the mighty Šubić, Kačić, Nelipić, Babonić, Kurjaković, Karlović tribes, the people who determined the course of Croatian politics throughout the Middle Ages, had their seats. In the early, formative stages of Croatian state and society, between the arrival of the Croats at the beginning of the 7th century, through the merger into a personal union with the Hungarian royal house of the Arpads at the beginning of the twelfth, it was the process of coexistence and merging that dominated the establishing of the Croatian presence in the Eastern Adriatic - a merger with the previous civilization and its representatives, not war and destruction (although there were sorely quarrels and periods of intolerance). And one must not forget: the Highlands were indeed a heartland; for the entire western Bosnian hinterland belonged until the beginning of the 16th century to the Kingdom of Croatia.

What changed this picture, what made the Highlands both into rimlands and the land of stone, thistle and poverty, was the major catastrophe which befell Southeastern Europe - four centuries (16-19th) of uprooting and migration due to Turkish conquests. As they progressed westwards - twice to reach as far as the walls of Vienna - the Turks pushed ahead refugees belonging to various, mostly Orthodox, Balkanic people - Slavic Serbs, Bulgarians,

Albanaca, Grka i Cincara. Neki su bježali od Islama i tražili utočišta u obližnjim katoličkim zemljama - Hrvatskoj, Sloveniji, Madarskoj i Austriji. Neki su krenuli s Turcima kao njihovi plaćenici, i stoljećima su napadali svoje sunarodnjake s druge strane nemirne granice između križa i polumjeseca. Od početka XVI. stoljeća zapadne sile - Habsburgovci i Venecija - organiziraju za pridošlice i preostalo starosjedilačko katoličko stanovništvo pogranične oblasti i vojne okruge. Ono što je nekoć bilo srce države, postaje granicom; gdje su nekoć stajali sjajni dvori visoko civilizirane vlastele, sad su vojničke barake.

Usprkos sukobima i ratovima Hrvatska je sačuvala vrijednu riznicu ranosrednjovjekovne umjetnosti iz najranijih dana hrvatske prisutnosti na istočnom Jadranu. Dio te baštine, najranije hrvatsko graditeljstvo, 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.

*Hillsborough, Sjeverna Karolina,
zima 1995.*

Macedonians, Montenegrins; romanized or non-romanized Illyrians - Vlachs, Morlaks, Aromuns, Albanians, Greeks and Cincars. Some of them fled Islam, and looked for shelter in adjacent Catholic lands, in Croatia, Hungary, Slovenia, Austria. Some of them came with the Turks as their own mercenaries, and for centuries harassed their co-nationals across the ever changing border between the Cross and the Crescent. Beginning with the sixteenth century the refugees, together with what had still been left of the indigenous Catholic population in the frontier region, were organized by the controlling powers, the Habsburgs and Venice, into frontier districts and military units. The heartlands became a rimland, courts of highly sophisticated nobility were replaced by a military barracks.

In spite of upheavals and wars Croatia has preserved a remarkable treasury of early medieval art dating from the earliest centuries of Croatian presence in the Eastern Adriatic. One of its aspects - the earliest monuments of Croatian architecture - 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.

*Hillsborough, North Carolina,
Winter 1995*

RAĐANJE NACIJE - RAĐANJE KULTURE

Nećemo ovdje ulaziti u razmatranja prijepornih pitanja o porijeklu i seobi Hrvata. S velikim se stupnjem sigurnosti može ustvrditi da su došli sa sjevera/sjeveroistoka - iz zemalja iza Karpatskih planina, i da su prisutni na zapadnom Balkanu od početka VII. stoljeća n.e. Arheološki nalazi potvrđuju njihovu prisutnost na prostoru između rijeke Drave i Jadranskog mora u VII. i VIII. stoljeću.

Hrvati su se tu doselili u vrijeme kad su se konačno raspali i posljednji ostaci starog rimskog sustava na Zapadu, usprkos privremenom uspjehu Justinijanove rekonkviste pola stoljeća prije toga. Barbari su 625. g. pod vodstvom Avara ugrozili i sam Carigrad. U zemlji gdje su se naselili, Hrvati su zatekli manje ili više romanizirane starosjedioce, ilirsku

A BIRTH OF A NATION - A BIRTH OF A CULTURE

This is not the place to enter into consideration of controversies about the origin and the migration of the Croats. With a great degree of safety it can be stated that they arrived from the North/Northeast - the lands beyond the Karpathian Mountains, and that they were present in the Western Balkans by the beginning of the seventh century A.D. Archeological evidence confirms their presence on the territory between the Drava river and the Adriatic in the course of the seventh and the eighth centuries.

The Croats arrived at the time when the last traces of the old Roman system in the West, having received a temporary shot in the arm from Justinian's reconquest half a century earlier, were definitely crumbling. The barbarians - led by the Avars - would, in 625, threaten

populaciju. Ove preteče današnjih Albanaca, Aromuna, Rumunja i Vlaha otisnuli su se na otoke ili skrili iza bedema obalnih gradova, ili se pak povukli u stjenovite predjele Dinare i Karpata. Susret dviju etničkih skupina, još prilično civiliziranih "Romana" i nomadskih barbara nije bio prijateljski. Neki od glavnih obalnih gradova djelimično su ili potpuno uništeni - Salona, Narona, Epidaur, a zapravo i sva urbana naselja u unutrašnjosti zemlje. Čini se ipak da je odmah započelo i stapanje dvaju naroda. Sudeći po dobro poznatom lûku iz Sućurca, ulomku oltarne pregrade što se s dosta sigurnosti smješta najkasnije u VIII. stoljeće, pokrštavanje Hrvata već je uvelike uznapredovalo i prije navodnog "masovnog pokrštavanja" oko 800. godine pod pritiskom franačkih gospodara i njihovih misionara.

S kršćanstvom i dvorskim životom pojavila se potreba za monumentalnom umjetnošću od trajnog materijala. Oko 800. godine, s potpunom uspostavom dvaju ključnih elemenata - jasno određene političke jedinice, poznate kao države Hrvata (do 925. godine kneževina, a potom kraljevstvo), i crkvene organizacije utemeljene na zapadnom kršćanstvu, pojavljuje se i monumentalna umjetnost.

Mislim da najraniju hrvatsku umjetnost valja razmatrati kao stil, a ne kao razdoblje, iako definicija stila traži dalja pojašnjenja. Ograničenjem "starohrvatske umjetnosti" na vrijeme narodnih vladara (do personalne unije s Madarskom 1102.g.) previda se činjenica da se "starohrvatski stil" susreće i nakon početka XII. stoljeća, a da se "romanika", međunarodni stil

the existence of Constantinople itself. In the land in which the Croats were to settle, they encountered more or less Romanized indigenous, Illyrian population. These ancestors of today's Albanians, Aromuns, Rumanians and Vlachs, either retreated to the islands or behind the ramparts of coastal cities, or withdrew into the rocky core of the Dinaric and Karpathian Mountains. The meeting of the two ethnic groups, of still rather civilized "Romans" and nomadic barbarians, was not friendly. Some major cities at the coast were either totally or partially destroyed - Salona, Narona, Epidaurus; so also were practically all urban settlements in the interior of the land. Yet the merging of the two peoples must a fragment of a choir-screen datable with considerable certainty to the eighth century at the latest, christianization of the Croats had been well under way when the nation underwent an alleged "mass conversion" around the year 800 under the pressure from the Frankish overlords, and at the hands of Frankish missionaries.

Christianity and court life produced a need for monumental art in durable material. With the full establishment, around 800, of two key elements - of a recognizable political unit known as the Croatian state (principality until 925, thereafter kingdom), and of a church organization founded on Western Christianity, monumental art was bound to emerge too.

In our opinion, it is advisable to approach the earliest Croatian art and architecture not as a period but as a style, although the definition of the style needs some further elaboration. Limit-



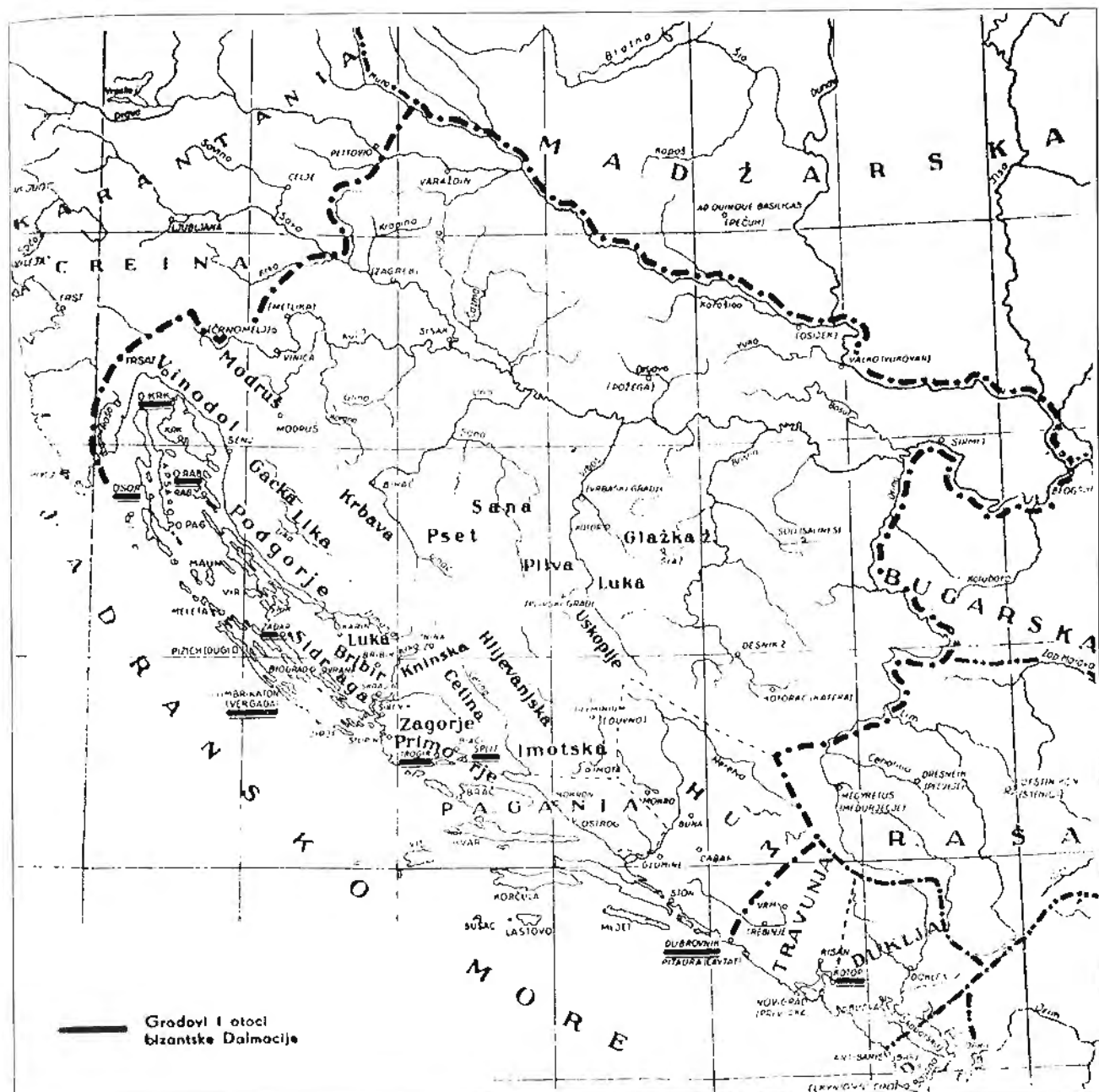
na Zapadu u XII. stoljeću, pojavljuje na Jadranu već u drugoj polovici XI. stoljeća. Dakle, "starohrvatski" ili "ranohrvatski" stil postoji prije romanike, tj. pripada predromanici. Možemo ga jednostavno definirati kao predromaničku i ranoromaničku umjetnost Hrvatske. Pregled materijala otkriti će, međutim, da to nije tako jednostavno, pa ćemo se na to pitanje vratiti u zaključku, a ovdje ćemo odrediti što je "predromanika".

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 unutarne površine zida i može se unaprijed naslutiti promatranjem vanjske građevinske mase: Vanjski nosači na pročeljima logično se podudaraju s unutaršnjima. 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 sredeni 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

ing the "Old-Croatian Art" to the period of the native rulers (until the personal union with Hungary in 1102) overlooks the fact that the "Old-Croatian Style" continues well beyond 1102, and that the "Romanesque style", a more or less international style of the West in the 12th century, announces itself in the Adriatic before the end of the 11th century. Thus, "Early Croatian" ("Old-Croatian") is, stylistically, "before the Romanesque", i.e., "Pre-Romanesque". It could be simply defined as Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque art in Croatia. A survey of the material will, however, reveal that the things are not so simple, and we will revert to this questions once more, in the conclusion. At this point it is necessary to define what we mean by "Pre-Romanesque".

In order to resolve what "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 a 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 architec-



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.

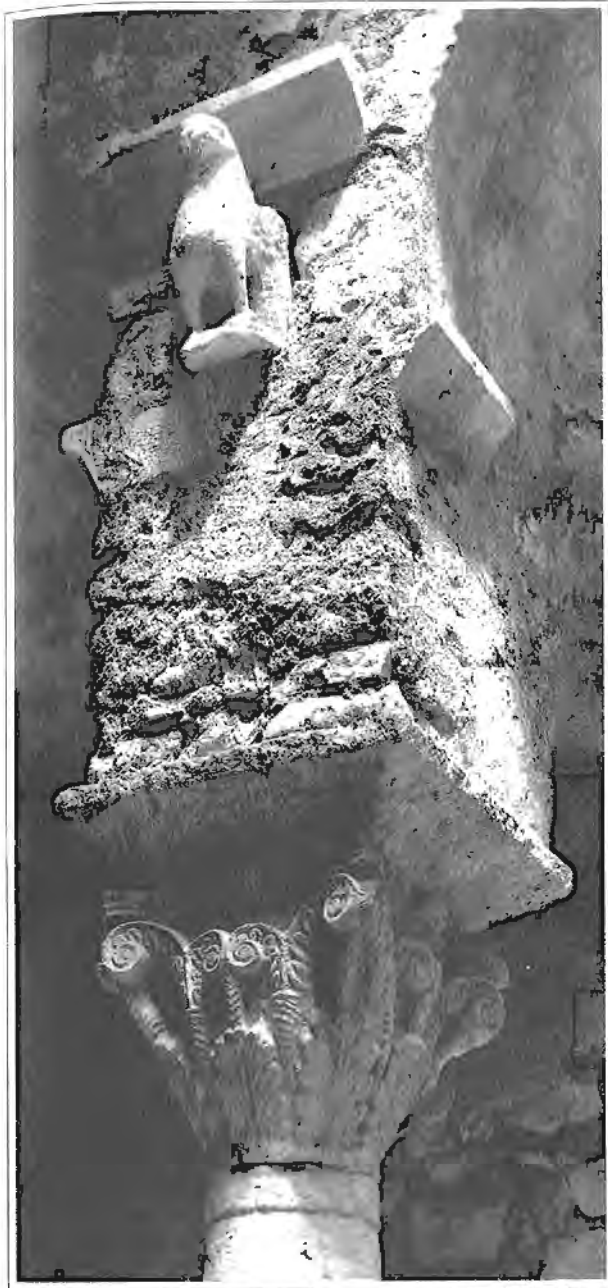
Umjetnici predromanike nisu patili od osjećaja manje vrijednosti što nisu dosegli "pravu" romaniku. Nesputanost njihova stila obilježuje vrijeme začetaka i eksperimentiranja. U tom razdoblju od VI. do XI. stoljeća rada se novi Zapad, dugo, teško i zamorno razdoblje polaganog rasta, od nasilnog rođenja, preko grubog djetinjstva i nesigurnog mladenaštva, do samosvijesti rane zrelosti. Elementi koji su, udruživši se omogućili rođenje već je prezrelo i izopačeno naslijede 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 nade 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

tural 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 need not suffer from an inferiority complex due to the fact that they had 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 is 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 Migra-



tions. 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 newcomer, 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 reworkings of the contemporary high style of the West - primarily that of the Carolingian Court, and of the forward looking experimentations of the "First Romanesque Art". It may be somewhat of an

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 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 trodijelna podjela pomaže da shvatimo kako su ta tri smjera bila zapravo barem djelomično istovremena i kako su se građevine koje smatramo "nazadnima" gradile uz bok onih "naprednih" građevina "prve romanike".

Građevine što pripadaju prvoj i najbrojnijom *tradicionalnoj predromaničkoj skupini* zasnivaju se na lokalnom nasljeđu - rimskom, ranokršćanskom, ranobizantinskom. Raštrkane su širom rano-srednjovjekovne hrvatske države, a pojavljuju se od kraja VIII. pa sve do u kasno XII. stoljeće.

Kako je hrvatski dvor dosta pozorno slijedio karolinški, tako i građevine što su ih naručivali uglednici otkrivaju povezanost sa zapadnjačkim

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 helps 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.

As the Croatian court followed rather closely 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 monastery churches. This group is concentrated on Central Dalmatia and the Highlands, the heart of Croatian state. They were built from the ninth well into the eleventh century.

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

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, sruću stare hrvatske države. Podižu se od IX. sve do kraja XI. stoljeća.

they are found at the northern and central coastland. A detailed discussion of those three groups is the main task of this study.

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



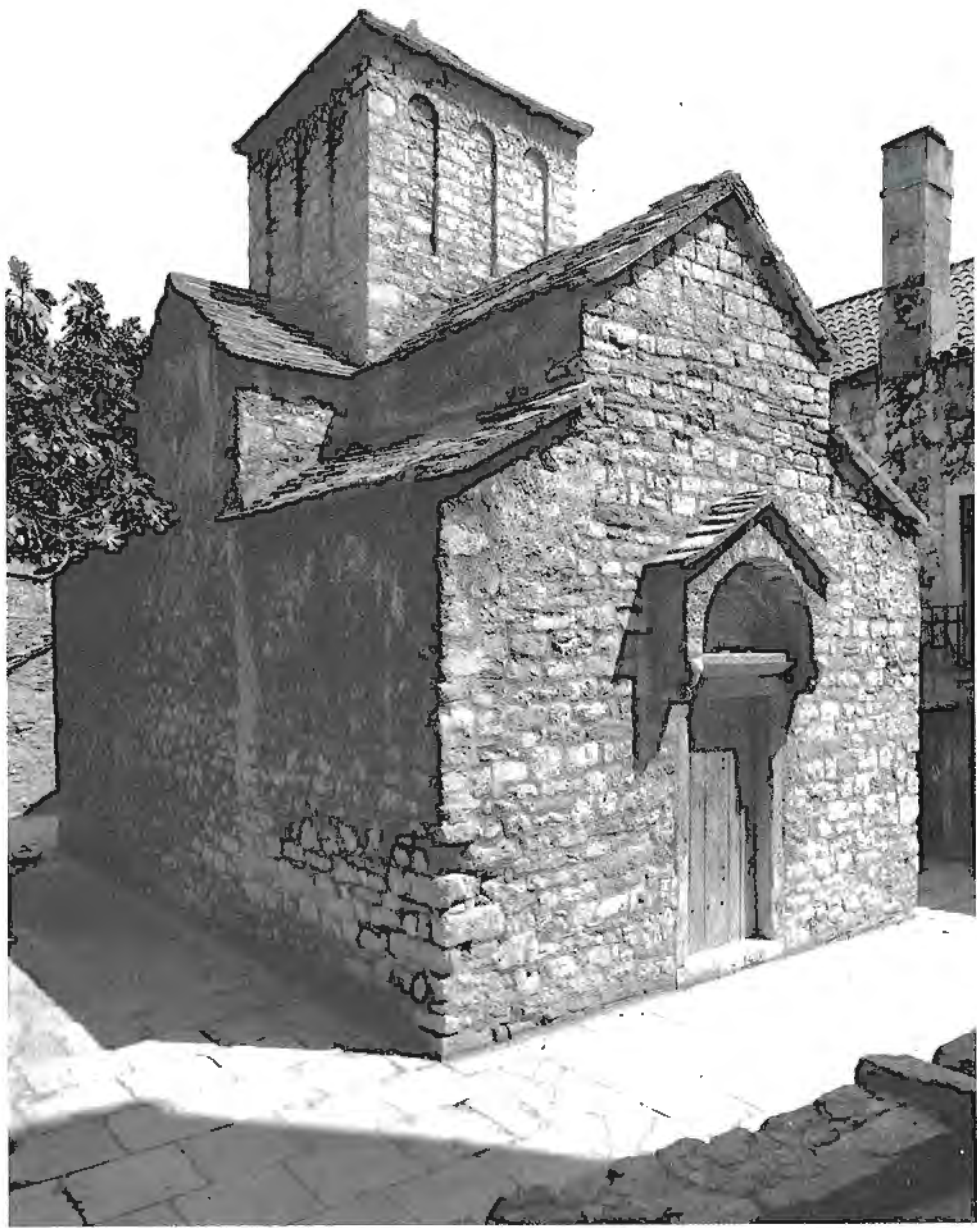
Treća, *ranoromanička skupina*, sastoji se od manjeg broja građevina koje tvore hrvatsku varijantu "prve romanike". Potječu iz druge polovice XI. i početka XII. stoljeća, a nalaze se u srednjem i sjevernom Primorju. Iscrpan pregled tih triju skupina glavni je cilj ovoga rada.

Ali, prije toga iznijet ćemo ukratko koliko ima spomenika i kako su raspoređeni. Sam broj sačuvanih, djelimično sačuvanih ili iskopanih ranih hrvatskih crkava vrlo je velik. U prethodnoj knjizi o najranijem hrvatskom graditeljstvu (*Early Croatian Architecture*, London, 1987.) naveo sam 109 spomenika. Tomislav Marasović (*Prilog istraživanju starohrvatske arhitekture*, Split, 1978) navodi ih još više - 127 (uključuje i svjetovna zdanja). Teško da postoji časopis za arheologiju ili povijest umjetnosti koji nije donio još koje otkriće. Dodamo li tome mjesta gdje su pronađeni ulomci pletera (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! Neslužbene procjene uvjeravaju nas da postoji oko 10.000 ulomaka pletera razasutih po cijeloj Hrvatskoj. Stoga i nije čudno što je prvotne istraživače zbnjivalo 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. Čini se da je umjetnička aktivnost u Hrvatskoj dosegla vrhunac oko 1300.

preserved or excavated early Croatian churches is overwhelming. In my book on Early Croatian Architecture (London: Duckworth, 1987), I list 109 monuments. Tomislav Marasović ("Prilozi istraživanju starohrvatske arhitekture", Split, 1978) is even more generous: 127 (includes secular buildings he has recognized as Pre-Romanesque). 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 interlace sculpture (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! An unofficial estimate claims that there is about 10,000 fragments of interlace sculpture scattered all over Croatia. 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. Artistic activity in Croatia seems to have peaked around 1300. There is, of course, a number of outstanding individual monuments constructed after that date, 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 leading Croatian artists had to look for



godine. Naravno, niz izvanrednih i osebnih spomenika sagrađeno je i poslije te godine ali stvaralačka groznica ranijih stoljeća stižala se (vratit će se u zreloom baroku kontinentalne Hrvatske). U XV. i XVI. stoljeću hrvatski su umjetnici morali tražiti posao u tuđini. 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 profesor Milan Prelog kad graditeljima rane hrvatske arhitekture, pripisuje neku vrstu "pasivnog" pristupa naslijeđu. To se može primijeniti na mnoga, ali ne sva, predromanička ostvarenja u Hrvatskoj i posvuda u zapadnoj Europi.

Većina ranih hrvatskih nalazišta (uključujući i one samo s ulomcima skulpture) smještena je u trokutu Zadar-Knin-Split, jezgri hrvatske države. To je područje također blizu ključnom crkvenom sjedištu - splitskoj nadbiskupiji. Njoj pripadaju drevni hrvatski gradovi Nin, Knin i Biograd, važni dalmatinski gradovi Zadar i Trogir, te grad Šibenik, koji su utemeljili Hrvati. Tu se nalaze i istaknuta župska središta, Klis i Bribir, te niz vladarskih dvorova i imanja, Bijaći, Rižinice i Sumartin. Nalazišta se proširuju i na otoke, osobito na zadarski arhipelag, jedno od najbogatijih ribarskih područja Jadrana.

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. 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 it fall the ancient Croatian capitals of Nin, Knin, and Biograd, major Dalmatian cities of Zadar and Trogir, and the city of Šibenik, founded by the Croats. 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 the Zadar archipelago, one of the prime fishing areas of the Adriatic.

To the North and the South of this central region one finds subsidiary zones: the Kvarner Gulf in the North (in particular the Islands - Osor, Krk,

Sjeverno i južno od tog središnjeg područja nalaze se sporedne zone: Kvarnerski zaljev na sjeveru (osobito otoci Osor, Krk, Rab i Pag), 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). Premda povremeno pod pritiskom Duklje, te bosanskih i srpskih vladara, dubrovačko se područje odlučno priključilo Hrvatskoj već u XIV. stoljeću. Dubrovačka se rana umjetnost stilistički veže uz umjetnost središnje zone.

Istra je također dio Hrvatske, naseljen slavenskim Hrvatima u vrlo ranom razdoblju. No ranosrednjovjekovna umjetnost Istre stilski je vrlo osebujna. Sustavno znanstveno uklapanje istarske predromanike u povijest hrvatske predromanike je zadatak koji, usprkos vrijednim radovima Andre Mohorovičića, Tomislava Marasovića i Ante Šonje, još nije u potpunosti dovršen.

Mnogo se manje može reći o ranim spomenicima kontinentalne Hrvatske. Osim u Dalmatinskoj Zagori, tragovi rane umjetničke aktivnosti otkriveni su 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 čak u središnjoj Bosni (kraj Bugojna i Blažuja).

Većina ranih spomenika između Save i Drave vjerojatno je bila sagrađena od drveta, pa zato nisu ostavili tragova. Ranoromanički kapitel

Rab, Pag), 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 mediaval 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 links stylistically with that of the central zone.

Istra 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



nađen je u Zagrebu, gdje je biskupija osnovana 1094. godine. Fragmenti pletera nađeni su u Loboru, u zaštićenom i uvijek umjetnički aktivnom Hrvatskom Zagorju, te na istočnoj krajnjoj granici, u Srijemu (Ilok i Rakovac, premda taj srijemski pleter potječe vjerojatno iz kasnijeg XII. stoljeća). Temelji crkve od opeke s kraja XI. stoljeća iskopani su u Vinkovcima. Nekoliko kiparskih ulomaka stiže iz Siska - rimske Siscije - starog biskupskog središta zapadne Panonske ravnice.

Sa Siskom/Siscijom uvodimo još jedan predmet raspravljanja, i to o etničkom podrijetlu stvaralaca najranije monumentalne umjetnosti Hrvatske. Poznato je da je Siscia srušena za vrijeme barbarskih invazija. Ali je oko 800. g. to vjerojatno



be fully accomplished, in spite of fine studies by Andre Mohorovičić, Tomislav Marasović, and Ante Šonje.

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 Hercegovina (Livno, Duvno, Glamoč), and even in Central Bosnia (near Bugojno and Blažuj).

Most of the early monuments of the land between the Sava and the Drava rivers must have been constructed in wood, and they have left no traces. An early Romanesque capital has been found in Zagreb, where the bishopric was founded in 1094. Fragments of interlace sculpture exist at Lobar, in the sheltered and artistically always active Transmontane Croatia, and, at the eastern extreme, in Srijem (Ilok, Rakovac, although they are probably of a late, 12th ct. date). Foundations of a brick church from the end of the eleventh century have been dug up in Vinkovci. Several fragments of sculpture have come from Sisak - the Roman Siscia - the Ancient episcopal center of the Western Pannonic plain. With Siscia/Sisak we may introduce yet another issue, and this is of the ethnic origin of the creators of the earliest monumental art in Croatia. Siscia is known 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

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 patrijarh iz Grada poslao Ljudevitu zidare za gradnju utvrda. Vjerojatno su se gradile i crkvene zgrade. Kršćani i Romani, stanovnici Siscije koji su umakli barbarskom bijesu, naselili su se po brežuljcima južno od Siska na Kiringradu (Sv. Kirin 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). Zacijelo su se izmiješali sa Slavenima u Kiringradu i okolici. Nije isključeno da su neki od podanika kneza Ljudevita u Sisku bili romanske krvi.

Na istočnoj strani Medvednice nalaze se ruševine starog grada 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 gradjenja i klesarstva iz prošlosti.

U mnogo većoj mjeri to se dogodilo uz obalu. Istraživanja Ive Petricioli u Zadru iznijela su na vidjelo određen broj ulomaka skulpture i natpisa iz vremena između VI. i VII. stoljeća. Iako u manjem opsegu, nastavlja se gradevinska aktivnost. Zadarske crkve Sv. Vida i Sv. Donata vjerojatno su iz vremena prije 800. Mnoge

going on in Sisak at that time, since we hear that the Patriarch of Grado 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.

In the eastern Medvednica stand the ruins of an old castle, called Koželin. Koželin, Kozelin, Košljun - all derive from Latin "castelione" (small castle), and indicate a settlement of romanized population. The pockets of Latins, or their Croatized descendents 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. On a limited scale, building activity went on. Zadar churches of Sv. Vid and Sv. Donat date probably from before 800. Many buildings on Croatian ethnic territory are

gradevine na hrvatskom etničkom području oblikovane su po uzoru na gradske gradevine - Sv. Križ u Ninu po uzoru na Sv. Vid u Zadru, popularne višeapsidne gradevine u obliku lista djeteline, pojavljuju se i u gradovima i izvan njih (Zadar, Split, Trogir; Brnaze, Bribir, Ošlje, Rogačići u Bosni...). Jesu li ih gradili domaći latinski arhitekti? Reducirani prozori i izrazite nepravilnosti Sv. Križa upućuju na lokalnog hrvatskog zidara. Postoje i varijante ove teme npr. Sv. Juraj u Ravanjskoj, sićušna longitudinalna kapela, pokrivena izduženim eliptičnim svodom. Inspirirana je tipom antikne memorijalne gradevine koju neposrednije oponaša crkva Sv. Pelegrina u Savru. Sv. Juraj je najvjerojatnije izvorno djelo hrvatskog zidara.

Gradevine *kraljevske skupine* ne pojavljuju se u gradovima, ali neki njihovi elementi, npr. "*westwerk*" (zapadni masiv - ili toranj) možda su utjecali na urbano graditeljstvo. Gradevine *ranoromaničke skupine* pojavljuju se i u gradovima i izvan njih. Čini se da je graditeljstvo utjecalo na postupno ali dosta brzo etničko stapanje već dosta podmaklo u XII. stoljeću.

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

modeled after those in the cities - Sv. Križ in Nin after Sv. Vid in Zadar, popular polylobed buildings appear both in the cities and outside (Zadar, Split, Brnaze, Bribir, Ošlje, Rogačići in Bosnia). But were they built by native, Latin, architects? Reduced windows and pronounced irregularities of Sv. Križ speak for a local, Croatian, mason. Or there are variations on the theme, such as Sv. 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 mimicked by Sv. Pelegrin at Savar. Sv. Juraj is again, most likely, an original invention of a Croatian builder.

Buildings of the second, Royal Group, do not appear in the cities, but some of their elements - the westwork (a western massif or tower) may have influenced urban architects. The buildings of the third, Early Romanesque Group, appear both in the cities and outside. It seems that architecture itself underlined a gradual but rather fast ethnic merger to be well under way by the 12th century.

Still, Dalmatian cities display in some cases a high degree of artistic independence. As if they want 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 parabyzantine monuments of Southern Italy. Yet, even here, as





usporediti s parabizantinskim stilom južne Italije. No, i u tim primjerima neki su se elementi u gradove probili iz vangradskog područja. U XII. stoljeću proces stvaranja i nacije i kulture postaje nepovratnim. Kad se papa Aleksandar III. iskrcao u Zadru, "najromanskijem" od svih dalmatinskih gradova, pozdravila ga je gomila naroda pjevajući laude hrvatskim jezikom.

we shall see, some elements may have infiltrated themselves from the extraurban territory. By the 12th century the process of creation of one nation and culture was irreversible. When in 1177 Pope Alexander III landed in Zadar, the most "Roman" of all Dalmatian cities, he was greeted by crowds of people singing in Croatian.

PROUČAVANJE NAJRANIJE HRVATSKE UMJETNOSTI

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 (sada u Splitu), izrastao je u najbogatiji muzej ranoslavenske grade na svijetu. Tradiciju aktivnog arheološkog rada nastavili su istaknuti

STUDY OF EARLY CROATIAN ART

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* - often 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

voditelji Muzeja, osobito nakon Drugoga svjetskoga rata - Stipe Gunjača, Duje Jelovina i Mate Zekan.

Početna istraživanja u Splitu i oko njega vodio je školovani klasični arheolog don Frane Bulić (Salona, Bijaći). Do kasnih dvadesetih i tridesetih godina, otkrića, i zatim objavljivanje pionirskih istraživanja doveli su do prvih pokušaja da se izradi sintetski pregled najranije hrvatske umjetnosti. Austrijski znanstvenik Josef Strzygowski (*Starohrvatska umjetnost*, Zagreb, 1927.) vjerovao je da je u Hrvatskoj našao živ dokaz svoje velike fikcije, germano-slavenske umjetnosti Sjevera. 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.

Unatoč gotovo halucinantnoj poetici, rad je Strzygowskog imao znatnu težinu kao protuteža 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, objelodanio kao odgovor Strzygowskom knjigu *Iz kolijevke hrvatske prošlosti* (Zagreb, 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 drvetu (poila stoljeća kasnije otkriće izrezbarenih radnosrednjovjekovnih greda u Sv. Donatu u

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 and Mate Zekan.

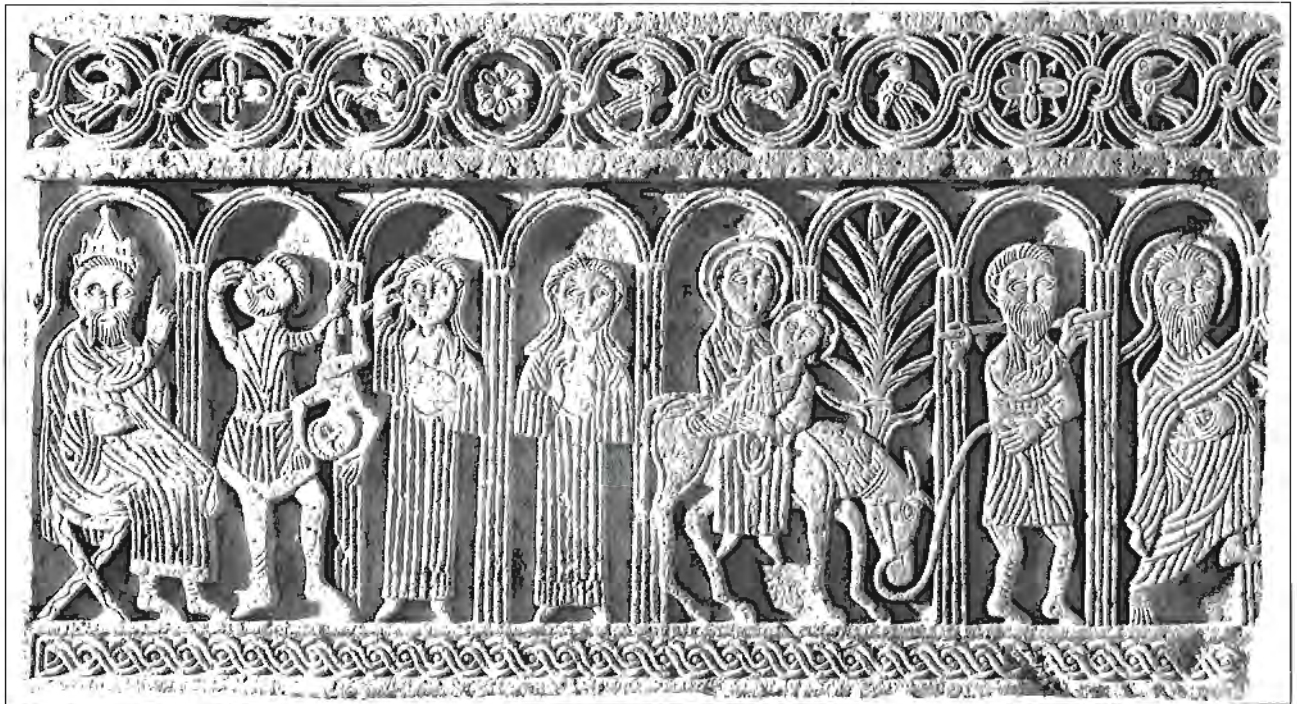
In and around Split, early investigations were carried out by a trained classical archeologist, Don Frano Bulić (Salona, Bijaći). The discoveries and, subsequently, publications by the pioneers led, in the late twenties and the early thirties, to first attempts at a synthetic examination of early Croatian art.. The Austrian scholar, Joseph Strzygowski (*Starohrvatska umjetnost*, Zagreb 1927) believed he had found in Croatia a living evidence of his great fiction, Germano-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.

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 early medievalists published an answer to Strzygowski (*Iz kolijevke hrvatske prošlosti*, Zagreb 1930). Karaman justifiably raised doubts as to the validity of much of Strzygowski's comparative material. He pointed out that we know next to nothing about any early Croatian



Zadru obrado valo 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. Poslije je Karaman u beskonačnim 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),

art in wood (a discovery, half a century later, of carved early medieval 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 borderland of the East and the West. Later on, in endless studies and articles, Karaman somewhat modified his thesis; he allowed for some influence of 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.



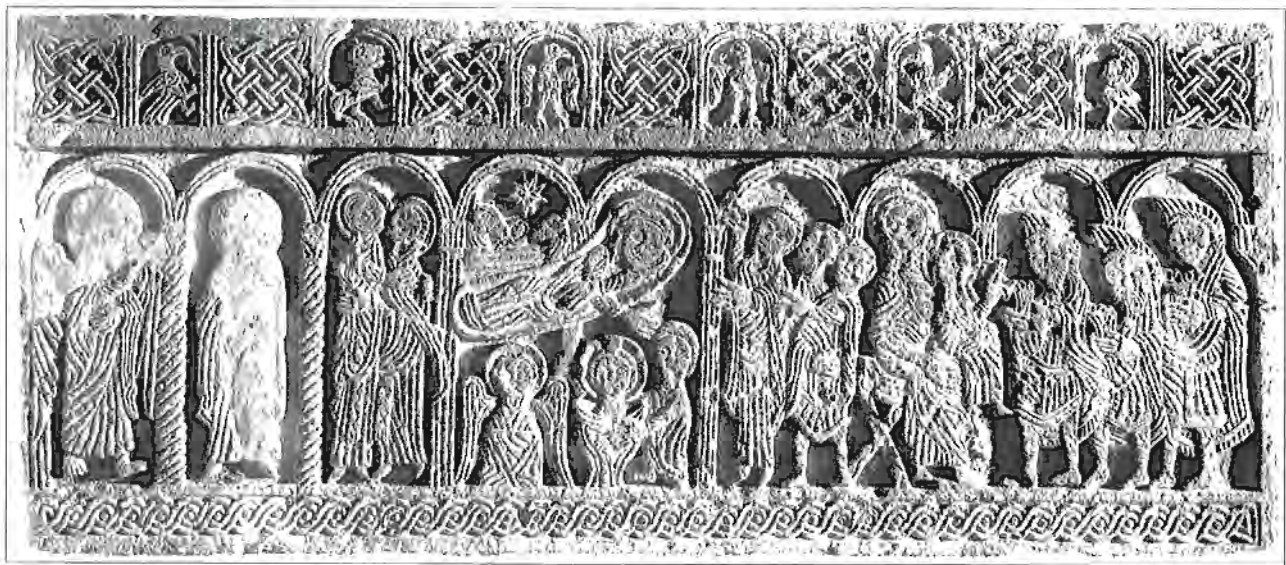


pa je i suviše isticao skromnost i jednostavnost najranije hrvatske arhitekture. Samo je dotaknuo veće gradnje, pripisujući ih XI. stoljeću i objašnjavajući ih kao odraz romaničke arhitekture Italije.

Na Karamanovu se tezu kritički osvrnuo danski arhitekt i arheolog Ejnar Dyggve (poglavlje u *Forschungen in Salona*, 1939, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, 1950.). Za Dyggvea su hrvatske građevine - opet samo one ranije - kopije kasno-antike arhitekture Dalmacije. Izradio je tablice ("Dyggveove paralele") planova predromaničkih i antiktih građevina, i na razini tih planova sličnosti su zaista izrazite. Kasnija istraživanja i promjene u tlocrtima kojima se koristio Dyggve, umanjili su vrijednost njegove metodologije, ali u

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 offshot of the Early Romanesque architecture of Italy.

Karaman's thesis was criticised by the Danish architect and archeologist, Ejnar Dyggve (a chapter in the *Forschungen in Salona*, 1939, and *History of Salonitan Christianity*, 1950). For Dyggve Croatian buildings - again the small-scale ones - are copies of Late Antique architecture of Dalmatia. He constructed tables ("Dyggve's parallels") of plans of Pre-Romanesque and Late





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biti je Dyggve bio u pravu što je iznova upozorio na zanemareni elemenat lokalnog naslijeđa.

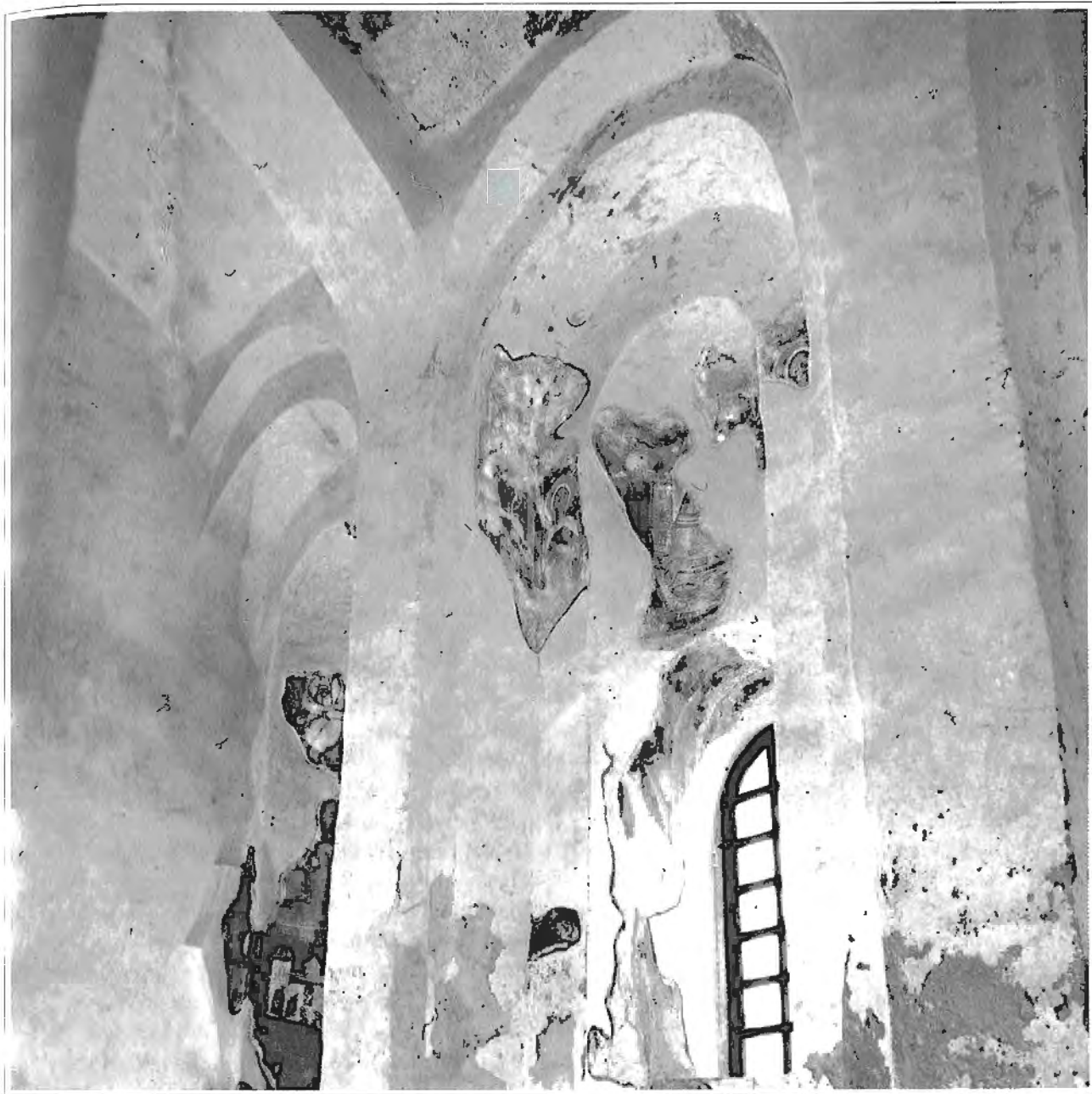
Više težine dobilo je Dyggveovo ponešto mehaničko mišljenje zahvaljujući radovima Milana Preloga. On je prihvatio kasnu antiku kao izvor predromaničkog graditeljstva u Hrvatskoj, ali ga je objasnio kao neku vrstu "pasivne negacije" antikne tradicije. Aktivna se negacija pojavila tek s romanikom. Profesor Prelog je dobro shvatio imitativnu narav predromanike u cijelini, ali je zanemario njezine eksperimentalne i istraživačke vidove. Ne treba zaboraviti da su te "čedne" i "grube" građevine bile nekoć prekrasno uredene živahnim slikama i vrlo zamršnim i maštovitim pletetom (često obojenim), da se grubo ziđe krilo ispod namaza



Antique structures, and on the level of plans, the similarities were indeed striking. Later explorations and changes in many 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. He accepted Late Antiquity as the source for 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. 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*. Likev Karaman and Dyggve, Prelog was attracted primarily by 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



žbuke i vapna i da je unutrašnjost puna sjanih predmeta od kovine i dragog kamenja. Neke od tih zgrada zaista nisu bili 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. Njemu zahvaljujemo što 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 (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. Tomislav Marasović objavio je brojne, vrlo vrijedne radove o tipologiji i kronologiji rane hrvatske arhitekture, te je prvi istaknuo povezanost s karolinškom umjetnosti Zapada. Posvetio je također neke svoje radove proučavanju bizantinskih elemenata u ranoj hrvatskoj umjetnosti.

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Since Prelog's thesis (in 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.

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An interesting comprehensive culturological work which also deals extensively with early Croatian art is the book *Pre-Romanesque period in Dalmatia* by Dr. Željko Rapanić (Split, 1987). Most recently, Miljenko Jurković did some fine research in Pre-Romanesque sculpture, and in his important study of the westworks in early medieval Croatia, independently voiced some thoughts that the author of these lines himself proposed in the course of his research.

About which, a few words at the end of this section: much of what is presented in this



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studiji o "*westwerku*" u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj nezavisno je izrazio neke misli što ih je u svom istraživanju iznio i autor ovih redaka. O tom mom radu nekoliko riječi na kraju ovog poglavlja. Velik dio onoga što se nalazi u ovoj knjizi rodilo se za vrijeme rada na mojoj doktorskoj radnji "Predromanička i ranoromanička arhitektura u Hrvatskoj" (Cornell University, 1972.), koja je s ispravcima i dodacima objavljena 1987. (*Early Croatian Architecture*, London, 1987.). U njoj sam predložio prije spomenutu razliku između predromanike i romanike, i na tom temelju, podjelu najranije hrvatske arhitekture. Iako su neki vidovi mog rada zastarjeli zbog novih otkrića i interpretacija, mislim da osnovne teorijske postavke mog rada vrijede i dalje, pa sam spreman predočiti ih čitatelju na idućim stranicama.

volume was generated during the work on my doctoral thesis "Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque Architecture in Croatia", Cornell University, 1972, published with some additions and corrections as *Early Croatian Architecture* (London, Duckworth, 1987). Therein I propose the above stated distinction between the Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque, and, on its basis, a tripartite division of early Croatian architecture. Although some details of my work have been made obsolete by new discoveries and interpretations, I believe that the basic theoretical premises of my analysis remain valid, and so I am ready to present them to the reader on the pages that follow.

TRADICIONALNA PREDROMANIČKA SKUPINA

Došljacima se u VII. stoljeću, stara carska Dalmacija vjerojatno činila, poput kulturne prodavaonice slatkiša, koja nudi brojne oblike graditeljskih uzora - rimskih, ranokršćanskih i ranobizatinskih. 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 rotonda do poprilično velikih bazilika. Oponašaju s različitim stupnjem točnosti oblike ranijih lokalnih graditeljskih stilova. Usprkos raznolikosti oblika postoji dosta zajedničkih karakteristika.

THE TRADITIONAL PRE-ROMANESQUE GROUP

For a seventh century newcomer the old imperial Roman 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.

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 vjerojatno bili učvršćeni blokovima tesanog kamena s antikne 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 razrijedenim 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 zaboravljena, ali ugladeni komadi čuvali su se za dovratnike i doprozornike, te ostale važne dijelove građevine.

Gradevine malog mjerila bile su gotovo bez iznimke nadsvodene. 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

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 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, semidomical and groin vaults do occur. The domes and semidomes 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 pyramial or conical roof.



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 predhrvatskoj arhitekturi VII. i VIII. stoljeća, kako to pokazuje crkva Sv. Mihovila na otoku Šipanu, mala, longitudinalna, nadsvođena građevina, koju Igor Fisković smješta u VII. stoljeće). 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 se može objasniti utjecajem drvene arhitekture.

U malim građevinama sa sporednim ladama svodovi leže na stupovima ili na četvrtastim stupcima. 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

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 baptistry 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 Pre-Croatian architecture of the 7th and 8th century is revealed by the church of Sv. Mihovil at Šipan, a small, longitudinal vaulted building dated by Igor Fisković to the 7th ct.). Does this overall predilection for vaulting has 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.

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 descendants of the late Roman Corinthian or Composite. Sometimes the relief is low and forms summary (Sv. Barbara, Trogir), sometimes the forms burst with volume (Sv. Nikola, Split), or they may be enhanced by a



oblici bujaju do rasprsnuća (Sv. Nikola, Split) ili su pojačani slikovitom igrom svjetla i sjene (Sv. Lovro, Zadar).

Upotreba stupova ograničena je na dalmatinske gradove, koji su, čini se, zadržali ponešto od stare mediteranske helenističke sklonosti svjetlijoj i življoj 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.

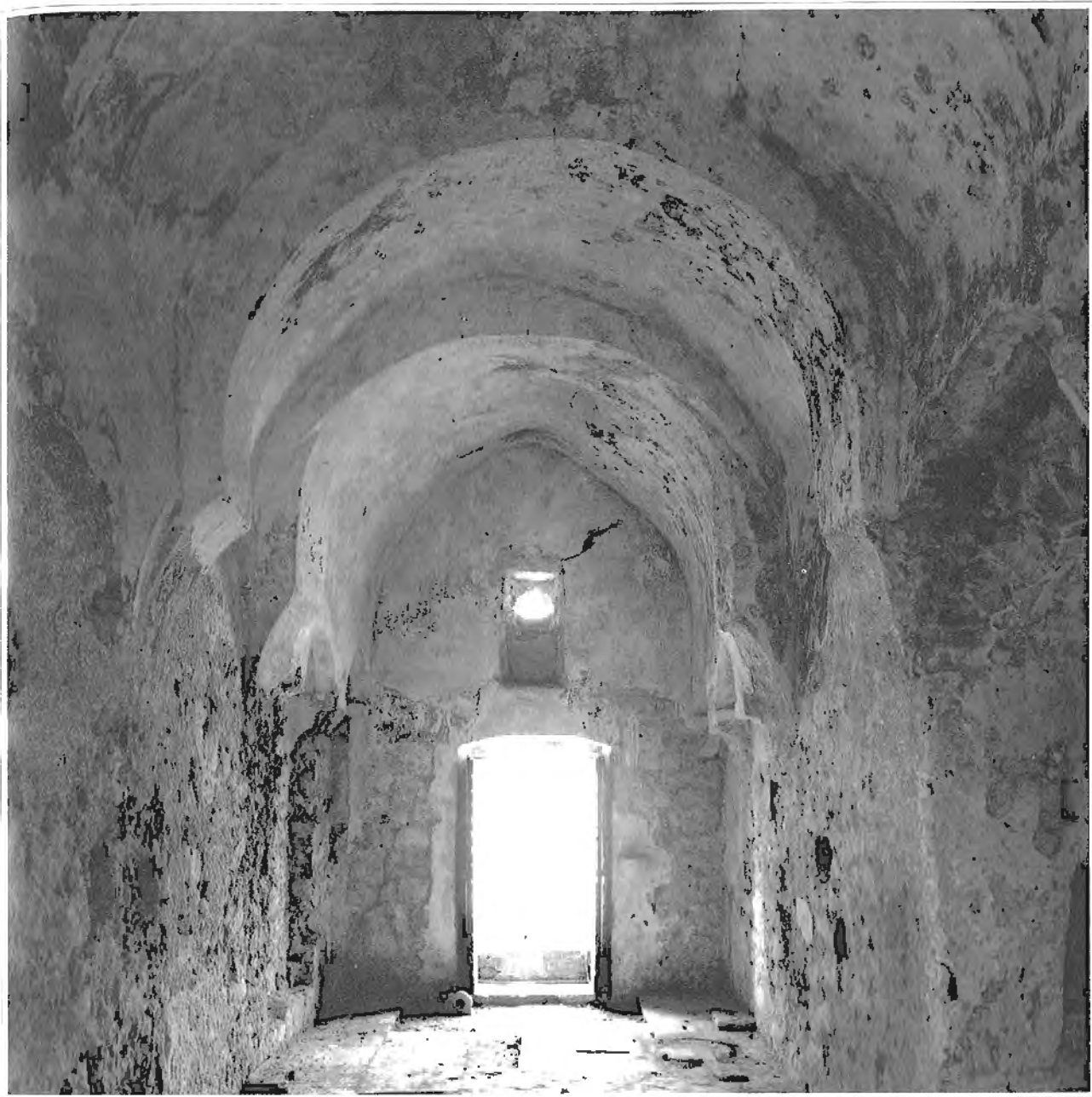
Imposti nad kapitelima pokazuju jednostavne pravokutne, izbrazdane ili konkavne profile. Peta svoda katkad je također označena trakom sličnog oblika. Impost ima važnu ulogu jer na njemu počiva drvena oplata. Sama oplata izvedena je površno, uzrokujući izrazite nepravilnosti svodova. Sudeći po tragovima kod Sv. Trojice u Splitu, bila je poput neke velike košare koja se sastojala od krhkog okvira s dva prekrizena 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 Sv. Kuzme i Damjana). Ulazna su vrata vjerojatno bila nadvišena lunetom, rasteretnim lukom ili čak visećim portikom (Sv. Nikola, Split). Prozori su najčešće jednostavni,

picturesque interplay of light and shadow (Sv. Lovro, Zadar). 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 important 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 Sv. Trojica in Split, it was a kind of a basketlike device consisting of a fragile frame carrying two criss-crossed 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 motifs (Sv. Lovro, Zadar; Sv. Mihajlo, Ston; Sv. Bartol, Dubrovnik - the doorway has been transferred to Ss. Kuzma and Damjan). The door may be surmounted by a lunette, a discharge arch, or even a hanging porch (Sv.



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 ljustaka (Sv. Ilija, Lopud; Sv. Petar, Dubrovnik; Sv. Mihovil, Brnaze; Sv. Andrija, Vrgada; Sv. Nikola, Poveljana). Neki su prozorski okviri urešeni pleterom (Sv. Mihajlo, Ston). Ima nekoliko primjera kružnih otvora, *oculus*, (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 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 uokviruju slijepo lukove, a u nekim primjerima stoje zasebno (Sv. Dimitrije, Gabriji). Taj dekorativni sustav, u upotrebi u jadranskom području od kasne antike, vjerojatno je istočnjačkog porijekla, jer je Jadran bio otvoren istočnim utjecajima od Dioklecijanova vremena. Potkraj XI. stoljeća pojavljuju se mjestimice konzolni slijepi lučići (Sv. Petar, Omiš; Sv. Nedeljica, 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 prisutnost četiri, pet ili šest jedinica, unutrašnjost se zapravo sastoji od tri polja. Zid je zamišljen kao ukrasna površina, oživljena primjenom arhitektonske

Nikola, Split). The windows are most frequently simple, roundheaded or rectangular slits, splayed inside. If there are larger roundheaded openings, these are covered by transennae, pierced stone slabs, with rounded, lozenge-shaped, or fish-scale opening (Sv. Ilija, Lopud; Sv. Petar, Dubrovnik; Sv. Mihovil, Brnazi; Sv. Andrija, Vrgada; Sv. Nikola, Poveljana). Some window frames are decorated by interlaces (Sv. Mihajlo, Ston). There are a examples of oculi (Sv. Petar at Priko, Omiš), or cross-shaped openings (Sv. Donat, Zadar). Small perforations found sometimes right underneath the eaves seem to have served for additional ventilation. The windows were probably covered by wooden shutters. The doors revolved round posts inserted into holes in the treshold 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 (Sv. Dimitrije, Gabriji). 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 (Sv. Petar at Priko, Omiš; Sv. Nedeljica 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

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.

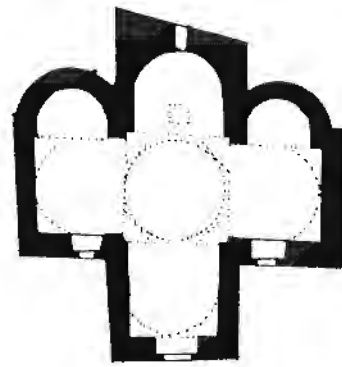
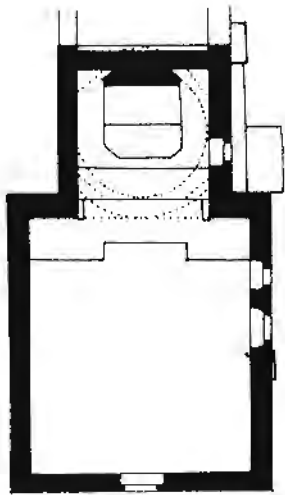
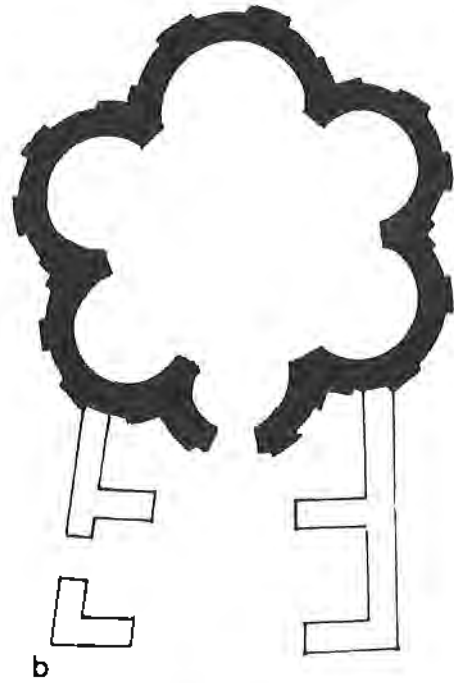
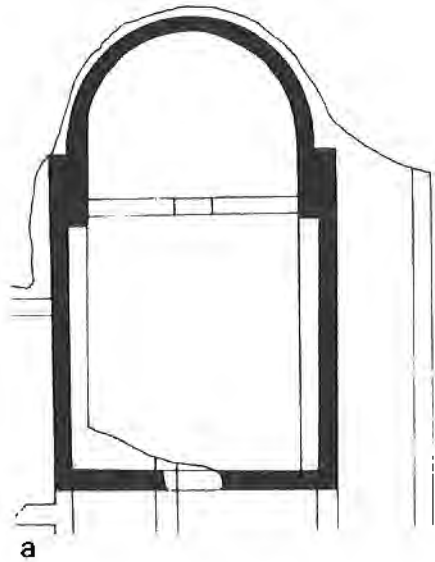
Raspored vanjskih masa također može zavarati. Pravokutna apsida ili tambur mogu skrivati zaobljene niše ili kupole. Unutrašnjost i vanjšina ostaju dva različita svijeta. U mnogim gradevinama u kojima se spajaju longitudinalni i centralni koncept, npr. u južnodalmatinskom tipu, masa raste vertikalno prema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

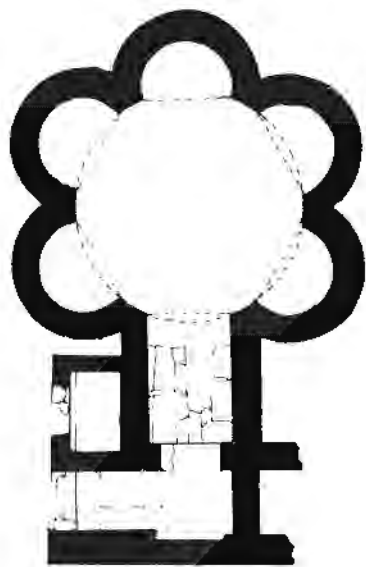
Pleterna se skulptura upotrebljava da bi se naglasili strukturno i optički najvažniji dijelovi zgrade i crkvene opreme: vrata, prozori, glavice, imposti, transene, oltarne pregrade, pročelja oltara, škropionice, krstionice, ciboriji, sarkofazi. Svijećnjaci i metalne kadionice vise s greda oltarne pregrade,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

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 (Sv. Mihajlo, Ston) an effect similar to the phenomenon known as the *horror vacui* frequently encountered in early medieval sculpture and painting.

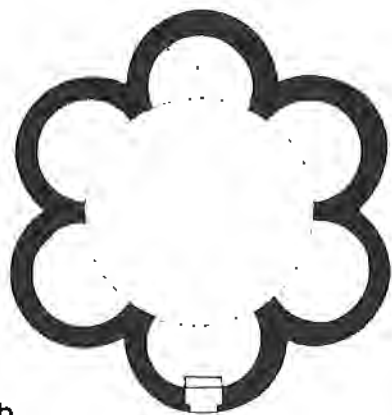
The arrangement of exterior masses may also be misleading. Square apses and drums conceal rounded niches or domes. The interior and exterior remains two different worlds. In many buildings which combine the longitudinal and central concept (e.g., the South Dalmatian type) the mass grows vertically toward 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, impost-blocks, transennae, choir-screens, altar-frontals, ambons, holy-water basins, fonts, ciboria, sarcophagi. Chandeliers

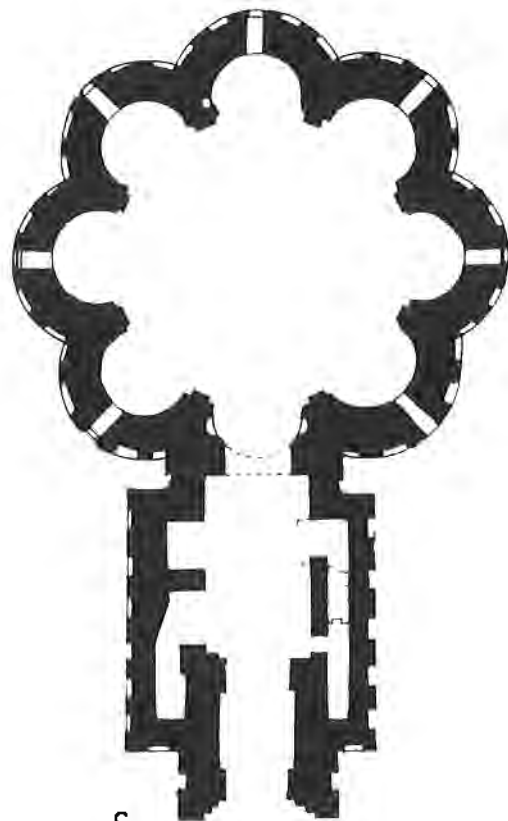




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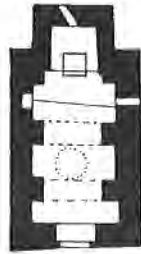


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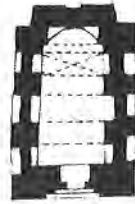
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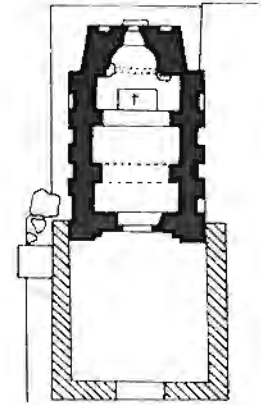
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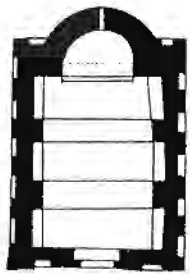
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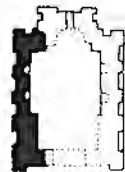
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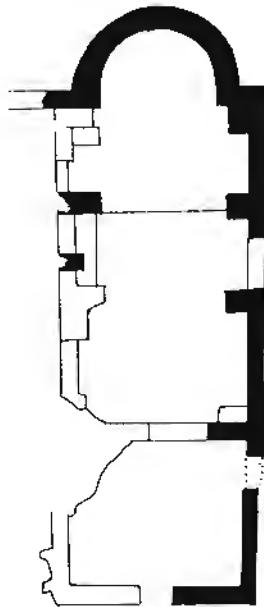
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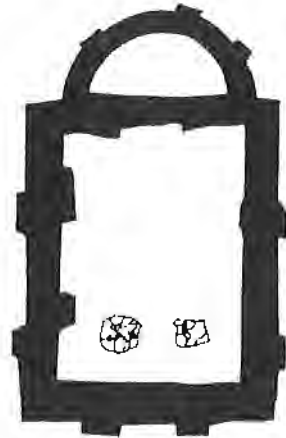
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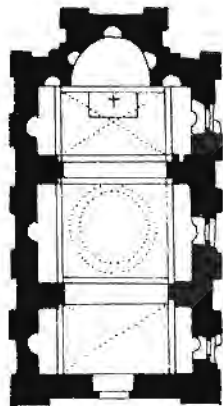
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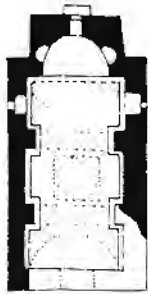
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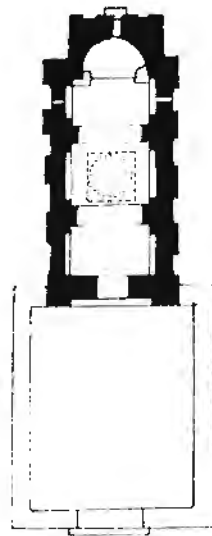
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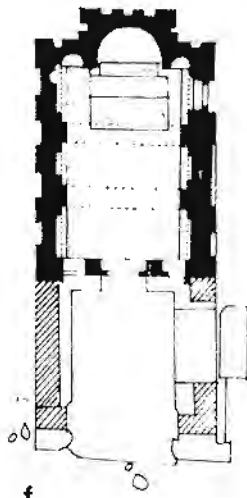
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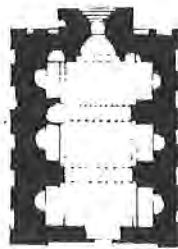
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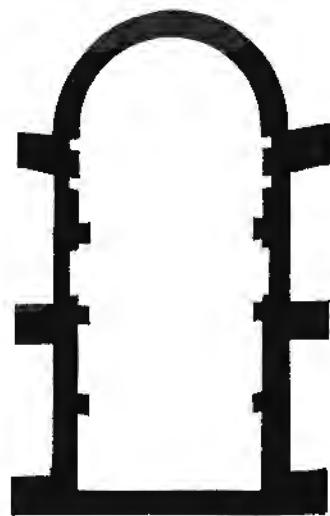
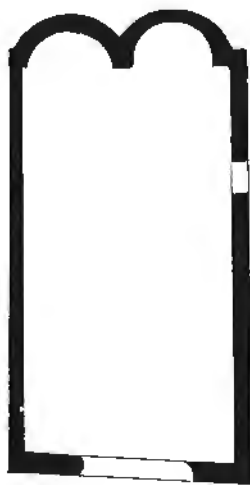
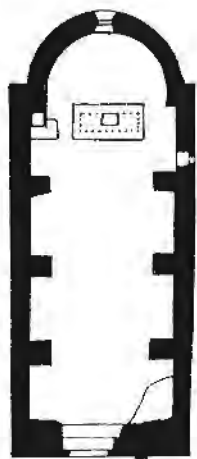
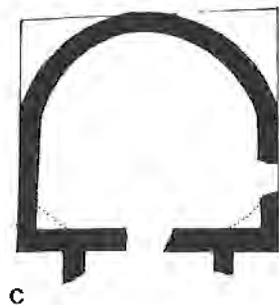
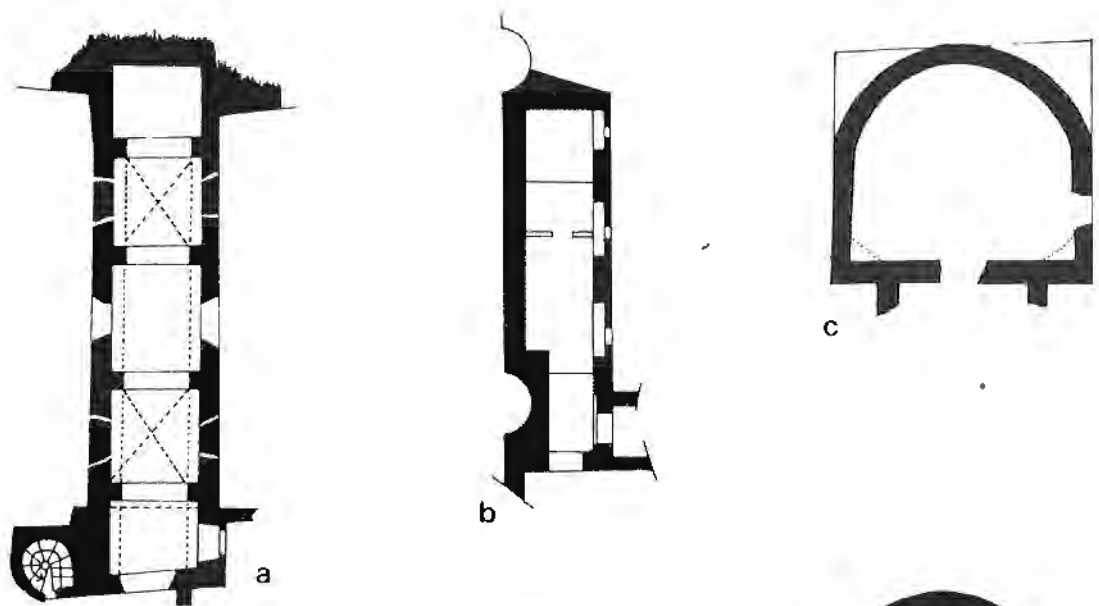


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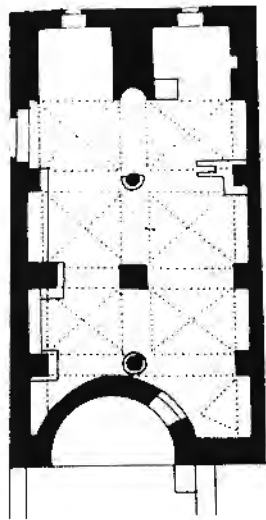




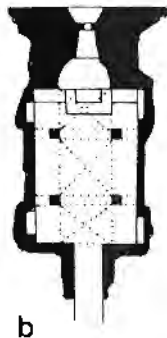
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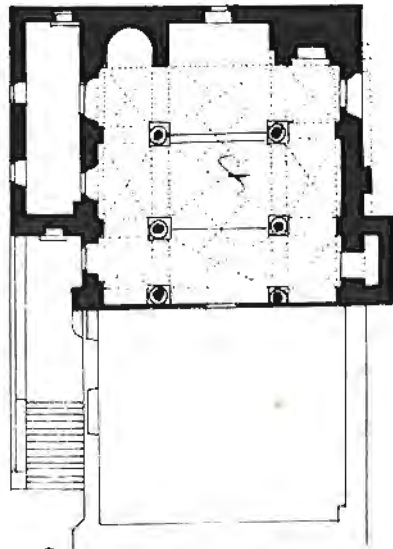
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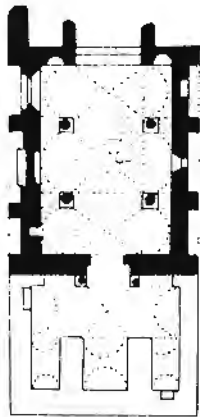
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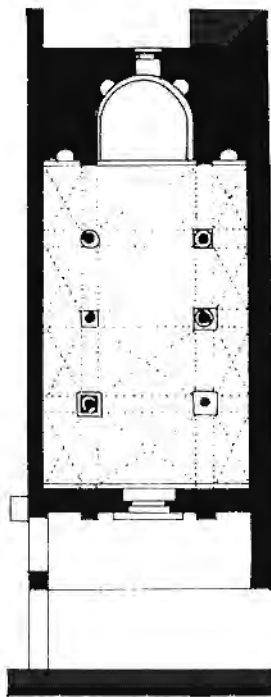
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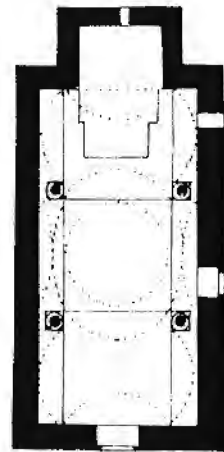
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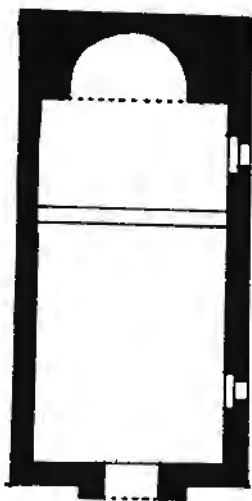


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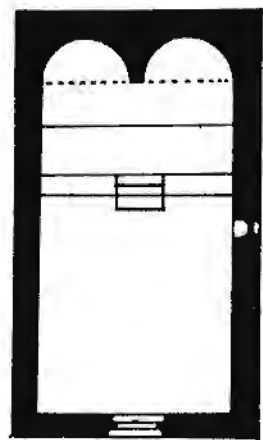
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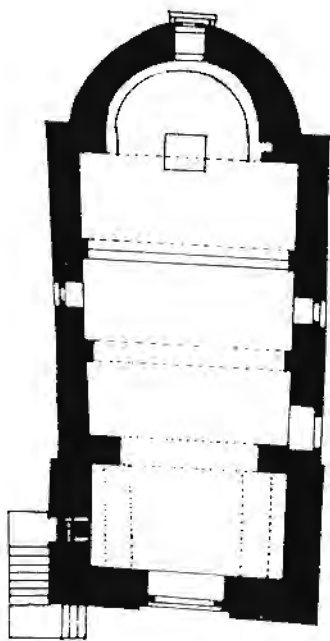
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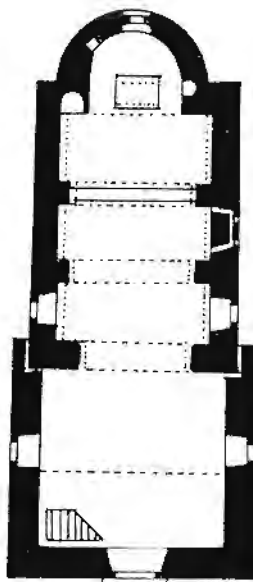
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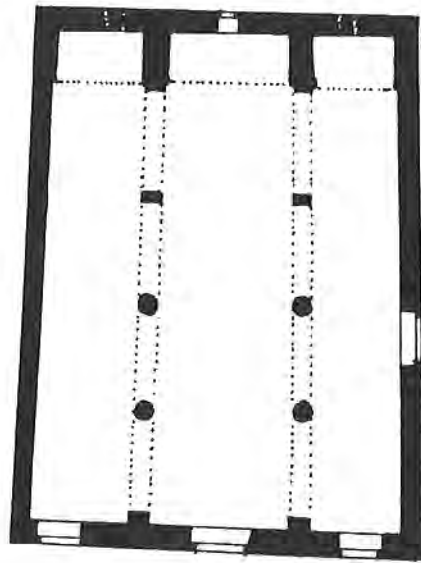
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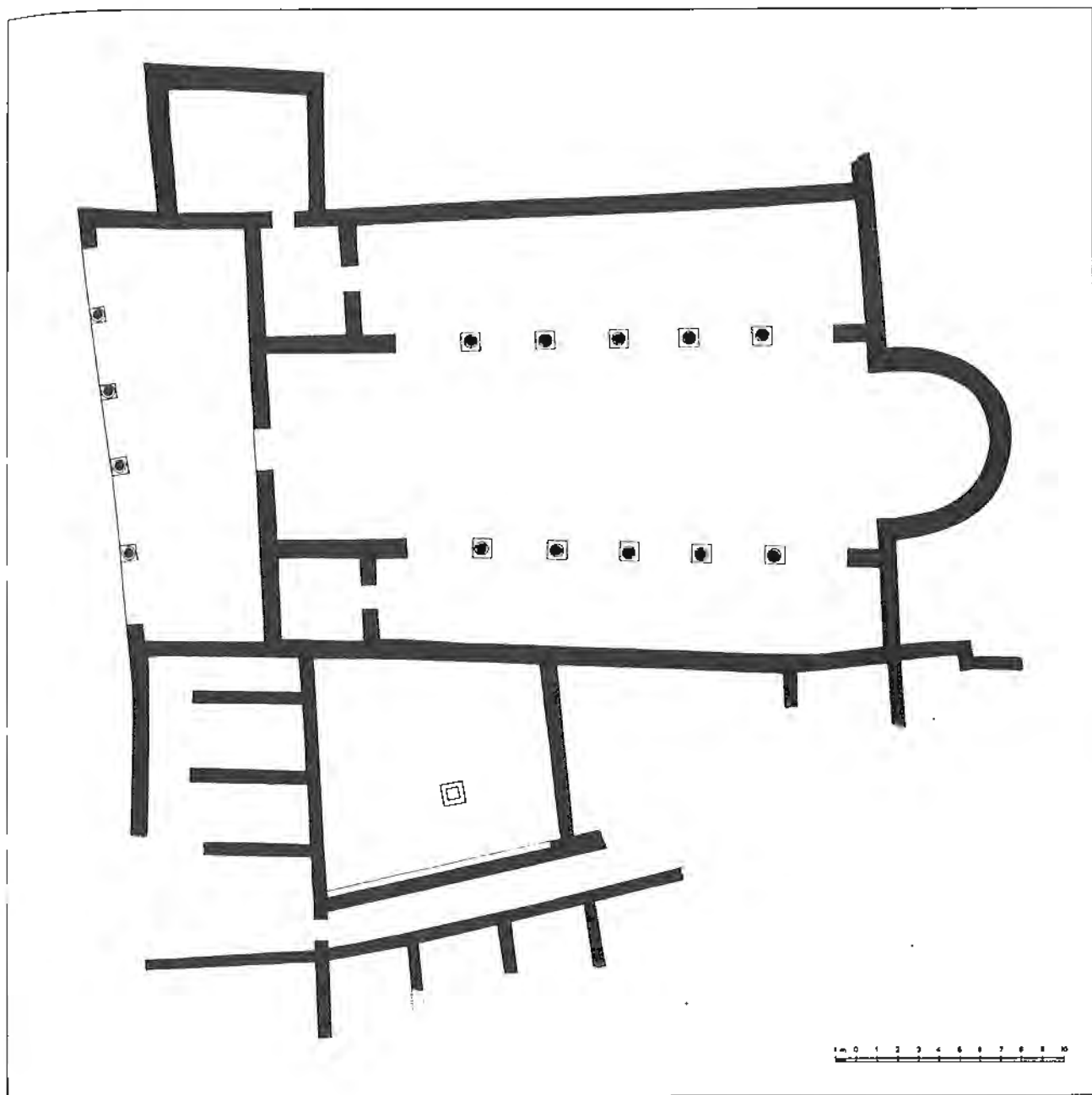


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(Sv. Petar, Dubrovnik) s izrezbarenim pročeljem. Najistaknutiji komad crkvenog pokućstva oltarna je pregrada. Sastoji se od jednog ili tri ulaza koji su nadvišeni lukovima ili lukovima unutar šiljatog zabata. Taj motiv podsjeća na protiron vestibula 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.

Luk ili zabat počivaju na kružnim ili poligonalnim stupićima sa stiliziranim korinjskim 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. Uski su elementi, bilo horizontalni bilo vertikalni, prekriveni "dinamičnim" motivima. Na stupovima se pojavljuju krivuljaste ili ravne vitice, koje presijecaju krugove ili rombe te isprepleteni kružni i pravokutni motivi. Uz otvore, rubovi stupova mogu biti naglašeni cikcakom. Dinamični horizontalni motivi teku uz gornje rubove *pluteja*: učvorenjeni krugovi, katkada ispunjeni zvijerima ili cvijećem, isprepleteni pereci i polukrugovi, ili čak male arkade što ih uokviruju ptice ili životinje. Na glavnom su polju ploče umjetnici primijenili

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 (Sv. Barbara and Sv. Marija, Trogir; Sv. Mihovil, Pridraga; Sv. Nikola, Povljana) supported by a single square, polygonal or rounded leg, but there were also block altars (Sv. 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.

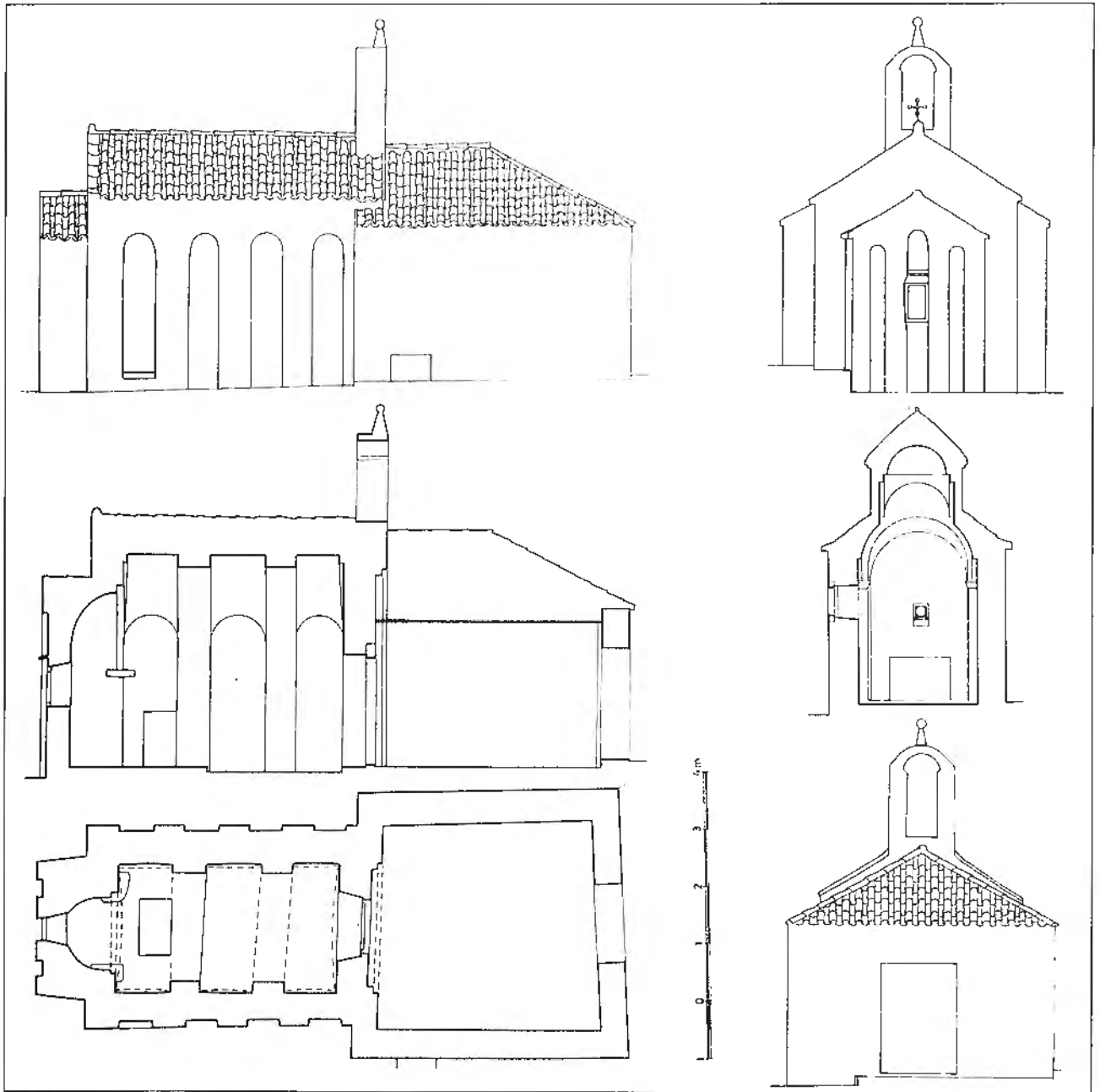
The arch or the gable rest on rounded or polygonal colonettes bearing stylized Corinthian or Composite capitals. The colonettes themselves stand on squat rectangular piers which also serve to anchor the *plutei*, the choir-screen panels. There is sometimes a pier along the wall to receive the other end of the panel, or this is simply inserted into a vertical slit in the wall.

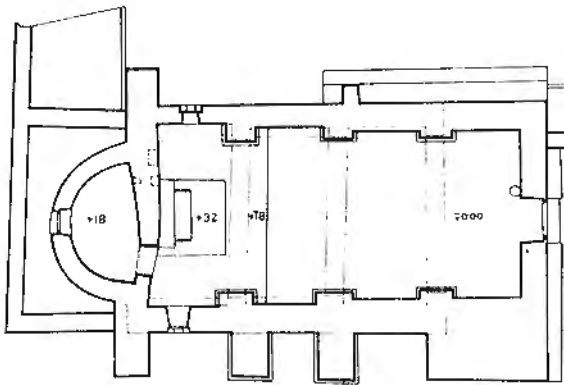
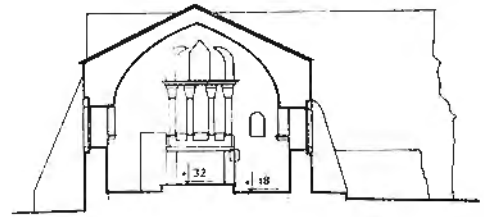
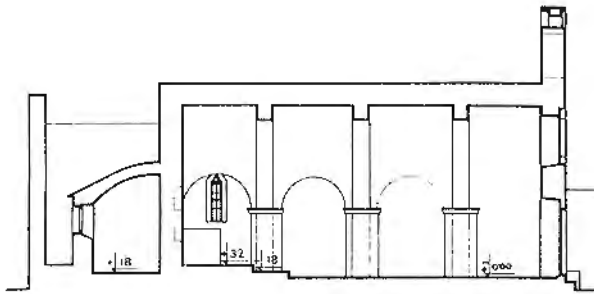
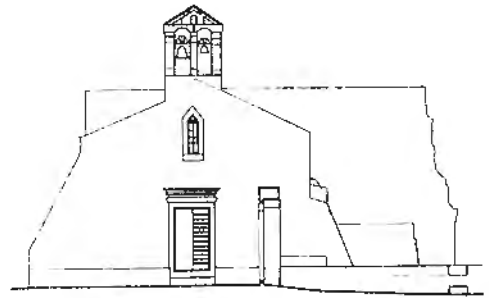
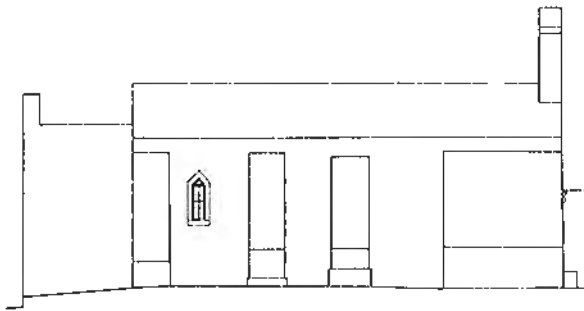
The choice and application of decorative motifs on the choir-screen - and elsewhere - shows a developed artistic sensitivity on the part of Pre-Romanesque sculptors. The narrow elements, horizontal and vertical alike, are covered by "dynamic" motifs.

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

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 "pretzles" or half-circles,







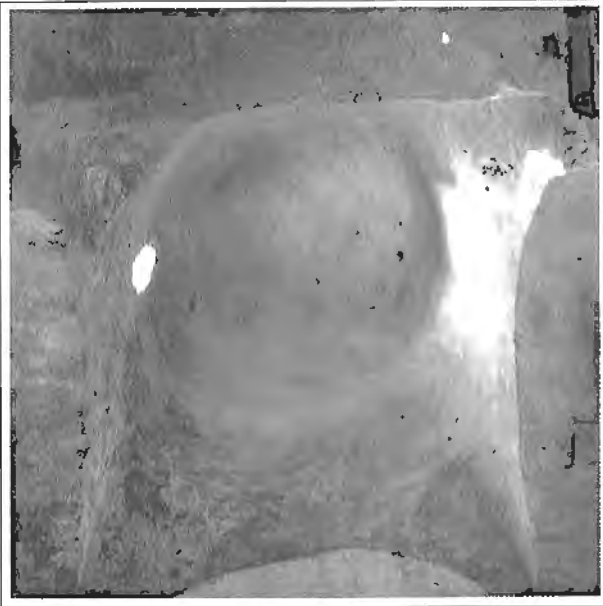
primijenjen je i na stranice sarkofaga. Grede i zabati oltarnih pregrada nose obično tri pruge ili zone ornamenta - najniža često sadrži natpis. Ulomci tih natpisa oltarnih pregrada sačinjavaju čuveni "arhiv u kamenu", koji je zabilježio i sačuvao imena hrvatskih vladara, Trpimira, Branimira i Muncimira. Središnji potez urešen je dinamičnim motivima, perecima, 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.

Sličan osjećaj za ispravnu upotrebu statičkih i dinamičkih motiva vodio je majstore kad su ukrašavali druge dijelove crkvene opreme. Okviri vratâ 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 gdjekad 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

or even small arcades enframing 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 lozanges or squares, squares 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," which have recorded and preserved the names of Croatian rulers such as Trpimir, Branimir, and Mutimir. The central strip is decorated by such dynamic motifs as pretzles, 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 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.





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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 (Sv, 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 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 checker-board. 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.

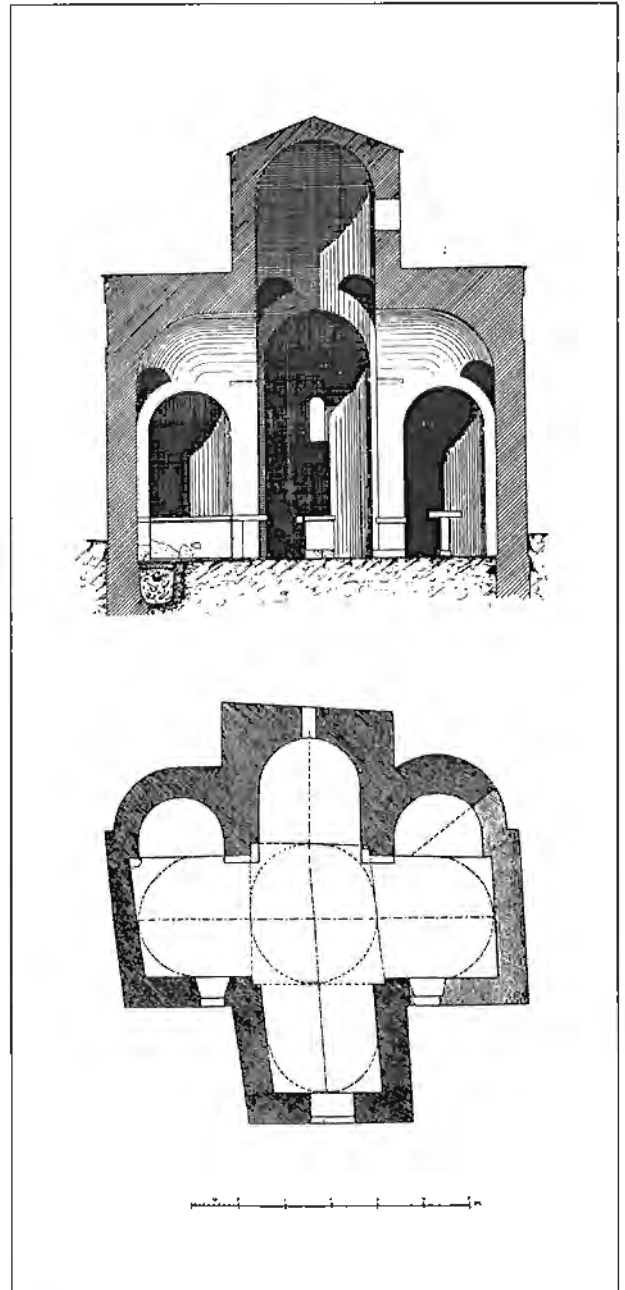
The walls of the interior used to be covered by wall-paintings, both figured and decorative in content. An almost complete disappearance of that painted decor is a great loss, as the color must have been one of the main keys to understanding

okvira popunjene su ili viticama ili stiliziranim životinjama, katkad u sučeljenim parovima. Stupovi ciborija nose stilizirane korinthske 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 najranijeg hrvatskog 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 Poveljani, 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. 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.

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 (Sv. Vid je srušen u XIX. st.), visokom križnom građevinom s kupolom u visokom kružnom tornjiću. Zadar je ostao aktivni umjetnički centar tijekom VII. i VIII. stoljeća - katedrala Sv. Stošije ponovo je opremljena u tom razdoblju kako svjedoče brojni nađeni ulomci - a monumentalna rotonda Sv. Donata svakako je



and enjoying early Croatian architecture. The best preserved group of wall-paintings can be seen at St. Mihajlo at Ston, then at Sv. Petar at Šilovo Selo on Šipan, Sv. Ilija on Lopud, Sv. Petar Stari (the Old) in Zadar, Sv. Mihajlo at Šipan; traces were recorded at Sv. Nikola at Povljana, Sv. Marija at Iž Mali, Sv. Donat in Zadar, the churches at Crkvina and Stupovi in Biskupija, Sv. Spas at Cetina and Sv. Petar in Dubrovnik. I had the great privilege of being present, in May 1989, at the discovery of fragments of interlace sculpture and traces of wall-painting at the then yet unexplored church of Sv. 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 Sv. Križ (Holy Cross) in Nin, often considered to be the court chapel of early Croatian rulers, was inspired by the church of Sv. Vid in nearby Zadar (destroyed in the 19th century), a tall cruciform triapsidal building with a dome within a tall rounded turret. Zadar remained an active artistic center throughout the 7th and 8th century - the cathedral of Sv. Stošija was refurbished in that period as witnessed by numerous fragments found within the present building -

bila u gradnji tijekom druge 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,

and the monumental rotunda of Sv. Donat was under construction definitely in the course of the second half of the eighth century. Sv. Vid probably belongs to that upsurge of activity in the eighth century. Sv. Križ shows basically Sv. Vid's disposition, only the structure is cruder, more irregular, and the openings are smaller. In spite of its limited size, Sv. Križ is a stunning



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 rane hrvatske građevine.

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 predočuju Kristov grob. Zaljev Telašćica spominje se između 986. i 999. godine kao "Vallis Sancti Victorii", pa je vjerojatno tada bila vrlo stara, jer je po njoj ime dobio najznačajniji dio krajolika otoka. To upućuje na početak IX. stoljeća.

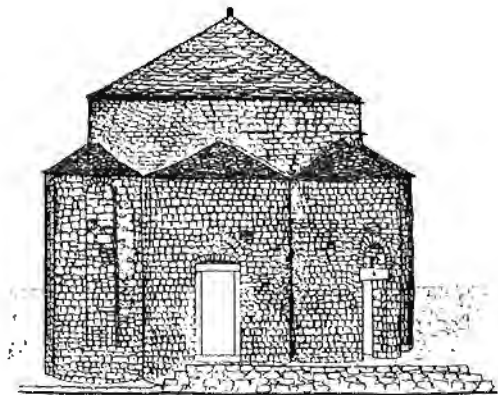
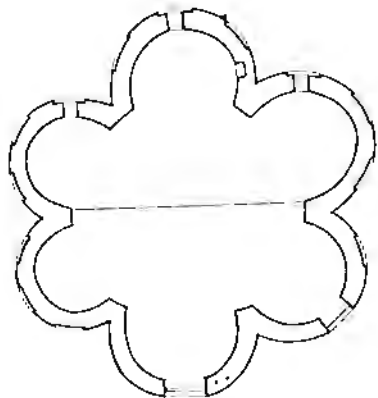
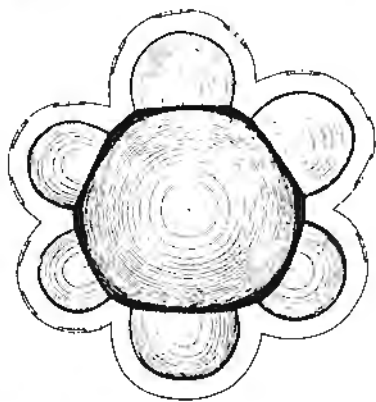
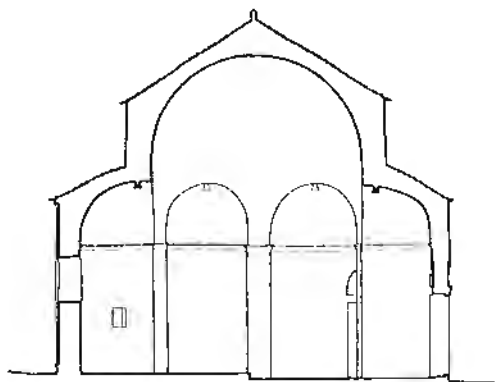
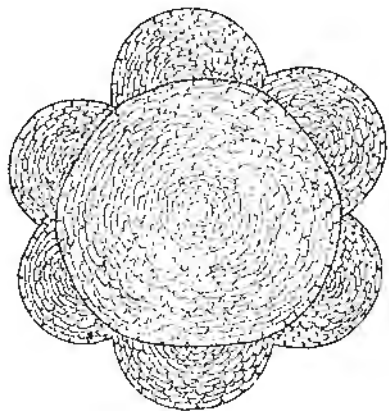
Možda je još zanimljivija građevina malena crkva Sv. Jurja u Ravanjskoj sjeverno od Zadra. Ovdje se se tip s Dugog Otoka longitudinalno rasteže, a majušan jednobrodni prostor prekriven je izduljenom, eliptičnom kupolom. Ovo je očito lokalna varijanta kasnoantičkog modela, te jedno od izvornijih ostvarenja ranih

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 spoils and the foundations are piled up in a pell-mell fashion as at Sv. Donat in Zadar. All this seems to indicate a relatively early ninth century date for this probably most popular of all early Croatian structures.

If we strip Sv. Vid or Sv. Križ 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 Sv. Pelegrin at Savar on the Dugi Island. Ruins of another such building, Sv. 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 where they represent the tomb of Christ. The 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 Sv. Juraj in Ravanjska, to the North of







hrvatskih graditelja. Zna se da je postojala 1071. godine, ali je barem dvjesto godina starija. Uz 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

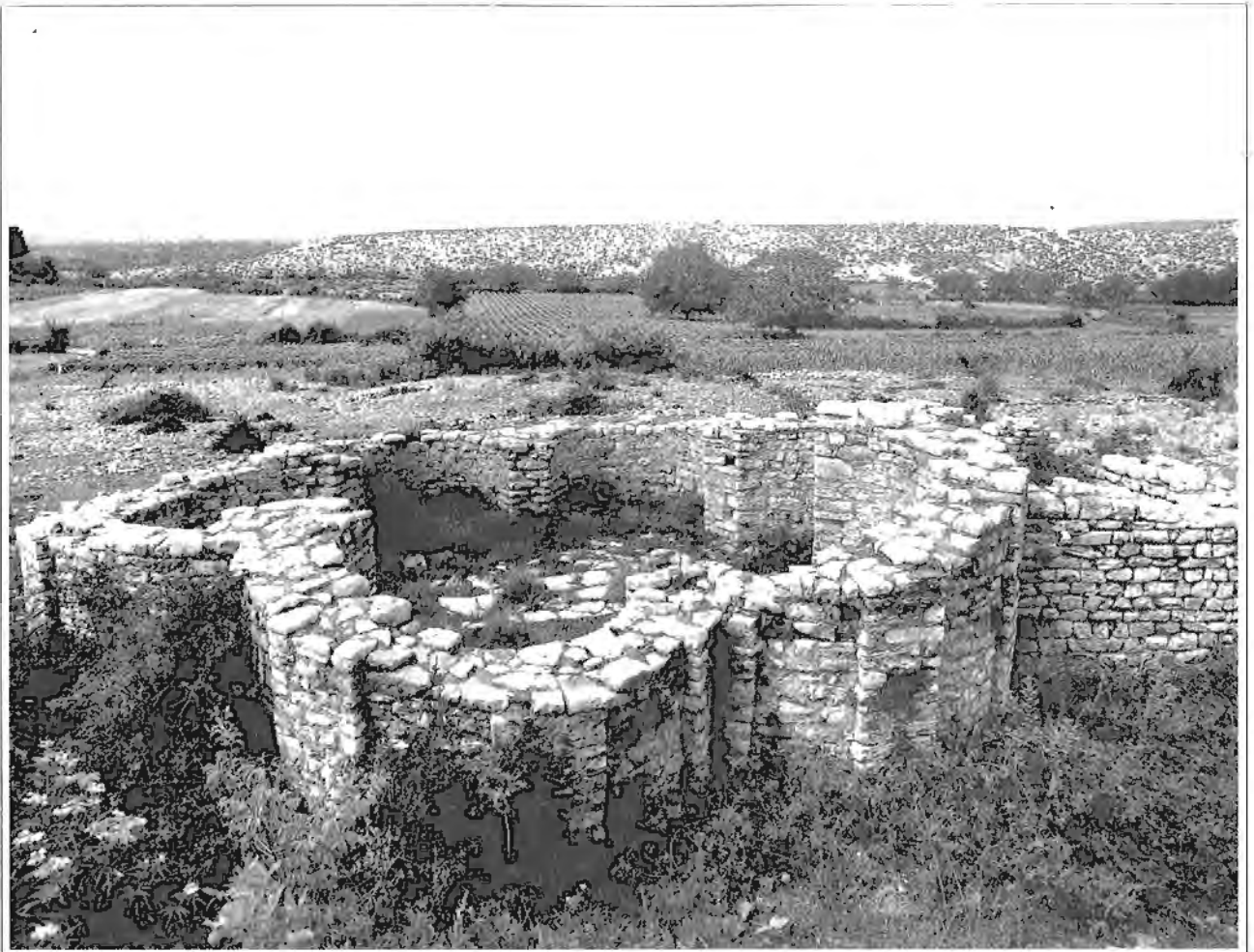
Zadar. Here the Dugi Island type is stretched longitudinally and the tiny aisleless space is covered by an elongated, elliptical dome. This is quite obviously a local variation on a Late Antique model, and represents one of the most original creations of early Croatian architects. It is known to have existed in 1071 but is probably at least 200 years older.



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

To discussion of those small centralized buildings of Northern Dalmatia one may add the tiny rounded church, Sv. 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



tornjem, te crkvu u Kolovarama, poznatu prema staroj maketi Zadra iz Museo Storico Navale u Veneciji (oko 1560.). Slične zgrade, koje prate i ostaci samostana, iskopane su kraj Kašića i Pridrage sjeverno od Zadra, a još jednu je istražio Mate Zekan kraj Škabrnje. Dalje u zaleđu tragovi osmerolista nalaze se u Bribiru, a šesterolista u Brnazima kraj Sinja. Konačno, gradovi Trogir i Split imaju po jednu takvu građevinu - Sv. Mariju "de Platea", i Sv. Trojicu u Poljudu. Ruševine osmerolista kraj Ošlja jedini su primjer ovog 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.

Nedavno je dr. Marasović utvrdio da je Sv. Marija u Trogiru postojala već 715.-717. 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 Sućurca (najkasnije VIII. stoljeće), smješta u vrijeme oko 800. godine. Sv. Mihajlo u Brnazama 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 u

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 Sv. Marija ("Stomorica"), a sixapsidal chapel preceded by a porch with a tower, and the church at Kolovare, known only from an old model of Zadar (c.1560) in the Museo Storico Navale in Venice. Two other such buildings, accompanied by remains of monastic structures, have been excavated at Kašić and Pridraga (Sv. Mihovil) to the North of Zadar, and yet another one was explored by Mate Zekan at Škabrnja. Further in the hinterland traces of an octachora were found at Bribir, and of a hexachora at Brnazi near Sinj (Sv. Mihovil). Finally, the cities of Trogir and Split possess one example of this type each - Sv. Marija "de Platea" in Trogir, and Sv. Trojica (Trinity) at Split. The ruins of an octachora at Ošlje is a sole example of the type in Southern Dalmatia.

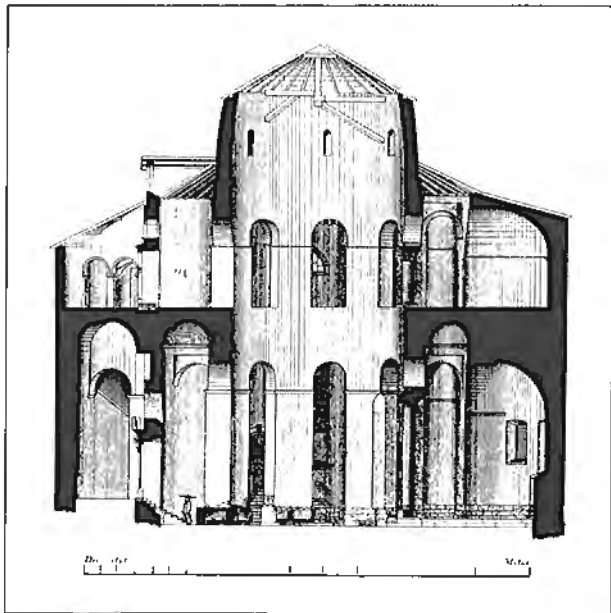
In each case a rounded core covered by a dome was surrounded by six or eight semicircular niches (At the Stomorica in Zadar, instead of the entrance conch there is a rectangular bay). The easternmost served as the sanctuary and was - in some cases together with the accompanying two apses - screened off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

Recently Dr. Marasović established that Sv. Marija at Trogir existed as early as 715-717, which seems to confirm presumed rather early dates for Sv. Trojica at Split - the best preserved

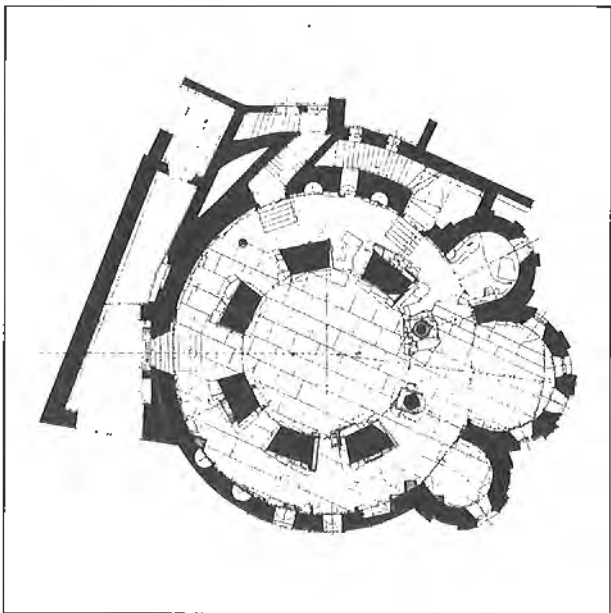




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Kašiću. Uzevši u obzir portik i toranj, Sv. Marija u Zadru ne može se smjestiti u vrijeme prije godine 1000., dok bi se osmerolisnu građevinu kraj Ošlja moglo možda smjestiti u razdoblje razmjernog prosperiteta Humske zemlje pod knezom Mihajlom Viševićem u prvim desetljećima X. stoljeća. Lijep portik dodan je najvjerojatnije poslije. Pregledi najranijeg hrvatskog graditeljstva redovito spominju i dvije "četverolisne"



building of the group - tentatively datable around 800 based on the style of a fragment of the choir-screen not too distant from definitely early (eighth century) Arch of Sućurac. Sv. 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). Sv. Mihovil at Pridraga is datable on the basis of archeological material before the end of the tenth century, and so also is the similar near-by church at Kašić. On the account of the porch and tower, Sv. Marija 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 early Croatian 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 centralized buildings of Northern Dalmatia, and one of the most popular Pre-Romanesque structures of the Adriatic, the monumental, two-storey rotunda of Sv. 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.

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.

Naposljetku, tu je i najčuvenija centralna građevina sjeverne Dalmacije i jedna od najpoznatijih predromaničkih konstrukcija Jadrana, monumentalna dvokatna rotunda Sv. Donata u Zadru. Otkriće drvenih greda

By its size and sophistication Sv. 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 Sv. Vid must have made Zadar a powerful center of dissemination of the idea of a centralized building. As an important center of Dalmatian church hierarchy, it was the place to be looked up to and emulated. Hence the profusion of centrally planned



ukrašenih pleterom i datiranih karbonskom metodom u vrijeme oko 710. g., odaje da je ova građevina, često opisana kao "karolinška", bila dobrano u gradnji već u VIII. stoljeću.

Svojim mjerilom i složenošću Sv. Donat potvrđuje sjevernodalmatinsku sklonost centralnim zdanjima. Krstionica katedrale, Sv. Donat i Sv. Vid vjerojatno su pridonijeli tome da Zadar postane snažnim centrom rasprostiranja ideje o centraliziranim gradnjama. Kao važno središte dalmatinske 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. Vid 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, izvanredni radovi Josipa Stošića ispod današnje dubrovačke katedrale otkrili su baziliku bizantskog tipa koja se datira u vrijeme prije početka IX. stoljeća.

Funkcija centralnih građevina i malih ranih hrvatskih crkava uopće 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 Pridrazi i

types in Northern Dalmatia. The newly confirmed eighth century dates for such buildings as Sv. Donat and Sv. Marija at Trogir (and a likelihood of such a date for Sv. Vid in Zadar), shows that, in fact, the tradition of monumental architecture in the eastern Adriatic was never quite broken (we should also recall the eighth century restoration at the 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 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.

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. Sv. Donat in Zadar served as a court chapel. So also probably did Sv. Križ 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 LePuy, placed dramatically on top of a steep volcanic rock, was originally a polyconchal - a quaterfoil - building.

Kašiću bile su samostanski oratoriji. One u Brnazima i Pidrasi bile su posvećene Sv. Mihovilu, koji je možda dijelio izvornu posvetu 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 Puy (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. Za Sv. Mariju u Zadru zna se da je bila zavjetna kapela koja je štitila gradska vrata.



Hexachoras at 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. Sv. 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 Sv. Krševan or Sv. Marija in Zadar, Sv. Ivan in Biograd, or Sv. Benedikt or Sv. 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 disproportionately 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

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

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



samostani Sv. Krševana ili Sv. Marije u Zadru, Sv. Ivana u Biogradu, ili Sv. Benedikta ili Sv. 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

Dalmatia, although they are also found farther North (Sv. Ivan in Telašćica on the Dugi Island, Sv. Andrija on Vrgada, Sv. Nikola Poveljana on Pag, Sv. Petar at Seline). 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



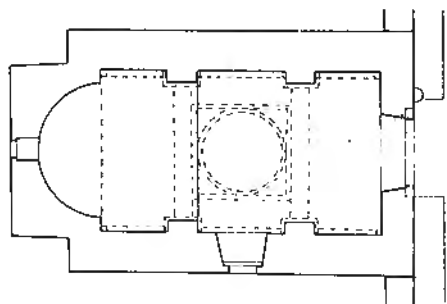
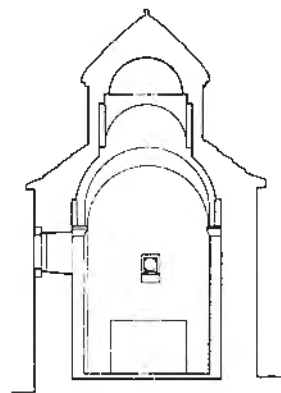
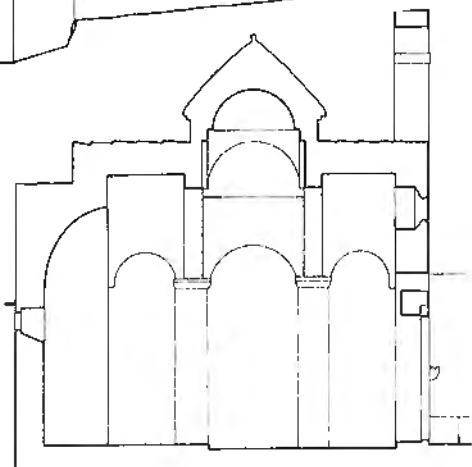
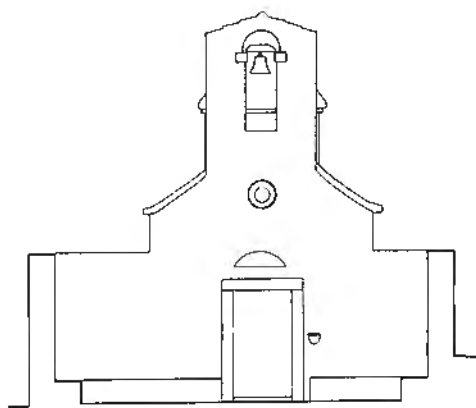
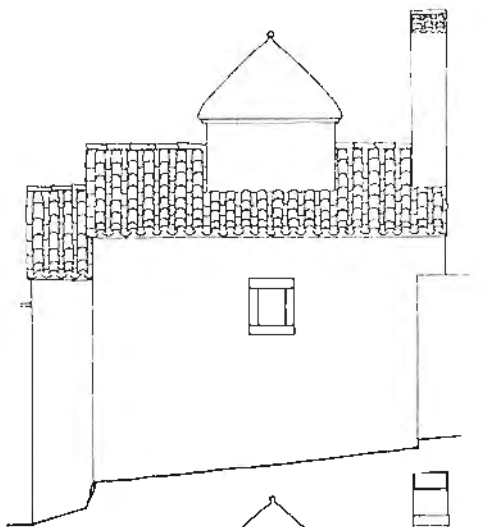
u ranom srednjem vijeku bile pretežno usmene, te su vlasnici često pribjegavali falsifikatima da potvrde prava u kasnijim razdobljima. Zgrada od trajnog materijala bila je izvrstan opipljiv dokaz osporavanog vlasništva.

Nerazmjerno velik broj građevina malog mjerila otvara mogućnost da su u najmanju ruku neke od njih služile kao redovne župne crkve. U tom

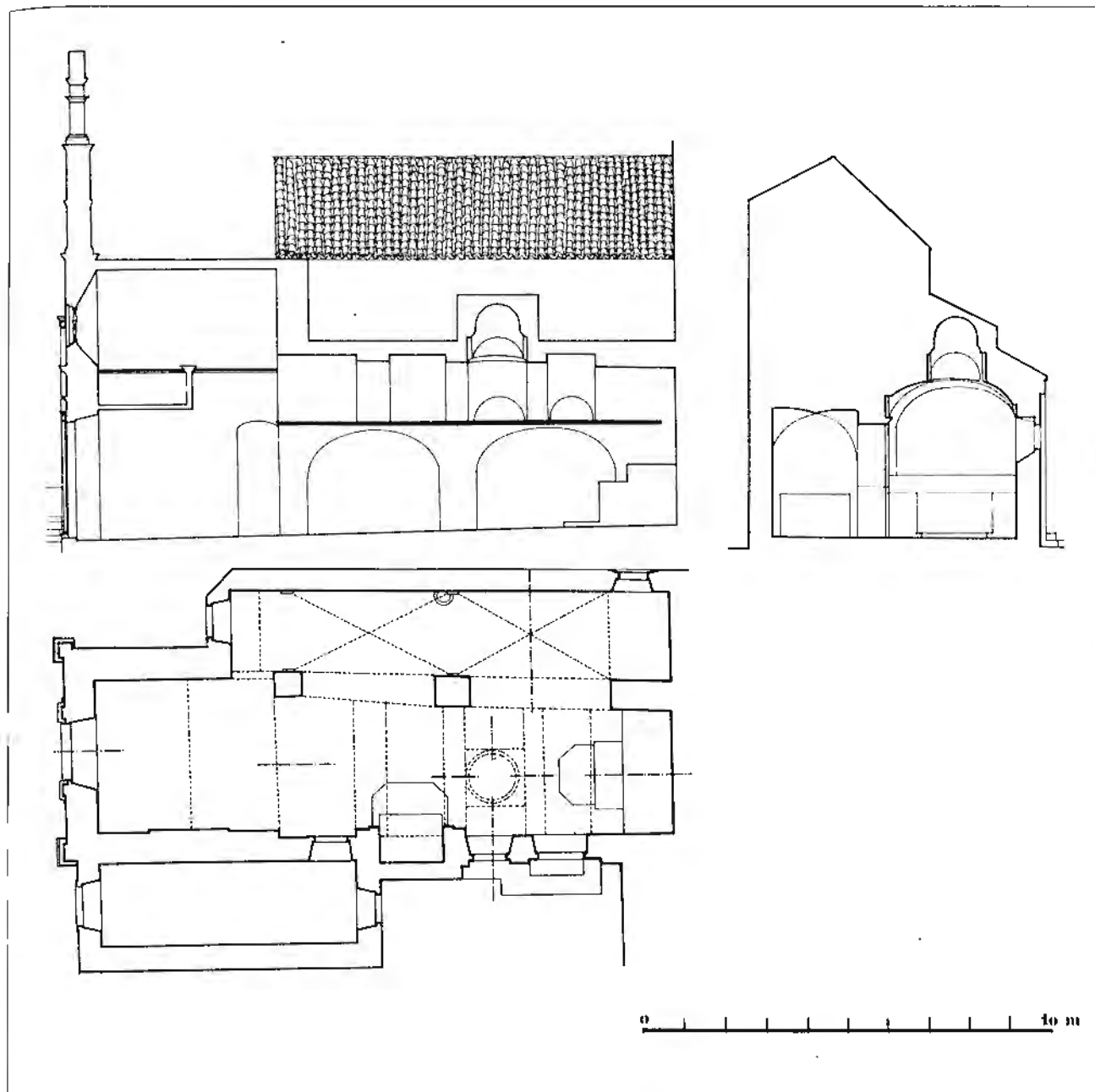


Brač). Some of the buildings may date from the twelfth century or even later. Within this basic aisleless type one encounters a great many variations: with rounded or rectangular apse, with or without exterior wall articulation, with or without interior wall articulation, with rounded wall niches in the interior, and, finally, in Southern Dalmatia, with a small dome encased within a rectangular turret. Some, with an especially wide rounded apse are either closely modelled upon Early Christian practices or are rebuilt on Early Christian foundations (Sv. Petar in Rižinice, 852; Sv. Luka at Uzdolje, 895, the latter one vaulted). Such buildings as Sv. Mihovil on Šipan (7th ct.), and Sv. Mihovil at Split (7-8th ct.), represent a link between the Late Antiquity and early Middle Ages. Sv. Ivan at Telašćica (before 1060-65), Sv. Andrija on Vrgada, Sv. Izidor at Split, Sv. Nikola at Povljana, Sv. Maksim at Jesenice near Split (before 1080), Sv. 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., Sv. Klement at Pražnice), or a miniature three apsidal chevet embedded into the termination wall (Sv. 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: Sv. Luka on Lastovo, SS. Kuzma and Damjan on Korčula, Sv. Juraj at Kaštel Stari. The exterior is articulated by a series of roundheaded blind arches, or, exceptionally (at





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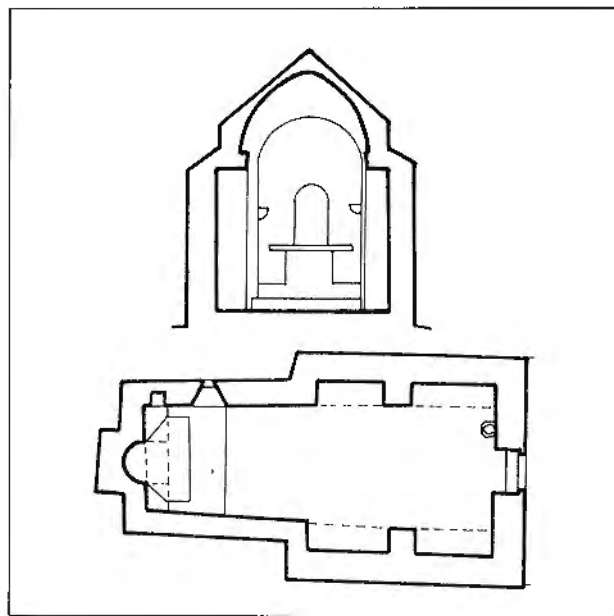


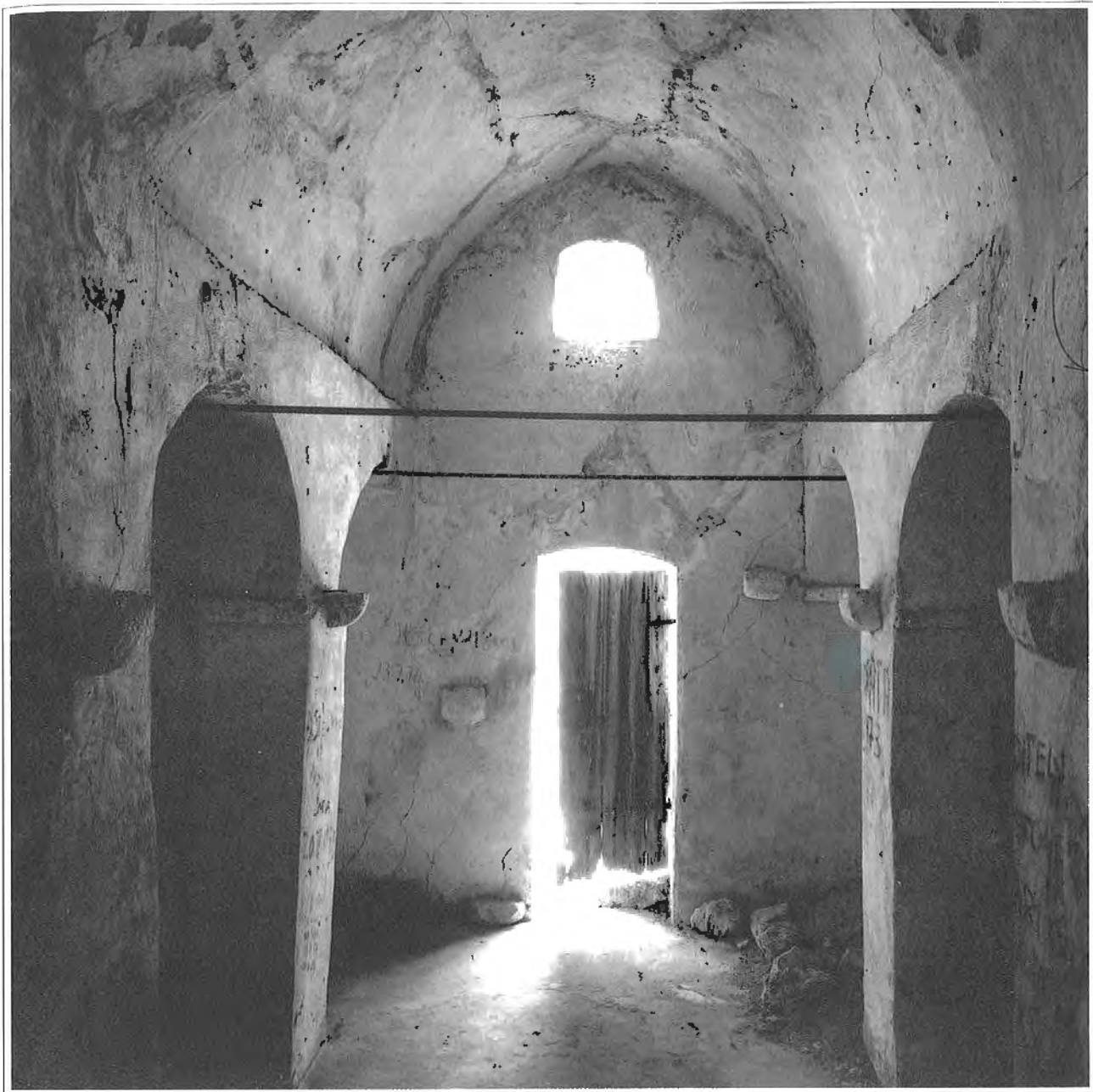
slučaju mise su se vjerojatno održavale u crkvi, dok je većina vjernika stajala vani, u nekoj vrsti *temenosa*, svetog predvorja, *sub divo*. Taj se običaj još može vidjeti u hrvatskim selima. Dogradnje i proširenja malih ranih crkava (Savar, Iž Mali, Ravanjska) kao da potvrđuju takav običaj.

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). 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 dogradene na ranokršćanskim temeljima (Sv. Petar u Rižinicama, 852.; Sv. Luka na Uzdolju, 895. - ova je čak nadsvodena). 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,

Sv. Ivan in Podaca and Sv. 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 Sv. Ivan in Bol on Brač, and Sv. Mihovil in Igrane the roof indicates an aisled interior, which, of course, is not the case. Some special details: Sv. 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.

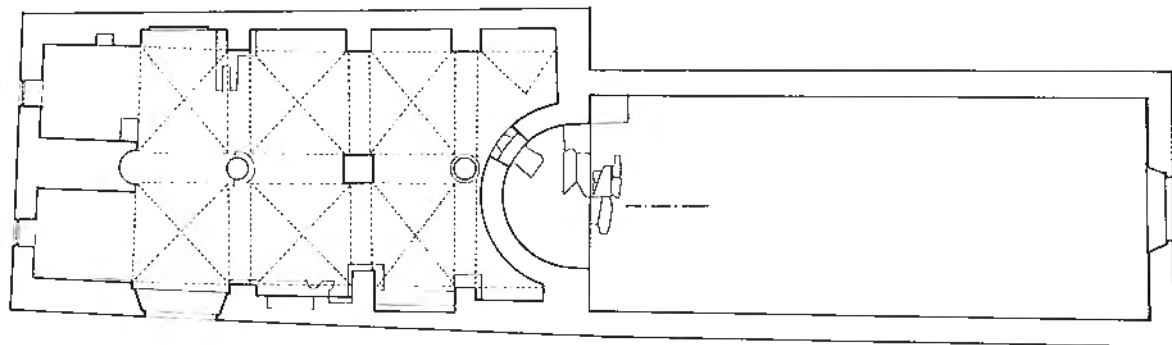
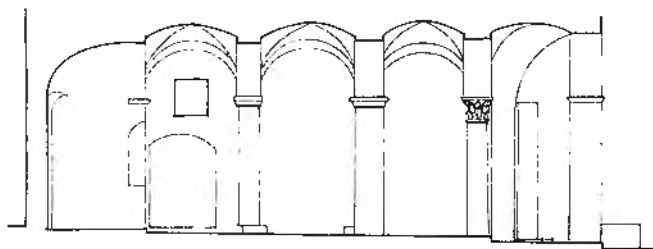
Finally, there is a number of similar monuments which bear a miniature dome above the center of the aisle. They are most frequently found in





crkvice 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

and around Dubrovnik, and on the Dubrovnik Islands (Šipan, Lopud, Koločep), although they are found also further North (Sv. 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 typo-



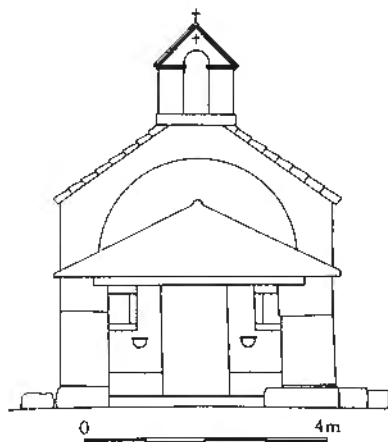
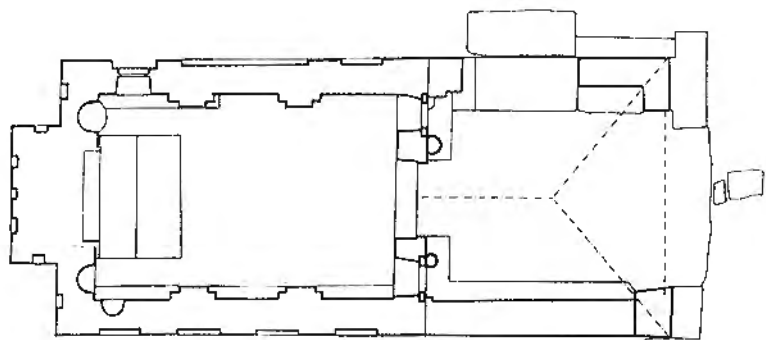
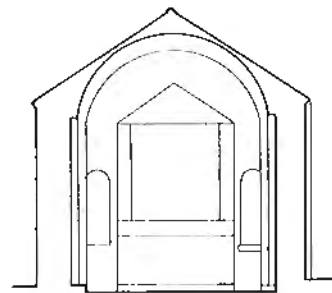
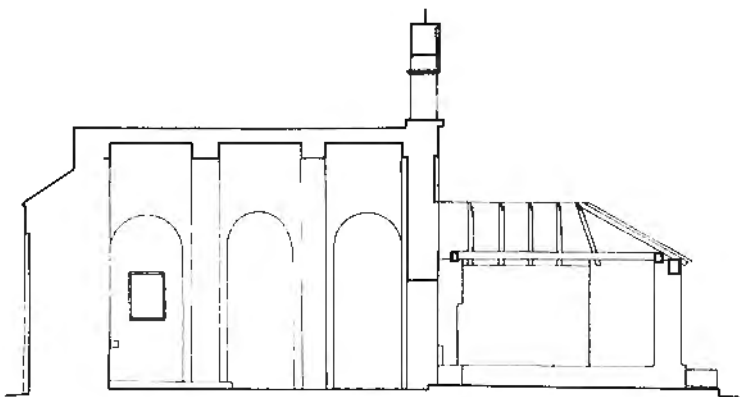
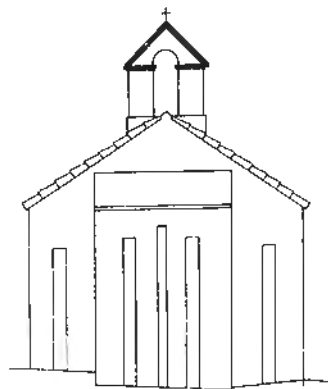
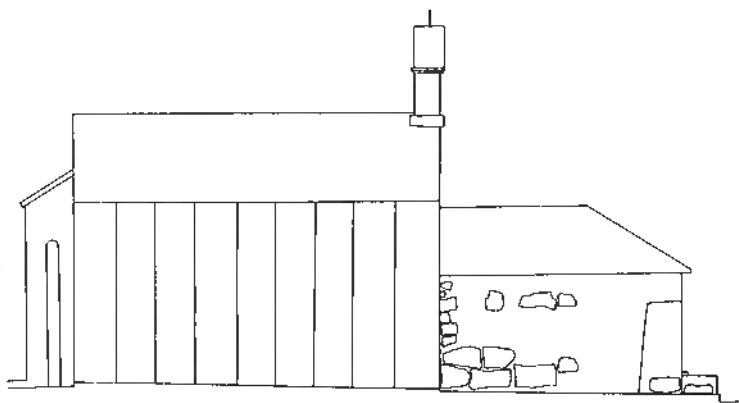
Pražnicama), ili s minijaturnim troapsidalnim istočnim završetkom ugrađenim u završni zid (Sv. Juraj u Ponikvama na Pelješcu). Oba se oblika ponavljaju s vanjskom artikulacijom - s kružnom apsidom: Sv. Juraj kraj Nerežišća na Braču; ili s pravokutnom: Sv. Luka na Lastovu, Sv. Kuzma i Damjan na Korčuli,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

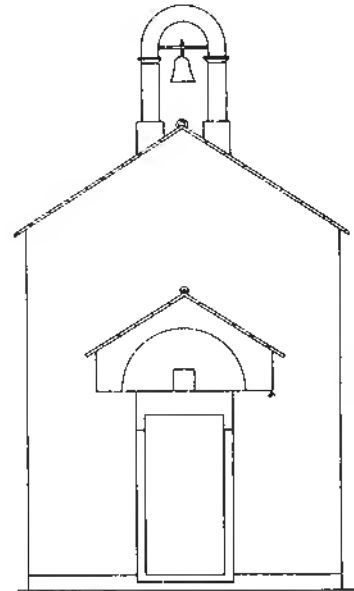
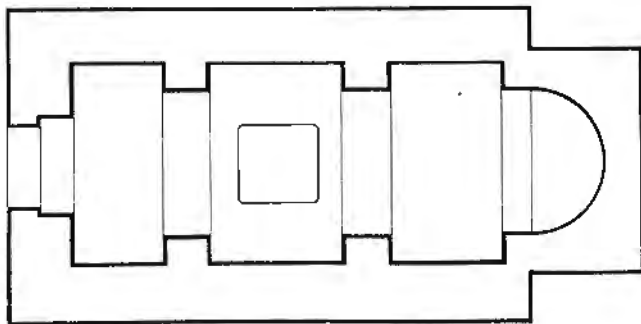
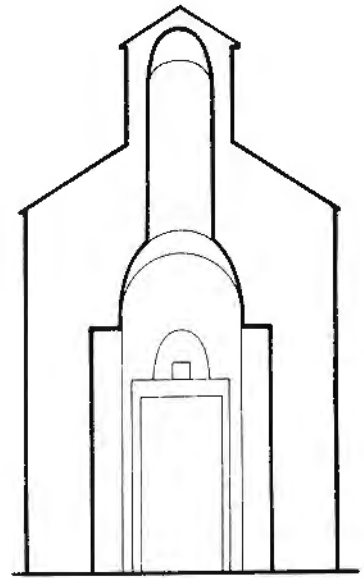
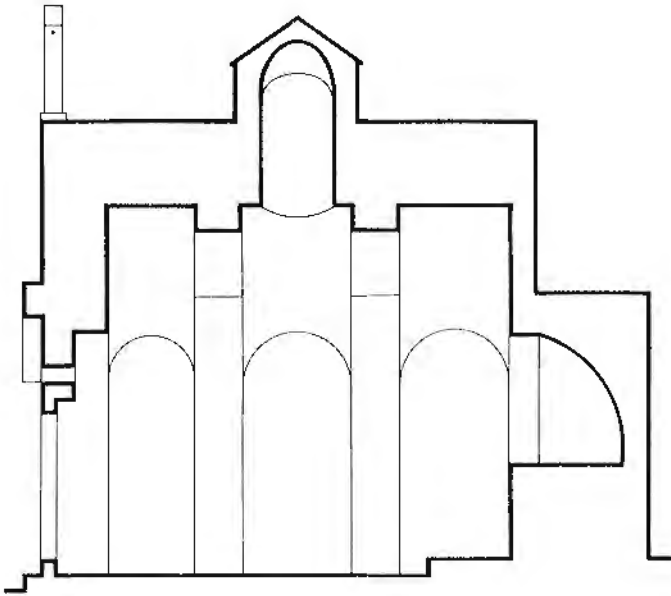
Ovaj posljednji tip podsjeća dekorom na antičke dalmatinske građevine kao što je ranokršćanski mauzolej Sv. Anastazija u Solinu. Kod Sv. Ivana u Bolu i Sv. Mihovila u Igranima krov upućuje na trobrodnu unutrašnjost, koja to dakako nije. Neki posebni detalji: Sv. Juraj na Straževniku (otok Brač, prije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

Na kraju, postoji određen broj sličnih spomenika koji nose minijaturnu kupolu nad središtem lade. 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 dr. Marasović, te se čitatelj upućuje na njegove vrijedne tipološke radove. Nedavno je i dr. Igor Fisković ispisao zanimljive stranice o mogućem porijeklu tog tipa među pregrađenim ranokršćanskim memorijalnim zgradama u Dalmaciji (Majsan). Ovdje bismo

logical studies. 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). Here we would like to only 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; Sv. Dinitrije at Gabrili not far from the ancient Epidaurus. 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 (reproduced in Giovanni Rivoira's monumental book *Lombardic Architecture*, 1910, vol. 1, figs. 263, 264). Some of the most sophisticated buildings of the domed type display this form of interior decor - Sv. Petar at Priko, Sv. Mihajlo at Ston (also Sv. Petar on Šipan, and Sv. Toma at Kuti in Montenegro). Finally, such ancient structures were usually two-storey, which is reflected in the disposition of the church of Sv. 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, Sv. Mihajlo at Ston recalls, by its uniquely tall





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 Epidaura. 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 (reproducirano u opsežnoj knjizi Giovannija Rivoire, *Lombardic Architecture*, 1910., vol. 1, sl. 263, 264). Neke od najdoradenijih 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.

proportions, this multistorey 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 Sv. Petar 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 - Sv. Ivan on Lopud - are very 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 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 Sv. Nikola near Selca, a dome seems to have been added to an already existing structure). Thus the dome, for the



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 u Stanimaki, oko 1200., u Bugarskoj; Studenica i Durdevi 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 rijetkim slučajevima kad služi kao lanterna (Sv. Ivan na Lopudu). Čak i kraj 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.

Kupola južnodalmatinskih crkava pojavljuje se tek kao dekorativni i simbolični element dodan potpunoj zgradi. Uostalom, postoje mnoge slično zamišljene i opremljene jednobrodne građnje 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 neuglednih kapela, kupola je bila nešto što je građnju označivalo jasno kao crkvu, dakle bio je to znak a ne sastavni dio konstrukcije. Popularnost kupole uvjetovana je i ponavljanjem valovima bizantinizma, koji su u srednjem vijeku preko Balkana dopirali do Jadrana. Memorijalna kapela na Majsanu, pregrađena

builders of those very often small and 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 the design. The popularity of the dome may be due to repeated waves of Byzantinism which throughout the Middle Ages washed over the Balkans and 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). 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 according to Josip Stošić around 1000).

The only well-explored early building of continental Croatia, Sv. Ilija at Vinkovci (toward the end of the 11th ct.), was an aisleless brick building with a rounded apse.

Certain similarities with the South Dalmatian domed type are revealed by a much larger building in Central Dalmatia, Sv. Stjepan (or according to some Sv. Marija) on the Island in Solin - Salona. The church was excavated and studied by Bulić and Dyggve, who 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



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. Rasprostranjenost kupole u južnoj Dalmaciji možda zahvaljujemo i tome što je nedavno pronadena i proučena predromanička faza dubrovačke katedrale bila prostrana bazilika s kupolom (prema Josipu Stošiću, ta se faza datira u vrijeme oko 1000. godine).

Jedina dobro istražena građevina u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj Sv. Ilija u Vinkovcima (kraj XI. stoljeća) bila je jednobrodna zgrada od opeke s polukružnom apsidom.

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, koji 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. Obris zaista podsjeća na južnodalmatinski tip. U pročelju trobrodnog tijela postojao je unutrašnji i vanjski narteks. Dvokatni unutrašnji narteks služio je kao mauzolej i tu su nadeni ostaci sarkofaga kraljice Jelene (+976.). U galeriju unutrašnjeg narteksa pristupalo se stubištem u južnom odjeljku trodjelnog, vanjskog narteksa, čiji je središnji dio služio kao glavni ulaz u crkvu, a

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 there 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 ct. source (Thomas Archidiaconus, *Historia Salonitana*) credits the Queen 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-in portal, quite unique in early Croatian architecture. Pilasters on that wall show no decorative or structural relationship to the endonarthex - they were 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, showing that Croatian 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

sjeverni odjeljak kao pristup bočnom dodatku. Sudeći po rasporedu lezena, koje su pravilno rasporedene 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 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. Pronadene 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 nevjerovatno 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.

Donedavno se vjerovalo da je Sv. Stjepan ruševina tragovi koje su pronadene nekoliko metara južnije. Međutim, 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 Stjepanu? To nije nevjerovatno. Kako ćemo kasnije vidjeti, drugi vladarski mauzolej, na Crkvini u Biskupiji, gotovo je sigurno bio posvećen Sv. Mariji i 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.

feet to the south, was "St. Stephen". However, it seems that the meagre 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 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 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 Sv. Petar in Selo near Sumpetar (inadequately known) and Sv. Stjepan at Sustipan in Split (before 1020), a spacious structure with a clerestory and a narthex (indistinguishable from the outside). The original phase of Sv. Marija at Nin may have

Stjepana. I Djevica i Sv. Stjepan zauzimaju istaknuto mjesto u *Laudes regiae* (pohvale vladaru) koje su pjevane Karlu Velikom u St. Riquieru kraj Amiensa, 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

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 early Croatian basilica is Sv. Petar in Supetarska Draga on the Island of

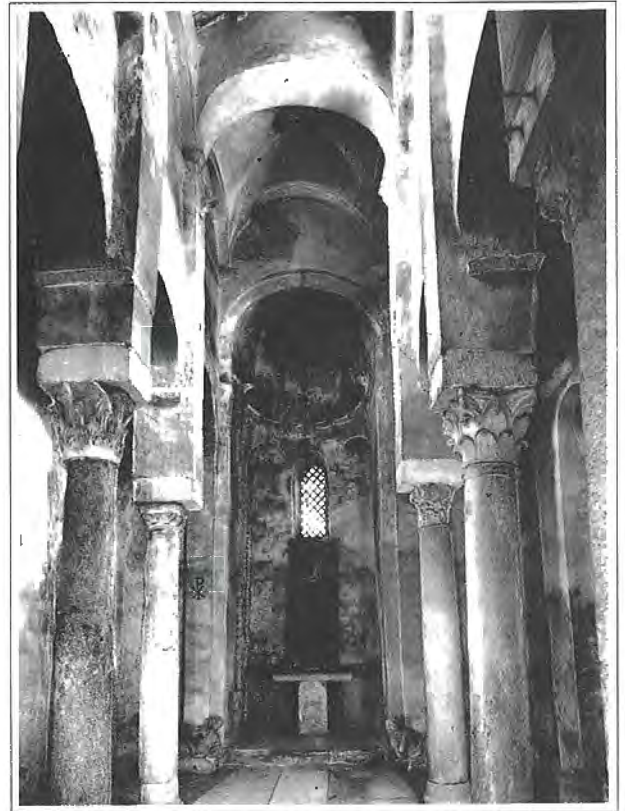


posveta kraljevskog mauzoleja Sv. Mariji i Stjepanu.

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



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 Sv. Martin at Sv. 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



razabire izvana. Izvorna faza Sv. Marije u Ninu mogla bi pripadati istom tipu. Apsida, poligonalna izvana, upućuje na VI. stoljeće (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 rana hrvatska bazilika je Sv. Petar u Supetarskoj Draži 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. Lovreću Pazenatičkom u Istri. Konstrukcija obaju crkava dosta je slična, što bi moglo upućivati na postojanje istarske radionice na Rabu. Višeci 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.

Posebno treba spomenuti Sv. Ivana u Biogradu (započet 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 lezena, raspored kojih pokazuje da nartekс nije bio uočljiv izvana. Pomanjkanje bilo kakvih unutrašnjih zidnih potpornjaka pokazuje da je crkva bila prekrvena drvenim stropom.

and the remains of a bell tower show a more mature Romanesque forms and date probably from the twelfth century. Sv. 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 Sv. Ivan in Biograd (begun around 1059-60, consecrated in 1076), an aisled building with a tripartite chevet and a tripartite narthex recalling that of Sv. Stjepan at Solin. The remains are scanty, but they disclose 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 Sv. Krševan in Zadar (end of the twelfth century), shows no correspondence to the seven bay interior arrangement!

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:

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

Posebnu podskupinu sačinjava nekoliko malih građevina u dalmatinskim gradovima s nekim osobinama suvremene 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 (ili Sv. Martin) u Trogiru (IX. stoljeće i kasnije); Sv. Eufemija (Sv. Benedikt) u Splitu (sredina XI. stoljeća, izgorjela 1877.); kripta Sv. Petra u Dubrovniku (nepoznatog datuma). Svaka od tih građevina jedinstven je spomenik, ali svima - uz iznimku kripte 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 pripada različitim rukama i razdobljima, proteže se dobrano u

Sv. Nediljica iz Zadar (or Sv. Ivan, demolished in 1891), Sv. Lovro in Zadar (10-11th ct.), Sv. Stjepan in Trogir (demolished in the eighteenth century), Sv. Barbara (or Sv. Martin) in Trogir (ninth century and later), Sv. Nikola in Split (11th century), Sv. Eufemija (Sv. Benedikt) in Split (mid-eleventh century, destroyed by fire in 1877)), and the crypt of Sv. Petar in Dubrovnik (of uncertain date). Each is a highly individualized monument but they have one thing in common - the only exception being the crypt of Sv. Petar - they all use columns as supports. Sv. Lovro 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 extraurban 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. Sv. Stjepan in Trogir was, judging from descriptions, similar to Sv. Lovro, and its plan is also recalled by the cruciform crypt of Sv. Petar in Dubrovnik. Sv. Nikola in Split belongs essentially to the same type, only in this case the roof disposition energetically underlines the cruciform structure of the building.

ranu romaniku i u XII. stoljeće. Ostaje otvoreno pitanje, treba li dvije faze, tj. tijelo i *westwerk*, datirati u X. i XI. stoljeće, ili na početak i kraj XI. stoljeća. Sv. Stjepan u Trogiru bio je, sudeći po opisima, sličan Sv. Lovri, a na njegov tlocrt podsjeća i kripta Sv. Petra u Dubrovniku. 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 minijaturna 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 IX. 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 IX. i polovine XI. stoljeća. Tornjić može biti ustupak bizantizmu, i mogao je biti dodan tijekom te pregradnje.

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 "kozmpolitskog" stila. Na kraju, Sv. Nediljica (izvorno Sv. Ivan) u Zadru zgrada je s pobočnim lađama, bez bazilikalne rasvjete, a neobičnih kvadratičnih proporcija. Potpuno je nadsvođena i stoji nad prostranom križnom kriptom. Ukra-

Sv. Barbara (originally Sv. 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 Dabriza 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 Byzantinism, may have been added in the course of that reconstruction.

Sv. Eufemija (originally Sv. 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, Sv. Nediljica (originally Sv. Ivan) in Zadar is another aisled structure - without clerestory- and of somewhat strange squarish proportions, fully vaulted and standing on top of a large cruciform undercroft. The building sports decoration of arched corbel tables, and a tiny Early Romanesque tower - signalling a late eleventh century date.

No analogies to these buildings could be found outside Dalmatian cities (except, possibly, the ruins of Sv. Petar at Zavala in the Hercegovinian hinterland of Dubrovnik; this apparently twelfth century church seems to have been cruciform),

konzolnih lučića te vitki ranoromanički toranj upućuju na kasno XI. stoljeće.

Ne mogu se naći analogije tim zgradama izvan dalmatinskih gradova (osim možda u ruševinama Sv. Petra u Zavali u zaleđu Dubrovnika, crkve vjerojatno iz XII. 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 talijanskoj, ili obratno.



but comparable plans occur among small-scale buildings of 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 Sv. Barbara in Trogir and some provincial Byzantine mini-basilicas, such as some small-scale buildings at Trebizond. This group of buildings may be as close as one can get to something that might be called "Dalmatian Pre-Romanesque", although even in this case, some of the buildings show impact of the early extraurban architecture. They also show the extent to which the influence of mid-Byzantine art could be grafted on local 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.

Sv. Platon at Suplatunski near Osor is a boxlike structure terminated with two rounded apses

Sličnost postoji zbog zajedničkog korjena - Bizanta - a razlike su rezultat različitih mjesnih tradicija. Svaka na svoj način, i Dalmacija i južna Italija bile su istaknuti 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 Trebizнду. Ta bi se podskupina gotovo mogla nazvati "dalmatinskom predromanikom" iako i u tom slučaju ima primjera utjecaja izvanogradske arhitekture. Ti spomenici također pokazuju koliko je srednje-bizantska umjetnost utjecala na mjesne običaje.

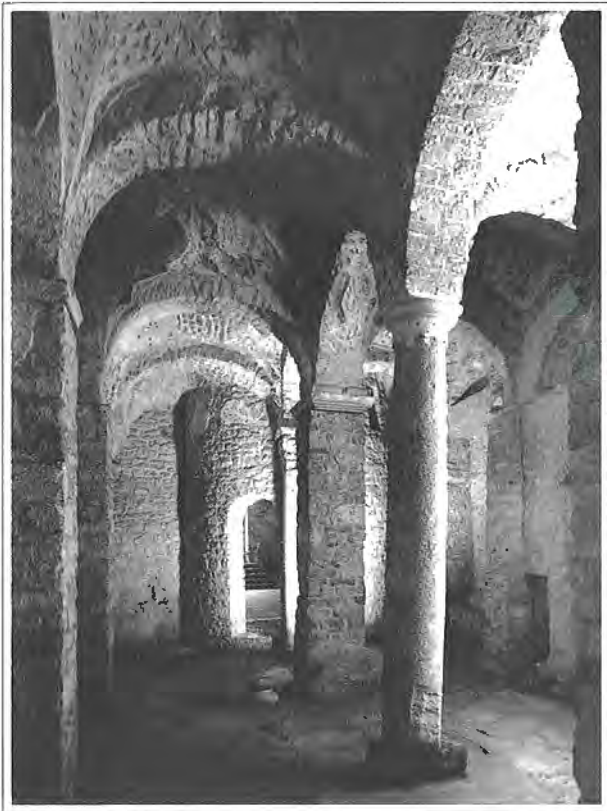
Ima i sasvim jedinstvenih građevina koje je teško klasificirati. Ruševine crkve na Begovači kraj Zadra otkrivaju gradnju koja se sastoji od tri kratka usporedna broda s polukružnim apsidama (srednja je šira od ostalih), tip poznat na Kvarnerskim otocima i u Istri između VI. i VIII. stoljeća.

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

(one is reminded of St. Mary the Lesser at Bale in Istria, 10-11th ct), while another early building neraby, at Dolac in Osor, was a plain elongated square box. Sv. 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 of Sv. Andrija in Zadar. Subsequently a system of supports and vaults was inserted turning the building into a two-aisled, two-apsidal building, covered by a gable roof. Sv. Platon and Sv. Petar seem to recall a well-established practice of *basilicae geminae* in 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 Cathedral of Split. The temple of Jupiter was turned into a baptistery and once it was topped by a fine Early Romanesque tower. The crypt was converted into a church of Sv. Toma. 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 Sv. Martin and Sv. Teodor (today Our Lady of the Belltower). 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 Sv. Martin too. It

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



was demolished probably already during the Middle Ages.

One should recall that some early Croatian churches such as Sv. Petar at Rižinice and possibly Sv. Luka at Uzdolje represent adaptations of Early Christian buildings. So also does the chapel of Sv. 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



koridori u sjevernim i zapadnim vratima Palače bili su u predromaničko 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, a Sv. Teodor 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 rane hrvatske crkve, npr. Sv. Petar u Rižinicama, možda i Sv. Luka na Uzdlju, 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 kasnoantikne memorije - najvjerojatnije još poganske - samoapsidalnog tipa.

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

Neobična ruševina u Solinu, poznata kao "Crkva u Gradini", podsjeća svojim tlocrtom na čuvenu carigradsku crkvu Sv. Sergija i Bakha. Taj primjer ranobizantske arhitekture u Dalmaciji također je dopremljen 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 splitsku katedralu. Kako smo vidjeli, spomenici *tradicionalne predromaničke*

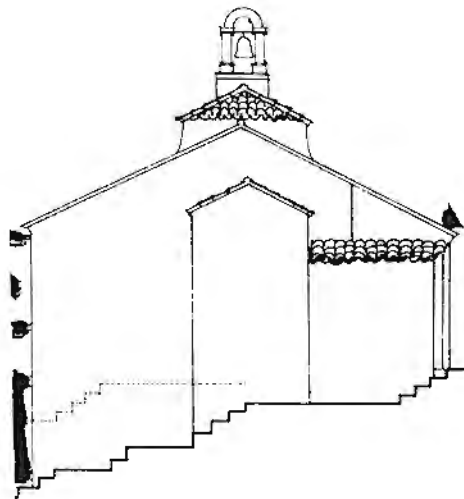
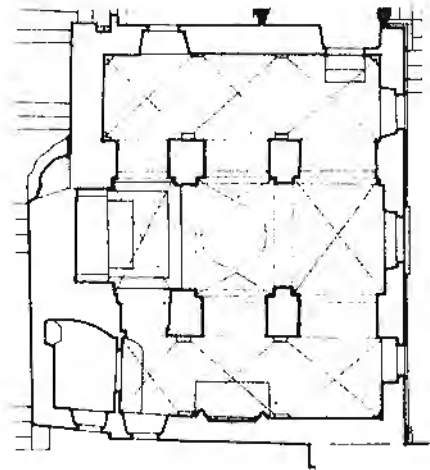
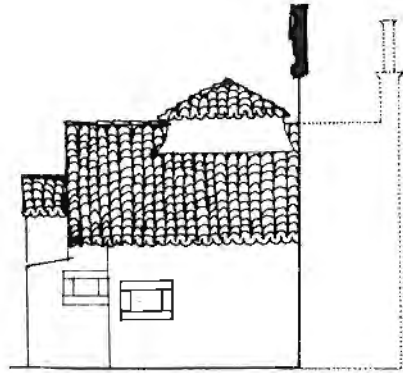
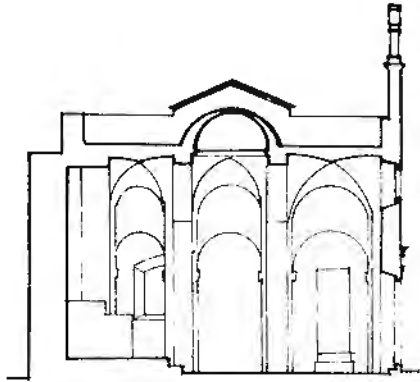
Antique memorial - most likely still pagan - structure of the solo-apse type.

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

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 Sv. Trojica in Biskupija, never excavated, is reported to have been a polygonal building recalling the Cathedral of Split.

As we have seen, the monuments of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque group 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.



0 10 m

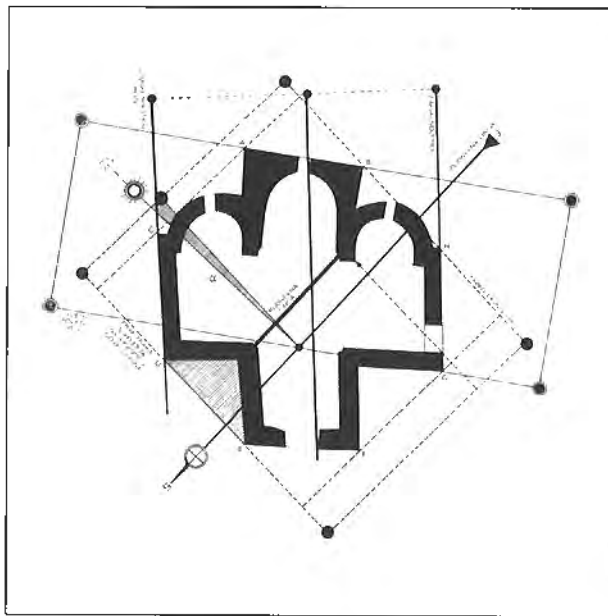
A horizontal scale bar with a vertical tick at the left end labeled '0' and a vertical tick at the right end labeled '10 m'. The bar is divided into several segments.

skupine 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 naručilaca u vremenima u kojima nije bilo dovoljno sigurnosti i prosperiteta.

Naslijedeni su oblici često potpuno preradeni (na primjer, Sv. Juraj u Ravanjskoj; kupolne crkve južne Dalmacije). Neke male građevine prava su remek-djela složenosti i duhovitosti, te svjedoče o velikoj snazi mašte njihovih stvaralaca. Premda na njima više gotovo i nema slikovnog i skulptorskog uresa niti žbuke koje bi mogla prikriti nepravilnosti i grubost zidarije, 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 krajobrazu, da ga se osmisli uvođenjem ljudske komponente. I da ga se obogati, jer je smisao za smještaj zgrada u okoliš besprijekoran - na vrh brežuljaka, u malim morskim uvalama, uzduž vodenih tokova, na padinama pokrivenim maslinicima i vinogradima.

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

The inherited forms were often thoroughly reworked (e.g., Sv. Juraj at Ravanjska, the domed churches of Southern Dalmatia). Some small-scale buildings are real masterpieces of complexity and subtlety, and attest to a considerable imaginative power on the part of their creators. Even stripped of most of its 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 - as if witnessing a sort of a creative frenzy, an insatiable desire to





Dugom 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 u Dubrovniku. Isto vrijedi za Sv. Stjepana u Solinu, Sv. Nediljicu i Sv. Vida u Zadru te Sv. Eufemiju u Splitu. U smislu dimenzija i izvedbe postoje građevine dostojne poštovanja - bazilikalne (Sv. Petar u Supetarskoj Drazu na Rabu) i centralne (Sv. Donat u Zadru). Složenost i hibridna narav čitave skupine može se osobito svidjeti 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.

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 hill-tops, in small sea bays, along the water courses, on the slopes covered with olive trees or vineyards.

Some carry-overs from the earlier periods are quite unique, e.g., S. Pelegrin and Sv. Viktor on the Dugi Island, or Sv. Danijel near Seget. Among the finest better preserved buildings are Sv. Križ at Nin, Sv. Lovro at Zadar, Sv. Barbara at Trogir, Sv. Mihajlo at Ston, Sv. Petar at Priko in Omiš, Sv. Trojica and Sv. Nikola in Split, Sv. Petar in Dubrovnik. The same would be true of Sv. Stjepan at Solin, Sv. Nediljica and Sv. Vid in Zadar, Sv. Eufemija in Split. There are in terms of size and execution very respectable examples among monumental buildings - both rounded (Sv. Donat in Zadar) or basilican (Sv. Petar at Supetarska Draga on Rab, Sv. Stjepan at Sustipan in Split). 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.

*KRALJEVSKA
PREDROMANIČKA SKUPINA*

Dok je većina 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 gradevina, izvedena po narudžbi vladara i najviših državnih činovnika s obilježjem karolinške arhitekture.

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 i moliteljem do vladarevih nogu oblikovan je prema

*ROYAL
PRE-ROMANESQUE GROUP*

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 Baptistery of Split wore a Frankish costume and crown. The entire scene, with a count-swordbearer and a prostrated supplicant, was

karolinškim i otonskim vladarskim portretima dobro poznatim iz suvremenih iluminacija. Ostruge nadene 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 floct sa samo jednom apsidom, prevlast ravnih linija, upotreba stupaca (iako su stupovi ranije crkve bili na dohvata ruke na gradilištu). Protivno tradiciji, crkva je presvodena. 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 nesporedno stapao u zidnu površinu. Zide

modelled 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 dominic*, performed king's commissions in the provinces.

The earliest building of the group is most likely Sv. 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 baptistery. The Pre-Romanesque building consisted of an aisled nave, a projecting rectangular apse, and a bulky western tower. The tower is 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.

Sv. Marta displays some local features - the archaic basilican plan with only one 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

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.

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



Iako *westwerk* nije početno zamišljen kao *Kaiserkirche*, zemaljski je vladar ubrzo našao put u ikonografiju zapadnog masiva. Kao što je pokazao francuski znanstvenik Carol Heitz, *westwerk* je početno bio namjenjen 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.

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 Iskupitelja nerazdruživo od imperijalnog kulta. Čini se da Heitzova razmišljanja vrijede za središnje zemlje karolinškog carstva. Ali u pograničnim zemljama prevladava sekundarno razgranjivanje. *Westwerk* je mjesto za odličnike. Ili pak služi kao grobna komora, ili kao prava utvrda, braneći ulaz u crkvu. 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.

may be profitable to briefly review the problem of its origin and function.

Although the westwork was not from the outset conceived of as a *Kaiserkirche*, 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 - are 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 Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

German scholars on the other hand maintain that the westwork is 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.

Heitz's reasoning seem 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 distinction. Or it serves as a burial

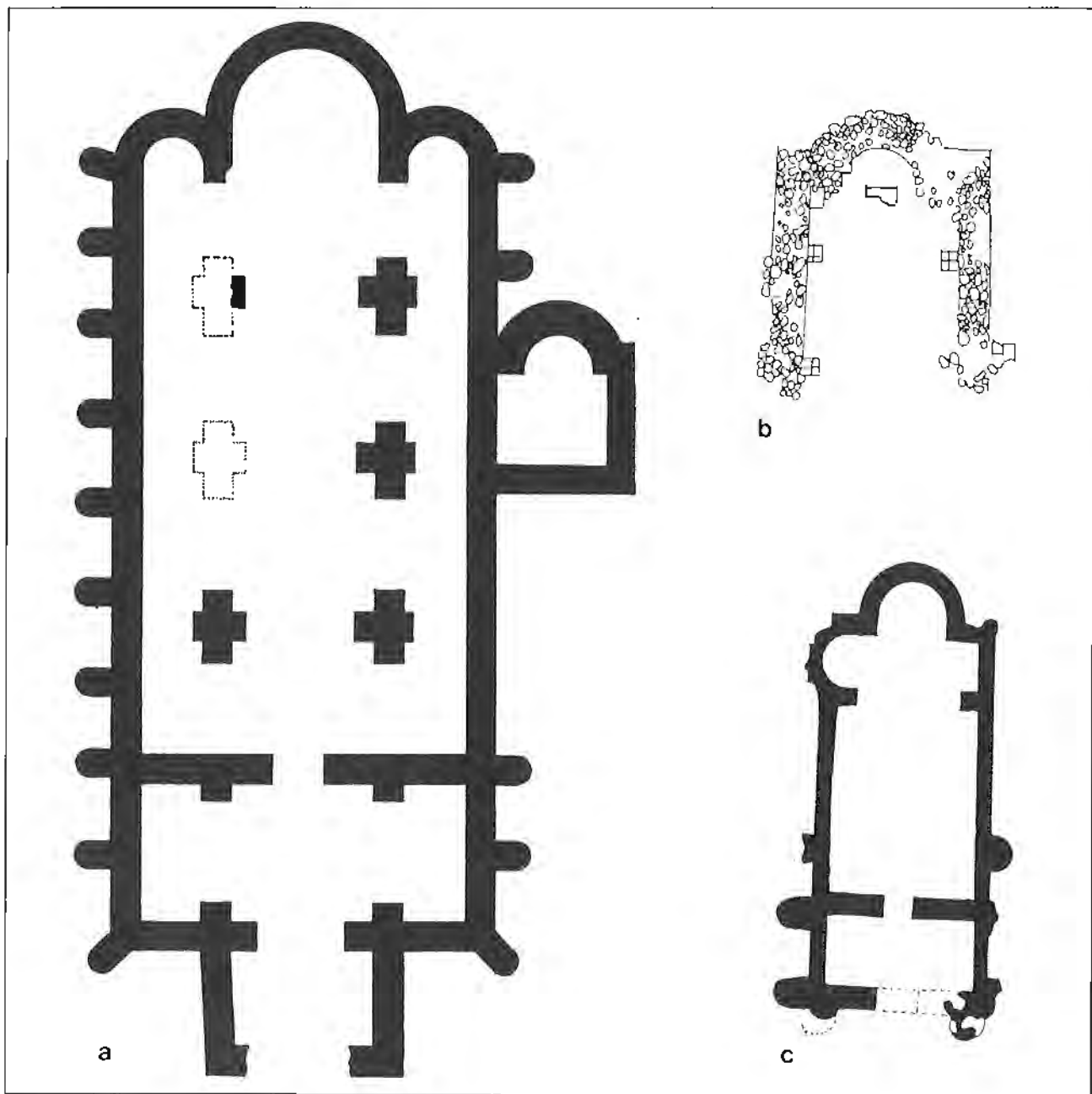
Neki elementi Sv. Marte ponovo se pojavljuju u monumentalnom mjerilu kod Crkvine u Biskupiji, crkve s ravnim istočnim završetkom, s dvokatnim *westwerkom* i poprečnim trijemom. Skupina zgrada na sjevernoj strani, oko pravokutnog dvorišta, prepoznata je kao samostan. Zide *westwerka*, začudo, nije organski vezano uz zide crkve, nego uz zid samostana, ali nema nikakve razlike u strukturi zida.

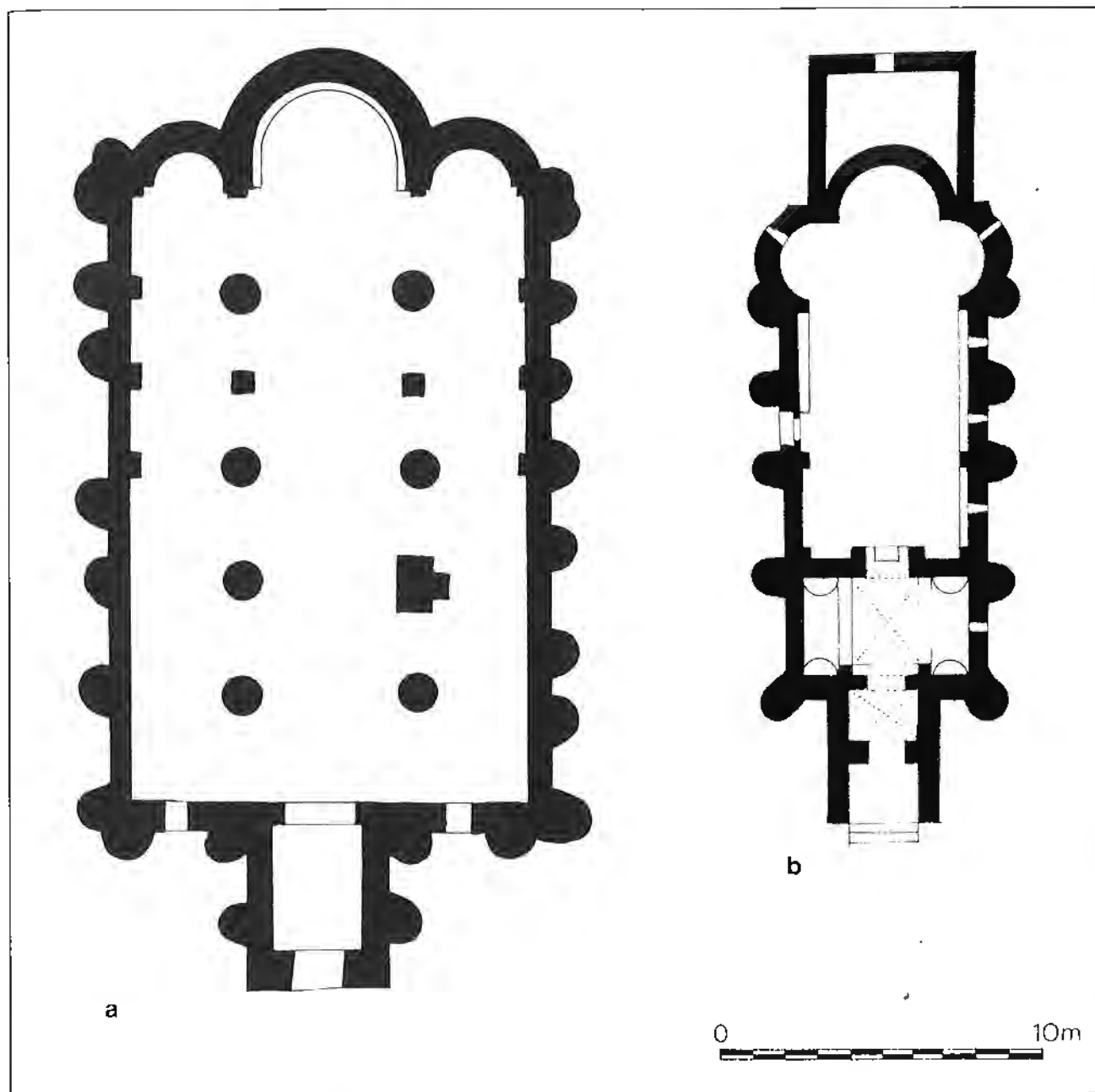
Pokrajnje prostorije prizemlja *westwerka* služe kao grobnica. U sjevernoj je grob nekog velikaša, u južnoj grob gospe, a oboje su u sarkofazima sastavljenim od antiknih ulomaka. Nađena su još dva istaknuta groba, ispod gospina sarkofaga, te na zapadnom kraju južne sporedne lade. U svakom je bilo tijelo dječaka. Kvaliteta ostruga, nakita i komadića odjeće potvrđuju vrlo visok, možda vladarski položaj posjednika. Kovanica cara Bazilija I nađena je u sarkofagu velmože. Pogreb je vjerojato bio između 867., kad je Bazilije I. stupio na bizantsko prijestolje, i oko 900., iza kojeg bi se datuma njegov novac mogao smatrati zastarjelim.

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

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 to understand Croatian examples.

Some of the elements of Sv. 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 suprisingly 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 southern of a lady, both resting in arcophagi 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 thus between 867, when Basil came to the Byzantine





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 "praeclarus", dakle zaista sam vladar. Poznato je da je pobočna grana porodice Trpimirovića imala posjede u zaleđu zemlje. Član te pobočne grane, Branimir, pravi otac hrvatske neovisnosti, vladao je Hrvatskom od 878. do 892. godine. Nije ostavio nasljednika (a u dječaćkim grobovina na Crkvini imamo očit dokaz da su muška djeca umrla prije vladarskog para), pa se glavna grana - knez Muncimir - vratila na prijestolje. To Sv. Mariju i Stjepana na Crkvini u Biskupiji smješta u godine Branimirovog vladanja, te je čini jednim od najvažnijih spomenika cjelokupne hrvatske povijesti.

Još jedna crkva slična Sv. Marti u 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 ladama, odijeljenim - pretpostavlja se - stupcima, i s podebelim zapadnim zvonikom. Kao u Bijaćima i na Crkvini, nema artikulacije zida.

Drugu podskupinu najbolje predstavlja prilično dobro ušćuvana ruševina Sv. Spasa u Cetini. To je jednobrodna zgrada s trolisnim završetkom

throne, and 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.

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 Trpimirović family is known to have had possessions in the High-



(središnja konha zamijenjena je u kasnom srednjem vijeku pravokutnom apsidom), te s potpunim dvokatnim *westwerk*om i visokim peterokatnim tornjem koji se prema vrhu suzuje. Ulornak oltarne pregrade potvrđuje izvornu posvetu Kristu, u čiju je čast crkvu sagradio župan Gastica i njegova majka Nemira. Župan Gastica bio je kraljevski upravitelj Cetinske županije, a Sv. Spas je vjerojatno bio glavna županijska crkva, o čemu svjedoči golema nekropola uokolo crkve, za plemiće i obični puk.

Crkva je bila presvodena, što potvrđuje prisutnost velike količine sedre, te parovi snažnih, izbočenih zaobljenih potpornjaka. Glavnu prizemnu prostoriju *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 ladu 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.

Posveta Spasitelju podsjeća na izvorni ikonografski sadržaj *westwerka* i upućuje na rani datum - IX. stoljeće. Poznato je da je županija Cetina kao upravna jedinica postojala u X. stoljeću. Trolisno svetište ustupak je mjesnim predromaničkim oblicima, te još jedan pokazatelj ranog datuma. Tako bi Sv. Spas

lands. A member of the collateral branch, Branimir, the true father of Croatian independence, ruled Croatia from 878 till 892. He left no heirs (and in the boys tombs at Crkvina we 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 narrows the date of SS. Mary and Stephen at Crkvina in Biskupija to the years of Branimir's rule, and makes it one of the most valuable sites of Croatian history.

Another church, most likely similar to Sv. Marta and Biskupija, and therefore also datable to the ninth century, stood at Koljani, in the Highlands near Vrlika. Only the front part has been somewhat explored, showing an aisled building with extremely narrow aisles separated, presumably, by piers, and 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 Sv. 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 and his mother Nemira. Župan/Count Gastica was the royal administrator of the County of Cetina, and Sv. 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.

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. Spas je u biti smioniji. Pa i vizualno se udaljuje od razmjerno jednostavnih, poput kutije, građevina

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



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 kraj IX. i početak X. stoljeća.

Za nastavak pručavanja Kraljevske skupine valja nam se vratiti u Biskupiju. Ruševine crkve na Lopuskoj Glavici otkrivaju tlocrt blizak Sv. Spasu, s trolisnim svetištem (dosta je neobično što je južna konha pravokutna!), te s tornjem u čitavoj širini zapadne fasade. Manje smiona i manje pravilna od Sv. Spasa, osnova Lopuske Glavice ukazuje na nešto raniji datum. Ulomci pletera nadeni na gradilištu zaista su bliski ulomcima iz Rižinica iz oko 852. godine.

Tragovi još jedne crkve sa zaobljenim upornjacima nadeni su kraj Bukurovića Podvornica u Biskupiji. To je jednobrodna građevina s polukružnom apsidom (zapadni dio ostaje nepoznat). Crkva je bila presvodena, 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

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 roundheaded 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.

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 Sv. Spas may be a transitional building between relatively simple buildings of Sv. Marta type, and more complex solutions. The nave of Sv. 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. Sv. 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 date of Sv. Spas may be thus narrowed to the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century.

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.

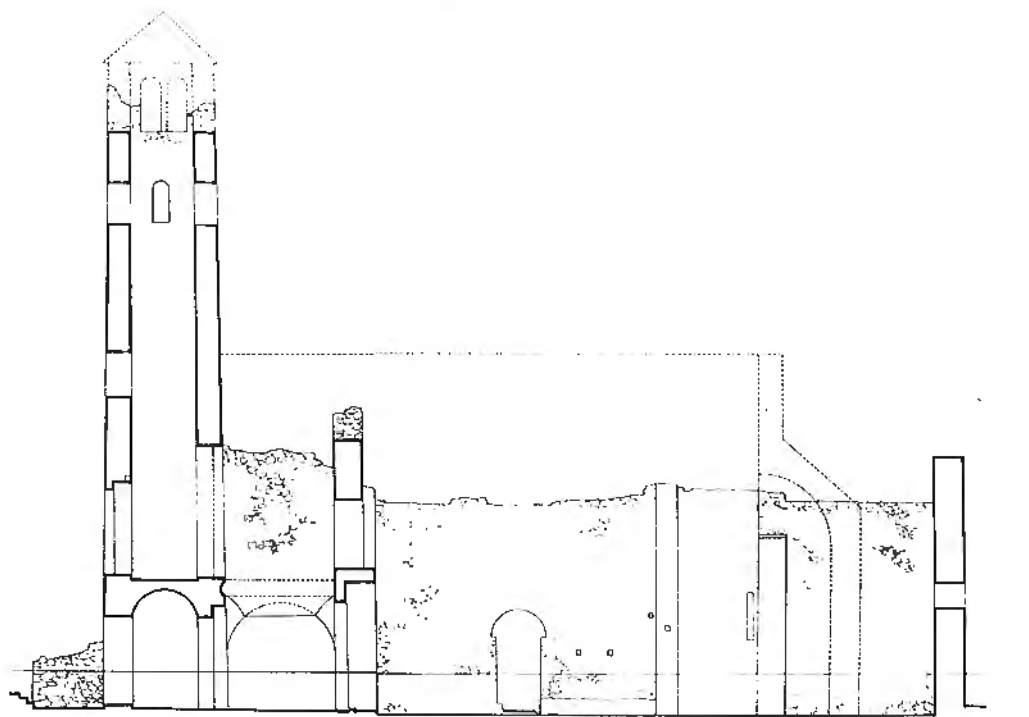
Ta poveća crkva podignuta je na brzinu. Tlo nije čak ni dovoljno izravnano. Smatram da se s gradnjem započelo na jugoistočnom uglu, gdje je potpornjak, okomit na zide, trebao preuzeti teret svoda apside. U vrijeme kad se stiglo do sjeveroistočnog ugla, osnova se promijenila, a potpornjak se naslonio dijagonalno na ugao. Arhitekt 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 zidem. Na južnoj strani zid je možda već bio sagrađen dalje od trećeg potpornjaka, i kad se konačno odlučilo o presvodenju, 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 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

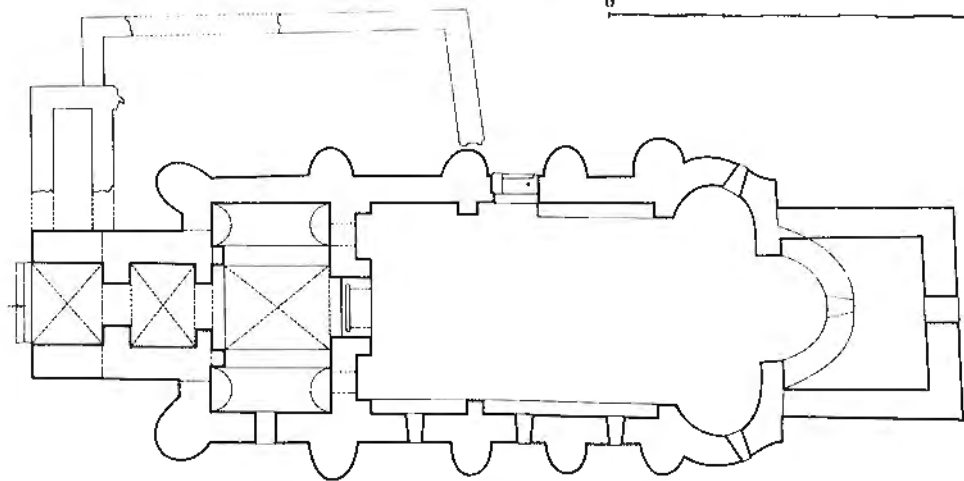
To continue our study of the Royal group we must return to Biskupija. The ruins of the church on the Lopuška Glavica reveal a plan close to that of Sv. Spas, with a triconch presbytery (stangely enough the southern conch is square), and a tower in front of the entire width of the western facade. This was reinforced by four rounded buttresses. The concept of the Lopuška Glavica, less daring and less regular than Sv. Spas, may indicate a somewhat earlier date. The fragments of interlace sculpture found at the site indeed closely recall the fragments from Rižinice of about 852.

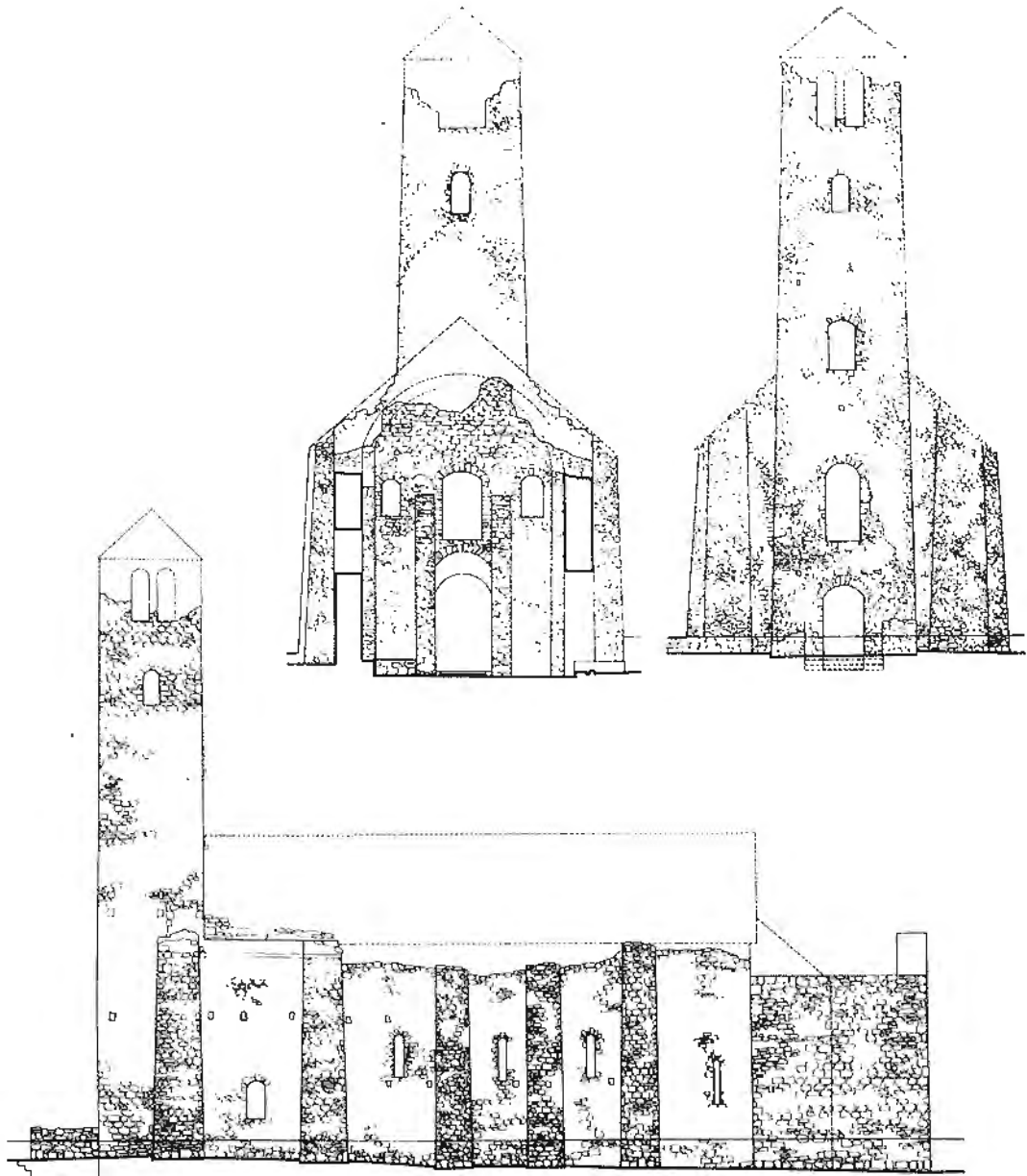
Traces of another church with rounded buttresses were discovered at Bukurovića Podvornice in Biskupija. It was an aisleless building with a rounded apse (the western end of the building remains unknown). The church was vaulted as indicated by a system of interior pilasters. The outside walls were reinforced 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.

However, the most outstanding building of the entire group, was the church of Sv. Cecilija at the Stupovi, again in Biskupija. It was a spacious tripasidal 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 groundfloor. The walls were strengthened by rounded buttresses. Along the southern flank



0 40 m





istraživalačka nesigurnost graditelja, koji je zidao na brzinu. Jednoličnost izvanrednog pleternog ukrasa također govori o brznoj gradnji. Ali kada? Poznato je da je crkva postojala 1089. kada su kralja Zvonimira na ulazu sasjekli njegovi razjareni vazali. Složenost i mjerilo gradnje mogli bi upućivati na kasni datum - XI. stoljeće.

Nedavno je dr. 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. Probna 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 Zvonimorva zborovanja na Stupovima. 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 crkve Sv. Trojice znade se da je bila, prema opisu iz XVIII. stoljeća, osmerokutna zgrada slična splitskoj katedrali. Je li se ovdje koristio oblik Dioklecijanova 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 drevnog monarha, jer su ga hrvatski vladari smatrali svojim predšasnikom? Postoji još jedna

stood 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 is leaning 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

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 Lopuškoj Glavici i Bukurovića Podvornicama. Crkva na Lopuškoj 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. Treba podsjetiti da je čuveno svetište St. Michel u Le Puy 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 Stjepan predšasnik je ostalih crkava u Biskupiji. Bila je to samostanska crkva te mauzolej kneza Branimira i njegove obitelji, iz pobočne grane dinastije Trpimirovića. 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 Podvornica donekle podsjećaju na Muncimirovu crkvu na Uzdoľju (jednobrodna, nadsvodena zgrada s pravokutnim upornjacima,

reinforcing the partition wall between the westwork and the church body.

Admittedly, it is risky to draw too many conclusions from the meagre 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?

The church is known to have existed in 1089 when King Zvonimir was 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.

Recently, Dr. Marasović has advanced arguments for a late ninth century date, using primarily dated fragments from Nin and Muć and comparing them to the sculpture of Sv. Cecilija. 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 convocation at the Stupovi. It was referred to also as "Five Churches in Kosovo" (*Kosovo*, the

predodređena ranokršćanskim položajem). Moguće je da je na Bukurovića Podvornicama zaista bila privatna dvorska kapela. Crkva na Lopuškoj Glavici pridodana je kao dio tipičnog srednjovjekovnog obrasca krajolika. A budući da je crkva na Crkvini bila povezana s prethodnim vladarima i da je bila samostanska crkva, pojavila se potreba za brzom 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 razglabati 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 je dotada vjerojatno već imala svoj u Solinu.

Ovo su sve radne hipoteze, no dopušteno nam je zaključiti da je Biskupija bila važno vladarsko sjedište, da je posjedovala mauzolej utemeljitelja prave hrvatske države, kneza Branimira, te da se većina gradnji odvijala pod njegovim nasljednikom, Muncimirom (892. - oko 910.), kojemu bi se mogle pripisati crkve na Stupovima, Lopuškoj Glavici i Bukurovića Podvornicama. "Peta crkva" nalik na splitsku katedralu podignuta je najvjerojatnije također potkraj IX. ili na početku X. stoljeća.

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 church of Sv. 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 often 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 colonades of engaged columns and semicolumns 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 Lopuška Glavica and Bukurovića Podvornice. The church at the Lopuška 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, essentially, a polyconchal structure, a feature not absent from the Lopuška Glavica church. The church at the Bukurovića Podvornice, may have

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

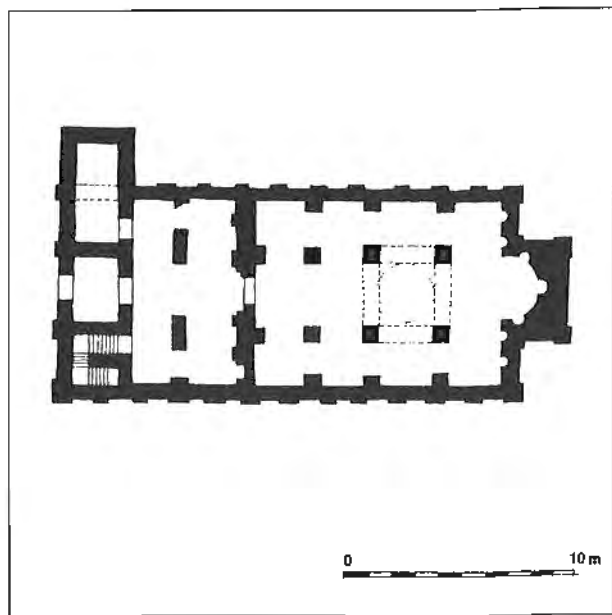
been a private chapel of the royal estate. Stylistically, these buildings and Sv. Cecilija make a group, leaving the fourth known church, at Crkvina, as an exception.

Some attractive, albeit risky, conclusions follow: SS. Mary and Stephen at Crkvina preceded the rest of the church buildings at Biskupija. It was a



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, a nalazište je kasnije uništeno. Tako nećemo ništa više doznati o ovom važnom spomeniku. Valja primijetiti da su obalni gradovi uvijek davali prednost stupovima ili kružnim stupcima i da bi ta pojava, ako je vjerovati jedinom postojećem tlorctu, mogla biti rezultat utjecaja obalne gradske arhitekture na modele iz Zagore.

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

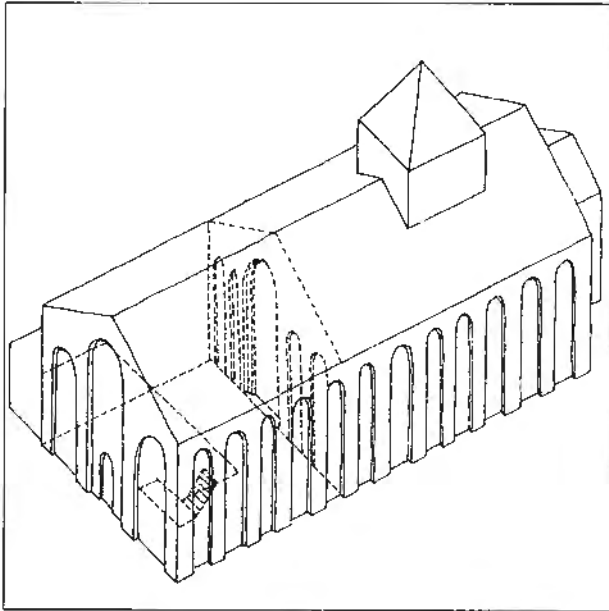


monastic building and a mausoleum to Duke Branimir and his family, of the collateral branch of the ruling dynasty. When Branimir died without an heir in 892, to be succeeded by a member of the main branch of the Trpimirović family, Duke Muncimir, the main branch took possession of Biskupija, and introduced 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 remains at the Bukurovića Podvornice is vaguely reminiscent of Muncimir's church at Uzdolje (aisleless, vaulted, buttressed building, however also predetermined by the Early Christian site). Thus, possibly, this was indeed a private court chapel. The Lopuška 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, Sv. 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 visits by the ruler himself.

It would be unprofitable to speculate too much about a totally unknown building, the one at Sv. 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?

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.

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.



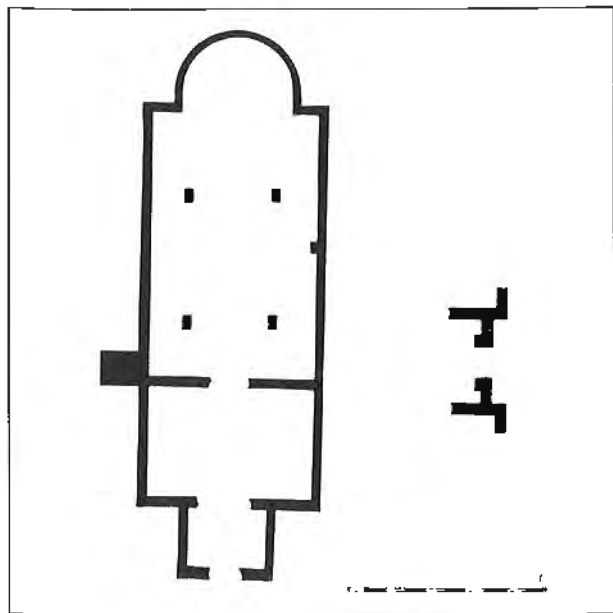
For it is less likely that the church was a mausoleum. The main branch had its own at Solin.

I submit the above as a set of working hypotheses, but I believe that we are allowed to conclude that Biskupija was surely a very important princely seat, that it contained a mausoleum of the father of the true Croatian state, Duke Branimir, and that much of the building went on under his successor, Muncimir (892-ca.910), who may be credited with both the Stupovi, Lopuška 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.

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 triapsidal, aisled church with a western tower and rounded buttresses. The absence of diagonal buttresses, and the use of circular supports, intermingled apparently in an irregular fashion with rectangular piers, makes the building look archaic in comparison to Sv. Cecilija. Yet the first bishop of Biograd was mentioned in 1059-60. The ruins were excavated in a hurry, and the place was subsequently vandalized. Thus, unfortunately, nothing more will ever be learned about this, potentially, important building. One may note that the coastal cities always preferred columns or circular piers, and that this feature, if one is to

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 je sigurno bila kapela porodice Madija, zadarskih priora, koji su ženidbama bili povezani s hrvatskim vladarima.

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



believe the only plan in existence, may be a result of the influence of coastal, urban, architecture on the Highlands model.

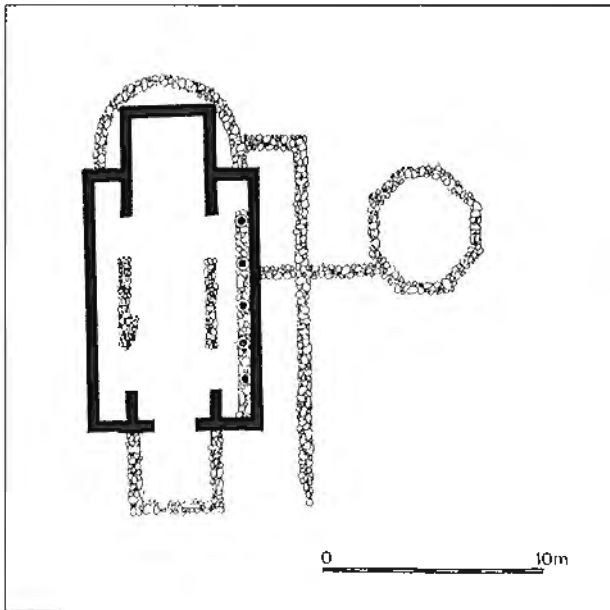
Another, equally poorly known building which may belong to the group, is that at Žažvić at the foot of the Hill of Bribir, the seat of the mighty Šubić family, about half way between Biograd and the Highlands center around Knin. The excavations, a hundred years ago, seem to have revealed an aisled building with a deep rounded apse, and a westwork similar to that of Sv. Cecilija and Sv. 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. This apse 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.

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

toranj Sv. Vida u Dobrinju. Sve te gradnje pripadaju ranoromaničkom slogu.

Graditelji *kraljevske predromaničke skupine* sasvim reinterpreteraju tradicije. Dok korištenje trolisnog svetišta u nekim slučajevima još podsjeća na tradicionalne 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 zvonikom u pročelju *westwerka*, a istočni završetak zbijenim troapsidalnim ili trolisnim korom.



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. 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 Sv. 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 re-interpretation 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 becomes bi-polar and both ends are in the process enriched. 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 triapsidal, or a trefoil chevet.

The rounded buttresses are an important innovation. They both enliven the walls, endow them with a new plastic vigor, and help support

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.

Podrumi Palače mogli su također poslužiti kao priručnik za nadsvodenje, osobito složenijih građevina kao što je Sv. Cecilija. Hrvatski se kralj smatrao zakonitim nasljednikom antiknog cara. Stoga su graditelji, uz nasljedovanje suvremene imperijalne arhitekture Zapada, mogli tražiti nadahnuće u mjesnoj antičkoj carskoj arhitekturi.

No unatoč tim pronalascima *kraljevska skupina* ostaje 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 gradnji 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,

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.

The "caves", the underground chambers of the Palace, may have also acted as a handbook for vaulting, especially in complex buildings such as Sv. Cecilija. The Croatian king saw 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.

But in spite of these 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



stvorili izvjestan broj spomenika, doduše posebnih i neobičnih, no koji predstavljaju hrvatsku varijantu "prve romaničke umjetnosti".

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".

RANOROMANIČKA SKUPINA

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 pojednostvaljenje, a ukras slijedi poteze arhitekture.

EARLY ROMANESQUE GROUP

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 fulfil all the above requirements or fulfils them only to a certain degree.

The "Early" or "First" Romanesque differs from both 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 simpli-

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 ograničuje, arhitektonski se ukras ograničava na plošnu artikulaciju zida. Zide, lomljenac ili pritesani kamen, nema vlastiti izraz, pa je stoga prekriven žbukom, koja svojom jednoličnošću pojačava fini, plošni dekorativni izraz fasada. 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

fiction 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 are 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 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



“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 bi mogla biti izložena kritici. Neke 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 i Sv. Nediljici u Zadru (sve građevine s kraja XI. stoljeća). No, kod Sv. Nikole na Lopudu postoje još uvijek “sakriveni oblici” (kupola, apsida), “sakrivene” su i apside Sv. Nediljice, a dok vanjske mase Sv. Eufemije otvoreno izražavaju oblik unutrašnjosti, zidovi ostaju jednolični i prazni.

Sv. Ivan u Biogradu (također iz kasnijeg XI. stoljeća) pokazuje vrlo dosljednu upotrebu

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 Sv. 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 Sv. Eufemija at Split, and Sv. Nediljica in Zadar (all buildings of a later 11th century date). Yet, at Sv. Nikola there are still “hidden” forms (dome, apse),



vanjskog arhitektonskog ukrasa, ali taj nije ni u kakvoj svezi s unutrašnjom organizacijom, a postoji i "skriveni" *westwerk*.

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 najsjajnijih crkava kraljevstva.

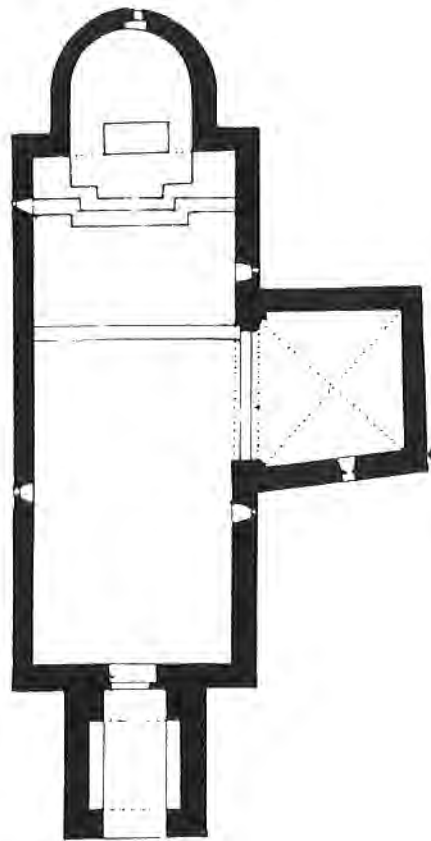
Sada u ruševinama (još je stajala 1571., a srušena je tek oko 1700. godine da posluži kao kamenolom za neki mlin), crkva Sv. Petar i Mojsije bila je prostrana trobrodna građevina s ravnim korom, pravokutnom apsidom i polukružnim apsidiolama. Pokrajnje lađe bile su odvojene od glavnog broda s pet pari stupova, s kojima su se podudarali nizovi ležena na unutrašnjem i vanjskom zidu. Nema konačnog dokaza da je crkva bila nadsvođena, iako bi podudaranje podupora moglo govoriti u prilog nadsvođenju. Trobrodnom tijelu prethodi masivni zapadni toranj (ali ne i "skriveni" *westwerk*). Prizemlje tornja sadržavalo je sarkofag, služilo je dakle kao pogrebni prostor. Tragovi stubišta što su vodila na galeriju još su vidljivi u jugoistočnom uglu prizemlja. Zide, koje se sastoji od izduljenih, djelomično obrađenih kamenova, predstavlja zamjetno poboljšanje u odnosu na zide predromaničkih građevina. Tlocrt s plošnim istočnim završetkom zastario je, te podsjeća na Crkvinu u Biskupiji iz IX. stoljeća, dok se zapadni masiv

"hidden" are also the apses of Sv. Nediljica, and while the exterior massing of Sv. Eufemija honestly reflects the formation of the interior, the walls remain uniform and blank.

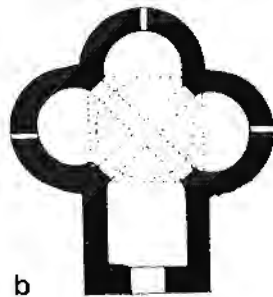
Sv. Ivan in Biograd (also later 11th century) displays a very consistent use of external architectural decor, yet this is in no way related to the interior organization, and there is a "hidden" westwork.

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.

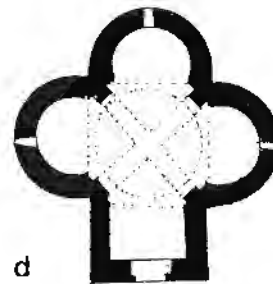
SS. Petar and Mojsije, now in ruins (it still stood in 1571 and was destroyed only ca. 1700, when it served as a quarry for a mill), was a spacious, aisled building with a flat chevet, a square apse and rounded apsidioles. The aisles were separated from the nave by five pairs of columns to which correspond pilaster strips on both 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" westwork). 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



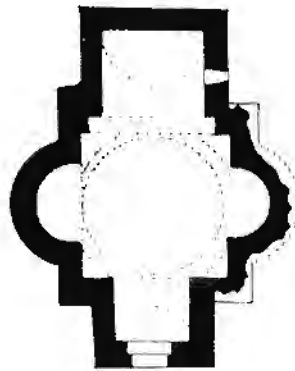
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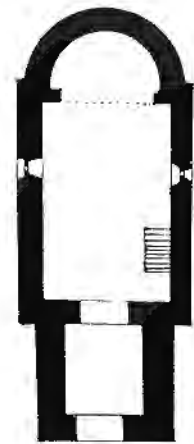
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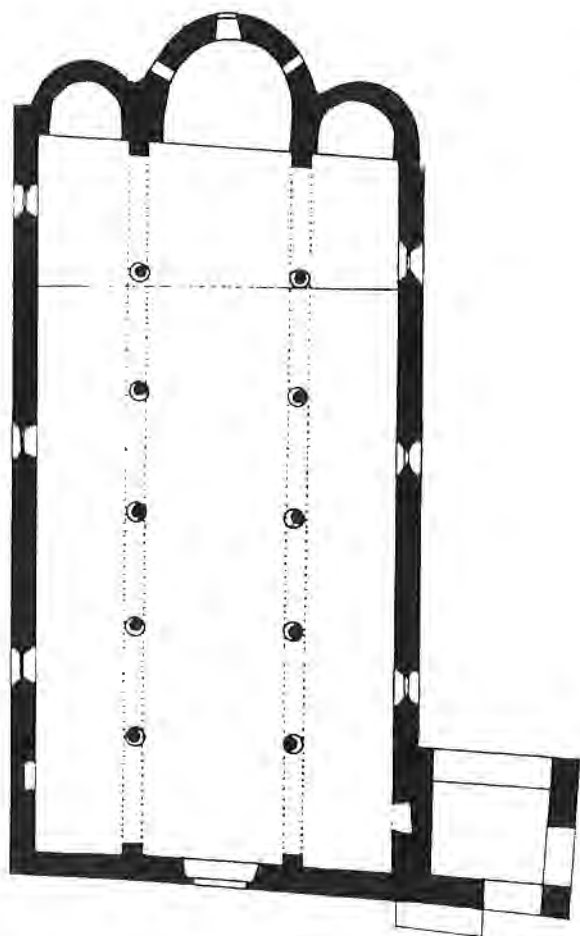
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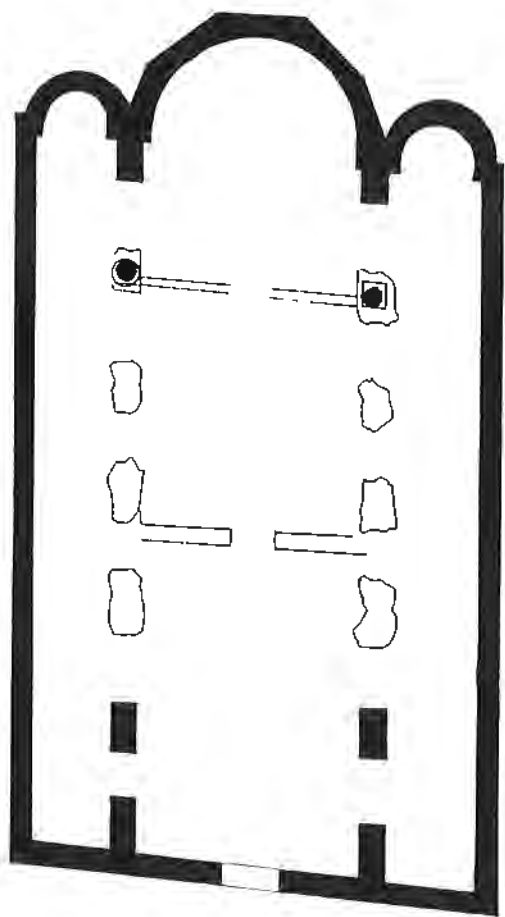
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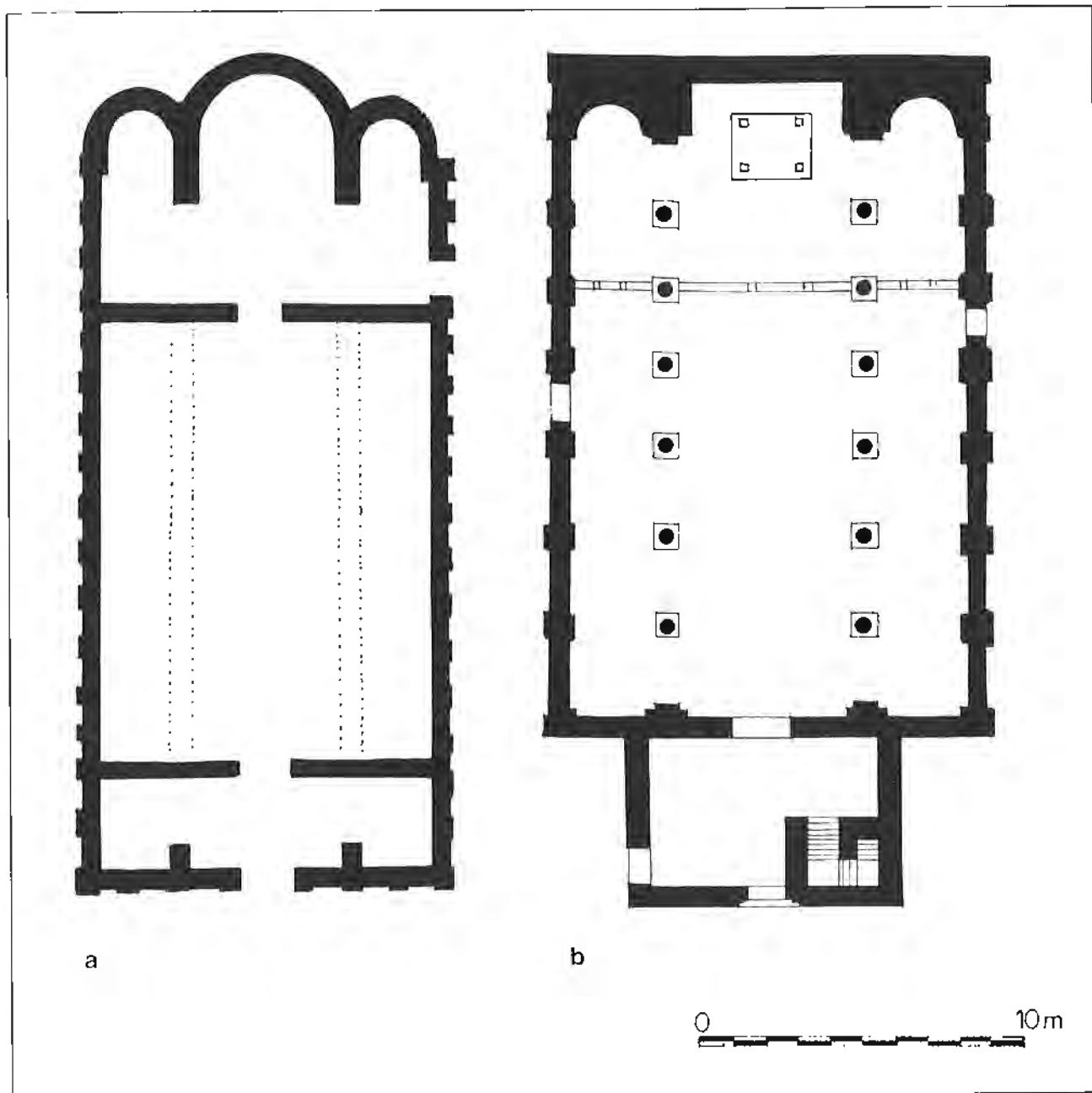
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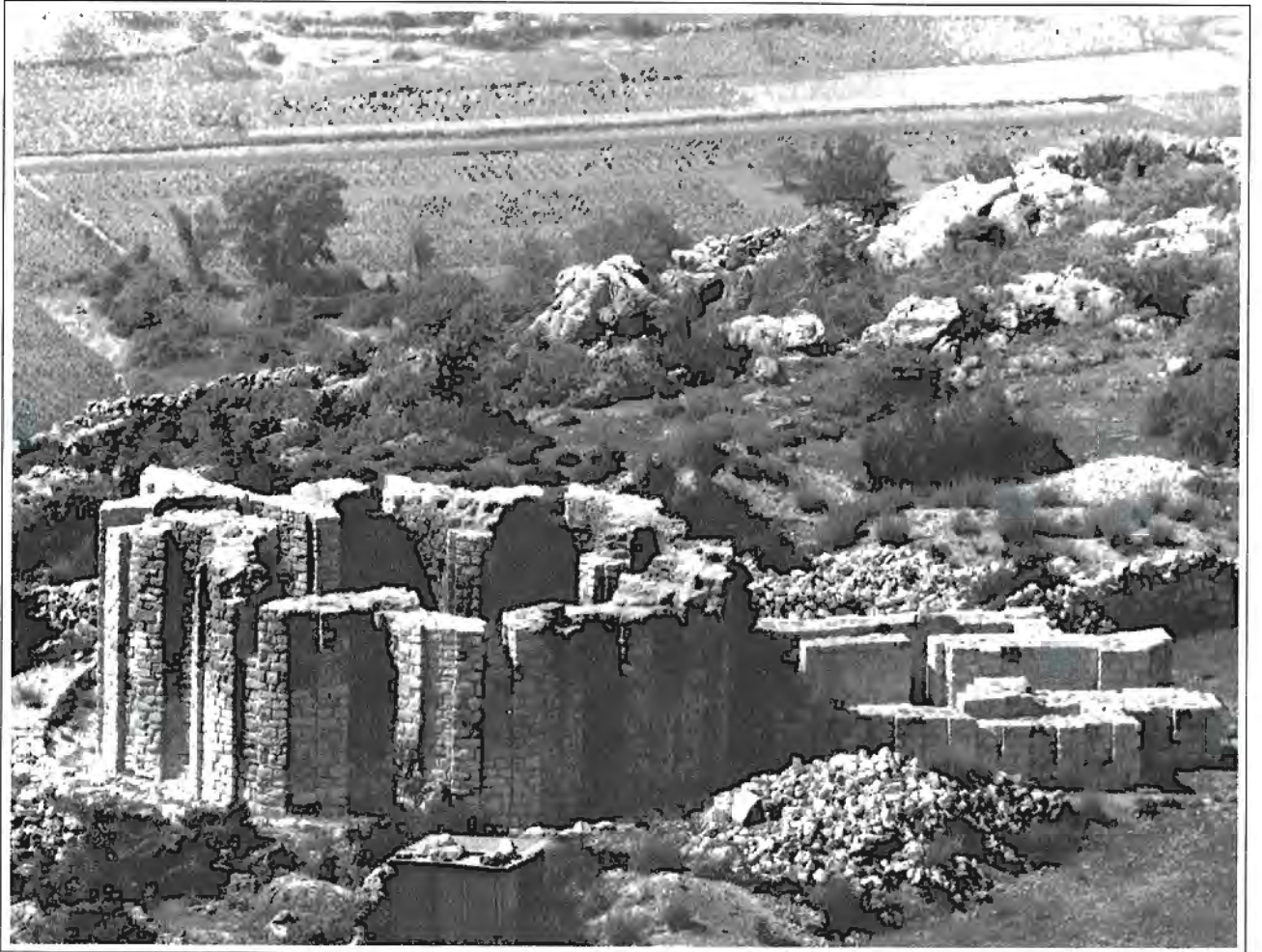
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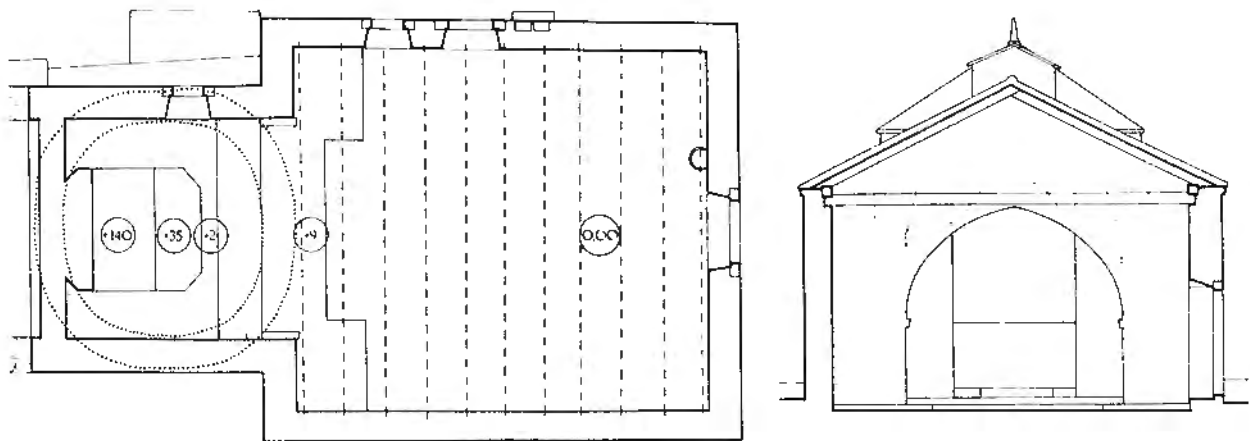
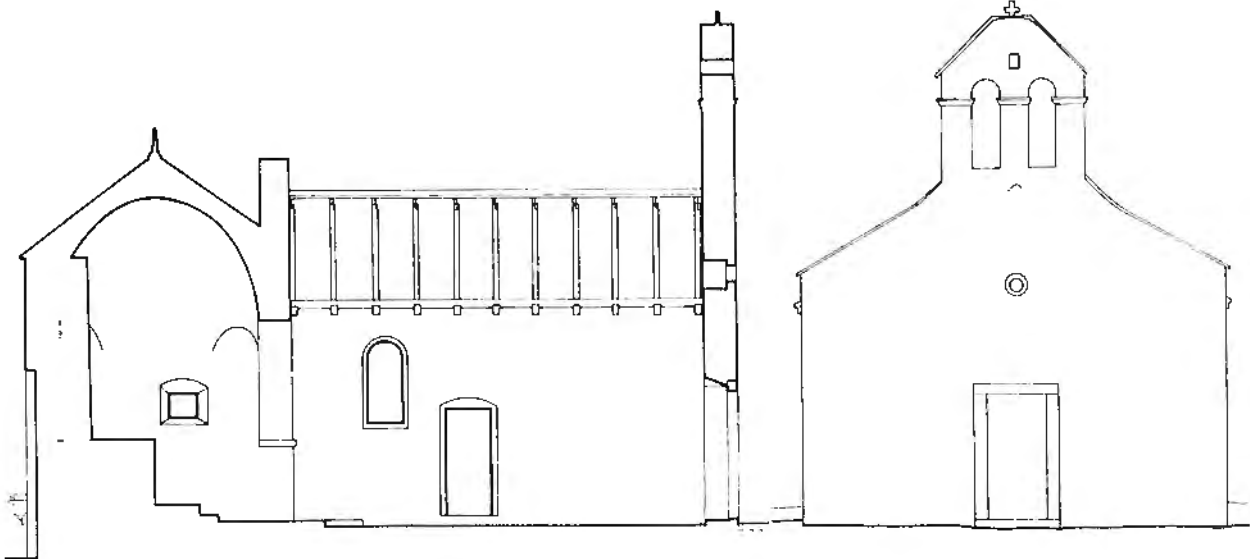
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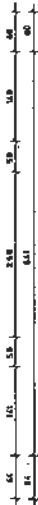
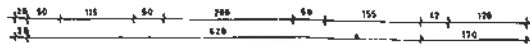
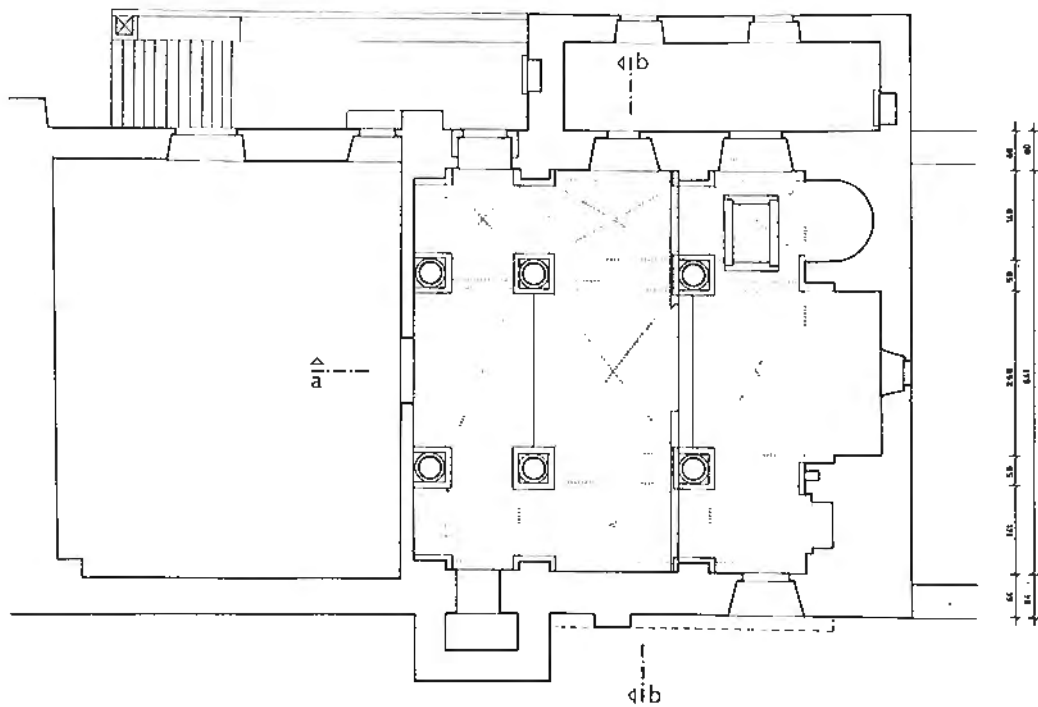
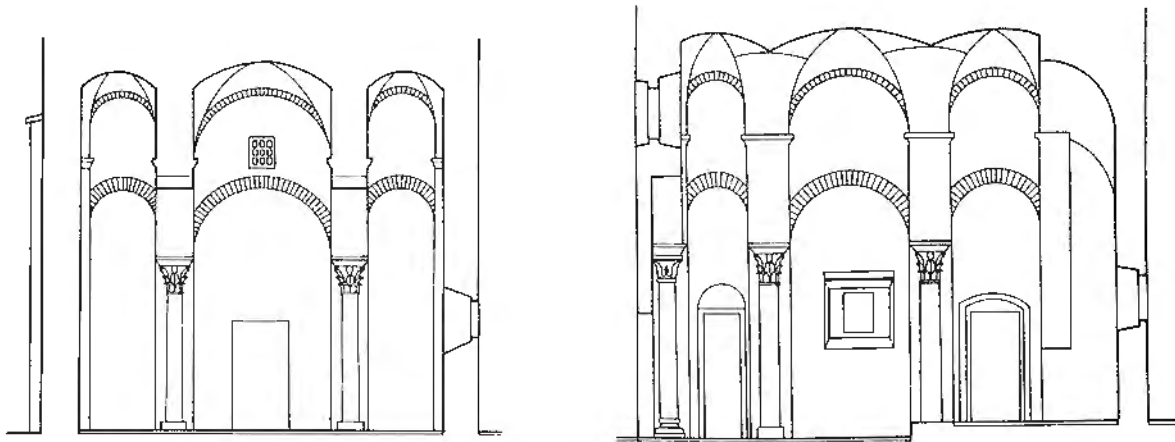












pojavljuje kao vjeran pratilac građevina vezanih uz dinastiju. No, unutar tog ponešto tradicionalnog okvira, graditelj je zamislio i izveo savršeno logično konstruktivno rješenje i pravilan sistem arhitektonske dekoracije.

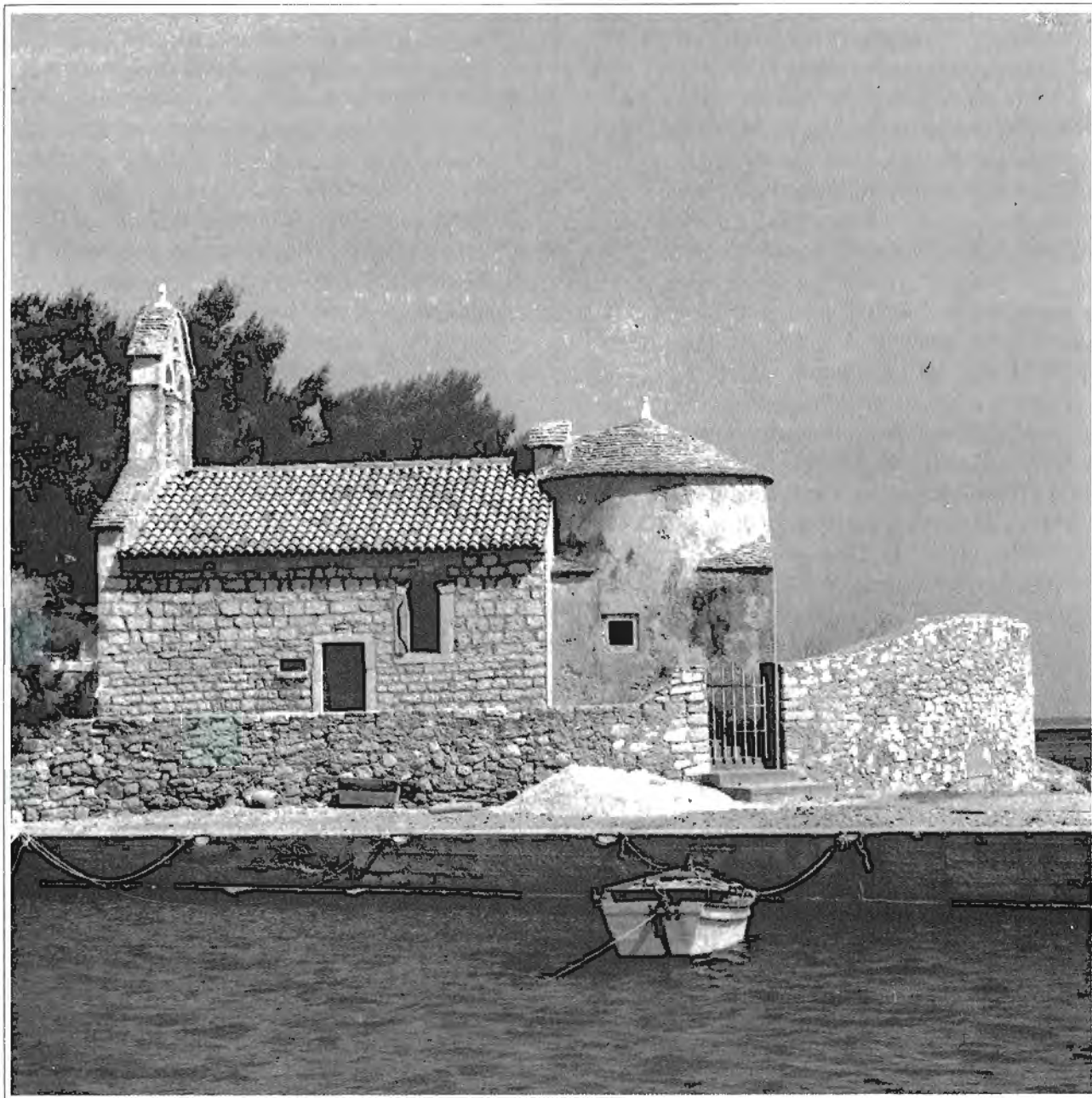
Druga longitudinalna građevina s ranoromaničkim obilježjem jest *westwerk* dodan u pročelju osmerolista u Ošlju. Unutrašnji raspored čini se ponešto nepravilnim (možda je to i zbog nedovoljnog očuvanja ruševine). Razlikuje se središnji prolaz, u koji se kroči kroz utrostručen stepenast portal, rijedak u ranom hrvatskom 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



the southeastern corner of the ground floor. The masonry, consisting of elongated, partly dressed pieces, 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 systematic exterior decor, the individualized tower, the remarkable stepped-in portal, and improved masonry,



lezenama. Zide iz poluobradenog kamena jasno se razlikuje od lomljenca samog osmerolista. 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 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 IX. 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. Tako je naš jedini neposredni izvor za oblik ranoromaničkog tornja XI. stoljeća 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. Fasada završava ravnim vijencem na nazubljenim konzolama, kakve nalazimo kod Sv. Petra u Supetarskoj Drazi 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 arhaično, 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.

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 Sv. Marija (Stomorica) and Sv. Nediljica in Zadar have been destroyed, and the tower of Sv. Lovro is completely enveloped by later buildings. Gone is also the tower on top of the Baptistery 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 (Sv. Teodor) within the Iron (western) Gate of Diocletian's Palace. It is a four storey tower with single openings on three lower storeys 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 Sv. Petar in Supetarska Draga on the Island of Rab, and at Sv. 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 - corners and the top of the facade - which is consistent with Romanesque vocabulary.

Još jedan romanički element, kupolasti svod povrh 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. 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 antiknih spolija, izmiješanih s lomljenjem. Zide je nešto između lomljenca i tesanog kamena. Portal Sv. Nikole,



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 Sv. Marija in Zadar (1105), the first truly mature Romanesque building in Croatia. This vault may have been preceded by several years by those of Sv. Krševan near Glavotok on the Island of Krk and Sv. Nikola at Nin. In each case the vault is applied to the central room of a small trichora church. The two buildings are very close in shape and size, only at Sv. Nikola the square entrance bay is covered by a barrel vault, and at S. Krševan by a semidome, emphasizing the multilobed 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 Sv. Nikola, from polished stone and with a fully developed lunette is already representative of the modest type of mature Romanesque portal. Assuming that the Romanesque indeed spread from the North, one would date Sv. Krševan first, then Sv. Nikola (both shortly before 1100), and then the vault of Sv. Marija (1105).

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

od klesanog kamena i s potpuno razvijenom lunetom već je predstavnik tipa skromnog romaničkog portala. Ako prihvatimo da se romanika zaista proširila od sjevera na jug, najraniji bi bio Sv. Krševan, zatim Sv. Nikola (oba neposredno prije 1100.), te konačno svod Sv. Marije (1105.).

Zanimljivo je da je trolist postao omiljen na početku zrele Romanike. Mora da se taj oblik sviđao 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, u ova dva trolista također se jasno razlikuju zaobljene apsida 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 zide, 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

opposed to complex hexachora and octachora buildings, the two trichoras 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, Sv. Donat near Punat, which in an imaginative way combines traditions of the polyconchal type with those of Sv. Križ at Nin or Sv. 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 harmony 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 eventwelfth 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 Romanesque through radical simplification. Sv. 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



što se to događa i 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 Bašćanskoj ploči, dijelu oltarne pregrade, danas u Hrvatskoj akademiji u Zagrebu.

Konačno, crkva S. Vida u Dobrinju na Krku (posvećena 1100.), pogodan je za 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 svojoj 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.

Suprotno svojim "kraljevskim" kolegama, graditelji su ranoromaničke skupine ili potpuno preinačili tradiciju ili u nju usadili uvozne

architecture, yet the walls are constructed from perfect ashlar. 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 in Zagreb.

And finally, the church of Sv. 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 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, confirming that the Romanesque spread from the North, i.e., from Northern Italy. The more radical and original



romaničke oblike. Ova posljednja sklonost najočitija je u sjevernom Primorju, potvrđujući da se romanika proširila 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 sklono 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 romanički oblici sjevernotalijanskog ("lombardskog") tipa, odnosno međunarodnog romaničkog izraza Sređozemlja.

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 Romanesque forms of Northern Italian ("Lombard") type, or, if one may so describe it, of international Mediterranean Romanesque style.

SVJETOVNO GRADITELJSTVO

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

Split je grad s najviše primjera ranosrednjovjekovnih stambenih zgrada (14). 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

SECULAR ARCHITECTURE

The forms of early medieval secular or utilitarian architecture in 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 almost solely to Dr. Tomislav Marasović, so here, with slight additions, we summarize the results of his research.

The city with most early medieval secular structures on record is Split (14). 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

Dioklecijanovoj palači, pod čijim su okriljem čak mogli obradivati 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 gradanstvo, te su zaključili sporazum da bogati sagrade 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" (izdanje Vladimira Rismonda, 1960., p. 23).

Istinitost Tomina opisa potvrdio je pronalazak "turnjačnice", mlina za masline, u podzemlju 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 višekratne, jednoće- lijske nastambe, popularne u romaničko i gotičko

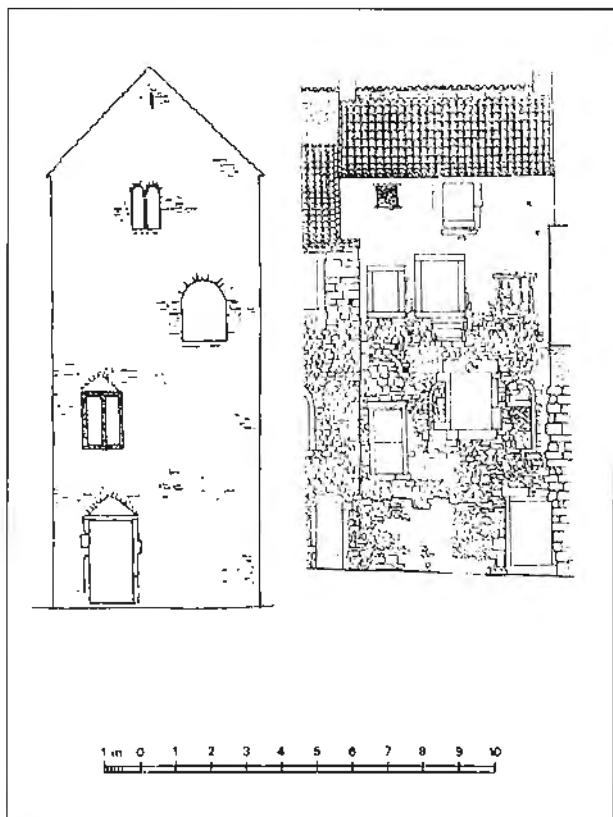
they may be even able to cultivate at least a plot or two of their land, until such time as new improved condition may allow the rebuilding of Salonae (Solin). This advice finally attracted all the people, both noble and common, and they jointly concluded an agreement that the richer will build their 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" (p. 23, 1960 edition by Vladimir Rismondo).

The truthfulness of Thomas's description is born out by the finding of a "turnjačnica", an olive mill, in the 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, 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-in 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!

These examples, and traces of other Pre-Romanesque homes in Split testify that the

doba, temelje na predromaničkom graditeljstvu. Malo je ostataka predromaničkih kuća u Trogiru i toliko su izmiješani s kasnijom izgradnjom da ne dopuštaju točniju rekonstrukciju.

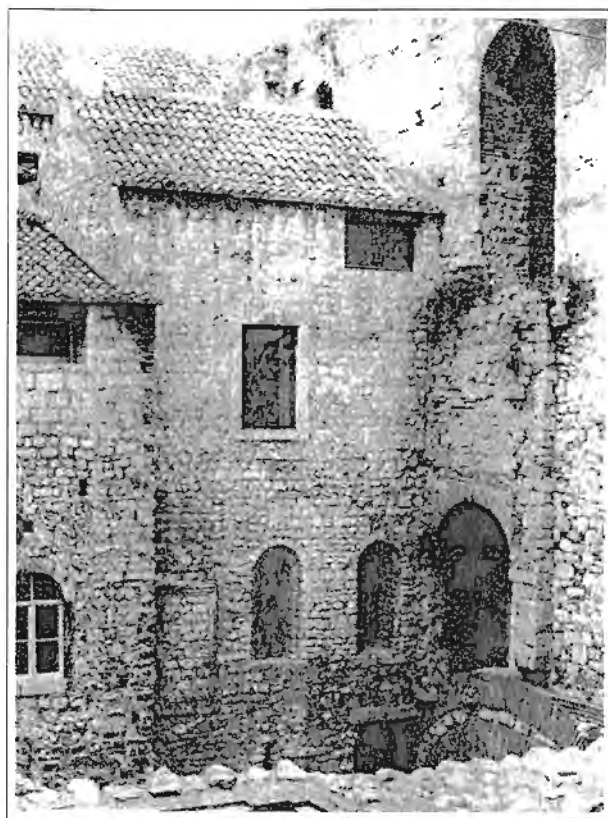
U Zadru još nisu otkriveni tragovi ranosrednjovjekovnih nastambi. Mogu se, međutim, prepoznati predromanički potezi gradskih zidina uz današnja glavna gradska vrata i u jugozapadnom području, gdje se mogu



multi-level, monocellular (one space unit per storey) houses, popular with the Romanesque and Gothic builders, have their origin in the local Pre-Romanesque architecture.

Remains of Pre-Romanesque homes in Trogir are too scanty and mixed within later buildings to allow for any precise reconstruction.

No traces of early medieval residential architecture have yet been found in Zadar. However, it was



vidjeti ostaci kula. Bedemi su građeni od lomljenca s podosta antiknih spolija.

Otkriveni su i tragovi najranijih utvrđenja Dubrovnika (na otoku Lause), te nedavno u području katedrale, a neke prerade na zidovima Dioklecijanove palače mogu također potjecati iz predromaničkog razdoblja. Može se također očekivati i prepoznavanje ranih hrvatskih dijelova u kninskoj utvrdi.

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 antiknu vilu, ali otkriće stanovitog broja obradenih greda upućuje na pregradnje i obnovu u ranom srednjem vijeku.

Medu utilitarnim zgradama Tomislav Marasović navodi i samostane, primjerice na Crkvini, u Pridrazi (razmjerno pravilna skupina prostorija uokolo kvadratičnog dvorišta), Kašiću (još nepotpuno istražen), na Sustipanu u Splitu (ponešto nepravilno trapezoidno dvorište). Ostaci samostana Sv. Benedikta (Sv. Eufemije) u Splitu uništeni su 1945.

Ništa se ne zna o pučkoj arhitekturi ranog srednjeg vijeka, ali Tomislav Marasović smatra da neke od pučkih zgrada u splitskom

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, and more recently, the sections around the site of the Cathedral), and some reworkings 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 extraurban 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.

Dr. Marasović lists also monasteries among the 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 Sv. Benedikt (Sv. Eufemija) in Split were demolished in 1945.

predgradu 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.

Iako je grada oskudna, mogu se predočiti 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 često se koriste 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 istražena su, ali velika većina nije, pa je znanje o njihovoj arhitekturi vrlo oskudno. Treba spomenuti i misteriozne "kiklopske" ruševine Kiringrada, južno od Siska, zbjega sisačkih kršćana, te upozoriti na druga naselja "Latina", poput Koželina (od latinskog "castelione") na istočnom lancu Zagrebačke gore. Znamo da je Sisak utvrdio knez Ljudevit (oko 810-823.) i da mu je patrijarh Grada poslao majstore za

Nothing is known about popular architecture of the Early Middle Ages, but Dr. 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.

Although the materials are meagre 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 pallisades (these are know as "gradište"). Some of them, like the "gradište" in the Mrsunjski Lug, have been explored, but the majority have not, and our knowledge about their architecture is vary scarce. One should also point out the mysterious "cyclopaen" ruins at Kiringrad, to the South of Sisak, the refuge of the Siscia Christians, and draw attantion to another fortified settlement of the "Latins" - Koželin (from Latin "castelione") in the eastern ranges of the Zagreb Mountain. We know that Sisak was fortified by Duke

gradnju utvrda. Na vidjelo još nije došlo ništa od sisačkih predromaničkih gradnji. Naravno, Zagreb, točnije Grič, Gornji grad, 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.

Ipak, čini se da Hrvatska posjeduje rijedak primjer dosta dobro očuvane ranosrednjovjekovne utvrde. To je Klokoč na obroncima Petrove gore, 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, u potpunosti se podudara s tipom male pogranične utvrde iz karolinškog vremena.

Ljudevit (ca. 810-823), and that the masons to build the walls were sent to the Duke by the Patriarch of Grado. None of Sisak Pre-Romanesque architecture 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 the Grič, the "Upper Town", which, given its ideal position must have been inhabited also in the Early Middle Ages.

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. 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 appear as a gigantic bath tub. In this it faithfully reproduces the form of a small Carolingian border fort.

ZAKLJUČAK

1. Predromaničko ili ranohrvatsko graditeljstvo ili nešto treće?

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, o "Predromaničkoj umjetnosti u..." Francuskoj, Španjolskoj, Italiji, itd., premda u vrijeme predromanike nije bilo takvih jedinica kao što su

CONCLUSION

1. "Pre-Romanesque," "Early Croatian" or what?

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,

"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 kronolški, pa čak i etnički i stilistički sadržaj.

Objektivno, ono što susrećemo na području Republike Hrvatske u smislu graditeljstva između godine 600. i 1100. jest "Predromaničko graditeljstvo Dalmacije i najranije graditeljstvo Hrvata".

Okolnosti nastanka umjetnosti i graditeljstva u Dalmaciji od oko godine 600. do oko 800. prilično su jasne. Susrećemo poznat 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 Mohorovičić. Čak i nakon 800. godine može se govoriti o posebnom "urbanom dalmatinskom" obliku kao u slučaju pregršti centralnih gradevina u dalmatinskim gradovima. No postoje oblici koji se nalaze i u "Dalmaciji" i u

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 only 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.

Objectively speaking, what we encounter on the territory of today's Republic of Croatia, in terms of architecture between ca. 600 and ca. 1100, would be "Pre-Romanesque Architecture of Dalmatia and the Earliest Architecture in Croatia".

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 rebuildings, adaptations and



“Hrvatskoj” (koja počinje koju milju od gradskih vrata) a oblici putuju u oba smjera. Oko 800. godine kad je kulturna “romanizacija” obalne Hrvatske najozbiljnije započela punim prihvaćanjem kršćanstva, započela je i ubrzana “kroatizacija” dalmatinske teme (provincije). Ne zaboravimo, Hrvati su rijetka sredozemna nacija koja se nije lingvistički romanizirala. Sinovi i kćeri Franaka i Burgunda govore francuski, Vizigota i Vandala Španjolski, Langobarda i Ostrogota talijanski. Potomci dalmatinskih Romana govore hrvatski i to većinom već stoljećima. Otok Lausa (Ragusa) i slavensko područje Dub već su s godinom 1100. unutar zidina istog grada! Tako je i “dalmatinska” komponenta vrijedan kulturni dio čitave hrvatske nacije i kulture, no zadržala je svoj smisao upravo spajanjem u širu maticu i kulturu Hrvata.

Govoriti o “najranijoj hrvatskoj umjetnosti/ arhitekturi” prepoznajući i uvažavajući doprinos dalmatinske komponente, čini se ispravnim pristupom.

Takav smo pristup nastojali održati u čitavom ovom radu. Stoga pišemo “rani” ili “najraniji” i “ranohrvatski” malim slovima. Taj “rani” ili “najraniji” ima prije svega kronološko značenje. Stoga bi naslovi “Počeci hrvatskog graditeljstva” ili “Najranije graditeljstvo u Hrvatskoj” po mom mišljenju bili ispravni za ovaj rad, a “Predromaničko i ranoromaničko graditeljstvo u Hrvatskoj” (uz gore navedene opaske) ostaje točan opis njegova sadržaja.

Međutim, Hrvati su gradili i u svojoj staroj domovini prije seobe. Prepoznaju li se ikad

architectural pastiches. This attitude and its results have been well described by Messrs. Marasović, Igor Fisković and Andre Mohorovičić. Even after 800, one may argue for specific “urban Dalmatian” forms as in the case of the handful of centralized buildings in Dalmatian cities. But there are also forms found both in “Dalmatia” and in “Croatia” (which, let us not forget, starts a mile or so away from the city-gates), and while in some cases obviously the forms travel from the former to the latter, there are also instances of inverse transfers. At the moment when cultural “romanization” of the coastal Croats started in earnest, with the full adoption of Christianity around 800, a rapid Croatization of the “Dalmatian Theme” was initiated, too. One must not forget that the Croats are a rare Mediterranean nation that did not, linguistically, romanize. The sons and daughters of Franks and Burgundians speak French, of Wisigoths and Vandals Spanish, of Langobards and Ostrogoths Italian. The offspring of Dalmatian Romans speaks Croatian, and so they mostly did already many centuries ago. By the year 1100 the island of Lausa (Ragusa) and the slavic territory of Dub, are already within the same city walls! Thus the “Dalmatian” is a component, a valuable cultural component of entire Croatian nation and culture, but definitely a component which has retained its meaning by merging into a broader nation and culture of the Croats. Speaking about “early art/architecture of Croatia”, while identifying and giving due credit to the “Dalmatian component” seems to be the right type of approach.

And this is the approach we have maintained throughout this study. This is why we spell

ostaci te arhitekture, to će zaista biti "najranije hrvatsko graditeljstvo". Stoga, ipak, naslov "Predromanička arhitektura u Hrvatskoj" možda najbolje odgovara stvarnom stanju.

2. Narav građe

U gradi za ovu radnju razlikovali smo predromaničke i ranoromaničke osobine. Razliku između predromanike i romanike 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.

4. U stanovitom broju predromaničkih građevina tijelo raste prema središnjem akcentu

"early" in "early Croatian" with a minor case letter. For this "early" has primarily chronological meaning. Therefore "The Beginnings of Croatian Architecture" is in our opinion an appropriate title for this study, and "Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque Architecture in Croatia" (bearing in mind our above caveats and objections) still an accurate description of its national and stylistic content.

However, the Croats must have had some architecture even before their migration. Should its remains ever come to light, they would constitute, truly, the earliest Croatian architecture. Therefore, the title "Pre-Romanesque Architecture in Croatia" is still probably the best title for this study.

2. 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

- tornjiću ili kupoli - dok je unutrašnji prostor upravljen longitudinalno 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 predromaničkog graditeljstva Dalmacije (odnosno, dalmatinskih gradova). *Kraljevska se skupina* prvenstveno nadahnjuje iz stranog izvora - imperijalne karolinške arhitekture Zapada.

Obje skupine postoje istodobno u prostoru i vremenu, ali nemaju iste naručioce.

Za *kraljevsku* se skupinu može tvrditi da joj naručiocu pripadaju 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. Sa stanovitim ograničenjima mogla bi se također nazvati "populističkom" (pučkom), dok je *kraljevska skupina* općenito više "kozmpolitska" i "učena".

examples.

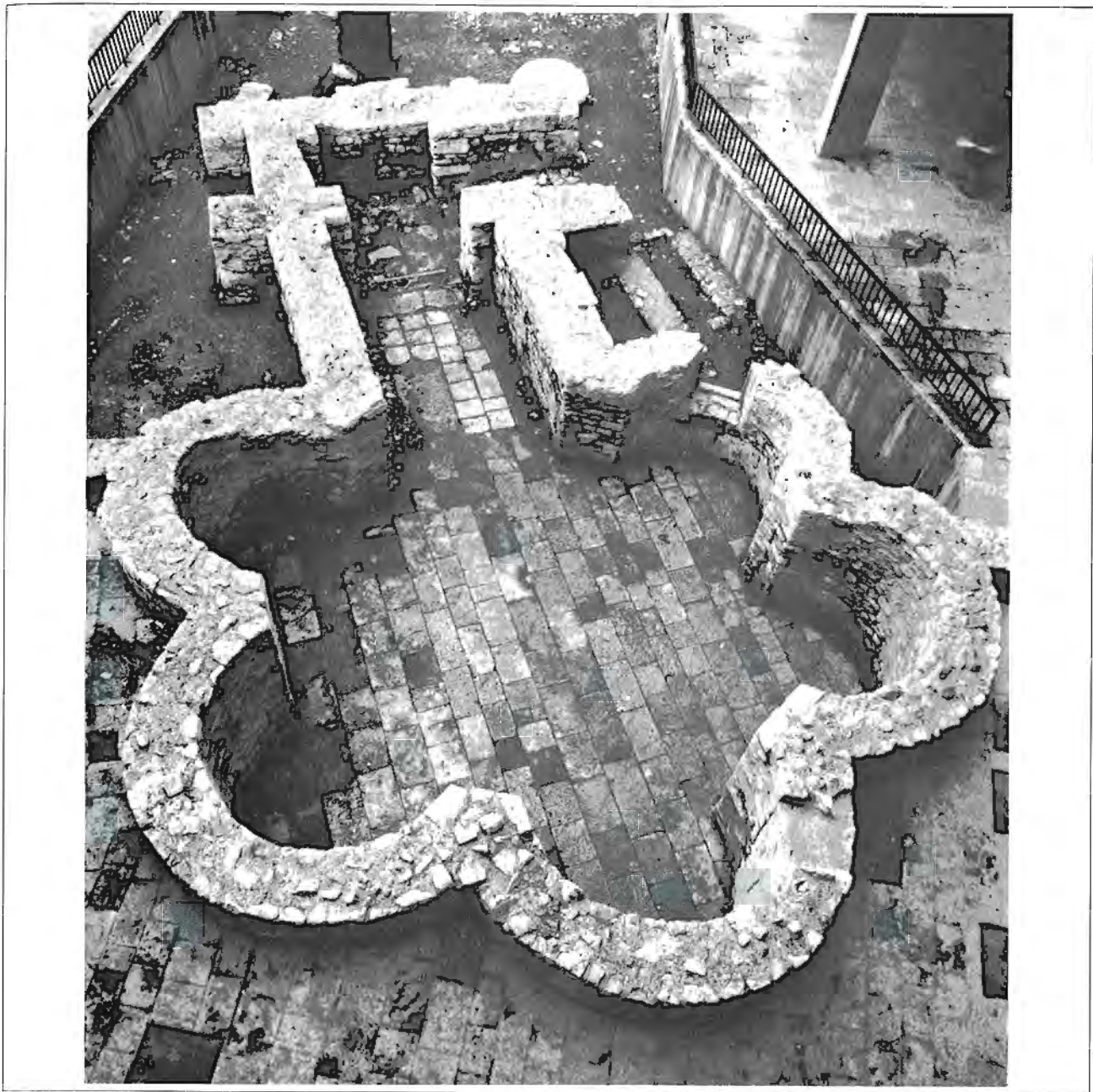
2. The form of the space of a Pre-Romanesque building does not correspond to the form of the shell that contains it. We have seen innumerable examples of square apses and turrets encasing rounded niches and domes.

3. In Pre-Romanesque buildings there occur "hidden" spaces, the existence of which can not be anticipated by an analysis of the exterior. We have observed this phenomenon in the case of numerous westworks and eastern ends of buildings.

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 Sv. Lovro in Zadar, Sv. Cecilija in Biskupija, the Cathedral at Biograd - display a predilection for narrow passages and bulky supports, briefly for spacial discontinuity.

These characteristics are common to both Pre-Romanesque groups. What distinguishes the two groups is the source of inspiration. In case of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque group, the sources are earlier local styles, and this group, generally speaking, grows out of the Pre-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.



Čini se da romanika naznačuje isključenje svih gore navedenih protuslovlja i zamršenosti. Rana romanika u tom pogledu pokazuje put, iako uvijek na 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.

3. 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 nešto oko 100 ili više 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.

U Graubindenskoj skupini središnjih Alpi (Raetia) troapsidalni završeci priključeni su

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. It could also be, with due reservations, titled "populist", while the Royal group would be in general more "cosmopolitan" or "learned".

The Romanesque seems to signify the elimination of all the "contradictions" and "complexities" listed above. 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, the masons of the other two groups 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 - c. 1050 - ca.1100 - Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque modes existed side by side.

3. 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



jednobrodnoj kutiji (Sv. Martin i Sv. Marija u Dissentisu, Mistail, Müstair, Pleiv). Trodjelni prezbitarij 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...).

U graditeljstvu Velike Moravske obratimo pažnju na različitost oblika unutrašnjosti (četverolist) i vanjštine (kružnica) crkve br. 9 u Mikulčicama.

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 Mitelzelli, ili apsidiole skrivene u plošnom završnom zidu u Helmstedtu i Deventeru. U karolinškom i otonskom graditeljstvu također postoji sklonost biaksijalnosti ili, točnije, bipolarnosti (St. Riquier at Centula, St. Michael at Hildersheim). Dioba glavne lade s pomoću naizmjeničnih **podupora** u Gernrode (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 sve-europskog stila.

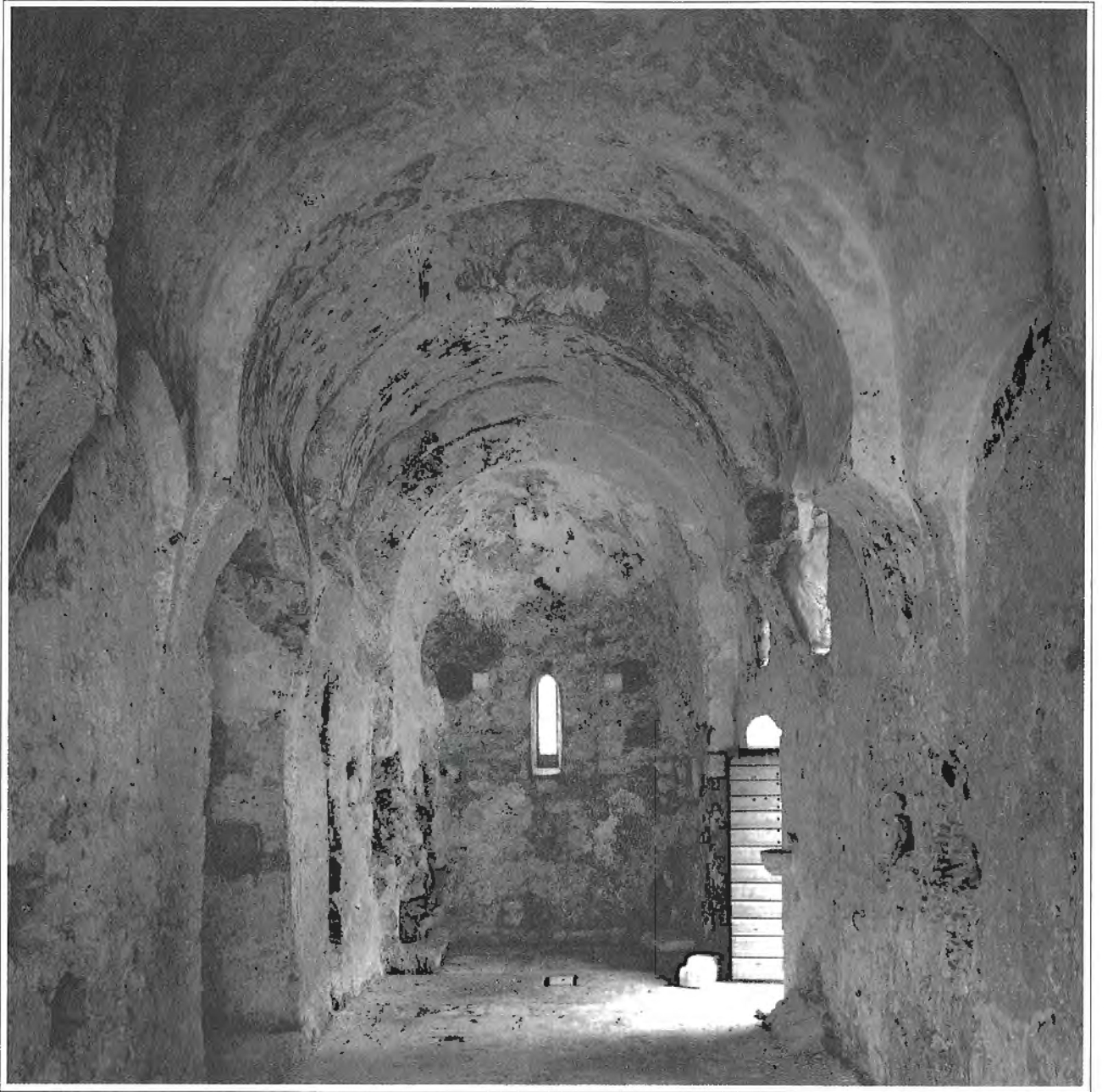
above occur in all Pre-Romanesque schools, or that they are the **only characteristics** of Pre-Romanesque architecture. The fact is, however, that they are found in some 100 or more buildings of Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia, and even a cursory look at other areas, will show that they are not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

In Mozarabic architecture horse-shoe apses hide within rectangular masses (Melque, Penalba, Escalada...). Domes hide within square turrets (Melque, Celanova, Mazote...). An entire triconch hides within a rectilinear eastern end (Mazote). Spatial discontinuity is prevalent.

In the Graubinden 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...).

In Grand Moravian architecture note the disparity in the form of interior (quaterfoil) and exterior (rotunda) of the church No. 9 at Mikulčice.

The same disparity occurs in a number of Carolingian and Ottonian centralized structures:



4. 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) zaista zadovoljavaju romaničke kriterije. Gornje pretpostavke potvrđuje i studija rane romanike u Hrvatskoj. Jedanaesto 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". A njih zaista nalazimo u konzervativnim sredinama poput Hrvatske.

5. Važnost za kasnije lokalne stilove.

Nakon pregleda predromanike, romanika se u Hrvatskoj doima pomalo blijedo. Postoje neke nesumnjivo izvanredne gradnje i gomila skromnih, 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

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.

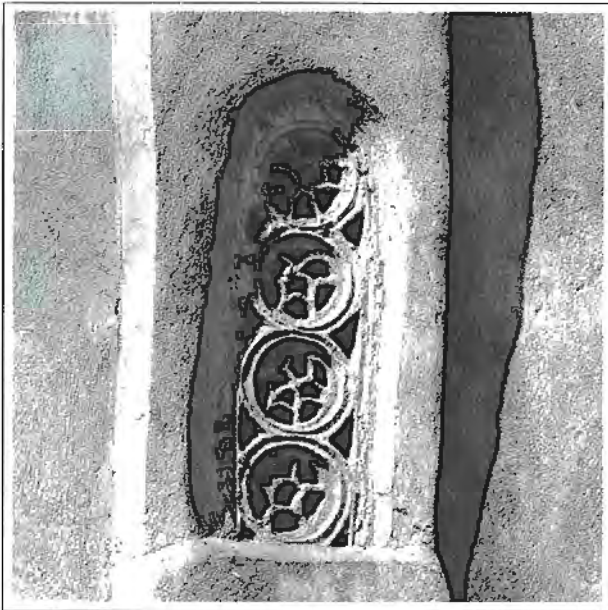
4. Relevance for the study of the Romanesque.

If Romanesque is to be seen as a resolution "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) 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"

Zadru preoblikovali su ranokršćanske gradnje, u samostanskim crkvama Sv. Andrije i Sv. Ivana na Rabu vratili su se ranokršćanskoj jednostvanosti. 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 unutrašnjosti i vanjštine!

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.



buildings "before 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.

5. Relevance for later local styles.

After a study of the Pre-Romanesque, the Romanesque in Croatia appears somewhat disappointing. There are, no doubt, some fine individual buildings, and a mass of humble, rustic solutions. But on the monumental scale 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 remodelled Early Christian buildings. In the monastic churches of Sv. Ivan and Sv. Andrija at Rab, they reverted to the Early Christian simplicity. Sv. 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 built (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

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 preživjelo osim katedrala u Zagrebu i Krbavi, ili velikih samostanskih crkava, kao što su Bijela, Rudine, Nuštar i Podborje. Preostalo je nešto seoskih crkava koje se mogu usporediti sa Srednjom i Sjevernom Europom. Najranije hrvatsko graditeljstvo odigralo je, dakle, dosta ograničenu ulogu u oblikovanju kasnijih graditeljskih slogova zemlje. Predromanika je na neki način jedno od zlatnih poglavlja hrvatske umjetnosti. To je umjetnost nacije koja stupa na pozornicu povijesti te se uključuje u sredozemnu i srednjoeuropsku kulturu i istovremeno ostvaruje svoju neovisnu državu.

Grozničava umjetnička aktivnost triju ranih hrvatskih stoljeća (800.-1100.) snažan je izraz želje za afirmacijom te suverene ranosrednjovjekovne političke jedinice. Gubitkom potpune samostalnosti, ušavši u različite personalne i ostale unije, hrvatskim su se umjetnicima otvorile mnoge kozmopolitske ideje i izvori. No, iako su stvorili nekoliko velikih pojedinačnih spomenika, nikad ne vidimo ništa slična umjetničkoj groznici predromaničkog vremena. Tek dolaskom zrelog baroka - izgonom Turaka - potkraj XVII. stoljeća, postajemo ponovo svjedoci slične provale umjetničkog djelovanja, pa i u najskromnijim selima i zaseocima. Bila je to umjetnost ponovo rodene zemlje - *Croatiaa Rediviva* - naroda koji opet s optimizmom gleda na svoju budućnost. Samo sada je u vodstvu kontinentalna, a ne

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.

Early Croatian buildings played, apparently, a limited role in the formation of later architectural styles of the country. Yet, in a way, the Pre-Romanesque represents one of the golden chapters of Croatian art. It is an art of a nation which has made its first steps onto the scene of history, in the process of which it integrated itself into the Mediterranean and Central European culture, and created its own, independent state. The frenzied artistic activity of the three early Croatian centuries (800-1100) is a highly assertive expression of that sovereign early medieval political unit. With the loss of full independence, entering into various personal and other unions, Croatian artists had many cosmopolitan sources and ideas open to them. Yet, although they created some great individual monuments, never do we see anything alike the artistic fever as in the Pre-Romanesque times. Only with the arrival of the mature Baroque - and the expulsion of Turks - toward the end of the 17th century, do we witness again a similar outburst



obalna Hrvatska, a Srednja Europa, umjesto Sredozemlja, glavni je izvor umjetničkih pobuda.

Nadamo se da će nedavno, treće stvaranje Hrvatske uroditi sličnim poletom umjetnosti i graditeljstva.

of artistic creativity reaching down to the most humble of hamlets and villages. It is an art of a born again country, *Croatia rediviva*, of a people again looking with optimism at their future. Only, this time it is the continent and not the coast that leads the way, and central Europe and not the Mediterranean which provides the creative impulse.

It is our hope that the recent, third, birth of Croatia may bring about a similar flourishing of arts and architecture.

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. Sene Gvozdanović-Sekulić iz iste knjige, i mojeg iz knjige "Early Croatian Architecture" (London, 1987).

Svaki broj sadržava ime mjesta i zgrade, kratki opis (npr., "trobrodna troapsidalna"), klasifikaciju (TPS - tradicionalna predromanička skupina, KPS - kraljevska predromanička skupina, RRS - ranoromanička skupina, 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.

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 "Early Croatian Architecture" (London, 1987).

Each entry contains the name of the place, the name of the building, brief description (e.g., "aisled triapsidal"), classification (TPR - Traditional Pre-Romanesque, RPR - Royal Pre-Romanesque, ER - Early Romanesque, SPR - Secular Pre-Romanesque; 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 available and applicable; n.a. = not available); BH - Bosnia and Hercegovina.

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|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Begovača, crkva, tri uske paralelne prostorije, TPS, 9. st?, 13x11, 60. 2. Bijaći, Sv. Marta, jednobrodna sa zapadnim tornjem, KPS, RK, početak 11. st, 14,80x8 3. Bijaći, Kraljevsko imanje, SP, oko 800. 4. Biograd, katedrala, trobrodna i troapsidalna sa zapadnim tornjem, KPS, kratko prije 1060., 29,80x14,30 5. Biograd, Sv. Ivan, trobrodna i troapsidalna sa "westwerkom", TPS, posvećena 1076., 27,50x12,50 6. Biograd, Sv. Toma, trobrodna i troapsidalna, TPS, kratko prije 1061. -62., n.m. 7. Biskupija, Sv. Cecilija, Stupovi, trobrodna i troapsidalna sa "westwerkom" i tornjem, KPS, vjerojatno oko 900., 35,00x13,00. 8. Biskupija, Sv. Stjepan i Marija u Crkvi (crkva i samostan), trobrodna sa "westwerkom", KPS, sredina i kraj 11. st., 32,60x13,20 9. Biskupija, Sv. Mihovil (?) na Lopuškoj Glavici, jednobrodna sa "westwerkom", KPS, po svoj prilici sredina ili kraj 9. st., 15x7,20. 10. Biskupija, crkva u Bukurovića Podvornice, jednobrodna, KPS, možda 9.-10. st., 9x6,80 (nepotpuna). 11. Biskupija, crkva Sv. Trojice, poligonalna, TPS, OP razdoblje, srušena. 12. Biševo, Sv. Silvestar, jednobrodna, TPS, utemeljena 1050. ali se čini kasnija, 15,70x6,40. 13. Blažuj (BH), crkva u Rogačićima, šesterolisna, TPS, kasna OP?, n.m. 14. Brač, Sv. Duh u Škripu, jednobrodna, TPS, RK i OP razdoblje, pregrađena. 15. Brač, Sv. Ilija u Donjem Humcu, jednobrodna, TPS, možda K, 8,40x4,80. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Begovača, Church, three short parallel chambers, TPR, 9th.ct.?, 13 x 11.60 2. Bijaći, Sv. Marta, aisled with western tower, RPR, EC/early 9th ct., 14.80 x 8. 3. Bijaći, Royal Estate, SPR, ca. 800. 4. Biograd. Cathedral, aisled triapsidal with western tower, RPR, shortly before 1060, 29.80 x 14.30. 5. Biograd, Sv. Ivan, aisled triapsidal with westwork, TPR, consecrated 1076, 27.50 x 12.50. 6. Biograd. Sv. Toma, aisled triapsidal, TPR, shortly before.1061-62, n.a. 7. Biskupija, Sv. Cecilija at Stupovi, aisled triapsidal with westwork and tower, RPR, probably around 900, 35.00 x 13.00. 8. Biskupija, SS. Stjepan and Marija at Crkvina (church and monastery), aisled with westwork, RPR, mid to late 9th ct., 32.60.x 13.20. 9. Biskupija, Sv. Mihovil (?) at Lopuška Glavica, aisleless with westwork, RPR, probably mid to late 9th ct., 15 x 7.20. 10. Biskupija. Church at Bukurovića Podvornice, aisleless, RPR, possibly 9-10th ct., 9 x 6.80 (incomplete). 11. Biskupija, Church at Sv. Trojica, polygonal, TPR, PR period, demolished. 12. Biševo, Sv. Silvestar, aisleless, TPR, founded 1050 but seems later, 15.70 x 6.40. 13. Blažuj (BH), Church at Rogačići, hexachora, TPR, late PR?, n.a. 14. Brač, Sv. Duh at Škrip, aisled, TPR, EC and PR period, rebuilt. 15. Brač, Sv. Ilija at Donji Humac, aisleless, TPR, possibly L, 8.40 x 4.80. |
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16. Brač, Sv. Ivan u Bolu, jednobrodna, TPS, RK i OP razdoblje (kasnije?), 8,50x4,40.
17. Brač, Sv. Juraj kod Neražišća, jednobrodna, TPS, možda prema 1100., 6,80x3,60.
18. Brač, Sv. Juraj kod Straževnika, jednobrodna, TPS, prije 1111., 7,40x4,60.
19. Brač, Sv. Kliment kod Pražnice, jednobrodna, TPS, K (?), 6,40x4,20.
20. Brač, Sv. Kuzma i Damjan na Smrčeviku, jednobrodna, TPS, OP razdoblje (?), 6,50x4,40.
21. Brač, Sv. Marija u Gradcu, jednobrodna, TPS, OP razdoblje (?), 7,20x4,20.
22. Brač, Sv. Martin kod Bobovišća, jednobrodna, TPS, OP razdoblje (K?), 8,20x4,80.
23. Brač, Sv. Mihovil u Dolu, jednobrodna (jednom možda pod kupolom?), TPS, OP razdoblje, 8,40x4,80.
24. Brač, Sv. Nikola kraj Selaca, jednobrodna pod kupolom, TPS, možda 1050-1100., 5,25x3,55.
25. Brač, Sv. Toma u Gornjem Humcu, jednobrodna, TPS, K?, 6,80x4,20.
26. Brač, Sv. Tudor kod Nerežišća, jednobrodna, TPS, RK i OP ?, 7,20x4,10.
27. Bribir, Sv. Ivan, osmerolist, TPS, OP razdoblje, 10,80.
28. Brnaze, Sv. Mihovil, šesterolist, TPS, 9-10. st., 11.
29. Cetina, Sv. Spas, jednobrodna sa "westwerkom" i tornjem, KPS, oko 900., 21,50x8.
30. Dubac, Sv. Stjepan, jednobrodna, TPS, OP, 6,80(?)x3,90.
31. Dubrovnik, katedrala, trobrodna s kupolom, TPS, Bizant/OP, 35,70x16,50.
32. Dubrovnik, Četverolist (memorijalna kapela) baptisterij, TPS, Bizant/OP, 8,5.
16. Brač, Sv. Ivan at Bol, aisleless, TPR, EC and PR period.(later?), 8.50 x 4.40.
17. Brač, Sv. Juraj at Nerežišća, aisleless, TPR, possibly toward 1100, 6.80. x 3.60.
18. Brač, Sv. Juraj on the Straževnik, aisleless, TPR, before 1111, 7.40 x 4.60.
19. Brač, Sv. Kliment near Pražnice, aisleless, TPR, L (?), 6.40 x 4.20.
20. Brač, SS. Kuzma and Damjan on the Smrčevik, aisleless, TPR, PR period (?), 6.50 x 4.40.
21. Brač. Sv. Marija at Gradac, aisleless, TPR, PR period (?), 7.20 x 4.20.
22. Brač, Sv. Martin at Bobovišća, aisleless, TPR, PR period (L?), 8.20 x 4.80.
23. Brač, Sv. Mihovil at Dol, aisleless (once possibly domed?), TPR, PR period, 8.40 x 4.80.
24. Brač. Sv. Nikola near Selca, aisleless domed, TPR, possibly 1050-1100, 5.25x3.55.
25. Brač, Sv. Toma at Gornji Humac, aisleless, TPR, L?, 6.80 x 4.20.
26. Brač, Sv. Tudor at Nerežišća, aisleless, TPR, EC and PR?, 7.20 x 4.10
27. Bribir, Sv. Ivan, octachora, TPR, PR period, 10.80.
28. Brnaze, Sv. Mihovil, hexachora, TPR, 9-10th ct., 11.
29. Cetina, Sv. Spas, aisleless with westwork and tower, RPR, around 900, 21.50 x 8.
30. Dubac, Sv. Stjepan, aisleless, TPR, PR, 6.80 (?) x 3.90.
31. Dubrovnik, Cathedral, aisled with a dome, TPR, Byzantine/PR, 35.70 x 16.50
32. Dubrovnik, quaterfoil (memorial chapel/ baptistery), TPR, Byzantine/PR, 8.5.

33. Dubrovnik, Sv. Luka, jednobrodna s kupolom, TPS, K, 6,20x3,05.
34. Dubrovnik, Sv. Nikola, jednobrodna s kupolom TPS, možda oko 1000-1050., 10x4,60.
35. Dubrovnik, Sv. Petar, križna kripta sa aditusom, TPS, OP, 6,10x2,70.
36. Dubrovnik, Sigurata, jednobrodna s kupolom, TPS, možda kraj 11. st., 9,25x4,35.
37. Dubrovnik, Sv. Stjepan, jednobrodna, TPS, prije 950, n.m.
38. Dubrovnik, dijelovi gradskih bedema SP, OP razdoblje.
39. Dugi otok, Sv. Ivan u Telašćici, jednobrodna, TPS, prije 1060.-65., 10,75x5,55.
40. Dugi otok, Sv. Pelegrin, Savar, kvadrat pod kupolom, TPS, 9.-10. st., 4,55x 4,35.
41. Dugi otok, Sv. Viktor u Telašćici, kvadrat pod kupolom, TPS, prije 986.-999. (vjerojatno 9-10 st.), 6,60x4,50
42. Gabrili, Sv. Dimitrije, jednobrodna, TPS, možda kraj 11. st., 6,90x4,55.
43. Igrane, Sv. Mihovil, jednobrodna, TPS, K?, 8,80x4,30.
44. Iž Mali, Sv. Marija, rotunda, TPS, OP, 6,10.
45. Jesenice, Sv. Maksim, jednobrodna, TPS, prije 1080., 6,70x2,60.
46. Kašić, Sv. Mihovil (?), šesterolist i samostan, TPS, možda 9.-10. st., 11,50.
47. Kaštel Stari, Sv. Juraj u Radunu, jednobrodna, TPS, OP, možda XI. st., 10,15x5,05.
48. Koločep, Sv. Barbara, jednobrodna (pod kupolom ?), TPS, OP (11. st. ?), 4,80x2,30.
49. Koločep, Sv. Ante, jednobrodna pod kupolom, TPS, po svoj prilici K, 6,70x2,60.
50. Koločep, Sv. Frane, jednobrodna, TPS, OP, n.m.
33. Dubrovnik, Sv. Luka, aisleless domed, TPR, L, 6.20 x 3.05
34. Dubrovnik, Sv. Nikola, aisleless domed, TPR, possibly around 1000-1050, 10 x 4.60
35. Dubrovnik, Sv. Petar, cruciform crypt with additus, TPR, PR, 6.10 x 2.70.
36. Dubrovnik, Sigurata, aisleless domed, TPR, possibly later 11th ct., 9.25 x 4.35.
37. Dubrovnik, Sv. Stjepan, aisleless, TPR, before 950, n.a.
38. Dubrovnik, sections of city walls, SPR, PR period.
39. Dugi Otok, Sv. Ivan in Telašćica, aisleless, TPR, before 1060-65, 10.75 x 5.55.
40. Dugi Otok, Sv. Pelegrin, Savar, square domed, TPR, 9-10th ct., 4.55 x 4.35.
41. Dugi Otok, Sv. Viktor in Telašćica, square domed, RPR, before 986-999 (probably 9-10th ct.), 6.60 x 4.50.
42. Gabrili, Sv. Dimitrije, aisleless, TPR, possibly late 11th ct., 6.90 x 4.55.
43. Igrane, Sv. Mihovil, aisleless, TPR, L?, 8.80 x 4.30.
44. Iž Mali, Sv. Marija, rotunda, TPR, PR, 6.10.
45. Jesenice, Sv. Maksim, aisleless, TPR, before 1080, 6.70 x 2.60.
46. Kašić, Sv. Mihovil (?) and monastery, hexachora, possibly 9-10th ct., 11.50.
47. Kaštel Stari, Sv. Juraj at Radun, aisleless, TPR, PR (possibly 11th ct.?), 10.15 x 5.05.
48. Koločep, Sv. Barbara, aisleless (domed?), TPR, PR (11th ct.?), 4.80 x 2.30.
49. Koločep, Sv. Ante, aisleless domed, TPR, probably L, 6.70 x 2.60.
50. Koločep, Sv. Frane, aisleless, TPR, PR, n.a.

51. Koločep, Sv. Nikola, jednobrodna pod kupolom, TPS, možda 1000.-1050., 5x2,30.
52. Koločep, Sv. Srd, jednobrodna (s kupolom?), TPS, K(?), 6,20x2,40.
53. Koljane, crkva trobrodna s tornjem, KPS, 9. st. (?), 18x6,80 (nepotpuna).
54. Korčula, Sv. Kuzma i Damjan kraj Blata, možda oko 1100., 7,70x4,20.
55. Krk, Sv. Donat kod Punta, složena centralna, RRS, kraj 11. st., 9,60x7,50.
56. Krk, Sv. Krševan kod Glavotoka, trolist, RRS, kraj 11 st., 7,80x7.
57. Krk, Sv. Lucija u Jurandvoru, jednobrodna, RRS, prema 1100., 16,55x5,95.
58. Krk, Sv. Lucija u Krku, jednobrodna, RK/RRS, vjerojatno RK i 11. st., 10,10x4,90.
59. Krk, Sv. Petar kraj Kampelja, jednobrodna, RRS, 11./12. st., n.m.
60. Krk, Sv. Vid kod Dobrinja, jednobrodna s tornjem, RRS, 1100., 10,70x4,70.
61. Lastovo, Sv. Ciprijan, jednobrodna, TPS, OP, 4,80x3,20.
62. Lastovo, Sv. Luka, jednobrodna, TPS, vjerojatno oko 1100., 5,60x4,35.
63. Lastovo, Sv. Petar u Ublima, jednobrodna, TPS, OP, n.m.
64. Lopud, Sv. Ilija, jednobrodna (s kupolom?), TPS, možda kasno 11. st., 5x2,50.
65. Lopud, Sv. Ivan, jednobrodna s kupolom, TPS, možda početak 11. st., 6,35x2,30.
66. Lopud, Sv. Nikola, jednobrodna s kupolom, TPS, prema 1100., 4,80x2,30.
67. Lopud, Sv. Petar, jednobrodna, TPS, OP, 7,30x3,80.
68. Majsan, memorijalna kapela, jednobrodna (vjerojatno s kupolom), TPS, RK i prije 800., 7,80x4,80.
51. Koločep, Sv. Nikola, aisleless domed, TPR, possibly 1000-1050, 5 x 2.30.
52. Koločep, Sv. Srd, aisleless (domed?), TPR, L (?), 6.20 x 2.40.
53. Koljane, Church, aisled with tower, RPR, 9th ct.(?), 18 x 6.80 (incomplete).
54. Korčula, Sv. Kuzma and Damjan near Blato, possibly around 1100, 7.70 x 4.20.
55. Krk, Sv. Donat near Punat, complex centralized, ER, late 11th ct., 9.60 x 7.50.
56. Krk, Sv. Krševan near Glavotok, trichora, ER, late 11th ct., 7.80 x 7.
57. Krk, Sv. Lucija at Jurandvor, aisleless, ER, toward 1100, 16.55 x 5.95
58. Krk. Sv. Lucija at Krk, aisleless, EC/ER, probably EC and 11th ct., 10.10 x 4.90.
59. Krk. Sv. Petar near Kampelj, aisleless, ER, 11/12th ct., n.a.
60. Krk, Sv. Vid at Dobrinj, aisleless with tower, ER, 1100, 10.70 x 4.70.
61. Lastovo, Sv. Ciprijan, aisleless, TPR, PR, 4.80 x 3.20
62. Lastovo, Sv. Luka, aisleless, TPR, possibly around 1100, 5.60 x 4.35.
63. Lastovo, Sv. Petar in Ubli, aisleless, TPR, PR, n.a.
64. Lopud, Sv. Ilija, aisleless (domed?), TPR, possibly late 11th ct., 5 x 2.50.
65. Lopud, Sv. Ivan, aisleless domed, TPR, possibly early 11th ct., 6.35 x 2.30.
66. Lopud. Sv. Nikola, aisleless domed, TPR, toward 1100, 4.80 x 2.30.
67. Lopud, Sv. Petar, aisleless, TPR, PR, 7.30 x 3.80.
68. Majsan, Memorial Chapel, aisleless (probably domed), TPR, EC and before 800, 7.80 x 4.80

69. Mljet, Crkva u Polaćama, jednobrodna s trijemom, TPS, RK i OP?. 16x5,90.
70. Mljet, Sv. Pankracije u Babinu Selu, jednobrodna, TPS, OP?, n.m.
71. Mrkan, Sv. Mihovil, jednobrodna s RK kriptom, TPS, RK i OP, 4,30x2,90.
72. Muć Donji, Sv. Petar, jednobrodna, RK, TPS, RK, 888., n.m.
73. Nin, Sv. Križ, slobodan križ, TPS, vjerojatno oko 800., 8,90x8,80.
74. Nin, Sv. Marija, trobrodna i troapsidalna, TPS, rani Bizant/kasno 11. st., 23x12,80.
75. Nin, Sv. Nikola, trolist, RRS, kraj XI.st., 7,30x6,80.
76. Nin, baptisterij (krstionica), četverolist, oko 800. (?).
77. Omiš, Sv. Petar u Priku, jednobrodna s kupolom, TPS, prije 1074.-90., vjerojatno oko 1050.-70., 9,25x5,70.
78. Osor, Sv. Platon u Suplatunskom, dvoapsidalan, TPS, možda početak 9. st., 12,40x6,50.
79. Osor, Sv. Petar, trobrodna i troapsidalna, TPS, početak 11.st., 23,00x12,80.
80. Osor, Crkva u Dolcu, produljena kutija, TPS, vjerojatno početak 9. st., 14,70x4,60.
81. Ošlje, crkva, osmerolist s "westwerkom, TPS/RRS, možda 10. i kraj 11. st., promjer 12, westwerk 8,65x6,65.
82. Pag, Sv. Juraj kod Paga, jednobrodna, TPS, OP, 11x5,20.
83. Pag, Sv. Nikola u Poveljani, jednobrodna, TPS, vjerojatno 10. st., 11,80x4,75.
84. Pašman, Sv. Martin u Nevidanima, jednobrodna, TPS, OP, n.m.
85. Podaca, Sv. Ivan, jednobrodna, TPS, OP (11. st. ?), n.m.
69. Mljet, Church at Polače, aisleless with a porch, TPR, EC and PR?, 16 x 5.90.
70. Mljet, Sv. Pankracije at Babino Selo, aisleless, TPR, PR?, n.a.
71. Mrkan. Sv. Mihovil, aisleless with an EC crypt, TPR, EC and PR, 4.30 x 2.90.
72. Muć Donji, Sv. Petar, aisleless, EC/TPR, EC/888, n.a.
73. Nin, Sv. Križ, free cross, TPR, probably around 800, 8.90 x 8.80.
74. Nin, Sv. Marija, aisled triapsidal, TPR, Early Byzantine/late 11th ct., 23 x 12.80.
75. Nin. Sv. Nikola, trichora, ER, late 11th ct., 7.30 x 6.80.
76. Nin, Baptistery, tetrachora, c.800-questionable.
77. Omiš, Sv. Petar in Priko, aisleless domed, TPR, before 1074-90, probably ca. 1050-70, 9.25 x 5.70.
78. Osor, Sv. Platon at Suplatunski, twoapsidal, TPR, possibly early 9th ct., 12.40 x 6.50.
79. Osor, Sv. Petar, aisled triapsidal, TPR, early 11th ct., 23.00 x 12.80.
80. Osor, Church in Dolac, elongated box, TPR, possibly early 9th ct., 14.70 x 4.60.
81. Ošlje, Church, octachora with westwork, TPR/ER, possibly 10th and late 11th ct., radius 12, westwork 8.65 x 6.65.
82. Pag, Sv. Juraj near Pag, aisleless, TPR, PR, 11 x 5.20.
83. Pag, Sv. Nikola at Poveljana, aisleless, TPR, possibly 10th ct., 11.80 x 4.75.
84. Pašman, Sv. Martin at Nevidane, aisleless, TPR, PR, n.a.
85. Podaca, Sv. Ivan, aisleless, TPR, PR (11th ct.?), n.a.
86. Ponikve. SS. Filip and Jakov, aisleless, TPR,

86. Ponikve, Sv. Filip i Jakov, jednobrodna, TPS, možda K, 6,15x3,30 (nepotpuno).
87. Ponikve, Sv. Juraj, jednobrodna, TPS, možda K, 5,60x3,45.
88. Pridraga, Sv. Mihovil i samostan, šesterolist, TPS, vjerojatno 9.-10. st., 10.
89. Rab, Sv. Petar u Supetarskoj Drazi, trobrodna i troapsidalna, TPS, prije 1060., 21,60x10,30.
90. Ravanjska, Sv. Juraj, jednobrodna s kupolom, TPS, prije 1071., po svoj prilici 9-10. st., 4,60x2,80.
91. Šćedro, Sv. Marija, jednobrodna (s kupolom?), TPS, RK i OP, 9,10x4,80.
92. Seget, Sudanel u Segetu Gornjem, solo-apsida, TPS, KA/OP, 5,95x6,60.
93. Seline, Sv. Petar, jednobrodna s postranim tornjem, TPS, kasna OP, n.m.
94. Solin, Sv. Petar u Rižinicama, jednobrodna, RK, TPS, RK 852., 14,50x7,40.
95. Solin, Sv. Marija i Stjepan, trobrodna s kupolom i westwerkom, TPS, prije 976., 21,70x9,10.
96. Solin, Sv. Petar i Mojsije, trobrodna s tornjem, RRS, kratko prije 1070.
97. Split, katedrala (Dioklecijanov mauzolej), oktagon, KA/TPS, adaptacije oko 300/OP.
98. Split, krstionica (Jupiterov hram), KA/OP adaptacije, oko 300/OP.
99. Split, krstionica, Sv. Toma (kripta), KA/OP adaptacije, oko 300/OP.
100. Split, krstionica-toranj, RRS, kraj 11. st.
101. Split, OP crkva (hram Cibeles), KA/OP adaptacije, oko 300/OP.
102. Split, Sv. Matija, KA/OP adaptacije, oko 300/OP.
103. Split, Sv. Martin (u Porta Aurea), KA/OP probably L, 6.15 x 3.30 (incomplete).
87. Ponikve, Sv. Juraj, aisleless, TPR, probably L, 5.60 x 3.45.
88. Pridraga, Sv. Mihovil and monastery, hexachora, TPR, probably 9-10th ct., 10.
89. Rab, Sv. Petar at Supetarska Draga, aisled triapsidal, TPR, before 1060, 21.60 x 10.30.
90. Ravanjska, Sv. Juraj, aisleless domed, TPR, before 1071, probably 9-10th ct., 4.60 x 2.80.
91. Šćedro, Sv. Marija, aisleless (domed?), TPR, EC and PR, PR, 9.10 x 4.80.
92. Seget, Sudanel at Seget Gornji, solo-apse, TPR, LA/PR, 5.95 x 6.60.
93. Seline, Sv. Petar, aisleless with a side tower, TPR, late PR?, n.a.
94. Solin, Sv. Petar at Rižinice, aisleless, EC/TPR, EC/852, 14.50 x 7.40.
95. Solin, SS. Marija and Stjepan, aisled domed with westwork, TPR, before 976, 21.70 x 9.10.
96. Solin, SS. Petar and Mojsije, aisled with tower, ER, shortly before 1070.
97. Split, Cathedral (Diocletian's Mausoleum), octagonal, LA/TPR adaptations, c. 300/PR.
98. Split, Baptistery (Jupiter's Temple), LA/PR adaptations, c.300/PR.
99. Split, Baptistery-Sv. Toma (crypt), LA/PR adaptation, c.300/PR.
100. Split, Baptistery - Tower, ER, late 11th ct.
101. Split, PR church (Cibele's Temple), LA/PR adaptation, c.300/PR.
102. Split, Sv. Matija, LA/PR adaptation, ca. 300/PR.
103. Split, Sv. Martin (in Porta Aurea), LA/PR adaptation, ca.300/PR.
104. Split, Sv. Teodor or Our Lady of the Bell-

- adaptacije, oko 300/OP.
104. Split, Sv. Teodor ili Gospa od Zvonika (u Porta Ferrea), KA/OP adaptacije, oko 300/OP, toranj, RRS, druga polovica 11. st.
105. Split, Sv. Benedikt (Sv. Eufemija) i samostan, trobrodna s kupolom, TPS, 1068., 17,30x6,40.
106. Split, Sv. Izidor, u Sućidar, jednobrodna, TPS, OP, 8x4,80.
107. Split, Sv. Juraj na Marjanu, jednobrodna, TPS, OP (možda 8.-9. st.), 8,20x5,80.
108. Split, Sv. Mihovil, jednobrodna, TPS, 7.-8. st., 11,30x7,50.
109. Split, Sv. Nikola u Velom Varošu, križni, TPS, 11. st. i kasnije, 10,85x5,25.
110. Split, Sv. Petar u Kamenu, jednobrodan, TPS, OP, n.m.
111. Split, Sv. Stjepan u Sustipanu, trobrodan s jednom apsidom i samostanom, TPS, oko 1020., 43x22.
112. Split, Sv. Trojica, osmerolist, TPS, oko 800., 10,30.
113. Split, kuća istočno od Vestibula, SP, OP, 9,20x5,30.
114. Split, kuća zapadno od Vestibula, SP, OP, srušena.
115. Split, kuća u ulici Dosud, SP, OP, srušena.
116. Split, kuća u polju Carrara, SP, OP, n.m.
117. Split, mlin za masline ("turnjačica") u podrumu Palače, SP, KA/OP.
118. Split, zidovi Dioklecijanove palače, moguće OP adaptacije, KA/OP.
119. Ston, Gospa u Lužinama, jednobrodna s tornjem, TPS, RK/OP i kasnije (možda predromanička crkva s tornjem), 16x7,30.
120. Ston, Sv. Ivan, jednobrodna, TPS RK/OP i Tower (in Porta Ferrea), LA/PR adaptation, ca.300/PR; Tower, ER, second half of the 11th ct.
105. Split, Sv. Benedikt (Sv. Eufemija) and monastery, aisled with dome, TPR, 1068, 17.30 x 6.40
106. Split, Sv. Isidor at Sućidar, aisleless, TPR, PR, 8 x 4.80.
107. Split, Sv. Juraj at Marjan, aisleless, TPR, PR (possibly 8-9th ct.), 8.20 x 5.80.
108. Split, Sv. Mihovil, aisleless, TPR, 7-8th ct., 11.30 x 7.50.
109. Split, Sv. Nikola in Veli Varoš, cruciform, TPR, 11th ct. and later, 10.85 x 5.25.
110. Split, Sv. Petar at Kamen, aisleless, TPR, PR, n.a.
111. Split, Sv. Stjepan at Sustipan, aisled with a single apse and monastery, TPR. around 1020, 43 x 22.
112. Split, Sv. Trojica, octachora, TPR, ca. 800, 10.30.
113. Split, House to the east of the Vestibule, SPR, PR, 9.20 x 5.30.
114. Split, House to the west of the Vestibule, SPR, PR, demolished.
115. Split, House in Dosud St., SPR, PR, demolished.
116. Split, House at the Carrara Field, SPR, PR, n.a.
117. Split, Olive mill ("turnjačica") in the basement of the Palace, SPR, LA/PR.
118. Split, walls of Diocletian Palace, possible PR adaptations, LA/PR.
119. Ston, Our Lady in the Marshes (Gospa u Lužinama), aisleless with a tower, TPR, EC/PR/and later (possibly a PR church with a tower), 16 x 7.30.
120. Ston, Sv. Ivan, aisleless, TPR, EC/PR/and

- kasnije (?), 9,20x4,80.
121. Ston, Sv. Juraj (ili Sv. Stjepan), jednobrodna, TPS unutar RK bazilike, RK/OP, 7,20x3,40.
122. Ston, Sv. Kuzma i Damjan, jednobrodna kripta, TPS, možda OP, 3,70x2,90.
123. Ston, Sv. Martin, jednobrodna, TPS, 11. st. ili kasnije, 6,20x 3,50.
124. Ston, Sv. Mihovil, jednobrodna s kupolom, TPS, kraj 11. st. (i ranije ?), 6,25x4,50.
125. Ston, Sv. Petar, gemina, (dvije jednobrodne jedinice), TPS, RK/OP kasnije, 7,20x4,95 i 12x4,95.
126. Sumpetar, Sv. Petar u Selu, trobrodna s jednom apsidom, TPS, RK posvećena 1080., srušena.
127. Sušac, Sv. Nikola, jednobrodna, TPS, RK?-OP (ili K?), 7x4,50.
128. Šipan, crkva u Biskupiji, jednobrodna (s kupolom ?), TPS, RK i OP, 10,40x5,20.
129. Šipan, Sv. Ivan u Šilovu Selu, jednobrodna, TPS, možda prema 1100., 6,40x3,60.
130. Šipan, Sv. Mihovil, jednobrodna, TPS, 7. st., 8,20x3,10.
131. Šipan, Sv. Mihovil u Pakljani, jednobrodna s kupolom, TPS, prva polovica 11. st. 7,50x4,30.
132. Šipan, Sv. Petar na Velom Vrh, jednobrodna (s kupolom?), TPS, možda oko 1000., 8x4,25.
133. Trogir, Gospa od Mora u Čiovo, jednobrodna, TPS, možda kraj 11. st., 6,40x4,10.
134. Trogir, Sv. Marija na Trgu, šesterolist, TPS, 715.-717., 11.
135. Trogir, Sv. Martin (Sv. Barbara), trobrodna s tornjićem, TPS, po svoj prilici 9. st. i kasnije, 12,30x6,20.
- later (?), 9.20 x 4.80
121. Ston, Sv. Juraj (or Sv. Stjepan), aisleless, TPR within an EC basilica, EC/PR. 7.20 x 3.40.
122. Ston, SS. Kuzma and Damjan, aisleless crypt, TPR, possibly PR, 3.70 x 2.90.
123. Ston, Sv. Martin, aisleless, TPR, 11th ct. or later, 6.20 x 3.50.
124. Ston, Sv. Mihovil, aisleless domed, TPR, late 11th ct. (and earlier?), 6.25 x 4.50.
125. Ston, Sv. Petar, gemina (two aisleless units), TPR, EC/PR/after, 7.20 x 4.95 and 12 x 4.95.
126. Sumpetar, Sv. Petar in Selo, aisled with a single apse, TPR, EC/consecrated 1080, demolished.
127. Sušac, Sv. Nikola, aisleless, TPR, EC?-PR (or L?), 7 x 4.50.
128. Šipan, Church at Biskupija, aisleless (domed?), TPR, EC and PR, 10.40 x 5.20.
129. Šipan, Sv. Ivan in Šilovo Selo, aisleless, TPR, possibly toward 1100, 6.40 x 3.60.
130. Šipan, Sv. Mihovil, aisleless, TPR, 7th ct., 8.20 x 3.10.
131. Šipan, Sv. Mihovil in Pakljena, aisleless domed, TPR, first half of the 11th ct., 7.50 x 4.30.
132. Šipan, Sv. Petar on the Veli Vrh, aisleless (domed?), TPR, possibly around 1000, 8 x 4.25.
133. Trogir, Our Lady by the Sea at Čiovo, aisleless, TPR, possibly late 11th ct., 6.40 x 4.10.
134. Trogir, Sv. Marija on the Square, hexachora, TPR, 715-717, 11.
135. Trogir, Sv. Martin (Sv. Barbara), aisled with a turret, TPR, probably 9th ct. and later, 12.30 x 6.20.

136. Trogir, Sv. Stjepan, križna, TPS, OP, srušena.
137. Ugljan, Gospa na Ošljaku, jednobrodna, TPS, OP (ili kasnije), 10x4,60.
138. Ugljan, Sv. Kuzma i Damjan, jednobrodna, TPS, OP (?), n.m.
139. Ugljan, Sv. Ivan u Preku, jednobrodna, TPS, 11 st. i kasnije (?), 12x5,60.
140. Uzdolje, Sv. Luka, jednobrodna, RK/TPS, RK/895., 13,20x6,20.
141. Vinkovci, Sv. Ilija, jednobrodna, TPS, prema 1100., 11,45x 6,75.
142. Vis, Sv. Mihovil, jednobrodna, TPS, OP i kasnije?, 8,50x4,20.
143. Vrgada, Sv. Andrija, jednobrodna, TPS, vjerojatno prije 1050., 11x4,90.
144. Vrsi, Sv. Toma, tragovi OP trolista (?).
145. Zadar, katedrala Sv. Stošije, preobrazba RK crkve, RK/OP.
146. Zadar, Sv. Donat, rotunda, TPS, 8.-9. st., 21,00.
147. Zadar, Sv. Ivan (Sv. Nediljica), trobrodan kvadrat križnom kriptom i postranim tornjem, TPS, kraj 11. st., 8x7,40.
148. Zadar, Sv. Krševan u Kolovarima, šesterolist, TPS, OP, srušena.
149. Zadar, Sv. Lovro, križna s "westwerkom", TPS, vjerojatno 10.-11. st., 14,15x6,40.
150. Zadar, Sv. Marija ("De Pusterla", "Stomorica"), šesterolist s tornjem, TPS, možda 11 st. ili ranije, 14,20.
151. Zadar, Sv. Petar Stari, dvobrodan, TPS, RK/ možda 10. st. i kasnije, 8,60x4,50.
152. Zadar, Sv. Stošija u Puntamiki, jednobrodna sa kriptom, KA/TPS, KA/ možda 9. st., 16,10x6,50.
153. Zadar, Sv. Vid, slobodan križ, TPS, vjerojatno 8. st., srušena.
154. Zadar, crkva u Gradskim vratima,
136. Trogir, Sv. Stjepan, cruciform, TPR, PR, demolished.
137. Ugljan, Our Lady on Ošljak, aisleless, TPR, PR (and later?), 10 x 4.60.
138. Ugljan, SS.Kuzma and Damjan, aisleless, TPR, PR (?), n.a.
139. Ugljan, Sv. Ivan in Preko, aisleless, TPR, 11th ct and later (?), 12 x 5.60.
140. Uzdolje, Sv. Luka, aisleless, EC/TPR, EC/ 895, 13.20 x 6.20.
141. Vinkovci, Sv. Ilija, aisleless, TPR, toward 1100, 11.45 x 6.75.
142. Vis, Sv. Mihovil, aisleless, TPR, PR and later?, 8.50 x 4.20.
143. Vrgada, Sv. Andrija, aisleless, TPR, probably before 1050, 11 x 4.90.
144. Vrsi, Sv. Toma, traces of a PR trichora (?).
145. Zadar, Cathedral of Sv. Stošija, refurbishing of the EC church, EC/PR.
146. Zadar, Sv. Donat, rotunda, TPR, 8-9th ct., 21.00.
147. Zadar, Sv. Ivan (Sv. Nediljica), aisled square with cruciform crypt and side tower, TPR, late 11th ct., 8 x 7.40.
148. Zadar, Sv. Krševan at Kolovare, hexachora, TPR, PR, demolished.
149. Zadar, Sv. Lovro, cruciform with westwork, TPR, probably 10-11th ct. 14.15 x 6.40.
150. Zadar, Sv. Marija ("De Pusterla," "Stomorica"), hexachora with a tower, TPR, possibly 11th ct. and earlier, 14.20.
151. Zadar, Sv. Petar Stari, two-aisled, TPR, EC/ possibly 10th ct. and later, 8.60 x 4.50.
152. Zadar, Sv. Stošija at Puntamika, aisleless with crypt, LA/TPR, LA/possibly 9th ct., 16.10 x 6.50.
153. Zadar, Sv. Vid, free cross, TPR, probably 8th

- jednobrodna TPS, RK obnovljena OP, nepotpuna (6,20 ? x5,80).
155. Zadar, dijelovi gradskih bedema, SP, KA/OP.
156. Zavalala (BH), Sv. Petar, križna (?), TPS, K?, n.m.
157. Žažvić, trobrodna s apsidom, "westwerkom" i tornjem, RPS, RK/OP (11. st. ?), 26,90x8,65.

Još se neke zgrade spominju kao predromaničke: Sv. Duh u Poserdarju, Sv. Blaž u Komiži, Sv. Juraj na Putalju, Sv. Juraj u Žestinju, Sv. Petar u Kuli Atlagića, te još nekoliko spomenika Brača, Korčule i Hvara. Nemam dovoljno informacija da ih bilo prihvatim, bilo odbacim kao predromaničke. Ipak, ovaj sam put nastojao griješiti na strani obilja.

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 nedavno prepoznati u radu Nikše Petrića) i Šolti?

- ct., demolished.
154. Zadar, Church at City Gate, aisleless, TPR, EC repaired in PR, incomplete (6.20? x 5.80).
155. Zadar, sections of city walls, SPR, LA/PR.
156. Zavalala (BH), Sv. Petar, cruciform (?), TPR, L?, n.a.
157. Žažvić, Church, aisled with one apse, westwork and tower, RPR, EC/PR (11th ct.?), 26.90 x 8.65.

Some other buildings have been suggested as possibly Pre-Romanesque: Sv. Duh at Posedarje, Sv. Blaž at Komiža, Sv. Juraj at Putalj, Sv. Juraj at Žestinj, Sv. Petar in Kula Atlagića, and a few more buildings on the Islands of Brač, Korčula and Hvar. I do not have enough information to either confirm or reject these claims. However, overall, I tried to err, this time, on the side of inclusiveness.

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 PR buildings in the Vinodol area, or on the Islands of Hvar (some may have been recently identified by Nikša Petrić) or Šolta?

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.

Chronologies of some clearly defined groups - polyconchal churches, South Dalmatian type - have been improved but they remain 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 should remind us that we still have a way to go toward a more precise identification and dating.

ILUSTRACIJE

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Reljef s likom vladara na krstionici katedrale u Splitu (vjerojatno iz crkve Sv. Petra i Mojsija u Solinu).
 2. Prostor Hrvatske u doba predromanike.
 3. Kapitel iz crkve Sv. Lovre u Zadru.
 4. Sv. Donat, Zadar.
 5. Sv. Mikula, Split.
 6. Osnovne lokacije predromaničke arhitekture.
 7. Sv. Pelegrin, Savar (Dugi otok).
 8. Kapitel iz crkve Sv. Nikola, Spllit.
 9. Sv. Nikola, Selca (Brač).
 10. Sv. Križ, Nin.
 11. Tranzena s prikazom Maiestas Virginis (Sedes sapientiae) iz crkve Sv. Marije u Biskupiji.
 12. Oltarna pregrada iz crkve Sv. Nediljica, Zadar.
 13. Sv. Mihovil, Ston.
 14. Oltarna pregrada iz crkve Sv. Nediljica, Zadar.
 15. Sv. Petar, Priko.
 16. Sv. Martin, Split.
 17. Sv. Petar, Omiš.
 18. Sv. Mihovil, Ston.
 19. Sv. Luka, Lastovo.
 20. Gospa od zvonika, Split.
 21. Sv. Nikola, Koločep.
 22. Sv. Mihajlo, Šipan.
 23. Tlocrti crkvi: a. Sv. Petar, Rižnice; b. Sv. Mihovil, Prigrada; c. Sv. Pelegrin, Savar (Dugi otok); d. Sv. Križ, Nin.
 24. Tlocrti crkvi: a. Sv. Marija (Stomorica), Zadar; b. Sv. Marija, Trogir; c. crkva u Ošlju.
 25. 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. Mihajlo, Mrkan; g. Sv. Ivan, Telašćica (Dugi otok); h. Sv. Ilija, Vinkovci.
 26. Tlocrti crkvi: a. Sv. Petar u Priku, Omiš; b. Sv. Ilija, Lopud; c. Sv. Ivan, Lopud; d. Sv.
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 2. The Map of Croatia during the Pre-Romanesque period.
 3. Capital from Sv. Lovre u Zadru.
 4. Sv. Donat, Zadar.
 5. Sv. Mikula, Split.
 6. The locations of the Pre-Romanesque architecture.
 7. Sv. Pelegrin, Savar (Dugi otok).
 8. Capital from Sv. Nikola, Spllit.
 9. Sv. Nikola, Selca (Brač).
 10. Sv. Križ, Nin.
 11. Transenna with image of Maiestas Virginis (Sedes sapientiae), Sv. Marija, Biskupija.
 12. Choir-screen panel, Sv. Nediljica, Zadar.
 13. Sv. Mihovil, Ston.
 14. Choir-screen panel, Sv. Nediljica, Zadar.
 15. Sv. Petar, Priko.
 16. Sv. Martin, Split.
 17. Sv. Petar, Omiš.
 18. Sv. Mihovil, Ston.
 19. Sv. Luka, Lastovo.
 20. Our Lady of the Belltower, Split.
 21. Sv. Nikola, Koločep.
 22. Sv. Mihajlo, Šipan.
 23. The plans of the churches: a. Sv. Petar, Rižnice; b. Sv. Mihovil, Prigrada; c. Sv. Pelegrin, Savar (Dugi otok); d. Sv. Križ, Nin.
 24. The plans of the churches: a. Sv. Marija (Stomorica), Zadar; b. Sv. Marija, Trogir; c. the church at Ošlje.
 25. The plans of the churches: a. Sv. Petar, Šipan; b. Sv. Nikola, Selca (Brač); c. Sv. Luka, Lastovo; d. Sv. Nikola, Koločep; e. Sv. Juraj, Nerežišće (Brač); f. Sv. Mihajlo, Mrkan; g. Sv. Ivan, Telašćica (Dugi otok); h. Sv. Ilija, Vinkovci.

- Nikola, Lopud; e. Sv. Andrija, Vrgada; f. Sv. Dimitrije, Gabrili; g. Sv. Mihajlo, Ston; h. Sv. Toma, Kutli.
27. Tlocrti crkvi: a. Gospa od zvonika, Split; b. Sv. Martin, Split; c. Sv. Danijel, Seget; d. Sv. Nikola, Povljane (Pag); e. Sv. Platon, Osor (Cres); f. Sv. Luka, Uzdolje.
28. Tlocrti crkvi: a. Sv. Petar Stari, Zadar; b. Sv. Petar Stari, Dubrovnik; c. Sv. Nediljica, Zadar; d. Sv. Lovro, Zadar; e. Sv. Barbara, Trogir; f. Sv. Nikola, Split.
29. 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.
30. Tlocrt crkve: Sv. Stjepan u Sustipanu, Split.
31. Sv. Mihovil, Igrane.
32. Nacrti crkve Sv. Nikola, Koločep.
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34. Sv. Križ, Nin.
35. Sv. Križ, Nin.
36. Sv. Križ, NIn.
37. Nacrti crkve Sv. Križ, Nin (iz knjige: Strzygowski, J., Starohrvatska umjetnost).
38. Sv. Juraj, Ravanjska.
39. Sv. Juraj, Ravanjska.
40. Sv. Krševan, Krk.
41. Nacrti crkve Sv. Trojica, Split (iz knjige: Marasović, J., Marasović, T., Marasović, M., Crkva sv. Trojice u Splitu).
42. Sv. Trojica, Split.
43. Sv. Trojica, Split.
44. Sv. Mihovil, Pridraga.
45. Sv. Donat, Zadar.
46. Sv. Donat, Zadar.
47. Sv. Donat, Zadar, presjek (iz knjige Strzygowski, J., Starohrvatska umjetnost).
48. Sv. Donat, Zadar, tlocrt (iz knjige Strzygowski, J., Starohrvatska umjetnost).
26. The plans of the churches: a. Sv. Petar u Prikui, Omiš; b. Sv. Ilija, Lopud; c. Sv. Ivan, Lopud; d. Sv. Nikola, Lopud; e. Sv. Andrija, Vrgada; f. Sv. Dimitrije, Gabrili; g. Sv. Mihajlo, Ston; h. Sv. Toma, Kutli.
27. The plans of the churches: a. Gospa od zvonika, Split; b. Sv. Martin, Split; c. Sv. Danijel, Seget; d. Sv. Nikola, Povljane (Pag); e. Sv. Platon, Osor (Cres); f. Sv. Luka, Uzdolje.
28. The plans of the churches: a. Sv. Petar Stari, Zadar; b. Sv. Petar Stari, Dubrovnik; c. Sv. Nediljica, Zadar; d. Sv. Lovro, Zadar; e. Sv. Barbara, Trogir; f. Sv. Nikola, Split.
29. The plans of the churches: 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.
30. The plans of the church Sv. Stjepan at Sustipan, Split.
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32. The plans of the church Sv. Nikola, Koločep.
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34. Sv. Križ, Nin.
35. Sv. Križ, Nin.
36. Sv. Križ, NIn.
37. The plans of the church Sv. Križ, Nin (from the book: Strzygowski, J., Starohrvatska umjetnost).
38. Sv. Juraj, Ravanjska.
39. Sv. Juraj, Ravanjska.
40. Sv. Krševan, Krk.
41. The plans of the church Sv. Trojica, Split (from the book: Marasović, J., Marasović, T., Marasović, M., Crkva sv. Trojice u Splitu).
42. Sv. Trojica, Split.
43. Sv. Trojica, Split.
44. Sv. Mihovil, Pridraga.
45. Sv. Donat, Zadar.

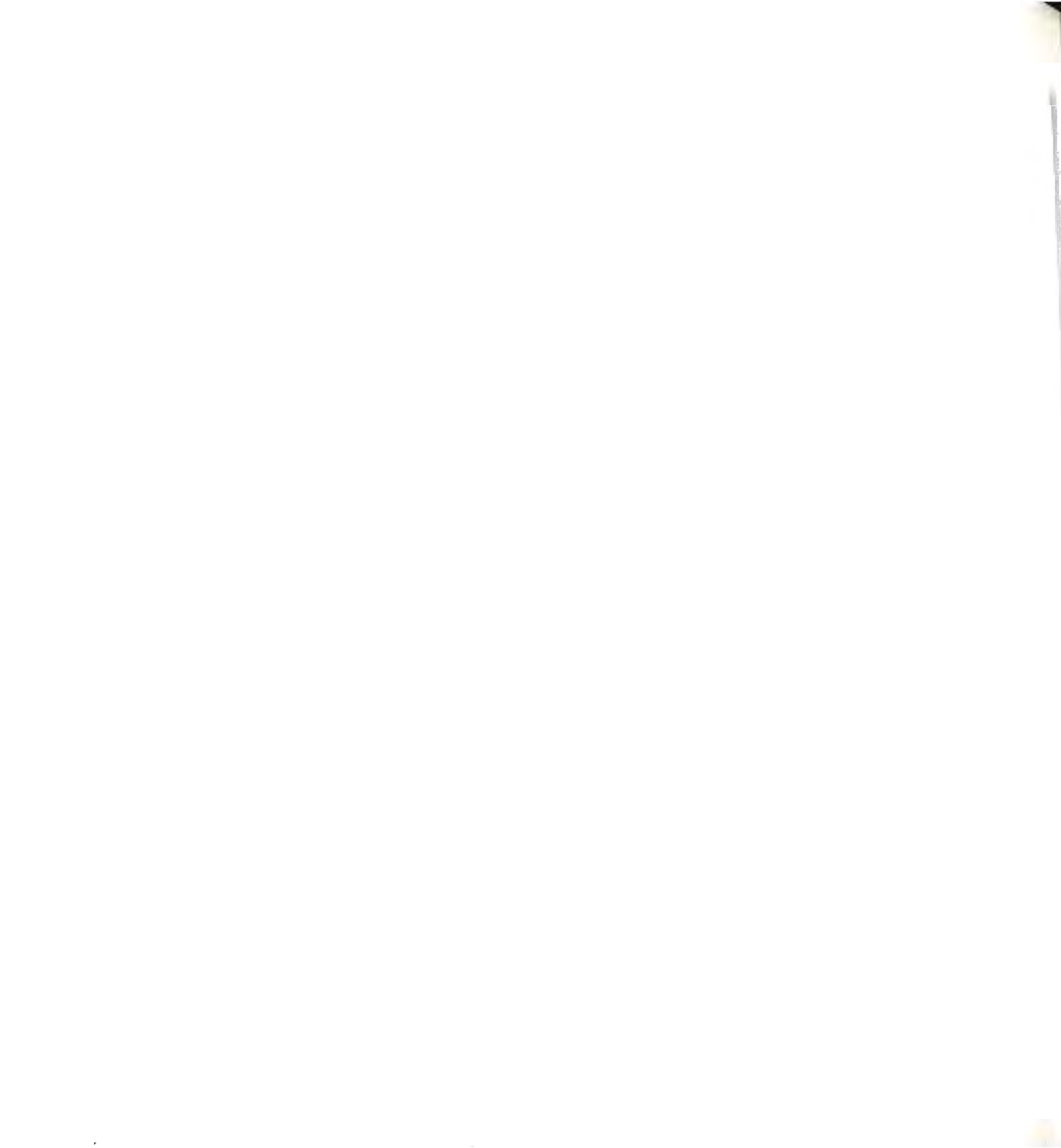
49. Sv. Donat, Zadar.
 50. Sv. Donat, Zadar.
 51. Sv. Donat, Zadar.
 52. Sv. Donat, Zadar.
 53. Sv. Marija, Iž Mali,
 54. Sv. Mihovil, Šipan.
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 56. Sv. Nikola, Selce (Brač).
 57. Sv. Nikola, Selce (Brač).
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 60. Nacrti crkve Sv. Mihovil, Igrane.
 61. Sv. Mihovil, Igrane.
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 63. Nacrti crkve Sv. Dimitrije, Gabrili.
 64. Nacrti crkve Sv. Nikola, Supetar.
 65. Sv. Nikola, Selce (Brač)
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 67. Sv. Lovro, Zadar.
 68. Sv. Nediljica, Zadar.
 69. Sv. Barbara, Trogir.
 70. Sv. Barbara, Trogir.
 71. Sv. Luka, Lastovo.
 72. Sv. Petar, Zadar.
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 74. Nacrti crkve Sigugata, Dubrovnik.
 75. Gnomon, Sv. Križ, Nin (Pejaković, M.)
 76. Sv. Nikola, Nin.
 77. Sv. Marta, Bijaći.
 78. Tlocrti crkvi: a. Sv. Cecilija, Biskupija;
 b. crkva u Bukorovića Podvornice;
 c. Sv. Mihovil (?) na Lopuskoj Glavici,
 Biskupija.
 79. Tlocrti crkvi: a. katedrala, Biograd;
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 80. Sv. Spas, Cetina.
 81. Sv. Spas, Cetina.
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46. Sv. Donat, Zadar.
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 48. Sv. Donat, Zadar, the ground plan (from the
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 49. Sv. Donat, Zadar.
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 53. Sv. Marija, Iž Mali,
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 62. The plans of the church Sv. Petar Stari,
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 63. The plans of the church Sv. Dimitrije, Gabrili.
 64. The plans of the church Sv. Nikola, Supetar.
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 85. Tlocrt crkve Sv. Marija, Solin.
 86. Sv. Marija, Solin, rekonstrukcija (Goss, V., P.).
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 89. Sv. Petar i Mojsije, Solin.
 90. Sv. Luka, Lastovo.
 91. Sv. Donat, Krk.
 92. Tlocrti crkvi: a. Sv. Lucija, Jurandvor; b. Sv. Krševa, Krk; c. Sv. Lucija, Krk; d. Sv. Nikola, Nin; e. Sv. Donat, Krk; f. Sv. Vid, Dobrinj (Krk).
 93. Tlocrti crkvi: a. Sv. Petar, Supetarska Draga (Rab); b. Sv. Marija, Nin.
 94. Tlocrti crkvi: a. Sv. Ivan, Biograd; b. Sv. Petar i Mojsije, Solin.
 95. Crkva u Ošlju.
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 97. Nacrti crkve Sv. Pelegrin, Savar (Dugi otok).
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 102. Sv. Vid, Dobrinj (Krk).
 103. Sv. Nikola, Nin.
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 105. Kuća istočno od Vestibule, Split (Marasović, T.).
 106. Sv. Petar, Omiš.
 107. Sv. Marija (Stromica), Zadar.
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 110. Sv. Mihovil, Ston.
 111. Sv. Mihovil, Ston.
78. The plans of the churches: a. Sv. Cecilija, Biskupija; b. church at Bukorovića Podvornice; c. Sv. Mihovil (?) at Lopuska Glavici, Biskupija.
 79. The plans of the churches: a. cathedral, Biograd; b. Sv. Spas, Cetina.
 80. Sv. Spas, Cetina.
 81. Sv. Spas, Cetina.
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 87. The ground plan of the church at Žažvić.
 88. The ground plan of the church Sv. Marta, Bijaći.
 89. Sv. Petar i Mojsije, Solin.
 90. Sv. Luka, Lastovo.
 91. Sv. Donat, Krk.
 92. The plans of the churches: a. Sv. Lucija, Jurandvor; b. Sv. Krševa, Krk; c. Sv. Lucija, Krk; d. Sv. Nikola, Nin; e. Sv. Donat, Krk; f. Sv. Vid, Dobrinj (Krk).
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 94. The plans of the churches: a. Sv. Ivan, Biograd; b. Sv. Petar i Mojsije, Solin.
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 96. The church at Ošlje.
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 99. Sv. Pelegrin, Savar (Dugi otok).
 100. Sv. Pelegrin, Savar (Dugi otok).
 101. Sv. Krševan, Glavotok (Krk).
 102. Sv. Vid, Dobrinj (Krk).
 103. Sv. Nikola, Nin.

104. The houses to the west and east of the Vestibule, Split (Marasović, T).
105. Tho house to the east of the Vestibule, Split (T. Marasović).
106. Sv. Petar, Omiš.
107. Sv. Marija (Stomorica), Zadar.
108. Sv. Juraj, Kaštel Stari.
109. Sv. Ivan, Lopud.
110. Sv. Mihovil, Ston.
111. Sv. Mlhovil, Ston.

PRILOG

APPENDIX



*KONSTANTIN VII
PORFIROGENET (905 - 959)*

O UPRAVLJANJU CARSTVOM

*CONSTANTINE VII
PORPHYROGENITUS (905 - 959)*

DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO

O DALMACIJI I NARODIMA KOJI JU NASTAVAJU

Car Dioklecijan vrlo obljudi Dalmaciju, za to i dovede narod iz Rima i naseli ga skupa sa obiteljima u toj istoj Dalmaciji. Nje nazivlju i *Romanima*, jer su iz Rima preseljeni, a nose to ime sve do dana današnjega.

Car taj Dioklecijan sagradi i grad Split (Spljet), a podigne u njem palaču preko svake hvale i opisa lijepu, čiju negdašnju veličajnost još i danas prikazuju ostaci, ma da ju je dugo vrijeme istrošilo. Nu i grad Duklju, koji sada drže Dukljani, sagradi isti car Dioklecijan, odakle i stanovnici one zemlje dobiše ime Dukljani. Država pako ovih Romana siže do rijeke Dunava. Kad ovi jednom htjedoš preći rijeku i izvidjeti, tko su ono što onkraj rijeke stanuju, prevezavši se nadju *slavenski narod*, koji i *Avarima* nazivaju, ne naoružan. Niti ovi mišljahu, da ima tko onkraj rijeke, a niti oni, da ima tko okraj rijeke. Radi tog i nadjoše Romani Avare nenaoružane i nespreme za boj, te navalivši na nje, uberu plijen i roblje, pa se vrata. Od onoga vremena odrediše Romani dvije mijene: od vazma do vazma izmjenjivaše vojsku, tako da se na veliku i svetu subotu sreću, jedni što se vraćaju iz straže, a drugi što polaze na tu rabotu.

Blizu mora, iza rečenoga grada, ima grad *Solin* zvan, velik ko pô Carigrada. Ovdje se sabraše i naoružашe ovi Romani, i otišavši odavle, krenu prema tvrdjavi klanca koje je 4000 koraka od istoga grada daleko, a zove se i danas *Klisa*, jer zatvara put onim, koji bi onuda prolazili. I podjoše odanle

OF DALMATIA AND OF THE ADJACENT NATIONS IN IT

The emperor Diocletian was much enamoured of the country of Dalmatia, and so he brought folk with their families from Rome and settled them in this same country of Dalmatia, and this title attaches to them until this day.

Now this emperor Diocletian founded the city of Spalato and built therein a palace beyond the power of any tongue or pen to describe, and remains of its ancient luxury are still preserved to-day, though the long lapse of time has played havoc with them. Moreover, the city of Diocleia, now occupied by the Diocletians, was built by the same emperor Diocletian, for which reason those of that country have come to be called by the name of "Diocletians". The territory possessed by these Romani used to extended as far as the river Danube, and once on a time, being minded to cross the river and discover who dwelt beyond the river, they crossed it and came upon unarmed Slavonic nations, who were also called Avars. The former had not expected that any dwelt beyond the river, nor the latter that any dwelt on the hither side. And so, finding these Avars unarmed and unprepared for war, the Romani overcame them and took booty and prisoners and returned. And from that time the Romani formed two alternating garrisons, serving from Ester to W+Ester, and used to change their men about so that on Great and Holy Saturday they who were coming back from the station and they who were going out to that service would meet one another.

For near the sea, beneath that same city, lies a city called Salona, which is half as large as Constantinople, and here all the Romani would muster and

k rijeci. Pošto je rečena mijena kroz mnogo godina preduzimana, mišljahu u sebi Slaveni (Sloveni) onkraj rijeke, koje i Avarima zovu, ovako umujući: ta ti Romani, pošto se jednom prevezoše i nadjoše plijen, ne će od sad više mirovati od nas, i zato treba, da nešto protiv njih preduzmemo. Smislivši tako Slaveni (Sloveni) i Avari, kad se ono Romani prevezoše, namjeste zasjeđe, pa navalivši na nje, pobjedjuju ih. Rečeni Slaveni (Sloveni) sad uzmu njihovo oružje i zastave i ostale bojne znakove, prevezu se preko rijeke i dodju u klanac. Spazivši ih Romani, koji tamo bješe, i videći zastave i odoru svojih ljudi, puste spomenute Slavene (Slovene), kad dodjoše u klanac, da preko njega prodju. Ali ovi, čim prodjoše, mahom otjeraju Romane i zauzmu pre rečeni grad Solin. I za kratko vrijeme, iza kako se tamo nastaniše, počmu iti za plijenom; Romane, koji stanovaše u poljima i višim mjestima poubiše, a njihove vesi zauzeše. Ostali se Romani spasoše u primorske gradove, i vladaju s njima sve do sada. Ovi gradovi jesu: Rauzin (Dubrovnik), Aspalaton (Split), Tetrangurin (Trogir), Diadora (Zadar), Arbe (Rab), Vekla i Opsara (Osor). Njihovi se stanovnici do danas zovu *Romani*.

Na koj pako način bude počam od vladavine cara romajskoga Heraklija podložena Romajcem cijela Dalmacija i narodi oko nje, kao Hrvati, Srbi, Zahumci, Trivunjani, Konavljani i Arentanci, koje zovu i Paganima, govorit će se u spisu o Hrvatima i Srbima. - Kad je rimsko carstvo uslijed tromosti i nehaja vladalaca, a osobito za Mihajla Amorskoga Mucaoca skoro na ništa moralo spasti, postadoše stanovnici Dalmatinskih gradova samovlasni, niti caru romajskome, niti kome drugome podložni. Ali i tamošnji narodi, Hrvati, Srbi, Zahumci, Trivunjani i Konavljani i Dukljani i Pagani postadoše, zbaciv

be equipped and thence start out and come to the frontier pass, which is four miles from this same city, and is called Kleisa to this day, from its closing in those who pass that way. And from there they would advance to the river. This exchange of garrisons went on for a number of years and the Slavs on the far side of the river, who were also called Avars, thought it over among themselves, and said: "These Romani, now that they have crossed over and found booty, will in future not cease coming over against us, and so we will devise a plan against them". And so, therefore, the Slavs or Avars, took counsel, and on one occasion when the Romani had crossed over, they laid ambushes and attacked and defeated them. The aforesaid Slavs took the *Roman* arms and standards and the rest of their military insignia and crossed the river and came to the frontier pass, and when the Romani who were there saw them and beheld the standards and accoutrements of their own men they thought they were their own men and so, when the aforesaid Slavs reached the pass, they let them through. Once through, they instantly expelled the Romani and took possession of the aforesaid city of Salona. There they settled and thereafter began gradually to make plundering raids and destroyed the Romani who dwelt in the plains and on the higher ground and took possession of their lands. The remnant of the Romani escaped to the cities of the coast and possess them still, namely, Decatera, Ragusa, Spalato, Tetrangourin, Diadora, Arbe, Vekla and Opsara, the inhabitants of which are called Romani to this day.

Since the reign of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, as will be related in the narrative concerning the Croats and Serbs, the whole of Dalmatia and the nations about it, such as Croats, Servs, Zachlumi, Terbouniontes, Kanalites,

uzde rimskoga carstva, samosvojni i samovlasni, nikome nepodložni. Vladare, kako vele, narodi ti ne imadjuhu, već kako je to pravilo i kraj ostalih Slavena (Slovena), *župane starješine*. Ali većina tih Slavena (Slovena) ne bijaše krštena, i osta dugo nekrštena. Za vlade pako hristoljubivoga cara Basilija, poslaše poklisare, tražeći i moleći, da *pokrste* one, koji su medju njima nekršteni, pa da budu kao i negda podvrgnuti romajskom carstvu. Saslušavši ih blaženi i slavni car, izašalje carskoga čovjeka (bazilika) sa jarejima i pokrsti sve one, koji bijahu medj račenim narodima još nekršteni. I nakon što ih dade *pokrstiti*, postavi im za vladare one, koje su sami htjeli i izabrali iz roda, koji su oni štovali i voljeli. Od onoga pako vremena pa sve do danas postaju njihovi knezovi iz vlastitih plemenâ, a ne iz drugih. Pagani, koji se na romajskom jeziku takodjer nazivlju Arentani, ostaše u nepristupnim mjestima i strininama, nekršteni. "Pagani" bo znači na jeziku Slavena (Slovena), nekršteni. I ovi medjutim poslanstvom zamoliše slavnoga cara, da budu kršteni. Car svoje izašalje, pa pokrsti i ove.

Uslijed lijenosti dakle, kako rekosmo, i nemara vladalaca, nazadovaše stvari Romajaca, pa stanovnici gradova Dalmacije postadoše samovlasni, niti Romajcem, niti kome drugomu podložni. Iza nekoga pako vremena za carevanja slavne i vječne spomeni cara Basilija padoše Saraceni iz Afrike pod Soldanom, Savom i Klafom sa 36 korablja u Dalmaciju i poharaše gradove Budvu (Butovu), Rozu i niže Kotor (Dekateru). I dodjoše na grad Dubrovnik (Raguzu) i obsjedaše ga 15 mjeseci. Silom tada pritisnuti Dubrovčani objaviše Basiliju vječito pomijanome caru Rimljana ovakovu besjedu: Pomiluj nas i ne pusti, da izginemo od onih, koji

Diocletians and Arentani, who are also called Pagani. But when the Roman empire, through the sloth and inexperience of those who then governed it and especially in the time of Michael from Amorion, the Lisper, had declined to the verge of total extinction, the inhabitants of the cities of Dalmatia became independent, subject neither to the emperor of the Romans nor to anybody else, and, what is more, the nations of those parts, the Croats and Serbs and Zachlumites, Terbuniotes and Kanalites and Diocletians and the Pagani, shook off the reins of the empire of the Romans and became self-governing and independent, subject to none. Princes, as they say, these nations had none, but only "zupans", elders, as is the rule in the other Slavonic regions. Moreover, the majority of these Slavs were not even baptized, and remained unbaptized for long enough. But in the time of Basil, the Christ-loving emperor, they sent diplomatic agents, begging and praying him that those of them who were unbaptized might receive baptism and that they might be, as they had originally been, subject to the empire of the Romans; and that glorious emperor, of blessed memory, gave ear to them and sent out an imperial agent and priests with him and baptizing them he then appointed for them princes whom they themselves approved and chose, from the family which they themselves loved and favoured. And from that day to this their princes come from these same families, and from no other. But the Pagani, who are called Arentani in the Roman tongue, were left unbaptized, in an inaccessible and precipitous part of the country. For "Pagani" means "unbaptized" in the Slavonic tongue. But later, they too sent to the same glorious emperor and begged that they too might be baptized, and he sent and baptized them too. And since, as we said above, owing to the sloth and inexperience of those in power things had gone the wrong way for

taje Krista. Car se smilova i otposla patricija Niketu, prezimenom Orifa, drugara flote, sa stotinu brodovâ. Ali kad čuše Saraceni, da dolazi sa brodovljem patricij drugar flote, ostave grad Dubrovnik i odu. Preplovivši u Langobardiju, obsjedoše grad Bari i razore ga. Soldan tada sagradi ondje palače i zavlada kroz četrdeset godina cijelom Langobardijom do Rima. Usljed toga preko poslanstva zatraži car u kralja Francuske Ljudevita i pape rimskoga, da pripomognu vojsci, koju car izasla. Udovoljivši i kralj i papa carevom zahtjevu, oba dodjoše velikom moću, pa sjedinivši se sa carevom vojskom zajedno sa Hrvatom, Srbinom i Zahumcem pa Tribunjani, Konavljani i Dubrovčani, skupa sa svimi stanovnici gradova Dalmacije (ovi su bo svi po carevoj zapovjedi bili prisutni) doplove u Langobardiju, bace se na grad Bari, i poharaju ga.

Valja znati da su stanovnici Dubrovnika Hrvate i ostale knezove Slavenâ na vlastitim svojim korabljama u Langobardiju prevezli. I grad Bari i svu zemlju i sav krvni plijen uze car Rimljana; Soldana pako i ostale Saracine uze Ljudevit, kralj Francije i odvede ih u grad Kapuu i grad Benevent. I niko ga (t. j. Soldana) nije vidio, da bi se kad smijao. I reče kralj: dat ću mnogo blaga onome, koj mi po istini objavi ili pokaže da se je Soldan smijao. Iza toga vidje neko Soldana gdje se smije, i objavi kralju Ljudevitu. A ovaj prizvavši Soldana, upita ga, za što se smije. Ovaj odvrati: Vidjeh kola i kotače, gdje se vrte i za to se nasmejah, jer i ja bijah nekoč glava, a eto me sad niže svih, pa opet me može Bog uzvisiti. I od sada pozivaše ga Ljudevit k svome stolu i blagovaše s njime. Knezovi pako Kapue i Beneventa dolažahu k Soldanu, pitajući njega, iskusnoga starca, o načinu, kako se konji vrače i timare. Soldan pako, kako je bio lukav i

the Romans, the inhabitants of the cities of Dalmatia also had become independent, subject neither to the emperor of the Romans nor to anybody else. But after some time, in the reign of Basil the glorious and ever-memorable emperor, Saracens from Africa, Soldan and Saba and Kalphus, came with 36 ships and reached Dalmatia and took the city of Butova and the city of Rossa and the lower city of Decatera. And they came also to the city of Ragusa and blockaded it fifteen months. Then in their strait the Ragusans made a declaration to Basil, the ever-memorable emperor of the Romans, saying this to him: "Have pity on us and do not allow us to be destroyed by them that deny Christ." The emperor was moved with compassion and sent the patrician Nicetas, admiral of the fleet, surnamed Ooryphas, with one hundred ships of war. When the Saracens learnt of the arrival of the patrician admiral of the fleet with his squadron, they quitted the city of Ragusa and took to flight and crossed over into Lombardy and laid siege to the city of Bari and took it. Then Soldan built a palace there and was forty years master of all Lombardy as far as Rome. On this account, therefore, the emperor sent to Lewis, king of Francia, and to the pope of Rome, asking their cooperation with the army which he, the emperor, had sent. The king and the pope acceded to the emperor's request, and both of them came with a large force and joined up with the army sent by the emperor and with the Croat and Serb and Zachlumain chiefs and the Terbouniotes and Kanalites and the men of Ragusa and all the cities of Dalmatia (for all these were present by imperial mandate); and they crossed over into Lombardy, and laid siege to the city of Bari and took it.

The Croats and the other chiefs of the Slavs were carried over into Lombardy by the inhabitants of the city of Ragusa in their own vessels. The city of

previjan, ovako im reče: Rado bi vam nešto reko, ali se bojim ne bi l' tko od vas o tome kazivao kralju, a ja bi izgubio život svoj. Svi mu se na to prisegom zavezaše, a on im reče smjelo: kralj vas hoće sve prenesti u veliku Frangiju (Francusku), pa ako ne vjerujete, pričekajte još malo, i ja ću vas potpuno uvjeriti. I on od k Ljudevitu i reče mu: knezovi, što su ovdje, jesu zli, i ti ne ćeš moći zavladatai ovom zemljom, ako ne uništiš mogućnike, tvoje protivnike. Već deder poveži prvake grada, pak ih otpošlji u svoju zemlju, a tad će ti drugi po volji biti podložni. Pa kad ga je nagovorio, da njegov savjet ispuni i odredi nabavu željeznih lanaca za njihovu otpremu, dodje Soldan k knezovima i reče: vi još jednako ne vjerujete, da će vas kralj iz zemlje otpremiti, da vas niko više ni pominjati ne će. Al ako već hoćete biti posve uvjereni, ajte pa vidite, što ono vasdan rade kovači po kraljevu nalogu, i ako ne ćete naći, da prave lance i njegve, a vi recte, da sam sve, što rekoh, slago. Ako pako istinu govorih, tad gledajte za vaš spas, a i meni blagodarite, koj vas svjetovah valjano i korisno. Knezovi povjerovaše Soldanovim riječima, a pogotovo bijahu ubijedjeni, pa kad vidješe lance i njegve i zaključe propast kralju Ljudevitu. Kralj pako o svem tom ne sluteći ništa, podje lov loviti; a dok se povrati, knezovi se već domogoše grada, i ne pustiše ga, da unidje. Videći kralj tu pobunu knezova, vrati se u svoju vlastitu zemlju. Knezovi će pako reći Soldanu: što dakle hoćeš od nas za uzdarje za naš spas. On zatraži, da ga puste u njegovu zemlju, što se i zbude, i on ode u Afriku, vlastitu si zemlju. Soldan pako ostavši vjeran staroj zloći svojoj, dodje bojnomo silom u Kapuu i Benevent, da ih obsjedne i podložni. Gradjani sada poslaše poslanike k kralju Ljudevitu u Frangiju (Francusku), da im dodje na pomoć protiv Soldana i Afričana. Čuvši to Ljudevita, kao i način kojim je Soldan uvjerio knezove, da će ih kralj vezane u Francusku otpremiti, odgovori

Bari and the country and all the prisoners were taken by the emperor of the Romans, but Soldan and the rest of the Saracens were taken by Lewis, the king of Francia, who carried them off to the city of Capua and the city of Beneventum. And no one saw *Soldan* laughing. And the king said: "If anybody truly reports to me or shows me Soldan laughing, I will give him much money". Later, someone saw him laughing and reported it to king Lewis. He summoned Soldan and asked him, how he had come to laugh? And he said: "I saw a cart and the wheels on it turning round and therefore I laughed because I too was once at the top and am now lowest of all, but God may raise me up again". And thereafter Lewis would summon him to his table and would eat with him. And the nobles of Capua and Beneventum used to go to Soldan and ask him questions about the treatment and care of cattle and other matters, because of his age and experience. And Soldan, who was cunning and crooked, said to them; "I would like to say a thing to you, but I fear to be betrayed by you to the king and I shall lose my life". But they swore to him, and he took heart and said to them: "The king is minded to banish all of you to great Francia, and if you disbelieve it, wait a little, and I will satisfy you".

And he went off and said to Lewis: "The nobles of this place are evil, and you cannot be master of this country unless you destroy the powerful men who oppose you; but do you bind the first men of the city and send them off to your country, and then the rest will be submissive to you, as you desire". When he had won him to carrying out his advice, and *the king* had instructed that chains of iron should be made for their banishment, Soldan went off and said to the nobles: "Do you still not believe that the king is sending you into banishment, and that all remembrance of

im ovako: žao mi je i onoga, što sam prije za vas učinio i oslobodio vas od neprijatelja Vaših, a vi mi dobro zlim naplatiste. I kako bjeh od vas odagnan, baš se sad radujem propasti Vašoj. U nevolji svojoj tad pošlju od kralja Ljudevita poslanike k caru romajskome da im pomogne i da ih izbavi od te pogibelji. I car im obrekne pomoć. Medjutim domogoše se Soldanove straže njihovoga poslanika prije no se je, vrativši se iz Carigrada sa dobrim vjestima o carevoj pomoći, mogao spasiti u tvrđju. Znao je bo Soldan za poslanstvo na romajskoga cara za pomoć, i upre se, da uhvati poslanika, kako se i zbi. I imajuć ga u vlasti saznade, kako je opravio svoj posao, pa da će za malo dana stići pomoć od romajskoga cara. Soldan na to progovori poslaniku ovako: Učiniš li, što ti rekнем, bit će slobode i najvećih darova, ako l' pako ne, zlom ćeš smrti izginuti. Kad ovaj obeća, da će ispuniti zapovijesti, reče mu Soldan: Zapovijedam ti, da staneš pokraj zidinâ i zazoveš one, koji su te slali, pa im tako reci: došao sam, što sam imao obaviti, obavih, i moljah za vas romajskoga cara. Ipak znajte, da je moj put bio badava i vaše molbe i prošnje primio je car posve zlo, pa nema da se nadate pomoći od cara. Kad obeća poslanik da će to rado ispuniti, odvedoše ga blizu gradskih zidinâ. Ali ovaj ne mareći za riječi Soldana i prezrevši njegove pretnje i obećanja, pak usadivši u srce božji strah, ovako stade mišljat i razmišljat: Bolje jest, da sam poginem, nego l' da tolikim dušama krivom riječi zamku metnem i da ih smrti izdam. A kad je stao pokraj zidinâ i zazvao sve arhonte (kneževe) reče gospodarom grada: ja sam, čujte, glavari moji, ispunio službu svoju i evo javljam, što vam romajski car otporučuje. Al medjutim Vas zaklinjem sinom božjim, i spasom cijeloga grada i istim dušama vašim, da mjesti mene budete u pomoći djeci mojoj i supruzi mi, što se nada zagrlit me. Kako ćete njima učiniti, tako ćete dobiti plaću od boga, pravednoga platca, koji

you will vanish from among men? Yet, if you will be perfectly satisfied, go and see what all the smiths are making by order of the king. And if you do not find them making the chains and fetters, know that all I have told you is lies; but if I speak truth, look to your safety and reward me for my valuable and salutary advice to you". The nobles obeyed the word of Soldan, and when they had seen the chains and fetters, they were completely satisfied, and thereafter began to devise the destruction of king Lewis. The king, in ignorance of all this, went out hunting. But when he came back, his nobles had taken possession of the city and did not allow him to enter. King Lewis, seeing himself thus opposed by the nobles, went back to his own country. The nobles said to Soldan: "What, then, would you have us do for you, in return for the salvation wrought for us by you?" And he requested them to dismiss him to his own country, which they did, and he went off to Africa, to his own country.

But, mindful of his ancient malice, he made an expedition and came with a force to Capua and to Beneventum, to lay siege to and subdue them. The rulers of these cities sent envoys to king Lewis in Francia, asking him to come and help them fight against Soldan and the Africans. But king Lewis, when he heard of it, having learnt how Soldan had acted in persuading the nobles that, "the king purposes to send you in chains to banishment in Francia", declared in answer to them: "I repent my former conduct towards you, when i saved you from your enemies, and you returned me evil for good; and as I was cast out by you, now I rejoice at your destruction". Then, having failed with king Lewis, they sent envoys to the emperor of the Romans, asking that he should give them aid and deliver them out of this danger. The emperor promised to aid them. But when the diplomatic

će suditi živim i mrtvim. I rekavši to ohrabri ih govoreći: ja sam od Soldana propao i u smrtnu srćem pogibelj. Vi pako budite postojani i nemojte se bojati, već uzdržite malo, a za nekoliko dana stić će spas, poslan vama od romajnskoga cara. Čuvši medju to Soldanovi vojnici, koji ga vodiše, što je protiv očekivanja govorio, škrgutnuše zubima na njega i jedan istrči pred drugoga, ko će ga prije smaći. Ovi ga tako smaknuše, al Soldan, preplašivši se blize sile careve, vrati se u svoju zemlju. Od onoga pako vremena, pa sve do danas Kapuanci su i Benevenčani potpunoma podvrgnuti i podložni vlasti Romajaca radi tolikoga iskazanog im dobročinstva.

Grad se Dubrovnik (Raguza) za to zove na romajskom jeziku "Raoush" jer stoji na strmenima, a strmen se nazivlje grčki lau. Po tome pak nazvaše stanovnike Lauzijci, jer sjede na strminama. U običnom se bo govoru često kvare imena izmjenom slova, pa tako izvrnuvši ime, nazvaše ih Rauzijci. Sami pako Rauzijci vladahu nekoč gradom Pitaura (Epidaurum, danas Cavtat) zvanim. Kad ono Slavenci osvojiše ostale gradove u toj temi, osvoje i taj grad. Od stanovnika jedne poubiše, a druge zarobiše. Koji pako mogoše pobjeći i spasiti se, nastane se na strminama. Najpre sagrađiše mali grad, tamo gdje i danas stoji, a kašnje ga povećaše. Za kratko opet, kako se je po malom razmnožalo i proširilo stanovništvo, povećaše zidine grada donle, kako ih ima. Od onih koji se preseliše u Dubrovnik spominjemo: Grigorija, Arsafiju, Viktorina, Vitalija, arcidjakona Valentina, Vanesetina oca protorpatara Stjepana. Od vremena pako, odkako se preseliše žitelji *Salone* u Dubrovnik, ima do danas, to jest sedme indikcije godine 6457,

agent had left Constantinople on his homeward way, bringing back to them who had sent him fair tidings of the alliance with the emperor, he was still short of the city when he was captured by the scouts of Soldan. For Soldan had obtained previous intelligence of the sending of a mission of supplication to the emperor of the Romans and had made efforts to capture their diplomatic agent, which he did. From his captive he learnt of the service he had performed, and that in a few days the succors of the emperor of the Romans would arrive. So Soldan said to this same diplomatic agent: "If you do what I tell you, you shall be awarded freedom and very great gifts; but if not, you shall lose your life and your death shall be cruel". The man promised to carry out his orders, and Soldan said to him: "I order you to stand close to the wall and to summon those who sent you and say to them: "For my part, I have carried out the service laid upon me, and have importuned the emperor of the Romans on your behalf; however, know that my journey was vain, and that the emperor has altogether spurned the supplication you made, and do not expect succor from the emperor". When he had promised to perform this gladly, they conducted him close to the city, where, disregarding all that Soldan had said, neither fearing his threats nor seduced by his promises, but setting the fear of God in his heart, he communed thus with himself: "It is expedient that I alone should die, and not by my word entrap and betray so many souls to their death". So, when he was near the wall and had summoned the nobles, he thus addressed those who were in authority over that city: "I, my lords, have discharged my office and will announce to you what was declared by the emperor of the Romans; but I adjure you by the Son of God and the salvation off all the city and of your very souls, to reward, instead of me, my children and her who is hoping

pet stotina godina. U ovome gradu leži sv. Pankracij u crkvi sv. Stjepana, koja je u sredini grada.

Grad Split (Aspalatos) što se tumači kao mala palača, sagradio je car Dioklecijan. On mu služuše privatnom kućom, podignuvši u njem dvori i palače, koje se ponajviše razvališe. Učuvalo se do danas malo što, medju ovim gradski dvor i hram svetoga Dujma, u kome leži sam sv. Dujam, gdje bijaše ložnica istoga cara Dioklecijana. Odozdo su pako presvodjene komore, koje bjehu stražarnice, kamo zatvorahu nemilo mučene svece. Sahranjen je u tom gradu i sveti Anastazij.

Bedem toga grada niti je zidan od pečene opeke, niti od ondješnjega kamena, nego od kamenih kocka, dugih do jedan, al često i do dva rukohvata, a širokih po jedan rukohvat, i te su medjusobom spojene i povezane olovom zalitim željezom. Ima u tom gradu mnogo stupovâ sa kosmitama odozgor, na kojima je htio car Dioklecijan podići komore na svodove i čitav grad prekriti, tako da palača i sva gradska zdanja sa svodovi odozgor budu na dva i na tri kata i tako prekrije ne mali dio grada. Na bedemu toga grada nema ni hodnika, ni branika, već samo visoke zidove i svjetlovodne puškar-nice.

Grad Trogir (*Terangurini*) mali je otočić u moru sa do kopna pruženim uzanim vratom kao most, kojim prelaze stanovnici u grad. Zovu ga pako

to receive me back, my wife; for as your deal with them, so shall your reward be from God, the Just and righteous rewarder, who shall judge the quick and the dead". When he had so spoken, he fortified them with these words: "For my part I shall be destroyed by Soldan and the threat of death is upon me; but do you stand fast and be not faint-hearted, but endure a little while, and in a few days shall arrive the salvation which has been sent to you by the emperor of the Romans". When he had so spoken, the servants of Soldan who had charge of him, hearing his unexpected message, gnashed with their teeth upon him, and each outran the other to be the author of his murder. But after he was made away by them, Soldan, dreading the powers of the emperor that were coming upon him, withdrew to his own country. And from that time until this day the men of Capua and the men of Beneventum have been under the authority of the Romans in perfect servitude and subjection, for that great benefit which was done to them.

The city of Ragusa is not called Ragusa in the tongue of the Romans but, because it stands on cliffs, it is called in Roman speech "the cliff, lau"; whence they are called "Lausaioi", i. e. "those who have their seat on the cliff". By vulgar usage, which frequently corrupts names by altering their letters, was changed the denomination and called them Rausaioi. These same Rausaioi used of old to possess the city that is called Pitaura; and since, when the other cities were captured by the Slavs that were in the province, this city too was captured, and some were slaughtered and others taken prisoner, those who were able to escape and reach safety settled in the almost precipitous spot where the city now is; they built it small to begin with, and afterwards enlarged it, and later still extended its wall until the city reached *its present*

tetraugurin, što je malen kao ugorak. U tom gradu leži i sveti mučenik Lavrentij arcidjakon.

Grad Kotor (*Dekatera*) u romajskom jeziku znači stiješnjeno i sabijeno, jer ovdje ulazi more stiješnjeno kao jezik do kakovih 15 do 20 hiljada koraka, a grad je na kraju tik do mora. A ima taj grad oko sebe gore visoke, tako da je samo ljeti vidjeti sunce, jer je nasred neba, a zimi nikako. Leži pako u tom gradu sveti Trifun, koji posvema liječi svaku bolest, a najpače od nečistih duhova mučene. Njegova je crkva presvodjena.

Grad Zadar (*Dindora*) zove se u romajskom jeziku: *iam erat*, što znači: tad već bijaše, očito hoće reći, da je taj grad već bio sagrađen, kada je Rim gradjen. Grad taj je velik, a običajno ga zovu Diadora. U tom gradu leži tijelo sv. Anastazije djevice, rodjene kćerke Eustatija, koji u ono doba vladaše, i sveti Hrisogon monak i mučenik i njegov sveti lanac (njegve). Crkva je pako svete Anastazije odugačka, nalik na crkvu Halkopratijsku, sa stupovima zelenim i bijelima, sa starinski islikanim ikonama, a patos njen je od divnog mosaika. A ima blizu nje i druga presvodjena crkva svete Trojice, i iznad ove crkve opet druga nalik na Katehumensku, u koju se uzlazi zavojitim stubama.

Ima pod oblašću Dalmacije do Beneventa na gusto i vrlo mnogo otoka, tako da se brodovima nije

size, owing to their gradual spreading out and increase in population. Among those who migrated to Ragusa are: Gregory, Arsaphius, Victorinus, Vitalius, Valentine the archdeacon, Valentine the father of Stephen the protospatharius. From their migration from Salona to Ragusa, it is 500 years till this day, which is the 7th indiction, the year 6457. In this same city lies St. Pancratius, in the church of St. Stephen, which is in the middle of this same city.

The city of Spalato, which means "Little palace", was founded by the emperor Diocletian; he made it his own dwelling-place, and built within it a court and a palace, most part of which has been destroyed. But a few things remain to this day, e. g. the episcopal residence of the city and the church of St. Domnus, in which lies St. Domnus himself, and which was the resting-place of the same emperor Diocletian. Beneath it are arching vaults, which used to be prisons, in which he cruelly confined the saints whom he tormented. St. Anastasius also lies in this city.

The defence-wall of this city is constructed neither of bricks nor of concrete, but of ashlar blocks, one and often two fathoms in length by a fathom across, and these are fitted and joined to one another by iron cramps puddled into molten lead. In this city also stand close rows of columns, with entablatures above, on which this same emperor Diocletian proposed to erect arching vaults and to cover over the city throughout, and to build his palace and all the living-quarters of the city on the top of those vaults, to a height of two and three stories, so that they covered little *ground-space* in the same city. The defence-wall of this city has neither rampart nor bulwarks, but only lofty walls and arrow-slits. The city of Tetrangourin is a little island in the sea, with a very narrow neck reaching

nigdje bojat valova. Između tih otoka ima grad Vekla (Krk), zatim dalje otok Rab (*Arbe*), zatim otok Osor (*Opsara*), zatim otok *Lumbrikaton*; ovi su sve do danas naseljeni. Ostali nijesu naseljeni, imaju puste gradove, a imena su im: Kakan, Iž, Željva, Skarda, Olib, Skardica, Premuda, Mulat, Sestrin i drugi vrlo mnogi, kojim se imena ne znaju. Ostali pak gradovi, koji su na kopnu temata, a vladaju njima prije rečeni Slaveni, nijesu naseljeni i stoje pusti, nitko ne nastava u njima.

RASPRAVA O TEMATU DALMACIJE

Ako je svakomu lijepa stvar spoznaja, ne ćemo ni mi, idući za poznavanjem stvari, biti od toga daleko. Za to ćemo za potomstvo sad ovdje objasniti, sada opet ondje pokazati druge vrijedne stvari, da tako poslijedi dvostruko dobro Onim, koji istražuju osvojenje Dalmacije, ovdje valja da nauče, kako je zadobiše slavenski narodi. Ali najprije treba, da prikažemo njen položaj.

Dakle, od davnina *Dalmacija se započinjala od dračkih medja iliti od Antibara i sezala je do istarskih gorâ* a širila se do rijeke Dunava. Čitav taj kraj bijaše pod vlašću rimskom, i *tema taj bio je odličniji od ostalih zapadnih temata*, ali ga osvojiše Avari evo ovako.

to the land like a bridge, along which the inhabitants pass to the same city; and it is called Tetrangourin because it is *long-shaped* like a cucumber. In this same city lies the holy martyr Lawrence the archdeacon.

The city of Decatera means in the language of the Romans "iam era", which means, "it was already": that is to say, when Rome was founded, this city had already been founded before it; it is a big city. Vulgar usage gives it the name Diadora. In the same city lies in the flesh St. Anastasia, the virgin, daughter of Eustathius, who was on the throne at that time; and St. Chrysogonus, monk and martyr, and his holy chain. The church of St. Anastasia is a basilica like the church of the Chalcoptatia, with green and white columns, and all decorated with encaustic pictures in the antique style; its floor is of wonderful mosaic. Near it is another church, a domed one, Holy Trinity, and above this church again is another church, like a triforium, domed also, into which they mount by a spiral staircase.

Under the control of Dalmatia is a close-set and very numerous archipelago, extending as far as Beneventum, so that ships never far to be overwhelmed in those parts. One of these islands is the city of Vakla, and on another island *Arbe*, and on another island *Opsara*, and on another island *Lumbrikaton*, and these are still inhabited. The rest are uninhabited and have upon them deserted cities, of which the names are as follows: Katautrebno, Pizouch, Selbo, Skerda, Aloëp, Skirdakissa, Pyrotima, Meleta, Estiounez, and very many others of which the names are not intelligible. The remaining cities, on the mainland of the province, which were captured by the said Slavs, now stand uninhabited and deserted, and nobody lives in them.

Ima grad blizu Splita imenom Solin (Salona), djelo cara Dioklecijana. Ali i sam Split sagradi Dioklecijan, i u njemu bijahu njegovi carski dvori, dok u Solinu nastavahu njegovi velikaši i dosta naroda. I bio je taj *grad metropolom (glavnim gradom) čitave Dalmacije*. Svake bi se godine iz ostalih gradova dalmatinskih sabrali konjanici, i do hiljadu njih otpravljali iz Solina, i čuvali bi stražu od Avarâ na rijeci Dunavu. Avari naime boravljahu tamo kraj Dunava, gdje su danas Mađari, živući kao nomadi. Dolazeći Dalmatinci godimice, vidjahu često *onkraj rijeke* blago i ljude. Jednoć smisle, da se provezu i da izvide, tko su ono, što tamo živu. Prevezavši se nadju žene Avara i djecu same; ljudi i momci bijahu na vojsci. Navalivši stoga iznebuha, zarobe ih i vrate se bez muke, povedši taj plijen u Solin.

Kada se nato Avari vrate iz vojske, doznaju, šta im se to zla dogodilo, ali ne znahu, otkuda ih taj udarac stiže. Smisle dakle čekati na dobar čas, kako bi sve doznali. Kad dakle budu po običaju i opet vojnici otpremljeni iz Solina, ali ne oni isti nego drugi, svijećaše i ovi isto kao i oni. Prevezoše se dakle protiv Avara, al našavši ih slučajno na okupu sabrane, a ne kao prije rasute, ne samo da ne opravše ništa, nego najužasnije nastradaju: neki budu poklani, drugi živi ulovljeni, a nijedan živ ne izmače rukama. Avari ispitavši ih, tko su i otkuda su, pa razabravši, da im oni nanesoše pomenutu nedaću, istraživši jošte, kakav im je zavičaj, i kanda ga od čuvenja zavoliše, sputaju što ih ostade živih, odjenu se njihovim odjećama onako, kao i oni, uzjašu njihove konje sa zastavicama u rukama i ostalim znakovima, što ih imahu i svi se dignu kao vojska i podju na Solin. Kako su pitajući doznali i za doba, kada se vojnici od

STORY OF THE PROVINCE OF DALMATIA

If knowledge be a good thing for all, then we too are approaching it by arriving at the knowledge of events. For this reason we are giving, for the benefit of all who come after us, a plain account both of these matters and of certain others worthy of attention, so that the resulting good may be twofold.

They, then, who are inquiring into the taking of Dalmatia also, how it was taken by the nations of the Slavs, may learn of it from what follows; but first of all its geographical position must be told. In olden times, therefore, Dalmatia used to start at the confines of Dyrrachium, or Antibari, and used to extend as far as the mountains of Istria, and spread out as far as the river Danube. All this area was under the rule of the Romans, and this province was the most illustrious of all the provinces of the west; however, it was taken by the nations of the Slavs in the following manner. Near Spalato is a city called Salona, built by the emperor Diocletian; Spalato itself was also built Diocletian, and his palace was there, but at Salona dwelt his nobles and large numbers of the common folk. This city was the head of all Dalmatia. Now, every year a force of cavalry from the other cities of Dalmatia used to collect at, and be despatched from Salona, to the number of a thousand, and they would keep guard on the river Danube, on account of the Avars. For the Avars had their haunts on the far side of the river Danube, where now are the Turks, and led a nomad life. The men of Dalmatia who went there every year would often see the beasts and men on the far side of the river. On one occasion, therefore, they decided to cross over and investigate who they were that had their abode there. So they crossed, and found only the women

Dunava vraćahu (bilo je to u veliku i svetu subotu), dodju upravo u taj dan. I kad već bjehu negdje blizu, najveći dio vojske se sakrije, samo do hiljadu njih, koji sebi bjehu, da zavaraju neprijatelja, uzeli konje i odijelo Dalmatinaca, jurnu naprijed. Prepoznavši oni iz grada svoje bojne znakove i odijelo, a i dan bješe, u koji se običavahu vraćati, otvore gradska vrata, i davši znakom na znanje vojsci događaj, sprema tako, da š njima uvale i udju. Poklaše tada sve u gradu i od tog doba obladaše čitavom zemljom Dalmacijom, i učadoriše se u njoj. Samo primorski gradići ne predadoše im se, nego ostaše u vlasti Rimljanâ, jerbo imahu izvore živeža iz mora. Videći dakle Avari da je ta zemlja prelijepa, učadoriše se u njoj.

Hrvati pako stanovahu u ono vrijeme *tamo od Karpatskog gorja* (Bagibareje), gdje su sada Bjelohrvati. Jedan njihov rod, naime petero braće Klukas, Lonelos, Kosences, Muhlo i Hrobatos, i dvije sestre Tuga i Buga, odijelivši se od njih skupa sa narodom svojim, dodjoše u Dalmaciju i nadjoše ondje Avare, koji držaše tu zemlju. I neko vrijeme ratujući jedni s drugima, nadjačaju Hrvati i jedne od Avara pokolju, a ostale prisile, da im se pokore. Od toga doba obladaše tom zemljom Hrvati. A ima još jednako u Hrvatskoj potomaka Avara i pozna im se, da su Avari.

Ostali pako Hrvati ostadoše kraj Franaka, i zovu se danas Bjelohrvati, imajući svoga vlastitoga kneza, a podložni su Otonu Velikom, kralju Franaka i Saske. Oni su nekršteni, a ulaze sa Madarima u tzbine i prijateljstva. Od onih se pako Hrvata, koji dodjoše u Dalmaciju, odijeli jedna čest i obladaše Ilirikom i Panonijom. I ovi imahu samosvojnog

and children of the Avars, the men and youths being on a military expedition. Falling suddenly upon them, therefore, they made them prisoner, and returned unmolested, carrying off this booty to Salona. Now when the Avars came back from their military expedition and learnt from their losses what had happened, they were confounded, but know not from what quarter this blow had come upon them. They therefore decided to bide their time and in this way to discover the whole. And so, when according to custom the garrison was once more dispatched from Salona, not the same men as before but others, they too decided to do what their predecessors had done. So they crossed over against them, but finding them massed together, not scattered abroad as on the previous occasion, not merely did they achieve nothing but actually suffered the most frightful reverse. For some of them were slain, and the remainder taken alive, and not one escaped the hand to *the enemy*. *The latter* examined them as to who they were and whence they came, and having learnt that it was from them that they had suffered the blow aforesaid, and having moreover found out by enquiry the nature of their homeland and taken a fancy to it as far as they might from hearsay, they held the survivors captive and dressed themselves up in their clothes, just as the others *had worn them*, and then, mounting the horses and *taking* in their hands the standards and the rest of the insignia which *the others* had brought with them, they all started off in military array and made for Salona. And since they had learnt by enquiry also the time at which the garrison was wont to return from the Danube (which was the Great and Holy Saturday), they themselves arrived on that same day. When they got near, the bulk of the army was placed in concealment, but up to a thousand of them, those who, to play the trick, had acquired the horses and

kneza, koji tek šiljahu prijateljske darove knezu Hrvatske. Ali nakon stanovitoga vremena padnu i oni Hrvati u Dalmaciji pod Franke, kamo su i prije, *dok bjehu u njihovoj zemlji, potpadali*. A bili su Franci protiv njih tako nesmiljeni, da i napršćad hrvatsku ubijahu i psima ih bacahu. Ne mogući Hrvati to do Franaka podnašati, odimentnu se od njih, i poubijahu *knezove*, koje od njih imadjahu. Toga radi diže se na njih velika vojska, i vojevaše jedni s drugima sedam godina, napokon teško nadvladaju Hrvati, i pogube Franke sve i njihova kneza *Kocila*. Ostavši odonda samosvojni i samovlasni, zatraže od Rima sv. Krist. I poslaše im biskupe i pokrste ih za vlade Porina njihovoga arhonta (kneza).

Zemlja je njihova podijeljena u 11 županija: Hlijevansku (Livnu u Bosni), Cetinsku, Imotsku, Plivanjsku, Pesentsku, Primorsku, Bribirsku, Nonsku, Kninsku, Sidrašku, Ninsku, a Ban, njihov vlada Krbavom, Likom i Gackom.

Rečena Hrvatska i ostali *Slaveni* ovako su položeni: *Dioklija* primiče se kastelima Draškima, naime Lješiu (Elisu), Ulčinju (Helkiniju) i Baru (Antibaru) i ide do Kotora, a u gorama primiče se Srbiji. Od grada Kotora započinje se kneževina *Trebinska* i pruža se do Dubrovnika a u gorama susjedna je Srbiji. Od Dubrovnika započinje se kneževina *Zahumljana* i pruža se do Neretve rijeke; na strani morskoj primiče se *Paganom* a prema gorama na sjever primiče se Hrvatom, sučelice pako Srbiji.

Od rijeke Neretve počinje Paganija, i pruža se do rijeke Cetine, a ima tri županije, i to Rastočku,

uniforms of the Dalmatians, rode out in front. Those in the city, recognizing their insignia and dress, and also the day, for upon this day it was customary for them to return, opened the gates and received them with delight. But they, as soon as they were inside, seized the gates and, signaling their exploit to the army, gave it the cue to run in and enter with them. And so they put to the sword all in the city and thereafter made themselves masters of all the country of Dalmatia and settled down in it. Only the townships on the coast held out against them, and continued to be in the hands of the Romans, because they obtained their livelihood from the sea. The Avars, then, seeing this land to be most fair, settled down in it. But the

Croats at that time were dwelling beyond Bavaria, where the Belocroats are now. From them split off a family of five brothers, Kloukas and Lobelos and Kosentzis and Mouchlo and Chrobotos, and two sisters, Touga and Bouga, who came with their folk to Dalmatia and found the Avars in possession of that land. After they had fought one another for some years, the Croats prevailed and killed some of the Avars and the remainder they compelled to be subject to them. And so from that time this land was possessed by the Croats, and there are still in Croatia some who are of Avar descent and are recognized as Avars. The rest of the Croats stayed over against Francia, and are now called Belocroats, that is, white Croats, and have their own prince; they are subject to Otto, the great king of Francia, or Saxony, and are unbaptized, and intermarry and are friendly with the Turks. From the Croats who came to Dalmatia a part split off and possessed themselves of Illyricum and Pannonia; they too had an independent prince, who used to maintain friendly contact, though through envoys only, with the prince of Croatia. For a number of years the Croats of

Mokro (Makarsku), i Dalen (Duvno). Od ovih dvije županije, to jest Rastok i Makarska leže uz more. Ove imaju i sagene (ladje). Dalen je pako daleko od mora, a njegovi stanovnici žive od poljskoga gospodarstva. Susjedna su Paganom 4 otoka: Mljet, Korčula, Brač i Hvar, vrlo lijepa i plodna, ali sa pustim gradovima i množinom močvara. Žitelji njihovi drže i blaga i živu od njega.

Od Cetine pako rijeke započimlje zemlja *Hrvatska* i proteže se primorjem do medja Istarskih, to jest do grada Labina. U gorama ponešto i preseže temat istarski; primiče se pako kraj Cetine i Hlijevna zemlji Srpskoj, jer zemlja srpska sučelice je sa svijem ostalim zemljama, a na sjeveru primiče Hrvatskoj, na jugu pak Bugarskoj. Odkada dodjoše rečeni Slaveni obladaše cijelom zemljom Dalmacijom. Romajski pako gradovi obradljivahu otoke i življahu od njih. Ali od Pagana svagdan u roblje odvodjeni i ubijani, ostaviše otoke, želeći na kopnu raditi zemlju. U tom ih pako spriječavahu Hrvati, jer ne davahu njima danak, već sve, što danas daju Slavenima, to davahu strategu. Ne mogući tako živjeti, pristupiše Basiliju slavnome caru i podučiše ga o svemu rečenom. Slavni ovaj car *Basilije* naredi, da sve, što se davalo strategu, podaju Slavenima, da u miru živu s njima; samo malo nešto, da daju strategu, tek da se pokaže njihovo podaništvo i podržnost romajskim carevima i njihovu strategu. I odonda su svi ti gradovi tributari Slavenima i plaćaju im danak, i to grad Split 200 nomismata, grad Trogir 100, grad Zadar 110, grad Osor 100, grad Rab 100, grad Krk 100, tako da je zajedno 710 nomismata, osim vina i drugih različitih stvari, jer to davahu još povrh onih nomismata. Grad pako Dubrovnik leži medju

Dalmatia also were subject to the Franks, as they had formerly been in their own country; but the Franks treated them with such brutality that they used to murder Croat infants at the breast and cast them to the dogs. The Croats, unable to endure such treatment from the Franks, revolted from them, and slew those of them whom they had for princes. On this, a large army from Francia marched against them, and after they had fought one another for seven years, at last the Croats managed to prevail and destroyed all the Franks with their leader, who was called Kotyilis. From that time they remained independent and autonomous, and they requested the holy baptism from the bishop of Rome, and bishops were sent who baptized them in the time of Porinos their prince. Their country was divided into 11 "zupantias", *ciy.*, Chlebiana, Tzenzina, Imota, Pleba, Pesenta, Parathalassia, Breberi, Nona, Tnina, Sidraga, Nina; and their ban possesses Kribasa, Litza and Goutziska. Now, the said Croatia and the rest of the Slavonic regions are situated thus: Diocleia is neighbour to the forts of Dyrrachium, I mean, to Elisuss and to Helcynium and Antibari, and comes up as far as Decatera, and on the side of the mountain country it is neighbour to Serbia. From the city of Decatera begins the domain of Terbounia and stretches along as far as Ragusa, and on the side of its mountain country it is neighbour to Serbia. From Ragusa begins the domain of the Zachlumi and stretches along as far as the river Orontius; and on the side of the coast it is neighbour to the Pagani, but on the side of the mountain country it is neighbour to the Croats on the north and to Serbia at the front. From the river Orontius begins Paganian and stretches along as far as the river Zentina; it has three "zupantias", Rhastotza and Mokros and that of Dalen. Two of these "zupantias", *viz.*, Rhastotza and that of Mokros, lie on the sea, and possess galleys; but

dvjema zemljama, Zahumskom i Trebinjskom a Dubrovčani imaju svoje vinograde u tim objema zemljama i plaćaju knezu Zahumskom 21, a knezu trebinjskome 36 nomismata.

O HRVATIMA I ZEMLJI KOJU SADA NASTAVAJU

Hrvati, koji sada nastavaju strane Dalmacije, potječu od nekrštenih Hrvatâ, koje i Bijelima nazivaju. Oni su onkraj Turske (Mađarske), stanuju blizu Frangije, a susjedi su Slavenima, nekrštenim Srbima. Riječ pak Hrovati znači na slavenskom jeziku one, što imaju mnogu zemlju. Ovi se Hrvati utekoše k romajskom caru Herakliju, pre no što se Srbi utekoše k istome caru Herakliju, u doba kada Avari svojevavši Romane odonuda izagnaše, koje je car Dioklecijan doveo iz Rima i tamo nastanio, rad čega se i prozvaše Romani, što su došavši iz Rima tamo se nastanili, naime u tako zvanoj Hrvatskoj i Srbiji. Pošto su u doba istoga romajskoga cara Heraklija ovi Romani protjerani od Avara, njihove su zemlje stojale puste. Po naredjenju dakle cara Heraklija ovi Hrvati, pograbilviši oružje i protjeravši odanle Avare, nastane se po odredbi cara Heraklija u toj zemlji Avara, u kojoj sada stanuju. U ovo pako doba imadjahu Hrvati za kneza *Porginoga* oca. Car pako Heraklij pošalje i doveo iz Rima svećenike, načini od njih arkiepiskopa, i episkopa i prezvitere i djakone, pa pokrsti Hrvate. Ovi pako Hrvati imahu u ono doba kneza *Porgu*.

that of Dalenos lies distant from the sea, and they live by agriculture. Neighbour to them are four islands, Meleta, Kourkoura, Bratza and Pharos, most fair and fertile, with deserted cities upon them and many olive-yards; on these they dwell and keep their flocks, from which they live. From the river Zentina begins the country of Croatia and stretches along, on the side of the coast as far as the frontiers of Istria, that is, to the city of Alburnum, and on the side of the mountain country it encroaches some way upon the province of Istria, and at Tzentina and Chlebena becomes neighbour to the country of Serbia. For the country of Serbia is at the front of all the rest of the countries, but on the north is neighbour to Croatia, and on the south to Bulgaria. Now, after the said Slavs had settled down, they took possession of all the surrounding territory of Dalmatia; but the cities of the Romani took to cultivating the islands and living off them; since, however, they were daily enslaved and destroyed by the Pagani, they deserted these islands and resolved to cultivate the mainland. But they were stopped by the Croats; for they were not yet tributary to the Croats, and used to pay to the military governor all that they now pay to the Slavs. Finding it impossible to live, they approached the glorious emperor Basil and told him all the above. And so that glorious emperor Basil ordered that all that was then paid to the military governor they should pay to the Slavs, and live at peace with them, and that some slight payment should be made to the military governor, as a simple token of submission and servitude to the emperors of the Romans and their military governor. And from that time all these cities became tributary to the Slavs, and they pay them fixed sums: the city of Spalato, 200 nomismata; the city of Tetrangourin, 100 nomismata; the city of Diadora, 110 nomismata; the city of Opsara, 100 nomismata; the city of Arbe, 100 nomismata; the

Ova zemlja, u koju se nastaniše Hrvati, bijaše od početka pod vlašću romajskoga cara. Odtale se još u današnji dan čuvaju u zemlji Hrvata palača i hipodrom cara Dioklecijana u Solinu, blizu grada Splita.

Ovi kršteni Hrvati ne vole izvan svoje zemlje drugima zaratiti. Dobili su bo neko proroštvo i zakon od pape rimskoga, kad im je poslao za cara Heraklija svećenike, pa ih pokrstio. Ovi se Hrvati i obrekom i hirografom zavjere svetom Petru apostolu stalno i čvrsto, da nigda ne će na tudju zemlju poći i vojevati, nego će radije mirovati sa svima, koji tako htjet budu, primivši od istoga pape takav zakon: ako koji drugi narodi protiv zemlje tih Hrvata podju i zarate, da pomogne Bog Hrvatom i snjima pristane, i da im Perar Kristov učenik pomogne, da pobjede.

Nakon mnogo godina, u dneve Trpimira kneza, oca kneza Krešimira, dodje iz Francuske, koja leži između Hrvatske i Venecije, muž neki vrlo pobožan, Martin imenom, vanjštinom svjetovnjak, za koga i sami Hrvati vele, da je mnoga čudesa učinio. Nemoćan bješe taj pobožni muž i na noge osakaćen, tako da ga dizahu i nošahu, kamo je htio, i napućaše kao prorok Hrvate, da do kraja života drže zakon sv. pape, stavljajući na nje i sam molbu sličnu papinoj. Toga radi niti sagene tih Hrvata, niti kondure nigda ni na koga ne idu ratom, van da tko na njih navali s tim brodovima polaze tek, koji su od tih Hrvata željni prometati trgovinu od grada do grada, obilazeći zaliv Dalmatinski i do Venecije.

city of Vekla, 100 *nomismata* ; so that the total amounts to 710 *nomismata*, exclusive of wine and various other commodities, which are in excess of the payments in cash. The city of Ragusa is situated between the two countries of the Zachlumi and of Rerbounia; they have their vineyards in both countries, and pay to the prince of the Zachlumi 36 *nomismata*, and to the prince of Terbounia 36 *nomismata*.

OF THE CROATS AND OF THE COUNTRY THEY NOW DWELL IN

The Croats who now live in the region of Dalmatia are descended from the unbaptized Croats, also called "white", who live beyond Turkey and next to Francia, and have for Slav neighbours the unbaptized Serbs. "Croats" in the Slav tongue means "those who occupy much territory". These same Croats arrived to claim the protection of the emperor of the Romans Heraclius before the Serbs claimed the protection of the same emperor Heraclius, at that time when the Avars had fought and expelled from those parts the Romani whom the emperor Diocletian had brought from Rome and settled there, and who were therefore called "Romani" from their having been translated from Rome to those countries, I mean, to those now called Croatia and Serbia. These same Romani having been expelled by the Avars in the days of this same emperor of the Romans Heraclius, their countries were made desolate. And sp. by command of the emperor Heraclius these same Croats defeated and expelled the Avars from those parts, and by mandate of Heraclius the emperor they settled down in that same country of the Avars, where they now dwell. These same Croats had at that time for prince the father of Porgas. The emperor Heraclius sent and brought priests from

Knez pako Hrvatske podvrgnut je od početka, to jest od vlade cara Heraklija ko podanik caru romajskomu, i nigda nije bio podložen knezu Bugarske. *Ali niti Bugarin nije zaratio Hrvatina, osim bugarskoga kneza Mihajla Borisa koji je došao i zaratio im, nu nemogući ništa opraviti, sklopi mir, obdarivši se međjusobno prijateljski sa Hrvatima. Ali Hrvati nisu nigda plaćali Bugarima danak, tek što su se oboje u znak prijateljstva međjusobno darovima počastili.*

Krštena Hrvatska ima ove naseljene gradove: Nin, Biograd, Velicin, Skradin, Hlijevno, Stup, Knin, Kori, Klobuk.

Krštena Hrvatska postavlja konjaništva do 60.000, a pješadije do 100.000 i sarena do 80 i kondura do 100. Na sarenama imaju po 40, na kondurama po 20, a na manjim kondurama po 10 ljudi.

Veliku takovu moć i množinu naroda imaše Hrvati do kneza Krešimira (*Krasimera*). Pošto ovaj umre, a sin njegov Miroslav vladavši 4 godine, od ruke bana Pribunje pogibe, i u zemlji nastala raskol i razor veliki, umanj se broj i konjaništva i pješadije i sarena i kondura, što ih imahu Hrvati. Danas imade sarena 30, male i velike kondure i konjaništvo i pješadije.

Rome, and made of them an archbishop and a bishop and elders and deacons, and baptized the Croats; and at that time these Croats had Porgas for their prince.

This country in which the Croats settled themselves was originally under the dominion of the emperor of the Romans, and hence in the country of these same Croats the palace and hippodromes of the emperor Diocletian are still preserved, at the city of Salona, near the city of Spalato.

These baptized Croats will not fight foreign countries outside the borders of their own; for they received a kind of oracular response and injunction from the pope of Rome who in the time of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, sent priests and baptized them. For after their baptism the Croats made a covenant, confirmed with their own hands and by oaths sure and binding in the name of St. Peter the apostle, that never would they go upon a foreign country and make war on it, but rather would live at peace with all who were willing to do so; and they received from the same pope of Rome a benediction to this effect, that if any other foreigners should come against the country of these same Croats and bring war upon it, then might God fight for the Croats and protect them, and Peter the disciple of Christ give them victories. And many years after, in the days of prince Terpimer, father of prince Krasimer, there came from Francia that lies between Croatia and Venice a man called Martin, of the utmost piety though clad in the garb of a layman, whom these same Croats declare to have wrought abundant miracles; this pious man, who was sick and had had his feet amputated, so that he was carried by four bearers and taken about wherever he wanted to go, confirmed upon these same Croats this injunction of the most holy pope, that they should keep it so

Velika Hrvatska koju i Bijelom zovu, nije krštena ni do danas, kao ni susjedni joj Srbi. Isto tako podiže manje konjaništva i pješadije, nego li krštena Hrvatska, jerbo ih neprekidno pljapčkaju Franci, Madari i Pečenezi. Isto nemaju ni sagena, ni kondura, niti trgovačkih ladja, zašto je daleko more. Od njih bo do mora ima puta 30 dana, a more, koje je 30 dana puta daleko, jest tako nazvano Crno more.

long as their life should last; and he himself also pronounced on their behalf a benediction similar to that which the pope had made. For this reason neither the galleys nor the cutters of these Croats ever go against anyone to make war, unless of course he has come upon them. But in these vessels go those of the Croats who wish to engage in commerce, travelling round from city to city, in Pagania and the gulf of Dalmatia and as far as Venice.

The prince of Croatia gas from the beginning, that is, ever since the reign of Heraclius the emperor, been in servitude and submission to the emperor of the Romans, and was never made subject to the prince of Bulgaria. Nor has the Bulgarian ever gone to war with the Croats, except when Michael Boris, prince of Bulgaria, went and fought them and, unable to make any headway, concluded peace with them, and made presents to the Croats and received presents from the Croats. But never yet have these Croats paid tribute to the Bulgarians, although the two have often made presents to one another in the way of friendship.

In baptized Croatia are the inhabited cities of Nona, Belgrade, Belitzin, Skorkona, Chlebena, Stolpon, Tenin, Kori, Klaboka.

Baptized Croatia musters as many as 60 thousand horse and 100 thousand foot, and galleys up to 80 and cutters up to 100. The galleys carry 40 men each, the cutters 20 each, and the smaller cutters 10 each.

This great power and multitude of man Croatia possessed until the time of prince Krasimer. But when he was dead and his son Moroslav, after ruling four years, was made away with by the ban Pribounias, and quarrels and numerous dissen-

sions broke out in the country, the horse and foot and galleys and cutters of the Croat dominion were diminished. And now it has 30 galleys and cutters, large and small, and horse and foot.

Great Croatia, also called "white", is still unbaptized to this day, as are also the Serbs who are its neighbours. They muster fewer horse and fewer foot than does baptized Croatia, because they are more constantly plundered, by the Franks and Turks and Pechenegs. Nor have they either galleys or cutters or merchant-ships, for the sea is far away; for from those parts to the sea it is a journey of 30 days. And the sea to which they come down after the 30 days is that which is called "dark".

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