

TONČI BURIC

# Romanička sakralna arhitektura u Kaštelima

## Romanesque sacral architecture in Kaštela

Tonči Burić  
Kralja P. Svačića 17  
HR - 21215 Kaštel Lukšić  
tonci.buric@gmail.com

UDK: 902/908(497.583Kaštela)  
7.033.1:341.215.1(497.583Kaštela)“653“  
7.033.41:27-523.42]27-523.41:Sv.Ivan(Sv. Marta)Bijaći,  
Sv. Vital(Divulje), Sv.Marija od Špiljana(Stomorija),  
Sv. Petar od Klobučca (Kaštel Novi), Sv. Ivan od Bir-  
nja, Sv. Lovre od Ostroga (Kaštel Lukšić), 2-523.46  
Sv. Grgura 27-789.2(Trogir), Sv.Mihovil od Lažana,  
Sv. Kuzma i Damjan (Kaštel Gomilica),  
Sv. Juraj od Žestinja(Rudine).  
726“04/12“(497.583Kaštela)

Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper  
Primljeno / Received: 14. 3. 2023.  
Prihvaćeno / Accepted: 31. 7. 2023.

Autor u ovom radu obrađuje crkve romaničkog stila na prostoru Kaštela, kao i one koje su starijega postanka, ali su u epohi romanike obnovljene te su bile dalje u funkciji. U analizi raspravlja o vremenu njihove izgradnje ili obnove, povijesno-političkom okviru u kojemu su sagrađene, njihovoj tipologiji i tehnici zidanja, liturgijskoj artikulaciji prostora, kao i o donatorima, tj. društvenim slojevima koji su nositelji tih donacija. Svi analizirani objekti bili su tada u sklopu Splitske metropolije, bilo direktno pod Splitskom nadbiskupijom, bilo u okvirima Trogirske biskupije, a prema namjeni se mogu podijeliti na zavjetne, samostanske i u većini župne crkve. Ove posljednje u pravilu imaju još i funkciju grobljanske bogomolje.

**Cljučne riječi:** romanika, sakralna arhitektura, Kaštela, razvijeni srednji vijek.

In this paper the author examines Romanesque churches in the Kaštela area, as well as those that had been built earlier but were reconstructed and remained in use during the Romanesque era. The analysis covers the time of their construction or renovation, the historical and political framework in which they were built, their typology and masonry technique, the liturgical articulation of their interiors, and their donors, i.e., the social classes which made these donations. All analyzed buildings were at the time part of the metropolitan see of Split, either directly under the Split Archdiocese or within the jurisdiction of the Trogir Diocese, and based on their purpose they may be classified as votive, monastic and, in most cases, parish churches. As a rule, the latter also served as cemeterial places of worship.

**Key words:** Romanesque, sacral architecture, Kaštela, High Middle Ages.



**UVOD**

Prostor Kaštela bio je u srednjem vijeku podijeljen u dvije mikroregije, Podmorje i Dilat. Podmorje je približno obuhvaćalo teritorij današnjih Donjih, a Dilat Gornjih Kaštela. Ti povijesni regionimi, koji nikada nisu bili organizirani u upravne cjeline, bilo administrativne ili crkvene, zamijenjeni su početkom novoga vijeka, u 16. i 17. st., novim regionimom Kaštela.<sup>1</sup> Podmorje je bilo u sklopu trogirskoga, a Dilat u sklopu splitskoga komunalnog distrikta te je sukladno tome Podmorje u crkvenoj podjeli bilo pod ingerencijom trogirskoga biskupa, a Dilat pod ingerencijom splitskoga nadbiskupa. U trogirskom dijelu Kaštela bila su u srednjem vijeku još i sela Ostrog i Bijaći. Tek novom administrativno-upravnom podjelom, koju je provela Austrija nakon napoleonskih ratova početkom 19. st., Kaštela su izdvojena iz tih stoljetnih komunalnih okvira i razdijeljena na manje općine.<sup>2</sup> Doba romanike u slijedu umjetničkih stilova u Hrvatskoj odvijalo se tijekom razvijenoga srednjeg vijeka (12. – 13. st.) i preklapa se s epohom vladavine dinastije Arpadovića na ugarsko-hrvatskom prijestolju. To je ujedno i razdoblje punoga procvata feudalnih društvenih struktura u povijesnim hrvatskim zemljama.<sup>3</sup> Stoga se može kazati da je romanička arhitektura najprepoznatljiviji amblem feudalnoga ustroja u Hrvatskoj. Njezini najpoznatiji primjeri kod nas očuvani su u urbanim središtima na obali (katedrale, samostanske crkve i zvonice te gradske palače viših društvenih slojeva, plemstva i građanstva). U Kaštelima je, kao i u većini ruralnih predjela izvan gradova i vodećih feudalnih središta, ta arhitektura bila daleko skromnija i manjih dimenzija, prilagođena materijalnim mogućnostima njezinih naručitelja, ali i namjeni sagrađenih objekata. Uz to, romanika je u Kaštelima bila gotovo u cijelosti zastupljena crkvenim graditeljstvom, uz rijetke primjere fortifikacija i stambeno-gospodarskih objekata.<sup>4</sup>

**PREGLED SPOMENIKA**

Romaničke crkve u Kaštelima podizane su na istaknutim vrhovima brda Kozjak i njegovim brjegovima, kao i u samom polju, ali i uz obalu.<sup>5</sup> Ukupno ih je bilo deset, od čega je sedam bilo u trogirskom i tri u splitskom distriktu (karta 1).<sup>6</sup> U

**INTRODUCTION**

The area of Kaštela was divided into two micro-regions during the Middle Ages, Podmorje and Dilat. Podmorje roughly encompassed the territory of today's Donja Kaštela, while Dilat corresponded to Gornja Kaštela. These historical regionyms, which were never formally organized units, whether administrative or ecclesiastical, were replaced at the onset of the Early Modern period, in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, with the new regional term Kaštela.<sup>1</sup> Podmorje was part of the Trogir communal district, while Dilat was in the Split communal district, so therefore in the ecclesiastical division Podmorje was under the authority of the bishop of Trogir, while Dilat was under the archbishop of Split. In the Middle Ages, the Trogir part of Kaštela also encompassed the villages of Ostrog and Bijaći. It was only after the new administrative division conducted by Austria after the Napoleonic Wars at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that Kaštela was separated from these centuries-long communal structures and sub-divided into smaller municipalities.<sup>2</sup> In the sequence of artistic styles in Croatia, the Romanesque era proceeded in the High Middle Ages (12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries) and coincided with the reign of the Árpád dynasty on the Hungarian-Croatian throne. This was simultaneously the period in which feudal social structures were in full bloom in the historical Croatian lands.<sup>3</sup> One may therefore say that Romanesque architecture is the most recognizable emblem of the feudal structure in Croatia. Its best known examples are preserved in the urban centres on the coast (cathedrals, monastic churches and campaniles and the urban palaces of the higher social classes, i.e., the nobility and urban citizenry). In Kaštela as in most rural zones outside of the towns and leading feudal hubs, this architecture was far more modest and smaller in size, adapted to the resources of those who had them built as well as their purpose. Furthermore, the Romanesque era in Kaštela was almost entirely represented by ecclesiastical architecture, with rare examples of fortifications and residential and commercial structures.<sup>4</sup>

**OVERVIEW OF THE MONUMENTS**

The Romanesque churches in Kaštela were built on the prominent heights of Mt. Kozjak and its foothills, but also in

1 O tim nazivima i njihovim mijenama vidi Omašić 2001a, str. 38-42, 82-85; Burić 2011, str. 72-73; 2020a, str. 137-139, 227-228.

2 Omašić 2001b, str. 642-645.

3 Za periodizaciju srednjovjekovne epohe hrvatske povijesti vidi Burić 2020a, str. 40, bilj. 115.

4 Za fortifikacije romaničke epohe u Kaštelima vidi Burić 2020b, a o stambeno-gospodarskom graditeljstvu pripremam poseban rad.

5 Te lokacije, usput napominjem, predstavljaju jednu od razlika između predromaničkih i romaničkih crkava budući da su predromaničke crkve, s izuzetkom putaljske, sve bile u polju ili na spoju polja i brda.

6 Za opći pregled tih crkava vidi Omašić 2001a, str. 38-132 (poglavlja o

1 On these names and their changes, see Omašić 2001a, pp. 38-42, 82-85; Burić 2011, pp. 72-73; 2020a, pp. 137-139, 227-228.

2 Omašić 2001b, pp. 642-645.

3 For the periodisation of the mediaeval era in Croatian history, see Burić 2020a, p. 40, note 115.

4 For Romanesque-era fortifications in Kaštela, see Burić 2020b; this author is preparing a separate paper on residential and non-residential architecture.

trogirskom su to: Sv. Ivan (Sv. Marta) u Bijaćima, Sv. Vital na rtu Tarce u Divuljama, Sv. Juraj od Žestinja na predjelu Rudine u Kaštel Novom, Sv. Marija od Špiljana (Stomorija) i Sv. Petar od Klobučca u Kaštel Novom te Sv. Ivan od Birnja i Sv. Lovre od Ostroga u Kaštel Lukšiću, kojima treba pridodati kapelu sv. Grgura u stambeno-gospodarskoj zgradi na posjedu trogirskih benediktinaca na Mirima u Kaštel Novom. U splitskom su pak distriktu bile sljedeće crkve romaničkog stila i vremena: Sv. Mihovil od Lažana u Kaštel Kambelovcu, Sv. Kuzma i Damjan (selo Kozice) u Kaštel Gomilici i Sv. Juraj od Putalja u Kaštel Sućurcu.<sup>7</sup>

Glavnina nabrojanih crkava je arheološki istražena, bilo u cijelosti (Sv. Ivan (Sv. Marta) u Bijaćima, Sv. Lovre od Ostroga, i Sv. Juraj od Putalja) ili djelomice (Sv. Juraj od Žestinja, Sv. Ivan od Birnja, Sv. Mihovil od Lažana, Sv. Kuzma i Damjan), a arheološki intaktne su Sv. Vital, Sv. Marija od Špiljana i Sv. Petar od Klobučca.

#### **ANALIZA (TIPOLOGIJA OBJEKATA I TEHNIKA ZIDANJA, SKULPTURA)**

Tijekom vremena je većina romaničkih crkava u Kaštelima doživjela veća ili manja oštećenja i/ili radikalne obnove, pa su u svom uglavnom očuvanom izvornom obliku opstale samo dvije, Sv. Kuzma i Damjan i Sv. Mihovil od Lažana, obje u splitskom distriktu. Stoga ćemo s njima i započeti analizu.<sup>8</sup>

Sv. Kuzma i Damjan u Kaštel Gomilici (sl. 1a-b, 2; karta 1. 1) predstavlja tip romaničke crkve koji je uobičajen u ruralnim prostorima pa tako i u okvirima Splitske nadbiskupije. To su longitudinalne jednobrodne crkve s plitkom polukružnom apsidom, u pravilu orijentirane pravcem istok – zapad. Unutrašnjost im je po longitudinalnim zidovima lađe razdijeljena lukovima oslonjenim na polupilone ili stupove, na koje se oslanja bačvasti svod. Mogu imati i traveje, ali ih u sačuvanim crkvama u Kaštelima (Sv. Kuzma i Damjan, Sv. Mihovil od Lažana) nema. Oko romaničke crkve nastalo je i srednjovjekovno župno groblje sela Kozice, koje je koncem 19. st. prošireno te je bilo u funkciji do sedamdesetih godina 20. st. Izvorni romanič-

the plain itself and along the seashore.<sup>5</sup> There are a total of ten, of which seven were in the Trogir and three in the Split district (map 1).<sup>6</sup> In the Trogir district these are: St. John (St. Martha) in Bijaći, St. Vitalis on Cape Tarce in Divulje, St. George of Žestinj in the Rudine precinct in Kaštel Novi, St. Mary of Špiljan (Stomorija) and St. Peter of Klobučac in Kaštel Novi and St. John of Biranj and St. Lawrence of Ostrog in Kaštel Lukšić, to which the Chapel of St. Gregory in a commercial/residential building on the property belonging to the Trogir Benedictines at Miri in Kaštel Novi should be added. The following churches of the Romanesque style and era were in the Split district: St. Michael of Lažani in Kaštel Kambelovac, Sts. Cosmas and Damian (village of Kozice) in Kaštel Gomilica and St. George of Putalj in Kaštel Sućurac.<sup>7</sup>

The majority of the aforementioned churches have undergone archaeological investigation, either in whole (St. John (St. Martha) in Bijaći, St. Lawrence of Ostrog and St. George of Putalj) or in part (St. George of Žestinj, St. John of Biranj, St. Michael of Lažani, Sts. Cosmas and Damian), while St. Vitalis, St. Mary of Špiljan and St. Peter of Klobučac are archaeologically intact.

#### **ANALYSIS (TYPOLOGY OF BUILDINGS AND MASONRY AND SCULPTURE)**

Over time, most of the Romanesque churches in Kaštela have sustained greater or lesser damage and/or undergone radical renovations, so that only two have survived in their original form for the most part, Sts. Cosmas and Damian and St. Michael of Lažani, both in the Split district. Therefore the analysis will in fact begin with them.<sup>8</sup>

Sts. Cosmas and Damian in Kaštel Gomilica (Fig. 1a – b, 2; map 1. 1) is a type of Romanesque church that was custom-

srednjovjekovnim selima); Bego 1991, str. 47-55, 87-97; Burić 2020a, str. 209-213.

7 O svakoj od navedenih crkava postoji određeni broj bibliografskih jedinica. Ovdje za početak navodim samo glavne sinteze iz kaštelanske prošlosti u kojima se prema topografskim kazalima mogu naći osnovni podatci o njima: Babić 1991<sup>2</sup>; Omašić 2001a.

8 Koristim prigodu zahvaliti kolegama i suradnicima na pomoći pri pisanju ovoga rada. Za fotografije su zaslužni Doroti Brajnov Botić, Tonko Bartulović, Zoran Alajbeg, Ivan Šuta, Ante Radovčić i Melita Gannouni, a kartu je izradio Ante Šundov. Savjetima oko pojedinih aspekata proučavanja sakralne arhitekture zadužili su me kolegica Doroti Brajnov Botić i kolega Ante Uglešić. Svima skupa još jednom veliko hvala.

5 These locations, I should incidentally note, constitute one of the differences between pre-Romanesque and Romanesque churches, since the pre-Romanesque churches, with the exception of the one in Putalj, were all in the plain or in the zone where the plain the mountain meet.

6 For a general overview of these churches, see Omašić 2001a, pp. 38-132 (chapter on mediaeval villages); Bego 1991, pp. 47-55, 87-97; Burić 2020a, pp. 209-213.

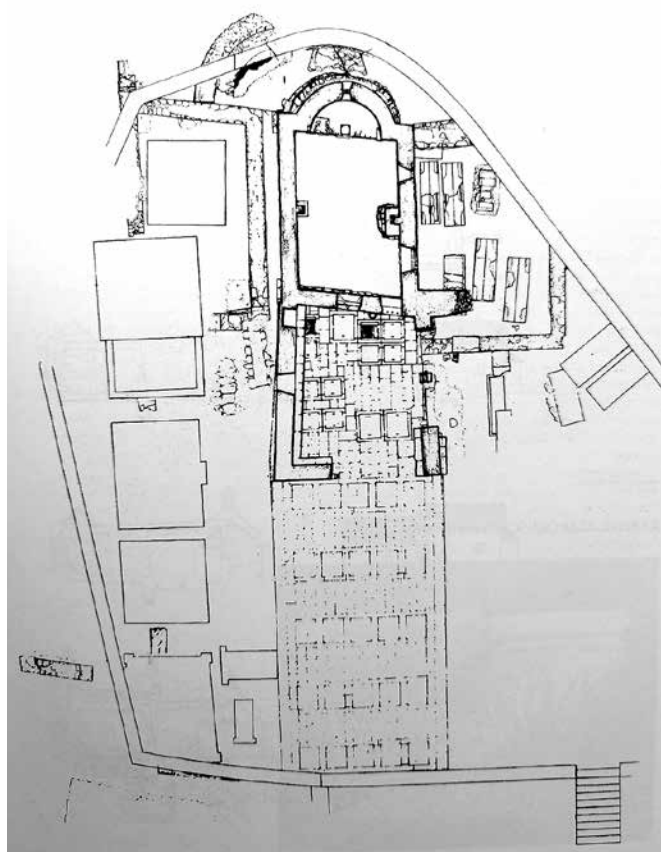
7 A certain number of bibliographic units exists for each of the aforementioned churches. To begin, here I shall note only the main syntheses from Kaštela's past in which the basic data thereon can be found in the topographic indices: Babić 1991<sup>2</sup>; Omašić 2001a.

8 I take this opportunity to thank my colleagues and associates for their assistants in writing this paper. The photographs were taken by Doroti Brajnov Botić, Tonko Bartulović, Zoran Alajbeg, Ivan Šuta, Ante Radovčić and Melita Gannouni, while the map was made by Ante Šundov. I also owe debt of gratitude to Doroti Brajnov Botić and Ante Uglešić for their advice on individual aspects of studying sacral architecture. A big thanks to them all once again.



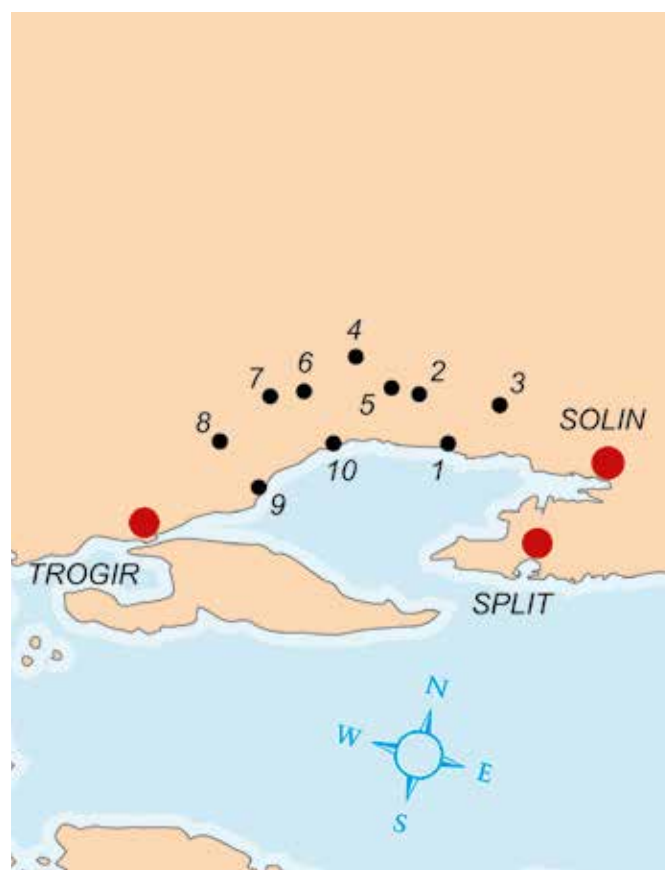
Slika 1a-b.  
 Sv. Kuzma i Damjan u Kaštel Gomilici (1160.), pogled sa sjevero-istoka (foto: D. Brajnov Botić)

Figure 1a-b.  
 Saints Cosmas and Damian in Kaštel Gomilica (1160), view from the northeast (photo: D. Brajnov Botić)



Slika 2.  
 Plan lokaliteta s tlocrtom Sv. Kuzme i Damjana (preuzeto iz Marasović *et. al.* 1995, str. 113.)

Figure 2  
 Site map with floor plan of Saints Cosmas and Damian (taken from Marasović *et al.* 1995, p. 113)



Karta 1.  
 Raspored romaničkih crkava u Kaštelima (izradio A. Šundov)

Chart 1.  
 Layout of Romanesque churches in Kaštela (created by A. Šundov)



Slika 3.  
Unutrašnjost lađe Sv. Kuzme i Damjana (foto: D. Brajnov Botić)

Figure 3  
Interior of the nave of Saints Cosmas and Damian  
(photo: D. Brajnov Botić)

ki dio Sv. Kuzme i Damjana ima lađu čiji je svod oslonjen na dva široka luka s obje uzdužne strane koji se spajaju na sredini bočnih zidova, položeni na oktogonalne stupove s tipičnim romaničkim kubičnim kapitelima (sl. 3).<sup>9</sup> Crkvu su dale podići benediktinke samostana sv. Benedikta (sv. Arnira) u Splitu na svom posjedu, koji im je dodijelio kralj Zvonimir 1078., a doživjela je više obnova i dogradnji tijekom vremena. Najprije je u kasnom srednjem vijeku, u vrijeme gotike, s južne strane pročelja dozidan kontrafor sa zvonikom. To je bio zvonik na preslicu koji je u baroknoj obnovi prebačen na vrh pročelja crkve,<sup>10</sup> kojoj je tada pridodan i natkriveni trijem pred pročeljem (sl. 4). Sv. Kuzma i Damjan često se u literaturi spominje u više rasprava o darovnicama hrvatskih kraljeva Zvonimira i Stjepana II. ženskom benediktinskom samostanu sv. Benedikta (sv. Arnira) u Splitu, ali bez pobliže analize same arhitekture i cije-

ary in rural areas, including those inside the Split Archdiocese. These are longitudinal single-nave churches that have a shallow, semi-circular apse with, as a rule, an east-west orientation. Their interior is articulated by arches along the longitudinal walls which rest on semi-pylons or columns, on which the barrel vault also rests. They could also have bays, but the preserved churches in Kaštela (Sts. Cosmas and Damian, St. Michael of Lažani) do not. The mediaeval parish cemetery of the village of Kozice also emerged around a Romanesque church, which was expanded in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and remained in use until the 1970s. The original Romanesque section of Sts. Cosmas and Damian has a nave with a vault that rests on two broad arches on both longitudinal sides that connect in the middle of the side walls, set on octagonal columns with the typically Romanesque cubical capitals (Fig. 3).<sup>9</sup> The church's construction was commissioned by Benedictine nuns from the

<sup>9</sup> Karaman 1930, str. 206-207; Belamarić 1991, str. 43-45.

<sup>10</sup> Bego 1991, str. 709, sl. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Karaman 1930, pp. 206-207; Belamarić 1991, pp. 43-45.



Slika 4.  
Pogled na Sv. Kuzmu i Damjana sa zapada; romanički portal i kontrafor gotičke zvonare na jugozapadnom uglu crkve (foto: D. Brajnov Botić)

Figure 4  
View of Saints Cosmas and Damian from the west; Romanesque portal and buttress of the Gothic bell tower on the southwestern corner of the church (photo: D. Brajnov Botić)

loga spomeničkog kompleksa. Ovdje navodim samo cjelovite analize u kojima se obrađuju pisani spomenici ili crkvena arhitektura i pisani dokumenti zajedno, a gdje je citirana i literatura o problematici autentičnosti vladarskih povelja. Prvi je opširnije o crkvi pisao Karaman, obradivši i arheološke nalaze oko nje na lokalitetu Dolac,<sup>11</sup> a temeljitu i iscrpnu analizu vladarskih darovnica benediktinkama proveo je Omašić obradivši i paleografsko-diplomatički i topografski aspekt problematike.<sup>12</sup> Karaman je prvi ukazao na romaničke kapitele u toj crkvi, a istom stilu je pripisao i ugaone ukrase baza stupova (sl. 5) i prozorsku tranzenu na apsidi. Mišljenja sam da i ugaone konzole na kojima počivaju završetci lukova na pročelnom i začelnom zidu lađe također pripadaju istom opusu romaničke arhitektonske skulpture (sl. 3, 6). U novije je vrijeme ova crkva ponovno privukla pažnju istraživača. Najprije je svoje mjesto

Convent of St. Benedict (St. Raynerius) in Split on their property, which had been granted to them by King Zvonimir in 1078, and over time it underwent several renovations and expansions. First a buttress with a steeple was additionally built to the south side of the frontispiece in the late Middle Ages, during the Gothic era. This was a steeple with a bell-cote which during the Baroque reconstruction was moved to the top of the church's frontispiece,<sup>10</sup> to which a covered portico was added (Fig. 4). Sts. Cosmas and Damian is often mentioned in the relevant literature in several debates on the deeds granted by Croatian Kings Zvonimir and Stephen II to the Benedictine Convent of St. Benedict (St. Raynerius) in Split, but a thorough analysis of both the architecture itself and the entire monumental complex is lacking. Here I shall cite only the comprehensive analysis in which the written sources or ecclesiastical architecture and written documents are covered to-

11 Karaman 1930, str. 205-216, T. IV.

12 Omašić 1978, str. 65-80; 2001, str. 62-73.

10 Bego 1991, p. 709, Fig. 3.



Slika 5.  
Romanički stup s bazom i kapitelom na sjevernom zidu lađe Sv. Kuzme i Damjana (foto: D. Brajnov Botić)

Figure 5  
Romanesque column with base and capital on the north wall of the nave of Saints Cosmas and Damian (photo: D. Brajnov Botić)

našla u obimnoj sintezi prošlosti Kaštel Kambelovca i Kaštel Gomilice don Frane Bege, gdje je potanko iznesen niz detalja, kako o samom objektu, tako i o povijesnim dokumentima o crkvi, a istovremeno je objavljen i dio rezultata novih konzervatorsko-arheoloških radova kojima je potvrđeno postojanje starokršćanske crkve ceterijalne namjene te su prikazani tlocrt i presjek romaničke crkve. Bego donosi i dimenzije crkve (6,60 × 4,70 m; dubina apside 2 m, debljina zidova 50 – 60 cm) te opisuje romanički luk nad vratima pročelja (sl. 4). Istodobno je Belamarić objavio zanimljivi nalaz relikvija u stipesu romaničkog oltara Sv. Kuzme i Damjana te je analizirao ulogu tih relikvija u onodobnim političko-vjerskim relacijama u Splitskoj nadbiskupiji.<sup>13</sup> Nije na odmet napomenuti da je i stipes oltar-

gether, but where the secondary literature dealing with the problems surrounding the veracity of the royal charters is also cited. The first to write more extensively about the church was Karaman, who also analysed the archaeological finds around it at the Dolac site,<sup>11</sup> while a more thorough and exhaustive analysis of the royal charters to the Benedictine sisters was conducted by Omašić, who also dealt with the palaeographic-diplomatics and topographic aspects of this topic.<sup>12</sup> Karaman was the first to point out the Romanesque capitals in this church, and he ascribed the same style to the corner ornaments of the column bases (Fig. 5) and the window screen on the apse. I believe that even the corner corbels on which the ends of the arches on the front and rear nave walls rest also belong to the same body of Romanesque architectural sculpture (Fig. 3 and 6). This church has once again attracted the attention of researchers more recently. Above all, it has found its place in the expansive synthesis of the past of Kaštel Kambelovac and Kaštel Gomilica by Don Frane Bego, wherein a series of details are meticulously presented, both about the building itself and the historical documents about the church, while simultaneously publishing the results of new conservation and archaeological works that have confirmed the existence of an Early Christian cemeterial church. The layout and cross-section of the Romanesque church are also shown. Bego presented the church's dimensions (6.6 × 4.7 m; depth of apse 2 m, wall thickness 50-60 cm) and described the Romanesque arch above the frontispiece door (Fig. 4). At the same time, Belamarić published the intriguing discovery of a reliquary in the support of the Romanesque altar of Sts. Cosmas and Damian and he analyzed the role of these reliquaries in the political and religious relations of the time in the Split Archdiocese.<sup>13</sup> It is entirely appropriate to note that the support for the altar table was formed octagonally (Fig. 7), as are the columns of the supporting arches. Here it is certainly also noteworthy that this altar support has a close parallel in the Church of St. George of Radun in Kaštel Stari, with the difference that the Radun altar support was originally the small column of an Early Christian mullion which became an altar support in secondary use,<sup>14</sup>

11 Karaman 1930, pp. 205-216, IV.

12 Omašić 1978, pp. 65-80; 2001, pp. 62-73.

13 Bego 1991, pp. 707-713; Belamarić 1991.

14 Duplančić 2008, pp. 49-53. The latter did not directly address the dating of the secondary use of this piece, which Cvito Fisković had tied to the monuments of the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries (Fisković 1952, p. 192). The dating of St. George of Radun points to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, while the dating of the altar support from the Church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian indicates the 12<sup>th</sup> century (1160). Earlier I had placed the Radun altar support in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, having overlooked Fisković's study (Burić 2010b, pp. 9-10), and I maintain this view here as well. In other words, octagonal altar supports have been confirmed in Kaštela in pre-Romanesque (St. George of Radun, 11<sup>th</sup> c.) and early Romanesque (Sts. Cosmas and Damian, 1160) churches.

13 Bego 1991, str. 707-713; Belamarić 1991.



Slika 6.  
Romanički kapiteli i konzole na kojima počivaju stope lukova u lađi Sv. Kuzme i Damjana (foto: D. Brajnov Botić)

Figure 6.  
Romanesque capitals and corbels supporting the bases of arches in the nave of Saints Cosmas and Damian (photo: D. Brajnov Botić)

ne menze oblikovan oktogonalno (sl. 7), kao i stupovi rasteretnih lukova. Ovdje svakako još treba istaknuti da taj stipes ima blisku paralelu u crkvi sv. Jurja od Raduna u Kaštel Starom, s tom razlikom što je radunski stipes izvorno bio stupić starokršćanske bifore koji je u funkciju stipesa dospio u sekundarnoj namjeni,<sup>14</sup> pri čemu je prvotno pravokutni stupić preklešan u oktagon, poput stipesa u Sv. Kuzmi i Damjanu. Osim kapitela i konzola rasteretnih lukova, u Sv. Kuzmi i Damjanu do danas nisu otkriveni drugi nalazi romaničke skulpture, kao ni natpisa. Nadalje, u dva je navrata objavljen zaista sažeti prikaz rezultata konzervatorsko-arheoloških istraživanja koja svakako zaslužuju pozornost stručne javnosti. Autori tih objava defini-

wherein the original rectangular column was reworked into an octagon, like the altar support in Sts. Cosmas and Damian. Besides the capitals and corbels of the supporting arches, no other finds of Romanesque sculpture, nor even an inscription, have been found in Sts. Cosmas and Damian to this day. Furthermore, on two occasions truly concise overviews of the results of conservation-archaeological research were published, which merit the attention of the scholarly public. The authors of these publications defined the primary phases in the development of this religious structure and according to them a cemeterial basilica was built first, and then a small Early Christian church which, it would appear, functioned until the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and was renovated in a Romanesque key in that century, adhering to the same dimensions.<sup>15</sup> The Early Christian phases have been dated to the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries, but it will only be possible to discuss these after the complete publication of

14 Duplancić 2008, str. 49-53. Autor se ne izjašnjava direktno o dataciji sekundarne faze toga spomenika koji je još Cvito Fisković povezao sa spomenicima 11. – 12. st. (Fisković 1952, str. 192). Na 11. st. upućuje datacija Sv. Jurja od Raduna, a na 12. datacija stipesa i crkve sv. Kuzme i Damjana (1160.). Svojedobno sam i sam pripisao radunski stipes 11. st. previdjevši pri tome Fiskovićev rad (Burić 2010b, str. 9-10), pa i ovdje ostajem pri tom mišljenju. Drugim riječima, oktogonalni stipesi potvrđeni su u Kaštelima u predromaničkim (Sv. Juraj od Raduna, 11. st.) i ranoromaničkim (Sv. Kuzma i Damjan, 1160.) crkvama.

15 Marasović, Sumić 1993; Marasović *et al.* 1995. The further phases in the development of Sts. Cosmas and Damian which are described in the aforementioned works are not taken into consideration here because they exceed the chronological framework set by this paper's title.



Slika 7.  
Stipes romaničkog oltara  
(1160.) u Sv. Kuzmi i Damjanu  
(foto: D. Brajnov Botić)

Figure 7  
Stipes of the Romanesque  
altar (1160) in Saints Cosmas  
and Damian  
(photo: D. Brajnov Botić)

rali su glavne faze u razvoju kulturnoga objekta te je prema njima prvo sagrađena cemeterijalna bazilika, a potom manja starokršćanska crkva koja je, čini se, bila u funkciji do 12. st., a obnovljena je u romaničkom slogu u 12. st. u istim gabaritima.<sup>15</sup> Starokršćanske faze datirali su u 5. – 6. st., no o njima će biti moguće raspravljati tek nakon cjelovite objave rezultata. U većini navedenih djela od Karamana do danas, kao i u povijesnim radovima koje oni navode, a odnose se na Sv. Kuzmu i Damjana, izneseni su podatci iz pisanih vrela prema kojima navedenu crkvu možemo još preciznije datirati u sredinu 12. st. Gradnja je započeta za splitskog nadbiskupa Gaudija (1138. – 1158.), a crkvu je 1160. posvetio nadbiskup Absalom.

Sljedeća romanička crkva u splitskom distriktu je Sv. Mihovil od Lažana (karta 1. 2). Sagrađena je na istaknutoj litici brijega na Kozjaku u Kaštel Kambelovcu, a oko nje se prosti-

the results. In most of the aforementioned works from Karaman to the present, as in the historical works which they cite and which pertain to Sts. Cosmas and Damian, data from the written sources have been presented according to which we can even more precisely date this church to the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century. Construction began during the tenure of Split Archbishop Gaudio (1138-1158), and the church was dedicated in 1160 by Archbishop Absalom.

The next Romanesque church in the Split district is St. Michael of Lažani (map 1. 2). It was built on a prominent bluff on Kozjak in Kaštel Kambelovac, and the parish cemetery of the mediaeval village of Lažani extended around it. It was built in the rustic Romanesque style, and it closely parallels Sts. Cosmas and Damian. According to the decision on registration of the church as a cultural monument, which was issued by the Regional Cultural Monument Protection Department in Split, it has been dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>16</sup> even though the cartulary of the Split Benedictine nuns from 1171 mentions the *ecclesia sancti Michaelis pod Chosica*, so that individual scholars have doubts as to which church this is.<sup>17</sup> However, since there are rather close analogies to its features in Sts. Cosmas and Damian and St. John of Biranj, I also favour dating its construction to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. It was also a single-nave building with a rounded apse, while its interior is articulated with two pairs of massive pilasters on the longitudinal walls that form three niches with arches (Fig. 8-10) on which the barrel vault rests. It has the standard east-west orientation with roughly the same dimensions as Sts. Cosmas and Damian (7.15 × 4.85 m). Only the walls are somewhat thicker at roughly 1 m. It is also noteworthy that it is the only one that has a preserved triumphal arch at the entrance to the apse, which is composed of rustic dressed stones of unequal width (Fig. 10). It differs from Sts. Cosmas and Damian in terms of the selection of location and footing method. Sts. Cosmas and Damian was erected on a thick layer created by the demolition of an Early Christian basilica, while St. Michael is on a bluff on its northern side with its foundation in the south set in a fill of rubble and stones, which filled the massive stone underpinning wall inside which the church was constructed. This underpinning wall is set on the bluff to the north and east, while the open space to the west incorporates steps to the church's frontispiece (Fig. 11). The architectural remains of older buildings at this site have not been preserved, although they are indicated by fragments of Late Antique sculpture and inscriptions which point to the existence of a small Early Christian sanctuary. Namely, several Late Antique spolia were embedded into the walkway, specifically fragments of a grave stele from the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>18</sup>

15 Marasović, Sumić 1993; Marasović *et al.* 1995. Daljnje faze u razvoju Sv. Kuzme i Damjana koje se opisuju u navedenim radovima ovdje ne uzimam u razmatranje jer izlaze iz kronološkog okvira zadnog naslovom ovoga rada.

16 Bego 1991, p. 92.

17 Omašić 1978, p. 52; Bego 1991, p. 85.

18 On the Church of St. Michael see Bego 1991, pp. 87-97, and for more



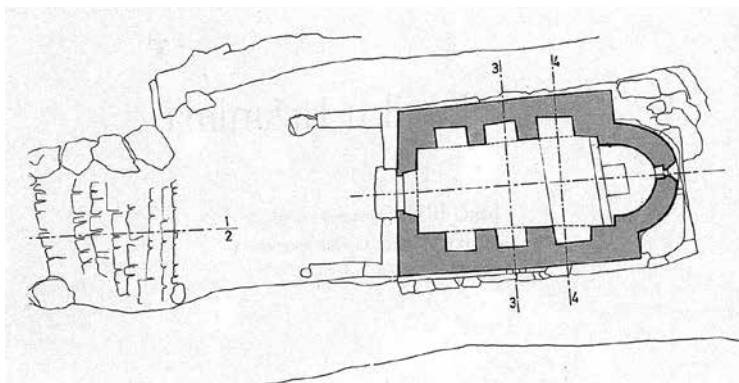
Slika 8.  
Sv. Mihovil od Lažana (12. st.),  
pogled s jugoistoka  
(foto: T. Bartulović)

Figure 8.  
Saint Michael of Lažani (12th century),  
view from the southeast  
(photo: T. Bartulović)



Slika 10.  
Unutrašnjost Sv. Mihovila  
(foto: T. Bartulović)

Figure 10.  
Interior of Saint Michael  
(photo: T. Bartulović)



Slika 9.  
Tlocrt Sv. Mihovila (preuzeto iz  
Burić 2003b, str. 24.).

Figure 9.  
Floor plan of Saint Michael  
(taken from Burić 2003b, p. 24)

ralo župno groblje srednjovjekovnog sela Lažani. Zidana je u rustičnom romaničkom stilu, a bliska paralela joj je Sv. Kuzma i Damjan. Rješenjem o registraciji crkve kao spomenika kulture, koje je izdao Regionalni zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Splitu, datirana je u 13. st.<sup>16</sup> iako se u zavodu splitskih benediktinki iz 1171. spominje *ecclesia sancti Michaelis pod Chosica*, oko koje pojedini autori dvoje o kojoj se crkvi radi.<sup>17</sup> No, budući da po svojim tipskim osobinama ima veoma bliske analogije u Sv. Kuzmi i Damjanu i Sv. Ivanu od Birnja, sklon sam njezinu gradnju također datirati u 12. st. I ona je manja jednobrod-

The reason for this lies in the fact that buildings erected on bedrock and bluffs are, as a rule, entirely removed during the construction of a new building at the same site because the foundational remains of the walls of the older phase would disturb the static stability of the new structure. This phenomenon was noted during research into two other Romanesque churches in Kaštela, St. Lawrence at Ostrog and St. John of Biranj. The structure of the underpinning wall, rather similar to that of St. Michael's, has been preserved around the small rustic Church of St. Maximus on the ridge of a hill called Perun in Poljice. This church, although it underwent several phases and restorations, which is reflected in the structure of the frontispiece wall and the terminal point of the apse, also exhibits the recognizable rustic early Romanesque masonry technique in its lower and middle sections.<sup>19</sup> A Romanesque time-frame for the first phase of construction is also indicated by the appearance of the nave's interior, with walls "articulated into three lesenes separated by two pilasters."<sup>20</sup> Thus, its position, floor-plan dimensions of a single-nave building with rounded apse, internal breakdown of the nave's lateral walls and location inside massive underpinning walls on a steep bluff offer close parallels to Lažani's St. Michael.

St. Michael was the parish and cemeterial church of mediaeval Lažani, and it has been mentioned in written sources

on the research results, Burić 2003b, pp. 23-27.

<sup>19</sup> Škobalj 1970/19992, pp. 509-510. The latter did not address the church's dating and its stylistic character, but he did point out the mediaeval graves around it.

<sup>20</sup> Lovrić 2019, p. 67.

<sup>16</sup> Bego 1991, str. 92.

<sup>17</sup> Omašić 1978, str. 52; Bego 1991, str. 85.



Slika 11.  
Sv. Mihovil, pogled sa sjeverozapada. Romanički portal i stepenište pred pročeljem (foto: I. Šuta)

Figure 11.  
Saint Michael, view from the northwest. Romanesque portal and staircase in front of the façade (photo: I. Šuta)

na građevina s oblom apsidom, a unutrašnjost joj je raščlanjena s dva para masivnih pilastara na uzdužnim zidovima, koji tvore tri niše nadstvođene lukovima (sl. 8-10) na koje je oslonjen bačvasti svod. Orijentacija joj je uobičajena, istok – zapad, približno je istih dimenzija kao i Sv. Kuzma i Damjan (7,15 × 4,85 m), a jedino su joj zidovi nešto deblji, oko 1 m. Također valja istaknuti da ona jedina ima očuvani trijumfalni luk nad ulazom u apsidu, koji je složen od rustičnih klesanaca nejednakih širina (sl. 10). Od Sv. Kuzme i Damjana razlikuje se po odabiru lokacije i načinu utemeljenja. Sv. Kuzma i Damjan podignut je nad debelim slojem nastalim rušenjem starokršćanske bazilike, a Sv. Mihovil na litici sa sjeverne strane, dok je s juga utemeljen na nasipu šute i kamenja, kojima je ispunjen masivni kameni podzid unutar kojega je crkva i sagrađena. Taj je podzid sa sjevera i istoka položen na liticu, a sa zapada je otvoreni prostor u koji su uklopljene stepenice do pročelja crkve (sl. 11). Arhitektonski ostatci starijih zdanja na tom položaju nisu sačuvani premda na njih ukazuju kasnoantički ulomci skulpture i natpisa koji upućuju na manje starokršćansko svetište. Naime, u pločniku je bilo uzidano nekoliko kasnoantičkih *spolia* i to ulomaka nadgrobni stela iz 6. – 7. st.<sup>18</sup> Razlog

several times, as cited by Omašić.<sup>21</sup> The Bihac Society conducted minor excavations in the cemetery around the church in 1924; several graves were examined and they did not contain goods, while the results of the excavations were never published.<sup>22</sup>

The Romanesque series of Kaštela churches in the Split district ends with St. George of Putalj in Kaštel Sućurac. There are numerous scholarly texts about this church, and an extensive synthesis was published upon the conclusion of systematic archaeological excavations at the Putalj site and the conservation and restoration of the existing church in 1995.<sup>23</sup> Putalj is a site with a very complex stratigraphy, so its architectural remains also belong to different chronological periods from prehistory to the present, and even in individual chronological segments its mason-work structures have several phases. One of these is the Romanesque sacral building that was overtaken by the Gothic church from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, reconstructed on multiple occasions until the final renovation in 1995 when its narrower surroundings were organized into an archaeological park, at the time the first in Split-Dalmatia

18 O crkvi sv. Mihovila vidi Bego 1991, str. 87-97, a više o rezultatima istraživanja Burić 2003b, str. 23-27.

21 Omašić 1978, pp. 51-52.

22 Bego 1991, pp. 88-89.

23 Burić, Čače, Fadić 2001.

tome leži u činjenici da se zdanja zidana na živcu kamenu i liti-  
cama prigodom izgradnje novog objekta na istom mjestu u pra-  
vilu radiraju do kraja jer bi temeljni ostatci zidova starije faze  
remetili statičku sigurnost novoga objekta. Ta je pojava uočena  
i pri istraživanju još dviju romaničkih crkava u Kaštelima,  
Sv. Lovre na Ostrogu i Sv. Ivana od Birnja. Konstrukcija podzi-  
da veoma slična onoj Sv. Mihovila očuvana je oko rustične cr-  
kvice sv. Maksima na hrptu brda Perun u Poljicima. I ta crkva,  
premda je imala više faza i obnova, što je vidljivo po struktu-  
ri zida na pročelju i završnom dijelu apside, pokazuje u očuva-  
nom donjem i srednjem dijelu apside prepoznatljivu tehniku  
zidanja rustične rane romanike.<sup>19</sup> Na romaničko vrijeme grad-  
nje prve faze crkve ukazuje i izgled unutrašnjosti lađe čiji su  
zidovi „razdijeljeni na tri lezene odijeljene dvama pilastrima“.<sup>20</sup>  
Dakle, njezin položaj, tlocrtni gabariti jednobrodne građevine  
s oblom apsidom, unutrašnja raščlamba bočnih zidova lađe i lo-  
kacija unutar masivnog podzida na strmoj litici pružaju bliske  
paralele lažanskom Sv. Mihovilu.

Sv. Mihovil bio je župna i grobljanska crkva srednjovjekov-  
nih Lažana, a u više se navrata spominje u pisanim izvorima,  
koje donosi Omašić.<sup>21</sup> Na groblju oko crkve društvo Bihać je  
1924. provelo manja iskopavanja; istraženo je nekoliko grobo-  
va te u njima nije bilo nalaza, a rezultati iskopavanja nisu ni-  
kad objavljeni.<sup>22</sup>

Romanički niz kaštelanskih crkava u splitskom distriktu  
završava sa Sv. Jurjem od Putalja u Kaštel Sućurcu. O toj crkvi  
postoji brojna literatura, a opširna sinteza je objavljena po za-  
vršetku sustavnih arheoloških iskopavanja lokaliteta Putalj i  
konzervatorsko-restauratorske obnove postojeće crkve 1995.<sup>23</sup>  
Putalj je lokalitet veoma složene stratigrafije pa tako i njego-  
vi arhitektonski ostatci pripadaju različitim vremenskim raz-  
dobljima od prapovijesti do danas, a i u pojedinim užim krono-  
loškim odsjecima zidani objekti imaju više faza. Jedan od njih  
je i romanički sakralni objekt koji je preslojila gotička crkva s  
konca 14. st., višekratno obnavljana sve do zadnje obnove 1995.  
kada je uži okoliš oko crkve uređen kao arheološki park, tada  
prvi u Splitsko-dalmatinskoj županiji. Od gotičke faze crkve  
preostali su kvadratna apside i začelni zid lađe podignuti nad  
ostacima romaničkoga objekta (sl. 12).<sup>24</sup>

Arhitektonski ostatci romaničke crkve nisu sačuvani, ali ju  
treba pretpostaviti iz dvaju razloga. Prvi je sadržan u strati-  
grafiji arheoloških slojeva na Putalju, a drugi u logičnoj pret-  
postavci da je na glavnom posjedu splitskih nadbiskupa od 12.



Slika 12.  
Apsida i začelni zid lađe go-  
tičke crkve sv. Jurja od Pu-  
talja položeni na ostatke  
romaničkog zida (foto: T. Bar-  
tulović)

Figure 12.  
Apse and rear wall of the  
Gothic church of  
Saint George of Putalj placed  
on the remains of Roman-  
esque masonry  
(photo: T. Bartulović)

County. The rectangular apse and rear wall of the nave built  
atop the remains the Romanesque structure were left over  
from the church's Gothic phase (Fig. 12).<sup>24</sup>

The architectural remains of the Romanesque church have  
not been preserved, but their existence should be presumed  
for two reasons. The first is contained in the stratigraphy of  
the archaeological layers at Putalj, while the other rests in the  
logical supposition that a sacral building had to have existed  
in the parish cemetery on what was the primary property of  
Split's archbishops from the 12<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the  
Gothic church was built. Unfortunately, the frequent demo-  
lition of architectural structures at Putalj and the density of  
mediaeval graves, which considerably damaged the stratig-  
raphy and wall remains, have completely devastated the Ro-  
manesque sacral building, so nothing specific can be said about  
its appearance and typology. Only the sequence of interment

19 Škobalj 1970/1999<sup>2</sup>, str. 509-510. Autor se ne izjašnjava o dataciji cr-  
kve i stilskoj pripadnosti, ali ukazuje na srednjovjekovne grobove  
oko nje.

20 Lovrić 2019, str. 67.

21 Omašić 1978, str. 51-52.

22 Bego 1991, str. 88-89.

23 Burić, Čače, Fadić 2001.

24 Burić 2001, str. 196: tlocrt gotičke crkve.

24 Burić 2001, p. 196: floor-plan of the Gothic church.

do konca 14. st, kada je sagrađena gotička crkva, morao postojati sakralni objekt na župnom groblju. Nažalost, višekratna rušenja arhitektonskih objekata na Putalju i gustoća srednjovjekovnih grobova, koji su znatno poremetili stratigrafiju i ostatke zidova, u potpunosti su devastirali romaničko sakralno zdanje, pa o njegovom izgledu i tipologiji ne možemo kazati ništa konkretno. Jedino nam slijed faza ukopavanja na župnom groblju posredno omogućuje zaključak da je romanička crkva bila znatno manjih dimenzija od predromaničke i starokršćanske, približno u gabaritima gotičkog i današnjeg sakralnog objekta, a svi su oni podignuti na temeljima manjeg antičkog hrama – Objekt A prema planu istraživanja, u kojemu je otkrivena i starokršćanska grobnica i ostatci podnoga višebojnog mozaika.<sup>25</sup> Njezinu izgradnju, prema fazama razvoja groblja, možemo približno datirati u 12. st. Ta je građevina bila inkorporirana u starokršćansku i predromaničku crkvu, pa su njezini temelji poslužili i u gradnjama kasnijih crkava, gotičke i suvremene. Također, nisu pronađeni ni elementi romaničke dekoracije crkve, premda na nju upućuje izgubljeni ulomak reljefa s prikazom orla koji spominje don Mate Klarić u svom izvještaju o obilasku Putalja razlikujući ga od rimske i predromaničke skulpture s toga lokaliteta.<sup>26</sup>

Za razliku od dijela Kaštela u splitskom distriktu (danas Gornja Kaštela), u dijelu u trogirskom distriktu (danas Donja Kaštela i Kaštel Lukšić) poznat je daleko veći broj crkava iz razdoblja romanike, bilo izvorno romaničkih ili starijih crkava obnovljenih u epohi romanike. Ukupno ih je poznato sedam (karta 1. 4 – 10), no unatoč tom više nego dvostrukom broju, stupanj očuvanosti u odnosu na crkve u Gornjim Kaštelima daleko je manji. Ni jedna nema izvornu cjelinu apside i lađe, a trima od njih nije poznat ni izgled, ni tlocrt (Stomorija, Sv. Vital, Sv. Petar od Klobučca). Samo pojedini elementi arhitektonskog korpusa poznati su ili očuvani kod Sv. Jurja od Žestinja i Sv. Ivana od Birnja, dok su kod Sv. Lovre od Ostroga oni posredno utvrđeni, a Sv. Ivan (Sv. Marta) od Bijaća ima samo romaničke adaptacije nastale pregradnjom i proširenjem crkve.

I ovdje ćemo započeti s onima kod kojih je očuvano najviše elemenata izvorne romaničke faze. Tu je na prvom mjestu crkva sv. Ivana Krstitelja od Birnja (karta 1. 4). Bila je to jednobrodna romanička bogomolja s oblom apsidom, ali je tijekom stoljeća doživjela niz obnova i dogradnji šireći se k zapadu, zbog čega ima izduženi tlocrt i oblik (sl. 13). Orijentirana je istok – zapad te joj ukupna dužina iznosi 16,90 m, od čega na lađu srednjovjekovne gotičke faze otpada oko 6 m, dok je novovjekovni dio dug 9,75 m. Novovjekovna lađa široka je 7 m, a srednjovjekovna 5,10 m. Očuvana romanička apside ima promjer oko 2 m i duboka je 1,30 m.<sup>27</sup> Pri svakom je proširenju lađa

phases in the parish cemetery indirectly allows for the conclusion that the Romanesque church had considerably smaller dimensions than its pre-Romanesque and Early Christian predecessors, roughly within the dimensions of the Gothic and present-day sacral structure, and all of them were raised on the foundations of small Roman-era temple: Structure A according to the excavation map, in which an Early Christian tomb and the remains of a multi-colour floor mosaic were discovered.<sup>25</sup> Based on the cemetery's developmental phases, its construction can be approximately dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. This building was incorporated into the Early Christian and pre-Romanesque church, so its foundations also served the construction of subsequent churches, both Gothic and modern. Furthermore, no elements of Romanesque church decorations have been found, although its existence is indicated by the lost fragment of a relief with an image of an eagle which was mentioned by Don Mate Katić in his report on a tour of Putalj, distinguishing it from Roman and pre-Romanesque sculpture from this site.<sup>26</sup>

As opposed to the part of Kaštela in the Split district (today Gornja Kaštela), the section in the Trogir district (today Donja Kaštela and Kaštel Lukšić) has a far higher number of churches from the Romanesque period, whether originally Romanesque or older churches restored in the Romanesque era. A total of seven are known (map 1. 4-10), but despite being more than double the number, the degree of preservation in comparison to the churches in Gornja Kaštela is far lower. Not one has the original apse and nave, and neither the appearance nor floor-plan is known for three of them (Stomorija, St. Vitalis, St. Peter of Klobučac). Individual elements of the architectural design are known or preserved only in St. John of Žestinj and St. John of Biranj, while they have been indirectly determined for St. Lawrence of Ostrog. St. John (St. Martha) of Bijaći only has the Romanesque adaptations made during the church's reconstruction and expansion.

Here as well I shall begin with those in which the most elements of the original Romanesque phase have been preserved. First place here thus goes to the Church of St. John the Baptist of Biranj (map 1. 4). It was a single-nave Romanesque place of worship with a rounded apse, but over the centuries it underwent a series of restorations and expansions, growing westward, so that it has an oblong floor-plan and shape (Fig. 13). It has an east-west orientation and its total length is 16.9 m, of which the nave from the mediaeval Gothic phase accounts for approximately 6 m, while the Early Modern portion is 9.75 m long. The Early Modern nave is 7 m wide, while the mediaeval is 5.1 m. The preserved Romanesque apse has a diameter of ap-

25 Fadić 2001, str. 146, sl. 36.

26 Burić 2001, str. 193-197, bilj. 71.

27 Delonga 2010, str. 284-285, 288-289.

25 Fadić 2001, p. 146, Fig. 36.

26 Burić 2001, pp. 193-197, note 71.



Slika 13.  
Sv. Ivan Krstitelj od Birnja  
(foto: A. Radovčić)

Figure 13.  
Saint John the Baptist of  
Biranj (photo: A. Radovčić)

starije faze crkve prenamijenjena u prezbiterij i oltarni prostor.

Sv. Ivan od Birnja, unatoč zanimljivoj slojevitosti svojih graditeljskih faza, sve do nedavno nije privukao pozornost istraživača, premda se spominjao u djelima uže povijesne struke. Stoga je objava ovdje citiranog rada Vedrane Delonga o toj crkvi i njezinom epigrafičkom korpusu dobrodošao prilog proučavanju sakralne srednjovjekovne arhitekture u priobalju srednje Dalmacije. Autorica je najviše pažnje posvetila veoma zanimljivim natpisima na toj crkvi, a ja ću ovdje preuzeti one pasuse koji se odnose na arhitekturu u užem smislu. O crkvi je prije toga najviše pisao Omašić kao o zadužbini didića s Ostroga, a samo se usputno osvrnuo i na natpise. On ne raspravlja o tipologiji crkve ni o njezinim analogijama, jedino se ukratko izjasnio o dataciji smjestivši crkvu najprije u 12. st., da bi kasnije kazao: „U 13. stoljeću postojala je na Birnju crkva sv. Ivana za koju se ne zna točno kada je izgrađena.“<sup>28</sup> Precizniji kronološki okvir izgradnje crkve ponudila je Delonga kombinirajući stilske odlike očuvanog romaničkog dijela s lokalnim povijesnim prilikama; crkva je sazidana između 1185. (crkveni sabor Splitske metropolije u Splitu) i 1226. (osvajanje i rušenje Ostroga, čiji su žitelji i dali podići Sv. Ivana od Birnja). Činjenica da je najstariji očuvani spomen crkve u izvorima iz 1276. ne umanjuje valjanost ovoga zaključka.<sup>29</sup> Autorica dalje sustavno

proximately 2 m and a depth of 1.3 m.<sup>27</sup> During each expansion the nave from the church's older phase was repurposed into a presbytery and altar space.

Despite the intriguing multiple layers of its architectural phases, until recently St. John of Biranj did not attract the attention of researchers, although it has been noted in the works of the narrower historical profession. Thus the publication of the herein cited paper by Vedrana Delonga on this church and its epigraphic materials is a welcome contribution to the study of mediaeval sacral architecture in the Central Dalmatian coastal belt. Delonga accorded the most attention to the rather interesting inscriptions on that church, and here I shall cite those passages that pertain to architecture in the narrower sense. Previously Omašić had mostly written about the church as an endowment of the clan-based confraternity (*didići*) from Ostrog, and he only referred to the inscriptions in passing. He did not discuss the typology of the church nor its analogies, and only briefly addressed its dating, first placing it in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, only to later state: “The Church of St. John, for which the precise construction date is not known, existed in Biranj in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>28</sup> Delonga offered a more precise chronological framework, combining the stylistic features of the preserved Romanesque section with local historical circumstances; the church was built between 1185 (synod of the metropolitan see in Split) and 1226 (conquest and destruction of Ostrog, whose residents in fact commissioned the construction of St. John of Biranj). The fact that the oldest preserved mention of the church in the sources dates to 1276 does not diminish the validity of this conclusion.<sup>29</sup> Delonga furthermore systematically followed the expansion and development of the church through its Gothic phase in the 15<sup>th</sup> century to the Early Modern expansion at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which I will leave out here because it does not directly pertain to the Romanesque church. I am leaving out the donor and dedicatory inscriptions from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which Delonga so thoroughly analyzed, for the same reason.<sup>30</sup>

The oldest mediaeval phase of the church came about, as already noted, at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. All that remains of it today is the apse, while the nave was entirely reconstructed in Gothic style in 1444. The apse was grounded on a bluff and exhibits all of the qualities of the rustic Romanesque as already seen in the examples of St. Michael of Lažani and Sts. Cosmas and Damian in Kaštel Gomilica. Its walls were assembled in layered courses of dressed stones bound with abundant coats of mortar, which are clearly distinct from the Gothic ones from a later phase. The re-

27 Delonga 2010, pp. 284-285, 288-289.

28 Omašić 1978, pp. 131-132; 2001, str. 97-98.

29 Delonga 2010, pp. 287-288.

30 Delonga 2010, pp. 290-303.

28 Omašić 1978, str. 131-132; 2001, str. 97-98.

29 Delonga 2010, str. 287-288.

prati širenje i razvoj crkve preko gotičke faze u 15. st. do novovjekovnog proširenja koncem 19. st., što ovdje izostavljam jer se direktno ne odnosi na romaničku crkvu. Iz istog razloga izostavljam donatorske i posvetne natpise iz 15. st., koje je Delonga temeljito obradila.<sup>30</sup>

Najstarija srednjovjekovna faza crkve realizirana je, kako je već rečeno, koncem 12. ili početkom 13. st. Od nje je danas preostala samo apsida, dok je lađa u potpunosti obnovljena 1444. u gotičkom slogu. Apsida je temeljena na litici i pokazuje sve odlike rustične romanike kakve smo već vidjeli na primjeru Sv. Mihovila od Lažana i Sv. Kuzme i Damjana u Kaštel Gomilici. Zidana je od uslojenih redova klesanaca vezanih obilnim namazima žbuke, koji se jasno razlikuju od gotičkih iz kasnije faze. Ostatci starijih sakralnih građevina na Birnju (starokršćanskih i poganskih) nisu očuvani iz istih razloga kao i u Lažanima kod Sv. Mihovila, a temeljni je razlog što su ta zdanja podizana na istoj podlozi kao i Sv. Ivan, tj. na samoj litici. Stoga su ona, prilikom izgradnje novih objekata, iz statičkih razloga morala biti radirana. Srednjovjekovne faze crkve, romanička i gotička, kao i novovjekovna, očuvane su iz jednostavnog razloga, jer su dograđivane na stariji objekt u nizu prema zapadu.<sup>31</sup>

Uz Sv. Ivana od Birnja ostroški didiči sagradili su u približno isto vrijeme i crkvu sv. Lovre (karta 1. 5) smještenu na početku istaknute litice Balavan, iznad samoga naselja Ostrog. Oko crkve je zatim nastalo i seosko župno groblje.<sup>32</sup> Andreis ju spominje tek jednom rečenicom: „Crkvice Sv. Lovre iznad Kaštel Lukšića također je sagrađena na malom brežuljku, ali kao o onoj Sv. Bartula nema uspomene o njenom osnivanju.“<sup>33</sup> Ponovno o toj crkvi piše Omašić pozivajući se na Andreisa: „U sačuvanim izvorima nema spomena crkve sv. Lovre, ali za nju Andreis kaže da je „veoma stara“ i da se ne zna vrijeme njezne gradnje.“<sup>34</sup> Opširnije se osvrnuo na njezinu sudbinu 1226., kada su u ratu udružene snage Splita, Trogira i zahumskog kneza Petra zauzele Ostrog i porušile njegovu utvrdu, a potom i samu crkvu.<sup>35</sup> Istraživanjima Sv. Lovre, u organizaciji Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, osobno sam rukovodio 2000. u kratkoj kampanji tijekom proljeća (22. ožujka do 1. travnja). Tada je istražena crkva (unutrašnjost i uža okoliš) i manji dio groblja uokolo.<sup>36</sup> Iskopavanjem je utvrđeno da su

mains of older sacral buildings at Biranj (Early Christian and pagan) have not been preserved due to the same reasons that apply in Lažani with St. Michael, and the basic reason is that those buildings were raised on the same foundation as St. John, i.e., on the bluff itself. Thus, during the construction of new buildings, they had to be entirely razed for static reasons. The church's mediaeval phases, Romanesque and Gothic, as well as the Early Modern, were preserved for a simple reason: because they were additionally built on an older structure in westward sequence.<sup>31</sup>

Besides St. John of Biranj, at about the same time the Ostrog clan-based confraternity *didiči* built the Church of St. Lawrence (map 1. 5), situated at the beginning of the prominent bluff called Balavan, just above the community of Ostrog. The village's parish cemetery then grew around the church.<sup>32</sup> Andreis mentioned it in a single sentence: “The small Church of St. Lawrence above Kaštel Lukšić was also built on a hillock, but like that of St. Bartholomew there is no record of its establishment.”<sup>33</sup> This church was again mentioned by Omašić, citing Andreis: “There is no mention of the Church of St. Lawrence in the preserved sources, but Andreis said that it is ‘quite old’ and that the time of its construction is not known.”<sup>34</sup> He wrote more extensively about its fate in 1226, during a war when the allied forces of Split, Trogir and the Zachumlian Count Petar seized Ostrog and tore down its fortress, and then the church itself.<sup>35</sup> I personally led the excavations of St. Lawrence organized by the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in a brief campaign during the spring of 2000 (22 March to 1 April). At that time, the church (its interior and immediate surroundings) and a small portion of the cemetery around it were explored.<sup>36</sup> Based on excavations, it was ascertained that the church and cemetery covered a Bronze Age site in the immediate vicinity of a hillfort, whose purpose could not be determined because the explored surface was too small for something like this. The plateau on which the Church of St. Lawrence is located was not used between the Bronze Age and the Middle Ages. It only became functional again with the construction of the church and the expansion of the cemetery around it. The church, albeit without its titular, was first mentioned by Thomas the Archdeacon

30 Delonga 2010, str. 290–303.

31 Burić 2021a, str. 141–142. Tu je dat i sažeti prikaz razvoja svetišta na Birnju od neolitika do danas i to uvijek u istom zadanom arealu po sredini biranjskoga vrha.

32 Za Ostrog i njegove lokalitete vidi Omašić 2001a, str. 85–95; Burić 2020a (Kazalo zemljopisnih naziva i osobnih imena, s. v. Ostrog); 2020b. U navedenim djelima je i sva relevantna starija literatura.

33 Andreis 1977, str. 352.

34 Omašić 1978, str. 117–118; 2001a, str. 87. Omašić je očito pomiješao podatke o nekoj drugoj crkvi u Andreisovom tekstu jer on ne piše da je crkva „veoma stara“.

35 Omašić 1978, str. 120; 2001a, str. 89; vidi i Burić 2020b.

36 Burić 2003a.

31 Burić 2021a, pp. 141–142. Also contains a concise overview of the development of the sanctuary in Biranj from the Neolithic to the present, always in the same area in the middle of the Biranj peak.

32 On Ostrog and its sites, see Omašić 2001a, pp. 85–95; Burić 2020a (Index of geographic terms and personal names, s. v. Ostrog); 2020b. The cited works also contain the relevant older sources.

33 Andreis 1977, p. 352.

34 Omašić 1978, pp. 117–118; 2001a, p. 87. Omašić had obviously confused the data on another church in Andreis' text because he did not state that the church was “quite old.”

35 Omašić 1978, p. 120; 2001a, p. 89; see also Burić 2020b.

36 Burić 2003a.



Slika 14.  
Sv. Lovre od Ostroga, postojeća faza iz prve polovice 18. st. (foto: T. Bartulović)

Figure 14.  
Saint Lawrence of Ostrog, an existing phase from the first half of the 18th century (photo: T. Bartulović)

crkva i groblje presljili brončanodobni lokalitet u neposrednoj blizini gradine, čija namjena nije mogla biti utvrđena jer je istražena površina premalena za to. Između brončanoga doba i srednjeg vijeka plato na kojemu se nalazi crkva Sv. Lovre nije korišten. Tek je izgradnjom crkve i širenjem groblja oko nje vraćen u funkciju. Prvi spomen crkve, ali bez navođenja titulara, donosi splitski arhidakon Toma u XXIX. poglavlju svog znamenitog djela *Historia Salonitana*, naslovljenom *De bello, quod gestum est pro uilla de Ostrogo*,<sup>37</sup> gdje izričito navodi da su osvajači porušili crkvu. Dakle, 1226. je *terminus ante quem* za izgradnju Sv. Lovre. Kako je logično pretpostaviti da su didići najprije podigli župno-grobljansku crkvu, a tek nakon toga i zadužbinu na Birnju, treba i gradnju Sv. Lovre datirati nešto ranije od Sv. Ivana na Birnju, ali i dalje u vremenskim okvirima koje je za biranjsku crkvu predložila Delonga. Postojeće zdanje Sv. Lovre je iz prve polovice 18. st. te je zidano prepoznatljivim baroknim četvrtastim klesancima (sl. 14).<sup>38</sup> Kako je selo opstalo i nakon poraza 1226., a istraženi grobovi oko crkve pokazuju puni kontinuitet sve do 16. st., mora se pretpostaviti da je crkva obnovljena već u 13. st., jer groblje bez crkve nije zamislivo u razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku.<sup>39</sup> Raspored istraženih grobova oko crkve pokazuje da oni striktno poštuju postojeće gabarite sadašnje crkve, a iskopavanja u lađi pokazala su da u njoj nema grobova. Također je utvrđeno da stariji sloj grobo-

of Split in chapter XXIX of his renowned work *Historia Salonitana*, under the title “*De bello, quod gestum est pro uilla de Ostrogo*,”<sup>37</sup> wherein he explicitly stated that the conquerors had demolished the church. Thus, 1226 is the *terminus ante quem* for the construction of St. Lawrence. Since it is logical to presume that the local clan first raised a parish/cemeterial church, and only then the endowment structure in Biranj, the construction of St. Lawrence should be dated somewhat earlier than that of St. John of Biranj, but still within the chronological framework proposed for the Biranj church by Delonga. The existing St. Lawrence building is from the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and it was built using recognizable Baroque rectangular dressed stones (Fig. 14).<sup>38</sup> Since the village continued to exist even after the defeat in 1226, and the examined graves around the church show full continuity until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it must be assumed that the church had already been reconstructed in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, because a cemetery without a church was inconceivable in the High and Late Middle Ages.<sup>39</sup> The arrangement of the examined graves around the church show that they strictly adhered to the existing dimensions of the current church, while excavations in the nave have shown that there are no graves in it. It has also been established that the older layer of graves belongs to those devastated by forces from Split, as explicitly recounted by Thomas the Archdeacon. In other words, the Romanesque church that was demolished in 1226 and the one built after it were at the same site as the existing Baroque church that inherited their dimensions, and was constructed at around 1726, because its construction was recorded by Trogir Bishop Kačić during his visitation in 1726,<sup>40</sup> thus a full five centuries after the demolition of the first Romanesque church. As evidence for this, I point to the visible difference in the structure of the external side of the nave’s northern wall (Fig. 15), which clearly differs in its lower section in the shape of the dressed stones (smaller and elongated) from the remainder of the Baroque wall mantle of the nave and apse. This is by all indications the sole remainder of one of the mediaeval churches, probably the second one, of which we may also assume that it was built in the rustic Romanesque style. Although the church’s titular has not been confirmed, it is indirectly suggested in mediaeval documents by the toponym Lovrine, south-east of it, recorded in the Trogir Cartu-

37 Toma Arhidakon 2003, str. 164-167.

38 Burić 2003a, str. 33; Omašić 2001a, str. 86.

39 Za te važne promjene u ritusu pokapanja od 11. st. vidi Tomičić 1989, str. 340; 1999, str. 48; 2021, str. 171-173 (za sjevernu Hrvatsku, tj. srednjovjekovnu Slavoniju) i Burić 2001, str. 244-246; 2020a, str. 125-126, 187-188 (za južnu Hrvatsku, odnosno srednjovjekovnu Hrvatsku i Dalmaciju).

37 Toma Arhidakon 2003, pp. 164-167.

38 Burić 2003a, p. 33; Omašić 2001a, p. 86.

39 On these major changes in interment rites from the 11th century onward, see Tomičić 1989, p. 340; 1999, p. 48; 2021, pp. 171-173 (for northern Croatia, i.e., mediaeval Slavonia) and Burić 2001, pp. 244-246; Burić 2020a, pp. 125-126, 187-188 (for southern Croatia, i.e., mediaeval Croatia and Dalmatia).

40 Katić 1960, p. 176. Katić also stressed that the church was reconstructed on “old foundations” and provided the dimensions of its nave (6.3 × 4.33 m) and apse (depth 1.5 m, width 3 m).

va pripada onima koje su Splitsani razorili, kako izričito svjedoči Toma Arhidakon. Drugim riječima, romanička crkva koja je srušena 1226., kao i ona sagrađena nakon nje, bile su na istom mjestu na kojemu je i postojeća barokna crkva koja nasljeđuje njihove gabarite, a sagrađena je oko 1726. jer je njezinu gradnju zabilježio trogirski biskup Kačić u svojoj vizitaciji 1726. godine,<sup>40</sup> dakle punih pet stoljeća nakon rušenja prve romaničke crkve. U prilog tome ukazujem i na vidljivu razliku u strukturi vanjske strane sjevernoga zida lađe (sl. 15) koji se u donjem dijelu jasno razlikuje oblikom klesanaca (manji i izduženi) od preostalog baroknog zidnog plašta lađe i apside. To je po svemu sudeći jedini ostatak jedne od srednjovjekovnih crkava, vjerojatnije one druge, za koju također možemo pretpostaviti da je građena u stilu rustične romanike. Premda titular crkve nije potvrđen, u srednjovjekovnim dokumentima na njega indirektno upućuje toponim Lovrine jugoistočno od nje, zabilježen u trogirskom Zavodu 1327.<sup>41</sup> Do izgradnje barokne crkve došlo je, po svemu sudeći, jer je srednjovjekovna bila ruševna i dotrajala.<sup>42</sup>

Nakon dviju crkava koje su dali sagraditi didići s Ostroga, slijede romaničke crkve u srednjovjekovnom Podmorju i Bijacijima. Tri su župno-grobljanske crkve pripadajućih sela (Sv. Marija od Špiljana – Stomorija, Sv. Juraj od Žestinja i Sv. Ivan (Sv. Marta) u Bijacijima), jednu je dala podići trogirskom komuna (Sv. Vital), a jedna pripada nekadašnjem samostanu sv. Petra od Klobučca (Sv. Petar od Klobučca).

Crkva sv. Marije od Špiljana (Stomorija) u Kaštel Novom bila je župna i grobljanska crkva sela Špiljan (karta 1. 6).<sup>43</sup> Andreis o njoj kaže sljedeće: „Sv. Marija od Špiljana, sada od Stomorije, vrlo je stara i služila je kao župska napučenom selu koje se u blizini nalazilo. Bila je godine 1189. od raznih utemeljena i također opskrbljena (...)“<sup>44</sup> Do sada nije bilo radova u kojima bi špiljanska crkva bila cjelovito obrađena. Omašić sažeto opisuje različite faze ukazavši na renesansni nadvratnik i starokršćanski reljef uzidan u sjeverni zid crkve. Ta nam *spolia* dozvoljava vjerojatnu pretpostavku da je najstariji sakralni objekt na tom položaju bio starokršćanska crkva, a o mogućim poganskim svetištima koja su joj prethodila ne može se raspravljati dok se ne provedu sustavna istraživanja. Za romaničku obnovu i gradnju imamo potvrdu u fundacijskoj ispravi beneficija špiljanske



Slika 15.  
Sjeverni zid lađe Sv. Lovre s ostatkom romaničkog zida iz 13. st. u donjem dijelu (foto: M. Gannouni)

Figure 15.  
North wall of the nave of Saint Lawrence with a remnant of the Romanesque wall from the 13th century in the lower part (photo: M. Gannouni)

lary of 1327.<sup>41</sup> Construction of the Baroque church came about, by all indications, because the mediaeval one was deteriorating and dilapidated.<sup>42</sup>

After the two churches commissioned by the didići, the clan-based confraternity from Ostrog, next are the Romanesque churches in mediaeval Podmorje and Bijaci. Three are the parish-cemetery churches of the corresponding villages (St. Mary of Špiljan/Stomorija, St. George of Žestinj and St. John (St. Martha) in Bijaci), one was built by the Trogir commune (St. Vitalis), and one belongs to the former Monastery of St. Peter of Klobučac (St. Peter of Klobučac).

The Church of St. Mary of Špiljan (Stomorija) in Kaštel Novi was the parish and cemetery church in the village of Špiljan (map 1. 6).<sup>43</sup> Andreis said the following about it: “St. Mary of Špiljan, now of Stomorija, is very old and served as the parish church for the populous village in its vicinity. It was established and also furnished by various parties in 1189 (...)”<sup>44</sup> Thus far there have not been any studies in which the Špiljan church is comprehensively analyzed. Omašić concise-

40 Katić 1960, str. 176. Katić također ističe da je crkva obnovljena na „starijima temeljima“ te donosi dimenzije njezine lađe (6,30 × 4,33 m) i apside (dubina 1,5 m, širina 3 m).

41 Omašić 1978, str. 117; 2001a, str. 87.

42 Ovom prigodom ispravljam svoju tvrdnju da je Sv. Lovre porušen u tursko-mletačkim ratovima u 15. i 16. st. (Burić 2003a, str. 33.) jer Andreis u 17. st. piše o crkvi kao postojećoj, a nije vjerojatno da bi bila obnavljana u vrijeme učestalih turskih provala.

43 O prostornim relacijama sela Špiljan i položaju crkve u njemu vidi Burić 2021b.

44 Andreis 1977, str. 353-354.

41 Omašić 1978, p. 117; 2001a, p. 87.

42 I would like to take this opportunity to correct my assertion that St. Lawrence was destroyed in the Ottoman-Venetian wars in the 15th and 16th centuries (Burić 2003a, p. 33), because in the 17th century Andreis wrote about the church as extant, and it is unlikely that it would have been reconstructed at a time of frequent Ottoman incursions.

43 On spatial relations in the village of Špiljan and the site of the church in it, see Burić 2021b.

44 Andreis 1977, pp. 353-354.



Slika 16.  
Romanički slivnik (vodoriga, *garguj*) oluka Sv. Marije od Špiljana iz 13. st. (foto: D. Brajnov Botić)

Figure 16.  
Romanesque drain (water spout, gargoy) of the gutter of Saint Mary of Špiljana from the 13th century (photo: D. Brajnov Botić)

crkve iz 1189.,<sup>45</sup> a potvrđuje ju i sačuvana vodoriga (*garguj*) u obliku ljudske glave, koja ima sve odlike romaničke skulpture (sl. 16).<sup>46</sup> Njezine analogije iz 13. st. ukazuju na mogućnost da su ti arhitektonski dijelovi crkve nastali nešto kasnije. Pisane izvore o Stomoriji detaljnije je analizirao Omašić. Posebno je ukazao na utemeljitelje beneficija iz 1189. koji odreda imaju narodna hrvatska imena: Stanko Orebina, Bratica Matejev Petar i Stjepan podžupan Strumbrada, Grubina i Dražekna. Postojeću baroknu fazu crkve precizno datira natpis na hrvatskom jeziku iz 1754.<sup>47</sup> Ukratko, srednjovjekovna romanička crkva sv. Marije od Špiljana preslojila je starokršćansku crkvu na istom položaju. Kako istraživanja toga lokaliteta još nisu provedena, ne može se nešto određeno kazati o izvornim oblicima i tipologiji starijih faza crkve. Oko romaničke crkve je nastalo župno groblje Špiljana koje je bilo u funkciji i u ranom novom vijeku.<sup>48</sup> Je li starokršćanska crkva korištena i u predromaničko vrijeme i kakav je njezin odnos prema romaničkoj mogu pokazati samo sustavna istraživanja.

Zapadno od sela Špiljan bilo je prostrano selo Žestinj ili Miran u kojemu je bila crkva sv. Jurja. Crkva je i danas očuvana, a oko nje je veliko i neistraženo srednjovjekovno župno groblje. Predio oko crkve ima prema crkvenom titularu naziv Svećurje. Crkva i groblje preslojili su većim dijelom područje

ly described different phases, pointing out the Renaissance door lintel and Early Christian relief embedded in the church's northern wall. These spolia allow for the probable hypothesis that the oldest sacral building at this site was the Early Christian church, but nothing may be said about the possible pagan shrines that preceded it until systematic excavations are conducted. The endowment document of the benefice for the Špiljan church from 1189<sup>45</sup> contains a confirmation of the Romanesque renovation and construction, and this is also confirmed by the preserved gargoy shaped like a human head which has all features of Romanesque sculpture (Fig. 16).<sup>46</sup> Its analogies from the 13<sup>th</sup> century point to the possibility that these architectural works on the church may have appeared somewhat later. Written sources about Stomorija have been analyzed in greater detail by Omašić. He particularly pointed out the founders of the benefice from 1189, who all had Croatian ethnic names: Stanko Orebina, Bratica Matejev, Petar and sub-prefect Stjepan Strumbrada, Grubin and Dražekna. The church's existing Baroque phase is precisely dated by the inscription in the Croatian language from 1754.<sup>47</sup> Briefly, the mediaeval Romanesque Church of St. Mary of Špiljan covered the Early Christian church at the same site. Since excavations of this site have not yet been conducted, nothing more specific may be stated about the original forms and typology of the church's older phases. The parish cemetery of Špiljan emerged around the Romanesque church, which was in use even in the initial phase of the Early Modern period.<sup>48</sup> Whether the Early Christian church was also used in the pre-Romanesque period and what its relationship to the Romanesque building was will only be shown by systematic excavations.

West of Špiljan was the spacious village of Žestinj, or Miran, where the Church of St. George was. The church has been preserved to this day, and it is surrounded by a large and unexplored mediaeval parish cemetery. The area around the church is called Svećurje after the church's titular (Sveti Juraj in Croatian). The church and cemetery in large part cover the area of Roman *villae rusticae*. The existing church exhibits its Gothic phase with a rectangular apse, which has been preserved to the present (Fig. 17-18).<sup>49</sup> The masonry technique is not visible because the entire church is covered with plaster, while the frontispiece was entirely altered in the initial phase of the Early Modern period. A description of it can also be found in Andreis: "The Church of St. George of Miran, now called Žestinj, under Trećanica Hill, is an old-style building that had been built by the Greeks, and prior to the establish-

45 Smičiklas 1904, str. 239.

46 Burić 2020a, str. 210-211; Sikavica 2007, str. 53-56. Na slici 16. je replika, a original se čuva u Muzeju grada Kaštela.

47 Omašić 1978, str. 139; 2001a, str. 104-106.

48 Burić 2020a, str. 210-211.

45 Smičiklas 1904, p. 239.

46 Burić 2020a, pp. 210-211; Sikavica 2007, pp. 53-56. Fig. 16 shows the copy, while the original is held in the Kaštela Town Museum.

47 Omašić 1978, p. 139; 2001a, pp. 104-106.

48 Burić 2020a, pp. 210-211.

49 Burić 2008.



Slika 17.  
Sv. Juraj od Žestinja, gotička  
faza (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Figure 17.  
Saint George of Žestinje,  
Gothic phase (photo: Z.  
Alajbeg)



Slika 18.  
Unutrašnjost Sv. Jurja od  
Žestinja s gotičkim šiljastim  
lukom na ulazu u prezbiterij  
(foto: T. Bartulović)

Figure 18.  
Interior of Saint George of  
Žestinje with Gothic pointed  
arch at the entrance to the  
presbytery (photo: T. Bartu-  
lović)

rimske *villae rusticae*. Postojeća crkva prezentira svoju gotičku fazu s četvrtastom apsidom, koja je očuvana do danas (sl. 17-18).<sup>49</sup> Tehnika zidanja nije vidljiva jer je cijela crkva ožbukana, a i pročelje je preoblikovano u ranom novom vijeku. Njezin opis također nalazimo kod Andreisa: „Crkva Sv. Jurja od Mirana, sada nazvana od Žestinja, pod brdom Trećanicom, starinsko je zdanje što su ga sazidali Grci, a ovom su se prije osnivanja kaštela služili oni narodi kao župskom. Bila je prosti beneficij (...).“<sup>50</sup> Datiranje njezine starije faze u romaničko vrijeme omo-

ment of the fortress they used it as a parish church. It was a simple benefice (...).<sup>50</sup> The dating of its earlier phase to the Romanesque era is indicated by written and archaeological sources. In the written sources, it can already be found at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and is also mentioned in documents from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>51</sup> It certainly existed prior to 1189 because it was mentioned in the founding document for St. Mary of Špiljan. It was also built as a benefice, but its founders are not known.<sup>52</sup> The time of construction of the church's Romanesque phase is best shown by the door lintel which is today secondarily embedded into the existing Early Modern portal (Fig. 19), which contains a composition in which the decoration consists of a series of plant motifs with clear early Romanesque stylistic features. I had previously analyzed this lintel, attributing it to the body of works by a Trogir masonry workshop that was active at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>53</sup> The church's Romanesque phase has also been confirmed in the recent conservation-restoration and archaeological excavations, but the results have not yet been published. These excavations also ascertained the existence of an older apse, which may have belonged to the church's early Romanesque phase in which the aforementioned lintel originally stood.<sup>54</sup> It will only be possible to say anything about potentially earlier phases after the completion of excavations in the church's surroundings. Such phases had already been suspected by Omašić, who wrote: “The lintel adorned with stylized leaves, with a Greek cross in the middle, is interesting. Perhaps this is why Andreis wrote that it was built by the Greeks. The lintel, allegedly, originated in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It would appear that this lintel was in fact subsequently installed, because a part of the former church door can be seen above it. All of this shows that the current church is a result of reconstruction and that there was an older church at this site, its foundations probably still preserved underground.”<sup>55</sup>

Farther westward, the last in the series of rural parish-cemeterial churches was that of St. John (St. Martha) in Bijaći. The secondary literature on this church of exceptional importance to the early mediaeval history of the Croats and Croatia is today already quite voluminous, particularly on the pre-Romanesque Church of St. Martha and its sculpture.<sup>56</sup> This ecclesias-

50 Andreis 1977, p. 353.

51 Burić 2020a, p. 210, note 774, Fig. 78-79.

52 Omašić 1978, pp. 141-142; 2001a, pp. 104-106.

53 Burić 2009.

54 A report on these works was submitted at the scholarly seminar “Eight Centuries of Reverence for Our Lady of Angels and the First Franciscan Monastery in Trogir” held in October 2018. On this, see Babin, Tomasović Grbić 2018, p. 24. They approximately dated the church to the 12th century.

55 Omašić 1978, p. 142; 2001a, pp. 107-108.

56 On this, see Karaman 1930, pp. 147-178; Starohrvatska prosvjeta, 3. ser., 26 (1999), Split 2004 (thematic issue dedicated to St. Martha);

49 Burić 2008.

50 Andreis 1977, str. 353.



Slika 19.  
Ranoromanički nadvratnik Sv.  
Jurja od Žestinje reutiliziran  
na novovjekovnom pročelju  
(foto: T. Bartulović)

Figure 19.  
Early Romanesque lintel of  
Saint George of Žestinje  
reused on a modern façade  
(photo: T. Bartulović)

gućuju nam pisani i arheološki izvori. U pisanim vrelima nalazimo je već koncem 12. st., a spominje se i u dokumentima iz 13. i 14. st.<sup>51</sup> Zasigurno je postojala prije 1189. jer se spominje u osnivačkoj ispravi Sv. Marije od Špiljana. I ona je podignuta kao beneficij, ali joj utemeljitelji nisu poznati.<sup>52</sup> Vremenu izgradnje romaničke faze crkve najviše nas približava nadvratnik koji je danas sekundarno uzidan na postojećem novovjekovnom portalu (sl. 19), a na kojemu je kompozicija čiji ukras sačinjava niz vegetabilnih motiva jasnih ranoromaničkih stilskih odlika. Taj nadvratnik sam svojedobno obradio uvrstivši ga u opus jedne trogirске klesarske radionice koja je djelovala početkom 12. st.<sup>53</sup> Romanička faza crkve potvrđena je i u nedavnim konzervatorsko-restauratorskim i arheološkim istraživanjima, ali rezultati još nisu objavljeni. U tim je radovima utvrđeno i postojanje starije apsida, koja bi mogla pripadati ranoromaničkoj fazi crkve u kojoj je izvorno stajao i spomenuti nadvratnik.<sup>54</sup> O eventualnim još starijim fazama bit će moguće govoriti tek po završetku istraživanja i okoliša crkve. Njih je naslutio još Omašić napisavši: „Interesantan je nadvratnik ukrašen stiliziranim lišćem, a u sredini ima grčki križ. Možda zato Andreis i piše da su je sazidali Grci. Nadvratnik, navodno, potječe iz 11. stoljeća. Čini se da je i taj nadvratnik naknadno postavljen jer se iznad njega vidi dio nekadašnjih crkvenih vrata. Sve to dokazuje da

tical complex developed in several phases: two Early Christian, one proto-Romanesque and finally early Romanesque. Karaman had already indicated the Romanesque phase, associating it with the reconstruction in 1197,<sup>57</sup> about which he said it had been conducted “in a peasant (serf) community.” He linked it to a set of altar screen elements which he incorrectly dated to the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century, although it is considerably older.<sup>58</sup> Like the already described churches in Podmorje, St. John of Bijaći was also a “simple benefice,” as Andreis said.<sup>59</sup> Omašić also referred to this church, describing individual details of the masonry technique: “The narthex of the church was constructed in the rustic technique, which is likely a confirmation of a document which mentions the reconstruction in 1197.” He thus also highlighted the early Romanesque phase in the development of this sacral building. Describing this document more extensively, he noted its similarity to contemporary documents for the benefice of St. Mary of Špiljan and St. Peter of Klobučac from 1189.<sup>60</sup> Citing the names of the benefice’s founders, he observed that they all had ethnic Croatian names. Through a series of documents and accompanied by a description of archaeological excavations, he traced events surrounding St. Martha and the legal disputes that arose around it. The possibility that it was a triple-nave mediaeval church with a rectangular Romanesque apse was noted in passing by Ivo Babić as well, linking it to the reconstruction in 1197.<sup>61</sup>

More recently, the architectural remains of St. Martha (St. John) have once more attracted the attention of researchers. I shall begin with the report from the revisionary excavations from 1967-1969, which was written by the head researcher Dušan Jelovina.<sup>62</sup> A semi-circular Early Christian apse was also discovered during these excavations. The mediaeval Church of St. Martha was raised above the Early Christian church, and its remains show three construction phases (Fig. 20). First a single-nave church with a rectangular apse was built, then the church obtained a triple-nave structure in the second phase with the construction of parallelogram-like pylons, only to have a wall built in the space between the central pylons in the third phase, while a steeple with rectangular floor-plan was added to the frontispiece. Jelovina also tied the reconstruction of the church mentioned in the document from 1197 to the triple-nave solution. The same issue of the journal *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* that featured Jelovina’s report also had a contribution on that same topic by Pavuša Vežić, who dedicated his paper to the problems pertaining to the pre-Romanesque cibo-

51 Burić 2020a, str. 210, bilj. 774, sl. 78-79.

52 Omašić 1978, str. 141-142; 2001a, str. 104-106.

53 Burić 2009.

54 O tim je radovima podnesen izvještaj na znanstvenom skupu „Osam stoljeća štovanja Gospe od Anđela i prvog franjevačkog samostana u Trogiru“ održanom u listopadu 2018. O tome vidi Babin, Tomasić Grbić 2018, str. 24. Referentice su crkvu okvirno datirale u 12. st.

guidebook Sveta Marta u Bijaćima (Dukić (ed.) 2012).

57 Karaman 1930, p. 116, 155, Fig. 123.

58 Burić 1993, Milošević 2004.

59 Andreis 1977, p. 353.

60 Omašić 1978, pp. 167-168; 2001a, pp. 117-120.

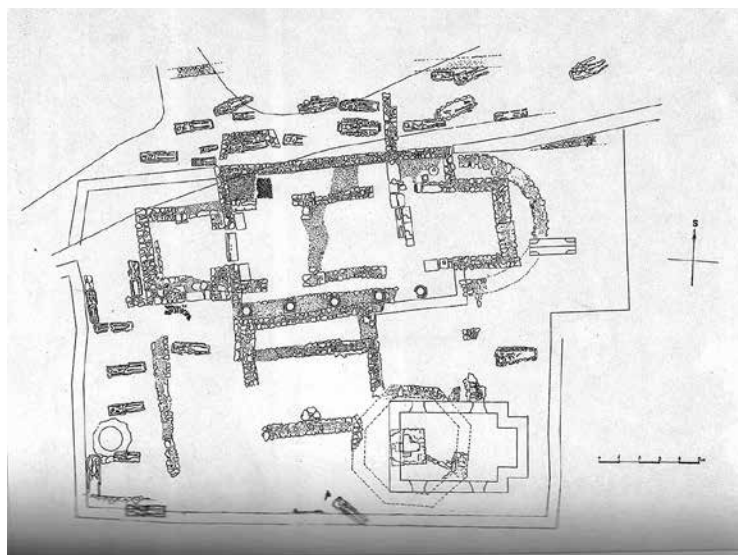
61 Babić 19912, p. 100, note 129.

62 Jelovina 2004, pp. 99-101.

je današnja crkva nastala pregrađivanjem i da se na tom mjestu nalazila starija crkva čiji su temelji vjerojatno još sačuvani pod zemljom.<sup>55</sup>

Dalje je prema zapadu, posljednja u nizu seoskih župno-grobljanskih crkava, bila ona Sv. Ivana (Sv. Marte) u Bijaćima. O toj crkvi od iznimne važnosti za ranosrednjovjekovnu povijest Hrvata i Hrvatske postoji danas već obimna literatura, posebice o predromaničkoj crkvi sv. Marte i njezinoj skulpturi.<sup>56</sup> Taj se crkveni kompleks razvijao u više faza: dvije starokršćanske, jedna protoromanička i u konačnici ranoromanička. Na romaničku fazu te crkve ukazao je još Karaman povezujući je s obnovom iz 1197.,<sup>57</sup> za koju kaže da je provedena „po seljačkom (kmetskom) naselju“. Dovodi ju u vezu s jednom grupom elemenata oltarne ograde koju je pogrešno datirao u 12. – 13. st., a koja je znatno ranija.<sup>58</sup> Poput već opisanih crkava u Podmorju, i Sv. Ivan od Bijaća bio je „prosti beneficij“, kako kaže Andreis.<sup>59</sup> Omašić se također osvrnuo na ovu crkvu opisujući i pojedine detalje tehnike zidanja: „Narteks crkve izgrađen je u rustičnoj tehnici što je vjerojatna potvrda jednog dokumenta koji govori o pregradnji crkve 1197. godine“. Tako je i on ukazao na ranoromaničku fazu u razvoju tog sakralnog objekta. Opširnije opisujući taj dokument, ukazuje na njegovu sličnost sa suvremenim ispravama beneficija sv. Marije od Špiljana i Sv. Petra od Klobučca iz 1189.<sup>60</sup> Navodeći imena utemeljitelja beneficija, ukazuje da su to odreda hrvatska narodna imena. Kroz niz dokumenata i uz opis arheoloških iskopavanja prati događanja oko Sv. Marte kao i sporove koji su oko nje vođeni. Na mogućnost da je trobrodna srednjovjekovna crkva s pravokutnom apsidom romanička, ukazao je usputno i Ivo Babić povezujući je s obnovom iz 1197.<sup>61</sup>

U novije su vrijeme arhitektonski ostatci Sv. Marte (Sv. Ivana) opet privukli pažnju istraživača. Počet ću s izvještajem s revizijskih iskopavanja iz 1967. – 1969., koji je napisao glavni istraživač Dušan Jelovina.<sup>62</sup> U tim je iskopavanjima otkrivena i polukružna starokršćanska apside. Nad starokršćanskom crkvom podignuta je srednjovjekovna crkva sv. Marte, a njezini ostatci pokazuju tri faze izgradnje (sl. 20). Najprije je podignuta jednobrodna crkva s pravokutnom apsidom, zatim je u drugoj fazi ugradnjom pačetvorinastih pilona crkva dobila trobrodnu lađu, da bi u trećoj fazi prostor između središnjih pilona bio zazidan, a na pročelju je dograđen zvonik kvadratnoga tlocrta. Jelovina također povezuje obnovu crkve iz doku-



Slika 20.  
Tlocrt arhitektonskog kompleksa Sv. Marte/Sv. Ivana Krstitelja od Bijaća (preuzeto iz Jelovina 2004, str. 106, sl. 12 – pogrešno numerirano umjesto sl. 11)

Figure 20.  
Floor plan of the architectural complex of Saint Martha/Saint John the Baptist of Bijaća (taken from Jelovina 2004, p. 106, fig. 12 – wrongly numbered instead of fig. 11)

rium from the St. Martha complex, and in it he also addressed the church's architecture. In his opinion, the new mediaeval church was built within the dimensions of the Early Christian church, also triple nave with colonnades made of masonry pylons, which due to their similarity to individual Carolingian churches and numerous fragments of pre-Romanesque sculpture have been dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> century by researchers, even though such churches were also known in the Ottonian era and partially even later. According to him, this building may be dated "to the early Romanesque in the 11<sup>th</sup> century," while the tower on the frontispiece and the rectangular apse at the rear were subsequently added in the High Middle Ages, which is indicated by the considerably thicker walls of the tower and rectangular apse in comparison to the nave walls.<sup>63</sup> With this interpretation he advocated the view that the semi-circular Early Christian apse also functioned in the first phase, according to him, of the early Romanesque church, into which I will not delve here, but I will note that according to all scholars the rectangular apse belonged to the first mediaeval church.

The most recent comprehensive overview of the development of the St. Martha architectural complex was presented by Ante Uglešić in the already cited guidebook *Sveta Marta u Bijaćima* [St. Martha in Bijaći].<sup>64</sup> He first summarizes the course of excavations in 1902-1905 and the revisionary exca-

55 Omašić 1978, str. 142; 2001a, str. 107-108.

56 O tome vidi Karaman 1930, str. 147-178; Starohrvatska prosvjeta, 3. ser., 26 (1999), Split 2004 (tematski broj posvećen Sv. Marti); vodič *Sveta Marta u Bijaćima* (Dukić (ed.) 2012).

57 Karaman 1930, str. 116, 155, sl. 123.

58 Burić 1993; Milošević 2004.

59 Andreis 1977, str. 353.

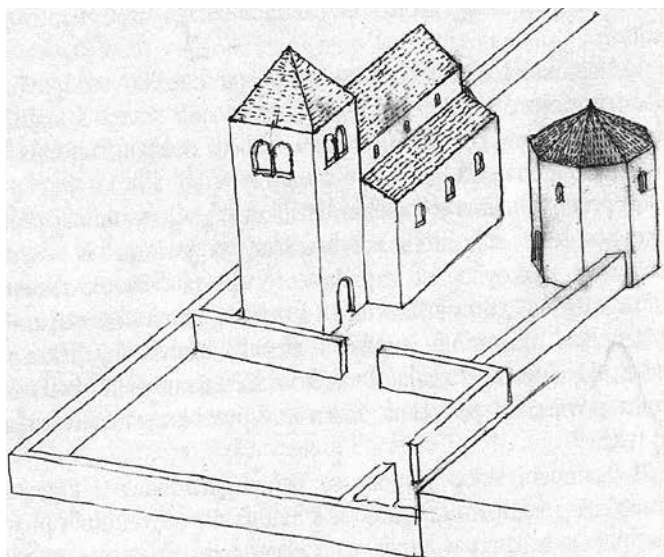
60 Omašić 1978, str. 167-168; 2001a, str. 117-120.

61 Babić 19912, str. 100, bilj. 129.

62 Jelovina 2004, str. 99-101.

63 Vežić 2004, pp. 319-320, 322.

64 Uglešić 2012, pp. 11-18.



Slika 21.  
Idejna rekonstrukcija rano-srednjovjekovne crkve sv. Marte/sv. Ivana Krstitelja s nadograđenim ranoromaničkim zvonikom na pročelju (preuzeto iz Marasović 2004, 2004, str. 338, sl. 1)

Figure 21.  
Conceptual reconstruction of the early mediaeval church of Saint Martha/Saint John the Baptist with an added early Romanesque bell tower on the façade (taken from Marasović 2004, 2004, p. 338, fig. 1)

menta iz 1197. s trobrodnom rješenjem lađe. U istom broju Starohrvatske prosvjete, u kojemu piše i Jelovina, o toj je temi pisao i Pavaša Vežić koji je svoj rad posvetio problematici predromaničkog ciborija iz kompleksa Sv. Marte, a u njemu se sažeto osvrnuo i na arhitekturu crkve. Njegovo je mišljenje da je u gabaritima starokršćanske crkve podignuta nova srednjovjekovna crkva, također trobrodna s kolonadama od zidanih pilona, koju su zbog formalne sličnosti s pojedinim karolinškim crkvama i zbog brojnih ulomaka predromaničke skulpture istraživači datirali u 9. st., iako su takvi oblici crkava poznati i u otonskom razdoblju, a dijelom i kasnije. Taj objekt prema njemu može biti datiran „u ranu romaniku u 11. st.“ dok su toranj na pročelju i pravokutna apsida na začelju naknadno prizidani u razvijenom srednjem vijeku, na što upućuju znatno deblji zidovi tornja i pravokutne apsidi u odnosu na perimetralne zidove lađe.<sup>63</sup> Takvim tumačenjem on se zalaže za stav da je polukružna starokršćanska apsida bila u funkciji i u prvoj fazi, prema njemu, ranoromaničke crkve, u što ovdje ne bih ulazio, ali bih napomenuo da pravokutna apsida prema svim autorima pripada prvoj srednjovjekovnoj crkvi.

Najnoviji cjeloviti prikaz razvoja arhitektonskog kompleksa Sv. Marte javnosti je predstavio Ante Uglešić u već citiranom vodiču *Sveta Marta u Bijaćima*.<sup>64</sup> Najprije je iznio sažeti tijek istraživanja 1902. – 1905. i revizijskih istraživanja 1967. –

vations in 1967-1969. He says about the mediaeval Church of St. Martha that it was built in the perimeter of an Early Christian basilica that had three naves with masonry pylons and a dome in the middle. Although most researchers have dated it to the 9<sup>th</sup> century, its architectural features indicate the proto-Romanesque period in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. In other words, an Early Christian church was used in the pre-Romanesque, although contemporary pre-Romanesque furnishings were installed in it. In the next phase a steeple was added to the frontispiece, probably during its reconstruction in 1197, and it was then dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

According to the opinions from the relevant literature cited here, the St. Martha sacral complex in Bijaći developed in several phases over a long series of centuries. First the Early Christian structure emerged within the framework of Late Antique *villae rusticae*, adapted into the existing architecture, which was erected in two phases. It was in this second phase, which we recognize as Early Christian basilica, that the pre-Romanesque Church of St. Martha, i.e., its stone furnishings, were interpolated in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. After its demolition, this building was replaced by a proto-Romanesque triple-nave church with rectangular apse dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The church was then reconstructed in 1197, when a rectangular steeple was added to its frontispiece (Fig. 21) and on this occasion it was given a new titular, St. John the Baptist, which did not coexist with but rather ultimately overtook the preceding titular, St. Martha. This reconstruction, which was done by the villagers of Bijaći, represented the church's Romanesque phase, which is comparable to the other churches in Kaštela from the early Romanesque era described herein. It is interesting that sketches of the excavation maps from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century note that the church with rectangular apse dates to the “11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century,” which would correspond to the dating proposed by Vežić and Uglešić, if we except the generally-accepted dating of the steeple and minor reconstructions in 1197.<sup>65</sup>

As opposed to Stomorijska and St. George of Žestinj, not a single fragment of sculpture from that time has been discovered from the Romanesque phase of the St. Martha complex, but this is not unusual, because they have not been found in other churches in Kaštela from that era (St. John of Biranj, St. Lawrence of Ostrog, St. Michael of Lažani, St. George of Putalj).

The description of early Romanesque churches in the western section of Kaštela built in the mediaeval villages of Ostrog, Špiljan, Žestinj and Bijaći closes with St. John in Bijaći. Two more built along the shore of Kaštela Bay next to the ancient Salona-Tragurium road remain, and these are St. Vitalis and St. Peter of Klobučac, both also from the 12<sup>th</sup> century but

63 Vežić 2004, str. 319-320, 322.

64 Uglešić 2012, str. 11-18.

65 Gjurašin 2004, pp. 77, 91.

1969. Za srednjovjekovnu crkvu sv. Marte kaže da je sagrađena u perimetru ranokršćanske bazilike te da je bila trobrodna sa zidanim pilonima i s kupolom po sredini. Premda ju je većina istraživača datirala u 9. st., njezine arhitektonske osobine ukazuju na razdoblje protoromanike 11. st. Drugim riječima, starokršćanska crkva korištena je i u predromanici, s tim da je u nju instaliran suvremeni predromanički namještaj. U idućoj je fazi na pročelju crkve dozidan zvonik, najvjerojatnije pri obnovi 1197., te je tada posvećena sv. Ivanu Krstitelju.

Prema ovdje iznesenim mišljenjima iz literature, sakralni kompleks Sv. Marte u Bijaćima razvijao se u više faza kroz duži niz stoljeća. Najprije je u okviru kasnoantičke *villae rusticae* nastao starokršćanski sklop, adaptiran u postojeću arhitekturu, koji je podignut u dvije faze. U toj je drugoj fazi, koju prepoznajemo kao starokršćansku baziliku, interpolirana i predromanička crkva sv. Marte, tj. njezin kameni namještaj iz 9. st. Taj je objekt nakon rušenja preslojen protoromaničkom trobrodnom crkvom s pravokutnom apsidom datiranom u 11. st. Potom je ta crkva 1197. obnovljena i pridodan joj je pravokutni toranj zvonika na pročelju (sl. 21) te je tom prigodom crkva dobila i novi titular, sv. Ivana Krstitelja, koji nije suživio pa je u konačnici prevladao titular sv. Marte. Navedena obnova, koju su izvršili seljani sela Bijaći, predstavlja romaničku fazu crkve koja je usporediva s drugim ovdje opisanim crkvama u Kaštelima iz razdoblja rane romanike. Zanimljivo je da je na crtežima planova iskopavanja s početka 20. st. crkva s pravokutnom apsidom datirana u „XI – XII vijek“, što bi odgovaralo datacijama koje iznose Vežić i Uglešić, ako apstrahiramo općeprihvaćenu dataciju zvonika i manjih pregradnji u 1197.<sup>65</sup>

Za razliku od Stomorije i Sv. Jurja od Žestinja, iz romaničke faze kompleksa Sv. Marte nije pronađen ni jedan ulomak skulpture toga vremena, no to i nije neuobičajeno jer oni nisu nađeni ni kod drugih crkava toga vremena u Kaštelima (Sv. Ivan od Birnja, Sv. Lovre od Ostroga, Sv. Mihovil od Lažana, Sv. Juraj od Putalja).

Sa Sv. Ivanom u Bijaćima završava opis ranoromaničkih crkava u zapadnom dijelu Kaštela koje su sagrađene u srednjovjekovnim selima Ostrog, Špiljan, Žestinj i Bijaći. Preostaju još dvije podignute uz obalu Kaštelanskog zaljeva, uz trasu antičke prometnice *Salona – Tragurium*, a to su Sv. Vital i Sv. Petar od Klobučca, obje također iz 12. st. s vjerojatnim starijim fazama.

Crkva sv. Vitala dobro je poznata iz starije literature i pisanih izvora, prepoznat je i dio njezinoga predromaničkog namještaja, ali su njezin oblik i tlocrt, do nekih budućih iskopavanja na tom lokalitetu, i dalje nepoznati. Započet ću s Andreisovim opisom te crkve: „Crkva Sv. Marije i Sv. Vitala, sazidana u Tarce, vrlo je stara gradnja, zidana sigurno prije godine 1200, što se vidi iz koncesije što ju je Andrija uči-

with likely older phases.

The Church of St. Vitalis is known from the older secondary literature and written sources, and some of its pre-Romanesque furnishings have been recognized, but its shape and floor-plan remain unknown until some future excavations are conducted at the site. I shall begin with the description of this church by Andreis: “The Church of St. Mary and St. Vitalis, built by mason-work in Tarce, is a very old building, made certainly prior to 1200, which can be seen from the concession granted to the town by King Andrew, which mentions land in St. Vitalis field, after which the church was named. The Trogir commune established this temple (...).”<sup>66</sup> Andreis’ assertion that the Trogir commune had “established this temple” points to the conclusion that the pre-Romanesque church, which was a part of the Bijaći count’s estate in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, was reconstructed in the early Romanesque prior to 1200, probably during the intensive construction of church buildings throughout the Split Archdiocese and the Trogir Diocese in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Mention of the Trogir commune as the church’s founder suggests that it had also acquired title to this land, but there are no known documents testifying to this. Omašić also referred to St. Vitalis, mentioning it in the context of several royal deeds from the duke and the Croatian-Hungarian King Andrew II between 1200 and 1220.<sup>67</sup> I also delved into the problems tied to the church on two occasions. First, I managed to ascertain that St. Vitalis had a pre-Romanesque phase as one of two churches (St. Martha was the other) on the royal estate of Bijaći. When the church was torn down in the Early Modern period, a new one with St. Clara as the titular was built. At that time, a part of the pre-Romanesque fragments made their way to the village of Žedno on the island of Čiovo, specifically into the Baroque altar of the Romanesque Church of St. Maurus.<sup>68</sup> A Romanesque phase has yet to be proven, either by excavations or with the help of some new written source, but its existence is very likely in the context of what has been stated herein. Whether it was a case of a thorough-going renovation or simply specific repairs will hopefully be shown by future research.

The last in the series of Romanesque churches in Kaštela is St. Peter of Klobučac/Klobučić, built as part of the Benedictine monastery of the same name. The church’s Romanesque phase had already been pointed out by Andreis, who wrote: “The Church of St. Peter in Kaštel Novi, built near the

66 Andreis 1977, p. 353. The uncertain remains St. Mary, which he attributed to this church. It is possible that this is a case of his own oversight. The Tarce site is part of the wider precinct of Divulje.

67 Omašić 1978, p. 18; 1986, pp. 15-16; 2001a, pp. 26-27.

68 For the Romanesque phase, see Burić 2010a; 2020a, p. 128, note 470, pp. 195, 205, note 754, pp. 201-202, 206-207, 212. The Church of St. Clara was razed to its foundations during construction of a residential building for Yugoslav military officers in the Divulje naval base.

65 Gjurašin 2004, str. 77, 91.

nio gradu koja spominje zemljišta u polju Sv. Vitala, koje je po ovoj crkvi dobilo ime. Trogiriska je komuna utemeljila ovaj hram (...).“<sup>66</sup> Andreisova tvrdnja da je trogiriska komuna „utemeljila ovaj hram“ upućuje na zaključak da je predromanička crkva, koja je u 9. st. bila dio bijačkoga kneževskog veleposjeda, obnovljena u ranoj romanici prije 1200., vjerojatno u vrijeme intenzivne izgradnje crkvenih zdanja diljem Splitske nadbiskupije i Trogirске biskupije u 12. st. Spominjanje trogirске komune kao utemeljitelja crkve navodi na pretpostavku da je ona stekla i posjed toga predjela, ali nam dokumenti o tome nisu poznati. Na Sv. Vitala se osvrnuo i Omašić koji ga spominje u kontekstu nekoliko vladarskih darovnica hercega i ugarsko-hrvatskog kralja Andrije II. izdanih između 1200. i 1220.<sup>67</sup> I sam sam se u dva navrata pozabavio problematikom vezanom za tu crkvu. Najprije sam uspio utvrditi da je Sv. Vital imao predromaničku fazu kao jedna od dviju crkava (uz Sv. Martu) na vladarskom veleposjedu Bijaći. Kada je u novom vijeku crkva porušena, podignuta je nova s titularom sv. Klare. Tom prigodom je dio predromaničkih ulomaka dospio u selo Žedno na otoku Čiovu, točnije u barokni oltar romaničke crkve sv. Mavra.<sup>68</sup> Romaničku fazu treba još dokazati, iskopavanjima ili uz pomoć nekog novog pisanog izvora, ali je ona sasvim vjerojatna u kontekstu svega ovdje iznesenoga. Radi li se o temeljitoj obnovi ili samo određenim popravcima, pokazat će, nadamo se, neka buduća istraživanja.

Na kraju ovog niza romaničkih crkava u Kaštelima preostala je ona sv. Petra od Klobučca/Klobučića podignuta u sklopu istoimenog benediktinskog samostana. Na romaničku fazu crkve ukazao je još Andreis koji piše: „Crkva Sv. Petra u Kaštel Novom, sazidana u blizini mora godine 1476. potekla je iz druge starije jer se još vidi pola glavnog oltara iz hrama starog, razorenog, prenesena u novi.“<sup>69</sup> Time je ujedno ukazao i na njezinu lokaciju na položaju današnje župne crkve sv. Petra u Kaštel Novom, što je u konačnici riješio tek Omašić pobivši starije neutemeljene tvrdnje o lokaciji tih zdanja na lokalitetu Miri.<sup>70</sup> Autor na temelju pisanih izvora opširno analizira sljed zbivanja oko te crkve i samostana od konca 12. do početka 15. st. Crkva se u autentičnim pisanim vrelima prvi put spominje u aktima splitskoga crkvenog sabora 1185., a potom u ispravici o utvrđivanju samostanskih posjeda iz 1189. Samostan je bio beneficij stanovnika Podmorja, koji su i obnovili crkvu i samostan 1189. Od sredine 13. st. u dokumentima se spominje samo

sea in 1476, emerged on another, older one, because half of the main altar from the old temple, destroyed, was taken to the new one.”<sup>69</sup> He thereby also indicated its location at the site of today’s Church of St. Peter in Kaštel Novi, which was ultimately only resolved by Omašić, who refuted the older unfounded claims on the location of these buildings at the Miri site.<sup>70</sup> Based on written sources, the author extensively analyzed the sequence of events around this church and monastery from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. The church was first mentioned in authentic written sources in the acts of the Split synod of 1185, and then in a document on the establishment of the monastic properties from 1189. The monastery was the benefice of the residents of Podmorje, who also reconstructed the church and monastery in 1189. From the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century onward, only the church is mentioned in documents. An overview of the church’s historical development was more recently provided by Mirela Duvnjak, who noted the site’s multiple layers going back to Classical Antiquity.<sup>71</sup> Since archaeological excavations of this site have not yet been conducted, there are no data on the architecture and items with Romanesque stylistic features. Notwithstanding, relying on written sources it may be said that in the 12<sup>th</sup> century the Church of St. Peter was here and by all indications it had early Romanesque features.

Here I would like to supplement the series of sacral buildings with the information on the existence of a mediaeval chapel in Kaštela. The sole trace of it is preserved in a brief record in Andreis’ *Povijesti grada Trogira* [History of the Town of Trogir]: “The Chapel of St. Gregory built inside a house, which belonged to the Benedictine monks of St. John the Baptist, had been earlier been made with a vault, but was recently torn down due to its age. The monks had built it here earlier to ease the performance of their service.”<sup>72</sup> This was, therefore, a house with a chapel on the property of the Benedictine Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Trogir. Andreis did not state the name of this property, but based on the context it is obvious that it was in Trogir’s Velo polje, today’s Donja Kaštela. I wrote about this several times and put forth the hypothesis that the house was at the Miri site in Kaštel Novi, where individual elements of the mediaeval structures were discovered in excavations conducted by the Bihać Society. As evidence for this, I furthermore noted the fact that the lands of the Trogir monastery were inside the village of Špiljan, where I also placed Miri. I compared this house to the one on the property of the same monastery in Orihovica, in Vinišće, from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In the text by Andreis, it is apparent that in

66 Andreis 1977, str. 353. Nejasan ostaje titular sv. Marije koji on pridaje toj crkvi. Moguće je da se radi o nekoj njegovoj omašci. Lokalitet Tarce je dio širega predjela Divulje.

67 Omašić 1978, str. 18; 1986, str. 15-16; 2001a, str. 26-27.

68 Za romaničku fazu crkve vidi Burić 2010a; 2020a, str. 128, bilj. 470, str. 195, 205, bilj. 754, str. 201-202, 206-207, 212. Crkva sv. Klare porušena je do temelja prigodom izgradnje stambene zgrade za oficire JNA u vojno-pomorskoj bazi Divulje.

69 Andreis 1977, str. 351.

70 Omašić 1978, str. 144-159; 1986, str. 95-105; 2001a, str. 120-131.

69 Andreis 1977, p. 351.

70 Omašić 1978, pp. 144-159; 1986, pp. 95-105; 2001a, pp. 120-131.

71 Duvnjak 2007, pp. 15-16.

72 Andreis 1977, p. 352.

crkva. Prikaz povijesnoga razvoja crkve donijela je u novije vrijeme Mirela Duvnjak ukazavši na slojevitost lokaliteta još od antičkih vremena.<sup>71</sup> Kako arheološka istraživanja tog lokaliteta još nisu provedena, nema podataka o nalazima arhitekture i predmeta romaničkih stilskih odlika. No i pored toga možemo, oslonivši se na pisane izvore, kazati da je u 12. st. tu bila crkva sv. Petra, koja je po svemu sudeći imala ranoromaničke stilske odlike.

Ovdje bih predočeni niz sakralnih objekata dopunio i podatkom o postojanju jedne srednjovjekovne kapele u Kašteli-ma. Jedini njezin trag očuvan je u sažetom zapisu u Andreisovoj *Povijesti grada Trogira*: „Kapela Sv. Grgura sazidana unutar jedne kuće, koja je bila monaha benediktinaca Sv. Ivana Krstitelja, bila je ranije građena na svod, ali je zbog starosti nedavno razorena. Ovu su ranije monasi sazidali za udobnost obavljajući službu.“<sup>72</sup> Radi se, dakle, o kući s kapelom na posjedu benediktinskog samostana sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Trogiru. Andreis nije naveo naziv toga posjeda, ali je iz konteksta jasno da se nalazio u trogirskom Velom polju, današnjim Donjim Kaštelima. O tome sam pisao u nekoliko navrata i iznio hipotezu da je ta kuća bila na lokalitetu Miri u Kaštel Novom, gdje su u iskopavanjima društva „Bihać“ otkriveni i pojedini elementi srednjovjekovnih struktura. U prilog tome iznio sam i činjenicu da je u okvirima sela Špiljan, u čijem opsegu smještam i Mire, bilo zemalja trogirskoga samostana. Tu sam kuću usporedio s onom na posjedu istoga samostana u Orihovići u Vinišću s konca 13. st. Iz Andreisovog teksta je razvidno da je u njegovo vrijeme (17. st.) kapela već bila stara i ruševna, te je sigurno bila iz srednjeg vijeka. Uzevši u obzir i gospodarsko osipanje samostana u kasnom srednjem vijeku, ona je vjerojatno sagrađena u 13. ili najdalje početkom 14. st.,<sup>73</sup> pa je možemo okvirno pripisati romaničkom graditeljskom slogu.

Preostaje još u ovom poglavlju kazati par riječi i o tipologiji crkava koje su u njemu opisane. Naravno, ostaje otvorenim pitanje o izgledu i tlocrtima onih koje su porušene, a na čijim lokalitetima istraživanja još nisu provedena ili su tek započeta, što se odnosi na polovicu ovdje navedenih crkava (Sv. Marija od Špiljana, Sv. Juraj od Žestinja, Sv. Vital, Sv. Petar od Klobučca). Njima pribrajam romaničku fazu Sv. Jurja od Putalja koja je temeljito razorena izgradnjom kasnije gotičke crkve i brojnim dubokim grobovima kasnoga srednjeg vijeka. Preostalih pet pokazuju izraženu uniformiranost tlocrtnih oblika, ali i veličina objekata. Radi se o manjim jednobrodnim crkvama s polukružnom apsidom (Sv. Kuzma i Damjan, Sv. Mihovil od Lažana, Sv. Ivan od Birnja, Sv. Lovre od Ostroga), od kojih jedino Sv. Ivan (Sv. Marta) od Bijaća ima pravokutnu apsidu i trobrodno raščlanjenu lađu. Skromnih su dimenzija što je u skladu s

his time (17<sup>th</sup> century), the chapel had already been old and dilapidated, and certainly dated to the Middle Ages. Taking into consideration the economic dissipation of the monastery in the late Middle Ages, it was probably built in the 13<sup>th</sup> century or later, at the onset of the 14<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>73</sup> so it may be generally ascribed to the Romanesque architectural style.

All that remains in this section is to say a few words about the typology of the churches described herein. To be sure, the appearance and floor plans remains an open question for those churches that have been demolished, and where excavations have not yet been conducted or have only just begun, which pertains to the half of the aforementioned churches (St. Mary of Špiljan, St. George of Žestinj, St. Vitalis, St. Peter of Klobučac). I also count among them St. George of Putalj, which was thoroughly destroyed by the construction of the later Gothic church and numerous deep graves dug in the late Middle Ages. The remaining five exhibit a great uniformity in floor-plan shapes and also building size. These are the small single-nave churches with semi-circular apses (Sts. Cosmas and Damian, St. Michael of Lažani, St. John of Biranj, St. Lawrence of Ostrog), of which only St. John (St. Martha) of Bijaći has a rectangular apse and triple, articulated nave. The dimensions are smaller, which comported with the financial resources of those who commissioned them. Among the preserved examples, the nave lengths range from 6 to 7.15 m, while the width from 4.33 to 5.1 m. The apses also have more modest dimensions, and their widths vary from 2 to 3 m, and depth from 1.3 to 1.5 m. It should moreover be underscored that the roofs are covered with stone tiles on all three preserved apses.

Romanesque single-nave churches with rounded apses were not a *novum* in the sacral architecture of the Middle Ages. This type, widespread everywhere during the Romanesque era in the West, had been fostered since the Early Christian period, when it was in turn assumed from the sacral and profane Roman pre-Christian architecture. Ivo Babić recently discussed its genesis and evolution in great detail, applying Braudel's concept of the "*longue durée*" to this topic. Babić traced this type from Roman times, through the Early Christian phase, the pre-Romanesque, Romanesque, Gothic and Baroque to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, supporting it with a series of examples all down the Croatian coast. In all phases, these churches retained their original, Late Antique form. This church type was most intensively used in the Middle Ages, mostly in rural areas and in the immediate vicinity of cities. It simultaneously constituted the type with the highest number of examples within the framework of sacral architecture in Dalmatia,<sup>74</sup> and here I would also mention alongside this that based on the above-described example of the Kaštela area it was appar-

71 Duvnjak 2007, str. 15-16.

72 Andreis 1977, str. 352.

73 Burić 2020a, str. 182-183; 2021b, str. 553-554.

73 Burić 2020a, pp. 182-183; 2021b, pp. 553-554.

74 Babić 2018, pp. 181-183.

materijalnim mogućnostima naručitelja. Kod očuvanih primjera dužina lađe se kreće između 6 i 7,15 m, a širina između 4,33 i 5,10 m. Apside su također skromnih dimenzija, širina im varira između 2 i 3 m, a dubina između 1,30 i 1,50 m. Usto treba istaknuti kako su na svim trima očuvanim apsidama krovovi pokriveni kamenim pločama.

Romaničke jednobrodne crkve s oblom apsidom nisu *novum* u sakralnom graditeljstvu srednjega vijeka. Taj je tip, raširen posvuda tijekom trajanja romaničkog stila na Zapadu, baštinjen još iz starokršćanskih vremena, u kojima je preuzet iz profane i sakralne arhitekture rimskoga pretkršćanskog graditeljstva. O njegovoj genezi i evoluciji nedavno je detaljno raspravio Ivo Babić primijenivši na tu problematiku Braudelov pojam „dugog trajanja“. Autor ovaj tip prati od rimskih vremena, preko starokršćanske faze, predromanike, romanike, gotike i baroka, sve do 19. st. potkrjepljujući to nizom primjera uzduž naše obale. Te su crkve u svim fazama zadržale svoj izvorni kasnoantički oblik. Taj se tip crkava najintenzivnije koristio u srednjem vijeku, ponajviše u ruralnim sredinama i u blizjoj okolici gradova. On ujedno predstavlja tip s najvećim brojem primjera u okvirima sakralne arhitekture u Dalmaciji,<sup>74</sup> a ovdje bih uz to napomenuo kako je i iz opisanog primjera prostora Kaštela vidljivo da se najčešće upotrebljavao upravo u romaničkom razdoblju. Babić ujedno ističe da se tu odreda radi o objektima malih dimenzija, jer je dužina većine tih crkava manja od 8 m, što također pokazuje ovdje opisani kaštelanski primjeri.

Romaničke crkve u Kaštelima u više se elemenata vidno razlikuju od onih predromaničkih.<sup>75</sup> Prije svega, u romaničkim crkvama postupno nestaju karakteristične oltarne ograde predromaničkog vremena, a i same crkve se svojim izgledom i tlocrtima jasno razlikuju od predromaničkih. Dok su predromaničke crkve uglavnom adaptacije starokršćanskih objekata (s izuzetkom Sv. Jurja od Raduna koji je sagrađen u 11. st., na prijelazu iz predromaničke u ranoromaničku epohu), one romaničke, čiji su nam oblici i tlocrti poznati, pokazuju tipski nova zdanja, čak i kada se podižu nad starijim sakralnim objektima. Prestanak korištenja oltarnih ograda bio je složen i dugotrajan proces uvjetovan u prvom redu promjenom liturgijskih obreda koja je proistekla iz clunyjevske crkvene reforme 11. st. Oltarne ograde (*septa, cancelli*) bile su glavni element liturgijske artikulacije interijera u starokršćanskim i predromaničkim crkvama. S pojavom romaničkog stila u izgradnji sakralnih objekata, one se od 12. st. pod utjecajem promjena u liturgiji postupno gube u crkvama na Zapadu. U već postojećim predromaničkim crkvama ipak ostaju *in situ* još duže vrijeme, posebice u manjim gradskim i seoskim crkvama u feudalnom zaleđu dalmatin-

ently most often employed precisely during the Romanesque era. Babić also pointed out that these were always structures with small dimensions, because the length of these churches was less than 8 m, which is also shown by the Kaštela examples described herein.

The Romanesque churches in Kaštela visibly differ from their pre-Romanesque counterparts in a number of aspects.<sup>75</sup> First and foremost, the altar screen typical of the pre-Romanesque times gradually began to disappear in Romanesque churches, and the appearance and floor-plans of the churches themselves clearly differed from the pre-Romanesque. While pre-Romanesque churches were generally adaptations of Early Christian structures (with the exception of St. George of Radun, which was built in the 11<sup>th</sup> century at the transition of the pre-Romanesque into the Romanesque era), the Romanesque churches with known forms and floor-plans exhibit a new type of building, even when they were built atop older sacral structures. The disappearance of altar screens was a complex and long-term process caused primarily by the changes in liturgical rites pursuant to the Cluniac Reforms of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Altar screens (*septa, cancelli*) were the primary element of the liturgical articulation of interiors in Early Christian and pre-Romanesque churches. After the appearance of the Romanesque style in the construction of sacral buildings, as of the 12<sup>th</sup> century they gradually disappeared in churches in the West under the influence of changes in the liturgy. In already existing pre-Romanesque churches they nonetheless remained *in situ* for an extended period, particularly in smaller urban and rural churches in the feudal hinterland of Dalmatian cities.<sup>76</sup> A dual situation exists for the churches analyzed in this paper. In some the lower sections of the altar screens from the pre-Romanesque or Early Christian phases were once more used in the Romanesque and proto-Romanesque phases (St. George of Putalj, Sts. Cosmas and Damian, St. John of Bijaći), while others were built without altar screens in compliance with new liturgical rules (St. Lawrence of Ostrog, St. John of Biranj, St. Michael of Lažani). Naturally, those that have not been investigated or whose remains are underground cannot be taken into consideration (St. Mary of Špiljan, St. George of Žestinj, St. Vitalis, St. Peter of Klobučac). Here I shall more extensively analyze those for which there are archaeological indications that they contained the lower elements of altar screens (plutei and pilasters) used in the reduced form of low screens. An analysis of the structure of grave chambers at Putalj ascertained that graves of phase I, which was chronologically parallel to the High Middle Ages (12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries),

74 Babić 2018, str. 181-183.

75 Za predromaničke crkve u Kaštelima vidi Burić 2021c.

75 On pre-Romanesque churches in Kaštela, see Burić 2021c.

76 Burić 1997. This paper contains an overview of altar screens and their fate on the entire Croatian coast. To the present, only one remains *in situ* in the small Church of St. Martin in Split.

skih gradova.<sup>76</sup> Što se tiče crkava koje su u ovom radu obrađene, imamo dvojaku situaciju. U jednim su donji dijelovi oltarnih ograda iz predromaničke ili starokršćanske faze ponovno upotrijebljeni u romaničkim ili protoromaničkim fazama (Sv. Juraj od Putalja, Sv. Kuzma i Damjan, Sv. Ivan od Bijaća), dok su druge građene bez oltarnih ograda u skladu s novim liturgijskim pravilima (Sv. Lovre od Ostroga, Sv. Ivan od Birnja, Sv. Mihovil od Lažana). Naravno, one koje još nisu istražene i čiji se ostatci nalaze pod zemljom nije moguće uzeti u razmatranje (Sv. Marija od Špiljana, Sv. Juraj od Žestinja, Sv. Vital, Sv. Petar od Klobučca). Ovdje ću opširnije analizirati one za koje postoje arheološke indicije da su u njima dijelovi donjih elemenata oltarnih ograda (pluteji i pilastri) iskorišteni u reduciranom obliku niskih ograda. Analizom konstrukcija grobnih kovčega na Putalju utvrđeno je da u grobovima I. faze, koja je vremenski paralelna s razvijenim srednjim vijekom (12. – 13. st.), tj. romaničkim razdobljem, nema predromaničkih *spolia*, već se one javljaju kasnije, tek u grobovima II. faze, tj. u kasnom srednjem vijeku (14. – 15. st.) u epohi gotike. Uz to napominjem da je u gotičkoj crkvi na Putalju bio uzidan veći broj dijelova pilastara i pluteja iz 9. st., što upućuje na zaključak da je u romaničkoj crkvi, koju je gotička preslojila u približno istim gabaritima, iskorišten dio pluteja i pilastara u reduciranom obliku niske oltarne ograde.<sup>77</sup> Gotička crkva na Putalju sagrađena je koncem 14. st. i to je *terminus ad quem* konačnog prestanka korištenja predromaničke oltarne ograde iz prve polovice 9. st. koja je, uz pretpostavljenu redukciju njezinih dijelova u romaničkoj fazi crkve u 13. st., bila u funkciji oko 550 godina unatoč liturgijskim promjenama u zapadnoj Crkvi. Takvo dugotrajno korištenje oltarne ograde nije samo plod obrednog konzervativizma, već više tromosti svojstvene seoskim župnim crkvama, koja je proistekla i iz skučenih materijalnih mogućnosti u odnosu na gradske katedrale i opatijske crkve. Ovime sam htio ukazati na to kako promjene u liturgiji, koje su od 11. st. zahvatile cijelu Crkvu na Zapadu, nisu nužno dovele do uklanjanja predromaničkih oltarnih ograda u postojećim crkvama. No, njih u novosagrađenim crkvama u romaničkom slogu više uglavnom nema.<sup>78</sup>

U Sv. Kuzmi i Damjanu istraživanjem je u romaničkoj crkvi otkriven *stipes* oltarne ograde *in situ*,<sup>79</sup> koji Belamarić samo usputno spominje. Prema svemu sudeći, to je bila jedna reducirana oltarna oграда, točnije prolaz prema oltaru. Kako je iz istraživanja jasno da tu nije bilo predromaničke faze, preostaje samo jedna mogućnost: da su u romaničkoj crkvi sredinom 12. st. iskorišteni elementi starokršćanske oltarne ograde za odvajanje prezbiterija od lađe. U širu analizu ovdje nije uputno

i.e., the Romanesque era, contained no pre-Romanesque spolia, rather they appeared later, only in the graves of phase II, i.e., in the Late Middle Ages (14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries) during the Gothic era. It is additionally noteworthy that a considerable number of pilasters and plutei from the 9<sup>th</sup> century were embedded into the walls of the Gothic church in Putalj, which points to the conclusion that parts of plutei and pilasters were used in the reduced form of low altar screens in the Romanesque church that was covered by the Gothic one in roughly the same dimensions.<sup>77</sup> The Gothic church at Putalj was built at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, which is the *terminus ad quem* for the use of pre-Romanesque altar screens from the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century which, with the assumed reduction of its parts in the church's Romanesque phase in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, functioned for approximately 550 years despite the liturgical changes in the Western Church. Such long-term use of altar screens was not simply due to ritual conservatism, rather it was based more in the sluggishness typical of rural parish churches, which was also based on limited resources compared to urban cathedrals and abbey churches. Here I wanted to show that changes in the liturgy, which took place in the entire Western Church as of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, did not necessarily lead to the removal of pre-Romanesque altar screens in existing churches. However, they were generally absent in the newly-constructed churches done in the Romanesque style.<sup>78</sup>

Investigations in the Romanesque Church of St. Cosmas and Damian uncovered an altar screen support *in situ*,<sup>79</sup> which Belamarić only noted in passing. By all accounts this was a reduced altar screen, specifically a passage toward the altar. Since the research clearly ascertained that there was no pre-Romanesque phase here, only one possibility remained: the elements of an Early Christian altar screen to separate the presbytery from the nave were used in a Romanesque church in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. It would not be appropriate to engage in a broader analysis until the research results are comprehensively published.

A similar situation holds in the Church of St. John (St. Martha) of Bijaći, where the remains of a partially preserved altar screen support were found in its northern and central nave. The leader of the revisionary excavations at St. Martha, Dušan (Duje) Jelovina briefly addressed this find: "The bases of a three-part altar screen that have slots carved into them were discovered in the church's interior (...)."<sup>80</sup> Since that phase of the church was dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and its remodelling and expansion to the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, one must as-

76 Burić 1997. U tom je radu dat pregled oltarnih ograda i njihove daljnje sudbine na cijeloj našoj obali i zaobalju. Do danas je *in situ* ostala samo jedna, ona u crkvi sv. Martina u Splitu.

77 Burić 1997, str. 58.

78 Burić 1997, str. 58-59.

79 Belamarić 1991, str. 43, presjek i tlocrt na str. 45, sl. na str. 46.

77 Burić 1997, p. 58.

78 Burić 1997, pp. 58-59.

79 Belamarić 1991, p. 43, cross-section and floor plan on p. 45, figure on p. 46.

80 Jelovina 2004, pp. 100, 105, Fig. 10, p. 106, Fig. 11 (incorrectly numbered as Fig. 12). See also Gjurašin 2004, floor plan on pp. 88 and 89.

ulaziti dok rezultati istraživanja ne budu cjelovito objavljeni.

Slična je situacija i u crkvi Sv. Ivana (Sv. Marte) od Bijaća, gdje su u sjevernom i središnjem brodu crkve otkriveni ostatci djelomice očuvanog stipesa oltarne ograde. Voditelj revizijskih iskopavanja Sv. Marte, Dušan (Duje) Jelovina kratko se osvrnuo na taj nalaz: „U crkvenoj unutrašnjosti otkrivene su baze trodijelne oltarne pregrade, koje imaju na sebi uklesane utore (...).“<sup>80</sup> Budući da je ta faza crkve datirana u 11. st., a njezine pregradnje i proširenja u konac 12. st., mora se pretpostaviti kako su za pluteje i pilastre korišteni elementi starijih predromaničkih ograda. Tome u prilog ističem da među zaista brojnim ulomcima oltarnih ograda iz Sv. Marte nema ni jednoga koji bi mogli datirati u 11. st. Stoga i ranoromaničku crkvu sv. Ivana od Bijaća treba pribrojiti onima Sv. Kuzme i Damjana i Sv. Jurja od Putalja u kojima je takav slučaj također zabilježen.

Nepostojanje oltarnih ograda u romaničkim crkvama nije supstituirano nekim drugim skulpturalnim elementima. Gotovo potpuni izostanak skulpture upravo je jedna od karakteristika tih malih ruralnih crkava, za razliku od velikih gradskih bazilika poput trogirске katedrale s raskošnim Radovanovim portalom ili romaničkog zvonika splitske stolnice. Dosadašnja istraživanja iznijela su na vidjelo svega dva nalaza romaničke skulpture, a to su nadvratnik Sv. Jurja od Žestinja (sl. 19) i slivnik (garguj, vodoriga) sa Sv. Marije od Špiljana (sl. 16).

## POVIJESNI OKVIR

Romaničke crkve razlikuju se od predromaničkih i svojom namjenom. Predromaničke crkve podizane su za potrebe primarne kristijanizacije u 9. st. i građene su na vladarskim posjedima. Većina ranoromaničkih crkava 12. st. građena je za potrebe srednjovjekovnih sela te su imale ulogu župnih i grobljanskih crkava bez obzira jesu li podignute u okvirima seoskih zajednica ili na crkvenim posjedima (Sv. Juraj od Putalja, Sv. Kuzma i Damjan, Sv. Mihovil od Lažana, Sv. Lovre od Ostroga, Sv. Marija od Špiljana, Sv. Juraj od Žestinja, Sv. Ivan od Bijaća), a manji dio njih je sagrađen izvan naseljenih mjesta (Sv. Vital i Sv. Petar od Klobučca – samostanska crkva, Sv. Ivan od Birnja – zavjetna crkva didića s Ostroga). U tom kontekstu osvrnuo bih se i na njihove donatore, tj. one društvene slojeve koji su pokrenuli i financirali njihovu izgradnju. Uz osobe iz crkvene hijerarhije, po prvi se put u izgradnji sakralnih objekata u srednjem vijeku u zapaženom broju javljaju i pripadnici seoskih zajednica. To su članovi rodovskih bratstava koja su tada predstavljala osnovne ćelije srednjovjekovnoga društva, a uz njih se još u jednom slučaju pojavljuje i trogirska komuna (Sv. Vital). Crkvene institucije podigle su na svojim posjedima tri crkve: Sv.

sume that the elements of older pre-Romanesque altar screens were used for the plutei and pilasters. As evidence for this I should note that among the truly numerous fragments of altar screens from St. Martha, not one can be dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, the early Romanesque Church of St. John of Bijaći should be added to those of Sts. Cosmas and Damian and St. George of Putalj in which such cases were also recorded.

The absence of altar screens in Romanesque churches was not substituted with some other sculptural elements. The virtually complete absence of sculpture is in fact one of the features of these small rural churches, as opposed to the large urban basilicas such as Trogir's cathedral with its luxuriant portal made by architect and sculptor Radovan or the Romanesque campanile of the Split cathedral. All previous research has brought to light only two finds of Romanesque sculpture, and these are the lintel at St. George of Žestinj (Fig. 19) and the drain (gargoyle) from St. Mary of Špiljan (Fig. 16).

## HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

Romanesque churches also differ from their pre-Romanesque predecessors in terms of their use. Pre-Romanesque churches were built for the needs of primary Christianization in the 9<sup>th</sup> century and they were built on the estates of rulers. Most early Romanesque churches of the 12<sup>th</sup> century were built for the needs of mediaeval villages and they played the role of parish or cemeterial churches regardless of whether they were raised within the bounds of rural communities or on ecclesiastical estates (St. George of Putalj, Sts. Cosmas and Damian, St. Michael of Lažani, St. Lawrence of Ostrog, St. Mary of Špiljan, St. George of Žestinj, St. John of Bijaći), while a lesser number was built outside of inhabited communities (St. Vitalis and St. Peter of Klobučac – a monastic church, St. John of Biranj – a votive church of the Ostrog clan-based confraternity). In this context it would be worthwhile to consider their benefactors, i.e., those social classes which initiated and financed their construction. Besides persons from the clerical hierarchy, for the first time the members of rural communities also appeared as participants in the construction of sacral buildings in the Middle Ages. These were the members of clan-based confraternities who at the time constituted the basic units of mediaeval society, and in one other case the Trogir commune (St. Vitalis) appeared alongside them. Ecclesiastical institutions raised three churches on their own property: Sts. Cosmas and Damian in the mediaeval village of Kozice on the estate of the Benedictine Convent of St. Benedict (later St. Raynerius) in Split, St. Peter of Klobučac in Kaštel Novi as part of the eponymous Benedictine monastery and St. George of Putalj on the estate of Split's archbishop in mediaeval Sućurac. However, while written sources confirm that the Benedictine sisters commissioned the construction of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, the sources similarly confirm that in the case of St. Peter

<sup>80</sup> Jelovina 2004, str. 100, 105, sl. 10, str. 106, sl. 11 (pogrešno numerirana kao sl. 12). Vidi i Gjurašin 2004, tlocrti na str. 88. i 89.

Kuzmu i Damjana u srednjovjekovnom selu Kozici na posjedu benediktinki samostana sv. Benedikta (potom sv. Arnira) u Splitu, Sv. Petra od Klobučca u Kaštel Novom u sklopu istoimenog benediktinskog samostana i Sv. Jurja od Putalja na posjedu splitskih nadbiskupa u srednjovjekovnom Sućurcu. Međutim, dok se za Sv. Kuzmu i Damjana iz pisanih izvora zna da su ga dale sagraditi benediktinke, za Sv. Petra od Klobučca nam izvori potvrđuju da su utemeljitelji samostana i crkve bili žitelji Podmorja, koji su 1189. obnovili crkvu i samostan, za putaljsku crkvu nemamo pisanih potvrda, ali su je vjerojatno dali podići splitski nadbiskupi budući da je cijelo selo Sućurac bilo njihov posjed, poput sela Kozice u posjedu splitskih benediktinki. Ovome popisu sakralnih objekata koje su podigle crkvene institucije još treba pridodati i spomenutu kapelu sv. Grgura u selu Špiljan, na posjedu trogirskih benediktinaca. Sv. Vitala je, ako je vjerovati Andreisovom tekstu, dala podići trogirsku komuna. Kako on izričito piše: „Trogirska je komuna utemeljila ovaj hram (...)“.<sup>81</sup> To bi bio jedini slučaj da je neku romaničku crkvu u Kaštelima dala podići jedna od dviju komuna (Split i Trogir) koje su se postupno proširile na taj središnji dio Kliške županije. U dijelu Kaštela u splitskom distriktu takav primjer nije zabilježen. Preostalih šest crkava dale su podići seoske rodovske zajednice. To su Sv. Mihovil od Lažana, Sv. Lovre od Ostroga, Sv. Ivan od Birnja, Sv. Marija od Špiljana, Sv. Juraj od Žestinja i Sv. Ivan (Sv. Marta) od Bijaća. Ako im pridružimo i utemeljitelje Sv. Petra od Klobučca, dobivamo niz od sedam od ukupnih deset crkava romaničke epohe, što je zaista imponozantan broj. Preciznije rečeno, 70% romaničkih crkava u Kaštelima dali su podići pripadnici rodova slobodnog seljaštva, *didići*, i to kao svoje nadarbine (beneficije) u kojima su imali nasljedno pravo juspatronata. Ta nam činjenica zorno predočava kako se s razvojem robno-novčane privrede u 12. st. i općim gospodarskim jačanjem feudalnoga društva i gradskih komuna razvio u srednjovjekovnim selima obogaćeni gornji sloj seoskoga društva, koji je uspio akumulirati dovoljno sredstava da može pristupiti izgradnji tako velikog broja crkava. Njihove skromne dimenzije ne umanjuju veličinu toga poduhvata, koji je na prostoru Kaštela ostao nenadmašen sve do nedavnih vremena, kada je u 19. i 20. st. opet podignut veći broj crkava u Kaštelima.<sup>82</sup> Posebice je vrijedno istaknuti da su rodovska bratstva *didića* s Ostroga dala koncem 12. ili početkom 13. st. podići čak dvije crkve, župnu i grobljansku crkvu sv. Lovre i zavjetnu crkvu sv. Ivana od Birnja.

Analiza pisanih i arheoloških izvora pokazala je da su sve te crkve sagrađene u 12. ili najkasnije početkom 13. st., što je vjerojatno jedan od razloga zašto u 13. st. nema novih crkava na

of Klobučac the founders of the monastery and church were the residents of Podmorje, who arranged for both to be reconstructed in 1189. There are no written confirmations for the Putalj church, but it is likely that its construction was commissioned by the archbishops of Split, since the entire village of Sućurac was their possession, just as the village of Kozice was the property of the Benedictine nuns of Split. The aforementioned Chapel of St. Gregory in the village of Špiljan, owned by the Trogir Benedictines, should also be added to this list of sacral buildings raised by ecclesiastical institutions. The construction of St. Vitalis was – if what Andreis wrote is to be believed – arranged by the Trogir commune. As he explicitly wrote: “The Trogir commune founded this temple (...)”.<sup>81</sup> This would be the sole case of the construction of a Romanesque church in Kaštela being commissioned by one of the two communes (Split and Trogir) which had gradually expanded in that central section of Klis County. No such example has been recorded in the Kaštela part of the Split district. The remaining six churches were raised by rural clan communities. These are St. Michael of Lažani, St. Lawrence of Ostrog, St. John of Biranj, St. Mary of Špiljan, St. George of Žestinj and St. John (St. Martha) of Bijaći. If the founders of St. Peter of Klobučac are added, then we have a series of seven out of ten churches of the Romanesque era, which is truly an impressive number. Stated more precisely, 70% of the Romanesque churches in Kaštela was raised by the members of the clans of free peasants, the *didići*, as benefices in which they had the right of patronage (*jus patronatus*). This fact clearly demonstrates that the development of the goods-monetary economy in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the general economic growth of feudal society and urban communities also led to the appearance of an enriched rural social class in mediaeval villages, which had managed to accumulate sufficient means to be able to finance the construction of such a high number of churches. Their modest dimensions do not diminish the grandeur of this undertaking, which had remained unsurpassed in the Kaštela area until recently, when a high number of churches were built in Kaštela in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>82</sup> It is particularly noteworthy that the clan-based confraternities of the *didići* from Ostrog had two churches built at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century: the parish and cemeterial Church of St. Lawrence and the votive Church of St. John of Biranj.

An analysis of written and archaeological sources has shown that all of these churches were built in the 12<sup>th</sup> or, at the latest, 13<sup>th</sup> century, which is probably one of the reasons

81 Andreis 1977, str. 353.

82 Ta tema iz socijalno-gospodarske povijesti našega srednjovjekovlja zaslužuje svakako sustavnu analizu, koja bi ovdje uvelike prerasla glavnu temu rada. To bi trebao biti jedan od glavnih pravaca u istraživanju naših povjesničara medievista.

81 Andreis 1977, p. 353.

82 This theme pertaining to the socio-political history of the Croatian Middle Ages certainly deserves a systematic analysis, which would have largely become the main topic of this paper. This should be one of the primary research objectives of Croatian mediaeval historians.

prostoru Kaštela; budući da je cijeli areal do tada premrežen brojnim sakralnim zdanjima, nije bilo potrebe za podizanjem novih. Tome su pridonijela i dinamična društvena i politička zbivanja te ratovi koji su se u 13. st. odvijali u Dilatu, Podmorju i oko Ostroga, o čemu bi trebalo posebno raspraviti. Sačuvani datumi izgradnje pojedinih od tih crkava pružaju nam mogućnost preciznijeg određenja kronoloških okvira u kojima se odvijao taj sakralni investicijski zamah. Okvirno je u 12. st. bilo moguće datirati romaničku fazu Sv. Jurja od Putalja, Sv. Mihočila od Lažana i Sv. Vitala (prije 1200.), a Sv. Jurja od Žestinja čak i na početak 12. st. Točne godine imamo za Sv. Kuzmu i Damjana (1160.), Sv. Mariju od Špiljana (1189.), kao i za Sv. Petra od Klobučca (1189.) i Sv. Ivana od Bijaća (1197.). Za Sv. Lovru od Ostroga i Sv. Ivana od Birnja najvjerojatniji kronološki okvir dala je Vedrana Delonga (1185. – 1226.). Dakle, pet od deset crkava sagrađeno je nakon 1185. kada je održan povijesni crkveni sabor u Splitu na kojemu je temeljito reorganizirana Splitaska metropolija<sup>83</sup> (Sv. Marija od Špiljana, Sv. Peta od Klobučca, Sv. Ivan od Bijaća, Sv. Lovre od Ostroga i Sv. Ivan od Birnja), a ostaje otvorenom mogućnost da su još neke od njih također podignute nakon navedenog datuma (Sv. Juraj od Putalja, Sv. Vital). Prije toga je sigurno podignuta crkva sv. Kuzme i Damjana (1160.) i Sv. Juraj od Žestinja (ako je ranoromanički nadvratnik bio na novopodignutoj crkvi 12. st., a ne na nekoj starijoj) te vjerojatno Sv. Mihovil od Lažana. Taj zamah u izgradnji sakralnih objekata, posebice na prostoru Trogirske biskupije, odraz je porasta gospodarske moći dalmatinskih komuna Splita i Trogira s jedne strane i rodovskih seoskih zajednica u Klisčkoj županiji s druge.<sup>84</sup> Time su položeni temelji čvršće crkvene organizacije budućih seoskih župa u ruralnim predjelima, posebice u okvirima gradskih distrikta Splita i Trogira.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Sustavnom analizom crkava iz romaničke epohe u Kaštelima utvrđeno je da ih je ukupno bilo deset, od kojih su neke izvorno sagrađene u rustičnom romaničkom stilu, dok su druge ili obnovljene predromaničke crkve ili nanovo sagrađene nad ostatcima starokršćanskih i predromaničkih crkava. Vrijeme je to razvijenog ili zrelog srednjeg vijeka (12. – 13. st.) kada je prostor Kaštela bio podijeljen na dvije geografske mikroregije, Dilat (*Dilatium*) i Podmorje, selo Ostrog i nekadašnji vladarski posjed Bijaće. To je ujedno i razdoblje punoga procvata feudalnih društvenih struktura u povijesnim hrvatskim zemljama, pa se može kazati da je romanička arhitektura najprepoznatljiviji amblem feudalnoga ustroja u Hrvatskoj. Romaničku sakralnu arhitekturu u Kaštelima odlikuju skromni i jednostavni obli-

why there were no new churches in Kaštela in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Since the entire area had a network of many sacral buildings at the time, there was no need to build new ones. Tumultuous social and political events and the wars which were waged in Dilat, Podmorje and around Ostrog also contributed to this, and these events merit a separate scholarly discussion. The preserved dates for the construction of individual churches indicate the possibility of more precisely determining the chronological framework in which this burst of sacral investments proceeded. It was possible to roughly date the Romanesque phase of St. George of Putalj, St. Michael of Lažani and St. Vitalis (prior to 1200) to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, while St. George of Žestinj may even be placed at the beginning of that century. There are precise dates for Sts. Cosmas and Damian (1160), St. Mary of Špiljan (1189), St. Peter of Klobučac (1189) and St. John of Bijaći (1197). The most likely chronological framework for St. Lawrence of Ostrog and St. John of Biranj was provided by Vedrana Delonga (1185-1226). Thus, five of the ten churches were built after 1185, when the historic synod which thoroughly reorganized the Split metropolitan see was held in Split<sup>83</sup> (St. Mary of Špiljan, St. Peter of Klobučac, St. John of Bijaći, St. Lawrence of Ostrog and St. John of Biranj), while the possibility that some of them had also been built after that date remains open (St. George of Putalj, St. Vitalis). The Church of St. Cosmas and Damian (1160), St. George of Žestinj (if the early Romanesque lintel was on the church newly erected in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and not on an older one) and probably St. Michael of Lažani were certainly built prior to that. This construction boom for sacral buildings, particularly in the territory of today's Trogir Diocese, was a reflection of the growing economic power of the Dalmatian communes of Split and Trogir on the one hand, and the rural clan communities in Klis County on the other.<sup>84</sup> The foundations were thereby set for the more robust ecclesiastical organization of the future village parishes in rural precincts, particularly within the framework of the urban districts of Split and Trogir.

## CONCLUSION

A systematic analysis of the Romanesque-era churches in Kaštela has established that there were a total of ten, of which some had been originally constructed in the early Romanesque rustic style, while others were either reconstructed pre-Romanesque churches or rebuilt on the remains of Early Christian and pre-Romanesque churches. This was the time of the developed or High Middle Ages (12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries), when the Kaštela area was divided into two geographic micro-regions,

83 Kovačić 1988.

84 Za Trogir vidi Burić 2004.

83 Kovačić 1988.

84 On Trogir, see Burić 2004.

ci, kao i male dimenzije, što je u skladu s materijalnim mogućnostima njezinih naručitelja, ali i s namjenom tih objekata. Uz to, romanika je u Kaštelima bila gotovo u cijelosti zastupljena crkvenim graditeljstvom, uz rijetke primjere fortifikacija i stambeno-gospodarskih objekata. Doba zreloga srednjeg vijeka, obilježeno romaničkim stilom, ostavilo je najjači biljeg na sakralnu arhitekturu Kaštela, što se ogleda u brojnim obnovama starijih crkava, kao i u podizanju novih, po čemu će ta epoha ostati nenadmašena sve do razdoblja od sredine 18. do 20. st.

Prema prostornom rasporedu (karta 1), sedam od deset romaničkih crkava bilo je u trogirskom, a tri u splitskom distriktu. U trogirskom su to: Sv. Ivan (Sv. Marta) u Bijaćima, Sv. Vital na rtu Tarce u Divuljama, Sv. Juraj od Žestinja na predjelu Rudine u Kaštel Novom, Sv. Marija od Špiljana (Stomorija) i Sv. Petar od Klobučca u Kaštel Novom te Sv. Ivan od Birnja i Sv. Lovre od Ostroga u Kaštel Lukšiću. Uz njih se još spominje i kapela sv. Grgura koja je po svoj prilici bila na posjedu trogirskih benediktinaca na lokalitetu Miri u Kaštel Novom. U splitskom su pak distriktu bile sljedeće crkve romaničkog stila i vremena: Sv. Mihovil od Lažana u Kaštel Kambelovcu, Sv. Kuzma i Damjan (selo Kozice) u Kaštel Gomilici i Sv. Juraj od Putalja u Kaštel Sućurcu. Iako je većina njih podignuta nad potvrđenim ili pretpostavljenim predromaničkim i starokršćanskim crkvama, one su, prema do sada poznatim primjerima, zidane kao nova zdanja s jasno oblikovanim tipološkim i tlocrtnim rješenjima, što ih razlikuje od crkava iz predromaničke epohe koje su najvećim dijelom samo adaptirane starokršćanske crkve.

Glavnina nabrojanih crkava arheološki je istražena, bilo u cijelosti (Sv. Ivan (Sv. Marta) u Bijaćima, Sv. Lovre od Ostroga, i Sv. Juraj od Putalja) ili djelomice (Sv. Juraj od Žestinja, Sv. Ivan od Birnja, Sv. Mihovil od Lažana, Sv. Kuzma i Damjan), a arheološki intaktne su Sv. Vital, Sv. Marija od Špiljana i Sv. Petar od Klobučca. One crkve koje su do danas očuvane, u cijelosti ili djelomično, pokazuju izrazitu uniformiranost tlocrtnih rješenja i oblika, kao i veličine objekata. Radi se o manjim longitudinalnim, jednobrodnim crkvama s polukružnom apsidom (Sv. Kuzma i Damjan, Sv. Mihovil od Lažana, Sv. Ivan od Birnja, Sv. Lovre od Ostroga), od kojih jedino Sv. Ivan (Sv. Marta) od Bijaća ima pravokutnu apsidu i trobrodno raščlanjenu lađu. Skromnih su dimenzija što je u skladu s materijalnim mogućnostima naručitelja. Kod očuvanih primjera dužina lađe se kreće između 6 i 7,15 m, a širina između 4,33 i 5,10 m. Apside su im također malih dimenzija, širina im varira između 2 i 3 m, a dubina između 1,30 i 1,50 m. Tijekom vremena je većina romaničkih crkava u Kaštelima doživjela veća ili manja oštećenja i/ili radikalne obnove pa su u svom uglavnom očuvanom izvornom obliku opstale samo dvije, Sv. Kuzma i Damjan i Sv. Mihovil od Lažana, obje u splitskom distriktu.

Naravno, ostaje otvoreno pitanje o izgledu i tlocrtima onih koje su porušene, a na čijim lokalitetima istraživanja još nisu provedena ili su tek započeta, što se odnosi na polovicu ovdje navedenih crkava (Sv. Marija od Špiljana, Sv. Juraj od Že-

Dilat (*Dilatatum*) and Podmorje, the village of Ostrog and the former ruler's estate of Bijaći. This was simultaneously the period when feudal social structures in the historical Croatian lands were in full bloom, so one may state that Romanesque architecture is the most recognizable emblem of feudal organization in Croatia. Romanesque sacral architecture in Kaštela is characterized by modest and simple forms, as well as small dimensions, which complied with the resources available to those who commissioned their construction, but also with the purpose of these buildings. Furthermore, the Romanesque in Kaštela was almost entirely represented by ecclesiastical architecture, with only rare examples of fortifications and residential/non-residential buildings. The High Middle Ages characterized by the Romanesque style left its strongest mark on the sacral architecture of Kaštela, which is reflected in the numerous reconstructions of older churches, as well as the raising of new ones, whereby this era would remain unsurpassed until the 18<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Based on the spatial layout (map 1), seven of the ten Romanesque churches were in the Trogir district and three were in the Split district. These churches in the Trogir district are: St. John (St. Martha) in Bijaći, St. Vitalis on Cape Tarce in Divulje, St. George of Žestinj in the Rudine precinct in Kaštel Novi, St. Mary of Špiljan (Stomorija) and St. Peter of Klobučac in Kaštel Novi and St. John of Biranj and St. Lawrence of Ostrog in Kaštel Lukšić. Besides these, the Chapel of St. Gregory is also mentioned, as it was owned by the Trogir Benedictines at the Miri site in Kaštel Novi. The following churches in the Romanesque style and from that period were in the Split district: St. Michael of Lažani in Kaštel Kambelovac, Sts. Cosmas and Damian (village of Kozice) in Kaštel Gomilica and St. George of Putalj in Kaštel Sućurac. Although most of them had been raised atop confirmed or presumed pre-Romanesque and Early Christian churches, based on thus far known examples they were constructed as new buildings with clearly formed typological and floor-plan solutions, which distinguished them from the churches of the pre-Romanesque period that were simply adapted Early Christian churches.

Most of the listed churches have undergone archaeological examinations, either as a whole (St. John (St. Martha) in Bijaći, St. Lawrence of Ostrog, and St. George of Putalj) or in part (St. George of Žestinj, St. John of Biranj, St. Michael of Lažani, Sts. Cosmas and Damian), while St. Vitalis, St. Mary of Špiljan and St. Peter of Klobučac are archaeologically intact. Those churches that have been preserved to the present, either in whole or in part, exhibit an exceptional uniformity in floor-plan solutions and shapes, as well as their size. These are small longitudinal, single-nave churches with semi-circular apses (Sts. Cosmas and Damian, St. Michael of Lažani, St. John of Biranj, St. Lawrence of Ostrog), of which only St. John (St. Martha) of Bijaći has a rectangular apse and triply-articulated nave. Their modest dimensions complied with the material resources of those who had commissioned them. Among the preserved

stinja, Sv. Vital, Sv. Petar od Klobučca). Njima pribrajam romaničku fazu Sv. Jurja od Putalja koja je temeljito razorena izgradnjom kasnije gotičke crkve i brojnim dubokim grobovima kasnoga srednjeg vijeka.

Romaničke crkve u Kaštelima pokazuju niz osobitosti i novina po kojima se jasno razlikuju od crkava iz prethodne, predromaničke faze. U odnosu na opisanu tipologiju romaničkih bogomolja, predromaničke su u velikoj većini adaptirani i preuređeni starokršćanski objekti opremljeni novim kamenim namještajem ukrašenim predromaničkim kompozicijama. Druga *differentia specifica* je prostorna artikulacija interijera u skladu s promjenama liturgijske prakse potaknutim clunyjevskim reformama, koje će svoj vrhunac dosegnuti za pontifikata pape Grgura VII. (1073. – 1080.).<sup>85</sup> Te su promjene dovele do postupnog izostavljanja oltarnih ograda koje su dijelile prezbiterij od crkvene lađe. U crkvama podignutim nad ili u starijim objektima (Sv. Juraj od Putalja, Sv. Kuzma i Damjan, Sv. Ivan od Bijaća) u kojima su već postojale oltarne ograde (*septa, cancelli*), od starijega su namještaja instalirane nove ograde, reducirane na donje dijelove – pluteje i pilastre. Također, tamo gdje nije potvrđen stariji sakralni objekt s oltarnom ogradom, nove romaničke crkve grade se bez njih (Sv. Mihovil od Lažana, Sv. Lovre od Ostroga, Sv. Ivan od Birnja). Kaštelanske crkve iz tih dviju stilskih epoha razlikuju se i po svojoj namjeni. Dok su predromaničke crkve podizane na vladarskim posjedima za potrebe primarne kristijanizacije u 9. st., romaničke se grade ponajviše za potrebe seoskih zajednica, a manjim dijelom uz samostane (Sv. Petar od Klobučca) ili na komunalnom teritoriju Trogira (Sv. Vital). Seoske crkve imaju u pravilu dvojaku namjenu, one su i župne i grobljanske (Sv. Juraj od Putalja, Sv. Kuzma i Damjan, Sv. Mihovil od Lažana, Sv. Lovre od Ostroga, Sv. Marija od Špiljana, Sv. Juraj od Žestinja i Sv. Ivan od Bijaća), a jedan je primjer i zavjetne crkve (Sv. Ivan od Birnja). Romaničke crkve u Kaštelima dali su podići pripadnici dvaju društvenih slojeva, pripadnici klera (Sv. Kuzma i Damjan i vjerojatno Sv. Juraj od Putalja) i članovi rodovskih zajednica u pojedinim selima (Sv. Mihovil od Lažana, Sv. Lovre od Ostroga, Sv. Ivan od Birnja, Sv. Marija od Špiljana, Sv. Juraj od Žestinja, Sv. Ivan od Bijaća i Sv. Petar od Klobučca), a izuzetak je crkva sv. Vitala koju je dala podići trogirski komuna. Uz osobe iz crkvene hijerarhije, u zapaženom se broju kao donatori u izgradnji sakralnih objekata u srednjem vijeku po prvi put javljaju i pripadnici seoskih zajednica. To su članovi rodovskih bratstava (didići) koja su tada predstavljala osnovne ćelije srednjovjekovnoga društva. Ta nam činjenica pokazuje da je društvena diferencijacija potaknuta razvojem robno-novčane privrede u 12. st. već poodmakli proces koji je doveo do izdvajanja gornjega sloja tih ruralnih zajednica, koji onda investira akumulirani kapital, među ostalim, i u gradnju sakralnih objekata. Oni su tako dali podi-

examples, the nave lengths range from 6 to 7.15 m, and the widths from 4.33 to 5.1 m. The apses also have more modest dimensions, and their widths vary from 2 to 3 m, and depths from 1.3 to 1.5 m. Over time, most of the Romanesque churches in Kaštela have sustained greater or lesser damage and/or undergone radical renovations, so that only two have survived in their original form for the most part, Sts. Cosmas and Damian and St. Michael of Lažani, both in the Split district.

To be sure, the appearance and floor plans remains an open question for those churches that have been demolished, and where excavations have not yet been conducted or have only just begun, which pertains to the half of the aforementioned churches (St. Mary of Špiljan, St. George of Žestinj, St. Vitalis, St. Peter of Klobučac). I also count among them St. George of Putalj, which was thoroughly destroyed by the construction of the later Gothic church and the numerous deep graves dug in the late Middle Ages.

The Romanesque churches in Kaštela exhibit a series of particularities and novelties whereby they are clearly distinct from the preceding, pre-Romanesque phase. In comparison to the above-described typology of Romanesque places of worship, their pre-Romanesque predecessors were in large part adapted and remodelled Early Christian structures equipped with new stone furnishings adorned with pre-Romanesque compositions. The other *differentia specifica* is the spatial articulation of the interiors in compliance with the changes in liturgical practices initiated by the Cluniac Reforms, which would experience their peak during the pontificate of Pope Gregory VII (1073-1080).<sup>85</sup> These changes led to the gradual disappearance of altar screens which separated the presbytery from the church's nave. In churches raised atop or inside older structures (St. George of Putalj, Sts. Cosmas and Damian, St. John of Bijaći) in which there already were altar screens (*septa, cancelli*), new screens were made of the older furnishings, reduced to their lower components: the plutei and pilasters. Furthermore, where no older sacral building with an altar screen has been ascertained, new Romanesque churches were built without them (St. Michael of Lažani, St. Lawrence of Ostrog and St. John of Biranj). The Kaštela churches from these two stylistic eras also differ in terms of purpose. While the pre-Romanesque churches were raised on the estates of rulers for the needs of primary Christianization in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, their Romanesque successors were built mostly for the needs of rural communities, and to a lesser extent alongside monasteries (St. Peter of Klobučac) or in the communal territory of Trogir (St. Vitalis). As a rule, rural churches have a dual purpose: they were both parish and cemeterial (St. George of Putalj, Sts. Cosmas and Damian, St. Michael of Lažani, St. Lawrence of Ostrog, St. Mary of Špiljan, St. George of Žestinj and St. John of

85 Jedin (ed.) 1971, str. 393-451; Šanjek 1988, str. 132-142.

85 Jedin (ed.) 1971, pp. 393-451; Šanjek 1988, pp. 132-142.

ći sedam od ukupno deset ovdje obrađenih crkava, dakle 70%, što je zaista impresivan broj. Uspon toga društvenog sloja u ovom je dijelu Kliške županije naglo prekinut širenjem komunalnih distrikata Trogira i Splita na prostor današnjih Kaštela. Od tih sedam crkava dvije su dali podići rodovska bratstva *didića* iz Ostroga (Sv. Lovre i Sv. Ivan od Birnja), što nam posredno ukazuje na značaj uloge ostroških *didića* u tom dijelu Kliške županije. Sve navedene crkve podignute su tijekom 12. ili početkom 13. st., a prema sačuvanim pisanim izvorima najveći je broj tih crkava podignut nakon poznatoga crkvenog sabora u Splitu 1185. (Sv. Lovre od Ostroga, Sv. Ivan od Birnja, Sv. Marija od Špiljana, Sv. Ivan od Bijaća i Sv. Petar od Klobučca). Taj je zamah u podizanju novih crkava u razvijenom srednjem vijeku odraz vidnog gospodarskog rasta komunalnih društava Trogira i Splita s jedne strane i rodovskih zajednica *didića* iz Kliške županije s druge. Novopodignute romaničke crkve postat će temelj buduće organizacije seoskih župa u distriktima dviju navedenih komuna, koja će se do kraja srednjega vijeka ustaliti približno do današnjih okvira, kako nam potvrđuje popis župa u splitskome distriktu iz 15. st.<sup>86</sup>

Ovaj rad posvećujem kolegi Arsenu Duplančiću s kojim sam kroz dugi niz godina ostvario uspješnu i nadasve kolegijalnu suradnju.

Bijaći), while there is one example of a votive church as well (St. John of Biranj). Construction of the Romanesque churches in Kaštela was financed by two social classes, the members of the clergy (Sts. Cosmas and Damian and probably St. George of Putalj) and the members of clan-based communities in individual villages (St. Michael of Lažani, St. Lawrence of Ostrog, St. John of Biranj, St. Mary of Špiljan, St. George of Žestinj, St. John of Bijaći and St. Peter of Klobučac), while the exception is the Church of St. Vitalis, which was raised by the Trogir commune. Besides persons from the clerical hierarchy, for the first time the members of rural communities also appeared as participants in the construction of sacral buildings in the Middle Ages. These were the members of clan-based confraternities *didići* who at the time constituted the basic units of mediaeval society. This fact indicates that the social differentiation prompted by the development of the goods-monetary economy in the 12<sup>th</sup> century was already an advanced process that led to the growth of an upper class in these rural communities, which then invested its accumulated capital in, among other things, the construction of sacral buildings. They thus arranged for the construction of seven out of the ten churches examined herein, so 70%, which is truly an impressive number. The rise of this social class in this part of Klis County was suddenly halted by the spread of the communal districts of Trogir and Split into the area of today's Kaštela. Out of the seven churches, two were raised by the clan-based confraternities (*didići*) from Ostrog (St. Lawrence and St. John of Biranj), which indirectly points to the significant role of the Ostrog *didići* in this part of Klis County. All of these churches were built during the 12<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and according to preserved written sources, the highest number of these churches were constructed after the well-known synod in Split in 1185 (St. Lawrence of Ostrog, St. John of Biranj, St. Mary of Špiljan, St. John of Bijaći and St. Peter of Klobučac). This boom in the construction of new churches during the High Middle Ages was a reflection of palpable economic growth in the communal societies in Trogir and Split on the one hand, and the clan-based communities of *didići* in Klis County on the other. The newly-erected Romanesque churches would become the foundation for the future organization of village parishes in the districts of the two aforementioned communes, which by the end of the Middle Ages would roughly assume their present framework, as confirmed by the 15<sup>th</sup> century register of parishes in the Split district.<sup>86</sup>

I dedicate this paper to my colleague Arsen Duplančić, with whom I have successfully and above all congenially collaborated over the course of many years.

---

86 Katić 1938.

---

86 Katić 1938.

**Kratice / Abbreviations**

PPUD	Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji
SHP	Starohrvatska prosvjeta
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku

**Literatura / Bibliography**

- Andreis 1977**  
P. Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira*, Split 1977.
- Babić 1991<sup>2</sup>**  
I. Babić, *Prostor između Trogira i Splita*, Kaštel Novi 1991<sup>2</sup>.
- Babić 2018**  
I. Babić, *Dugo trajanje jednog arhitektonskog tipa. Jedno-brodne crkvice s polukružnom apsidom*, SHP, 3. ser., 44-45 (2017), Split 2018, 181-198.
- Babin, Tomasović Grbić 2018**  
M. Babin, J. Tomasović Grbić, *Konzervatorsko-restauratorska i arheološka istraživanja crkve sv. Jurja od Žestinja u Kaštel Novom tijekom 2017. i 2018. godine*, in: L. Paraman (ed.), *Osam stoljeća štovanja Gospe od Andela i prvog franjevačkog samostana u Trogiru*, program i sažeci, Trogir 2018, 24.
- Bego 1991**  
F. Bego, *Kaštel Kambelovac*, Kaštela 1991.
- Belamarić 1991**  
J. Belamarić, *Capsella reliquiarum* (1160.) iz Sv. Kuzme i Damjana u Kaštel Gomilici, PPUD 31, Split 1991, 41-60.
- Burić 1993**  
T. Burić, *Posljednji salonitanski klesari: Geneza predromaničke skulpture splitsko-trogirskog kruga*, VAHD 85 (1992) (Disputationes Salonitanae IV; *Starohrvatski Solin*), Split 1993, 177-197.
- Burić 1997**  
T. Burić, *Predromaničke oltarne ograde – vijek uporabe i sekundarna namjena*, SHP, 3. ser., 24, Split 1997, 57-76.
- Burić 2001**  
T. Burić, *Putalj u srednjem vijeku*, in: T. Burić, S. Čače, I. Fadić, *Sv. Juraj od Putalja*, Split 2001.
- Burić 2003a**  
T. Burić, *Sv. Lovre – Balavan*, SHP, 3. ser., 27 (2000), Split 2003, 29-34.
- Burić 2003b**  
T. Burić, *Sv. Mihovil u Lažanima*, SHP, 3. ser., 27 (2000), Split 2003, 23-27.
- Burić 2004**  
T. Burić, *Romaničko graditeljstvo – odraz gospodarskoga snaženja trogirske komune*, *Histria antiqua* 12, Pula 2004, 159-170.
- Burić 2008**  
T. Burić, *Svećurje – starohrvatsko i srednjovjekovno groblje sela Žestinj s crkvom sv. Jurja*, katalog izložbe, Split 2008.
- Burić 2009**  
T. Burić, *Jedna ranoromanička klesarska radionica iz Trogira*, *Histria antiqua* 18 (2), Pula 2009, 301-306.
- Burić 2010a**  
T. Burić, *Ulomci predromaničke skulpture iz Žednoga na otoku Čiovu i crkva sv. Vitala u Divuljama na predjelu Tarce*, in: Josipa Dukića I KRATICU (ed.), *Scripta Branimiro Gabričević dicata*, Trilj 2010, 227-256.
- Burić 2010b**  
T. Burić, *Crkva sv. Jurja od*

Raduna i srednjovjekovno selo Radun, Split 2010.

#### Burić 2011

T. Burić, *Perunovo brdo (mon-te Borun) – prilog poznavanju poganske slavenske toponimije u Kaštelima*, SHP, 3. ser., 38, Split 2011, 59-82.

#### Burić 2020a

T. Burić, *Trogirski distrikt u srednjem vijeku do 1537. godine*, Split 2020.

#### Burić 2020b

T. Burić, *Srednjovjekovne utvrde u Kaštelima (povijesno-arheološka skica*, in: Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 33), Zagreb 2020, 223-236.

#### Burić 2021a

T. Burić, *Biranjsko svetište od prapovijesti do srednjega vijeka*, in: T. Burić, I. Šuta, V. Katavić, et. al. (eds.), *Biranj: Utvrda i svetište na Kozjaku*, Kaštela 2021, 141-151.

#### Burić 2021b

T. Burić, *Stomorija – Miri (Kaštel Novi), primjer prostornih relacija pojedinih kategorija lokaliteta unutar naselja u kasnoj antici i srednjem vijeku*, *Archaeologia Adriatica* 14 (posvećeno Sinevi Kukoč), Zadar 2021, 541-557.

#### Burić 2021c

T. Burić, *Predromanika u Kaštelima – odnos arhitekture i skulpture*, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 54 (posvećeno Željku Demi), Zagreb 2021, 255-265.

#### Burić, Čače, Fadić 2001

T. Burić, S. Čače, I. Fadić, *Sv. Juraj od Putalja*, Split 2001.

#### Burić et al. 2021

T. Burić, I. Šuta, V. Katavić, et. al., *Biranj: Utvrda i svetište na Kozjaku*, Kaštela 2021.

#### Delonga 2010

V. Delonga, *Posvetni latinski natpisi na crkvi sv. Ivana od Birnja*, *Archaeologia Adriatica* 4, Zadar 2010, 281-306.

#### Dukić (ed.) 2012

J. Dukić (ed.), *Sveta Marta u Bijaćima*, vodič, Trogir 2012.

#### Duplančić 2008

A. Duplančić, *Tri srednjovjekovna spomenika iz Kaštela*, *PPUD* 41, Split 2008, 49-66.

#### Duvnjak 2007

M. Duvnjak, *Župna crkva sv. Petra apostola u Kaštel Novom*, Kaštela 2007.

#### Fadić 2001

I. Fadić, *Putalj u kasnoj antici*, in: T. Burić, S. Čače, I. Fadić, *Sv. Juraj od Putalja*, Split 2001, 115-150.

#### Fisković 1952

C. Fisković, *Utjecaj Dioklecijanovog mauzoleja na kasnije graditeljstvo*, *VAHD* 53 (1950-1951), Split 1952, 181-195.

#### Gjurašin 2004

H. Gjurašin, *Arheološka istraživanja kod crkve sv. Marte od 1902. do 1905. godine*, SHP, 3. ser., 26 (1999), Split 2004, 7-96.

#### Jedin (ed.) 1971

H. Jedin (ed.), *Velika povijest Crkve*, sv. III (1), Zagreb 1971.

#### Jelovina 2004

D. Jelovina, *Starohrvatska crkva sv. Marte u Bijaćima*, SHP, 3. ser., 26 (1999), Split 2004, 97-107.

#### Karaman 1930

Lj. Karaman, *Iz kolijevke hrvatske prošlosti*, Zagreb 1930.

#### Katić 1938

L. Katić, *Popis župa iz XV. vijeka u okolici Splita*, List Biskupije splitsko-makarske: ujedno službeno glasilo Hvarske biskupije 60, Split 1938, 51-54.

#### Katić 1960

L. Katić, *Naseljenje starohrvatske Podmorske župe*, SHP, 3. ser., 7, Split 1960, 159-184.

#### Kovačić 1988

S. Kovačić, *Splitska metropolija u dvanaestom stoljeću*, in: *Krbavska biskupija u srednjem vijeku*, zbornik radova znanstvenog simpozija u povodu 800. obljetnice osnutka Krbavske biskupije, Rijeka – Zagreb 1988, 11-39.

#### Lovrić 2019

N. Lovrić, *Zidno slikarstvo u sakralnim građevinama na području Poljica*, diplomski rad, Umjetnička akademija Sveučilišta u Splitu, Split 2019.

#### Marasović 2004

T. Marasović, *Bijaći u svjetlu proučavanja ranosrednjovjekovnih vladarskih rezidencija*, SHP, 3. ser., 26 (1999), Split 2004, 335-359.

#### Marasović, Sumić 1993

D. Marasović, M. Sumić, *Sv. Kuzma i Damjan u Kaštel Gomilici*, *Obnova baštine* 1, Split 1993.

#### Marasović et al. 1995

D. Marasović, V. Marčić, F. Oreb, A. Peršen, *Izbor iz djelatnosti Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Splitu*

1961. – 1995., *Obnova baštine* 2, Split 1995.

#### Milošević 2004

A. Milošević, *Prva ranosrednjovjekovna skulptura iz crkve sv. Marte u Bijaćima*, SHP, 3. ser., 26 (1999), Split 2004, 237-263.

#### Omašić 1978

V. Omašić, *Topografija Kaštelanskog polja*, Split 1978.

#### Omašić 1986

V. Omašić, *Povijest Kaštela od početka do kraja XVIII. stoljeća*, Split 1986.

#### Omašić 2001a

V. Omašić, *Kaštela od prapovijesti do početka XX. stoljeća*, sv. I, Kaštela 2001.

#### Omašić 2001b

V. Omašić, *Kaštela od prapovijesti do početka XX. stoljeća*, sv. II, Kaštela 2001.

#### Sikavica 2007

I. Sikavica, *Izrada replike stomorijskog garguja*, *Kaštelanski zbornik* 8, Kaštela 2007, 51-79.

#### Smičiklas 1904

T. Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Sclavoniae et Dalmatiae II*, Zagreb 1904.

#### Šanjek 1988

F. Šanjek, *Crkva i kršćanstvo u Hrvata*, Zagreb 1988.

#### Škobalj 1970/1999<sup>2</sup>

A. Škobalj, *Obredne gomile*, Čiovo 1970 / Split 1999<sup>2</sup>.

#### Toma Arhidakon 2003

Toma Arhidakon, *Historia Salonitana*, prijevod O. Perić,

komentari M. Matijević Sokol, R. Katičić, Split 2003.

**Tomičić 1989**

Ž. Tomičić, *Arheološka slika međuriječja Mure, Drave, Dunava i Save u svjetlosti materijalnih izvora bjelobrškog kulturnog kompleksa*, doktorska disertacija, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zagreb 1989.

**Tomičić 1999**

Ž. Tomičić, *Ranosrednjovjekovno groblje u Svetom Jurju u Trnju u Međimurju – prinos datiranju nalazišta*, Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu 15/16 (1989-1990), Zagreb 1999, 41-60.

**Tomičić 2021**

Ž. Tomičić, *Grobna cjelina 31 s ranosrednjovjekovnoga groblja Zvonimirovo – Veliko polje*, SHP, 3. ser., 48, Split 2021, 161-198.

**Uglešić 2012**

A. Uglešić, *Arhitektonski ostatci na lokalitetu Stombrate*, in: J. Dukić (ed.), *Sveta Marta u Bijaćima*, vodič, Trogir 2012, 11-18.

**Vežić 2004**

P. Vežić, *Bazilika sv. Marte u Bijaćima i problem njezina ciborija*, SSHP, 3. ser., 26 (1999), Split 2004, 319-330.

