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O P V S C V L A  
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ARHEOLOŠKI ZAVOD FILOZOFSKOG FAKULTETA SVEUČILIŠTA U ZAGREBU

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GRAFIČKO OBLIKOVANJE / GRAPHIC DESIGN

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Arheološki zavod Filozofskog fakulteta

Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

10000 ZAGREB – CROATIA

I. LUČIĆA 3 – P.O. BOX 171

RAČUNALNI PRIJELOM / COMPUTER LAYOUT

Ivana COKOL for FF-press

PRIJEVOD NA ENGLESKI / TRANSLATION TO ENGLISH

Assia BARIĆ, Ana ĐUKIĆ, Luka REP

GODIŠNJAK / ANNUAL

Izdavanje časopisa novčano podupire

ODSJEK ZA ARHEOLOGIJU FILOZOFSKOGA FAKULTETA SVEUČILIŠTA U ZAGREBU

Publishing of the journal financially supported by

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY, FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB

Službena kratica ovoga časopisa je *Opusc.archaeol. (Zagreb)* / Official abbreviation of this journal's title is *Opusc.archaeol. (Zagreb)*

URL: [www.ffzg.hr/arheo/opuscula](http://www.ffzg.hr/arheo/opuscula)

Dostupno na / Available at Ebsco Publishing ([www.ebscohost.com](http://www.ebscohost.com))

Tiskano 2015. / Printed in 2015

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O P V S C V L A

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ARCHÆOLOGICA

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2013/2014

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**FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET  
SVEUČILIŠTA U ZAGREBU  
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES,  
UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB**

**RADOVI ARHEOLOŠKOG ZAVODA  
PAPERS OF THE DEPARTMENT  
OF ARCHAEOLOGY**

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## PROSLOV

*S velikim zadovoljstvom i u ime cijelog uredništva predstavljamo dvobroj 37/38 časopisa Opuscula Archaeologica koji je utemeljen 1956. godine, te s više ili manje poteškoća izlazi više od pet desetljeća. Usprkos trenutnim financijskim poteškoćama pred nama je časopis koji i ovoga puta, i to sa 19 članaka od 25 autora, na preko četiri stotine stranica, objavljuje znanstvene, pregledne i stručne tekstove visoke kvalitete.*

No, ovaj dvobroj časopisa *Opuscula archaeologica* se razlikuje od prethodnih izdanja jer se sastoji od dva tematska poglavlja. U prvom poglavlju je jedanaest radova koji su, u skladu s tradicijom našeg časopisa, posvećeni različitim arheološkim problemima koji će kako znanstvenicima, tako i drugima, dati mogućnost dobivanja uvida, ne samo u nepoznatu arheološku građu, nego i mogućnost upoznavanja s najnovijim razmišljanjima o određenim problemima kao i njihovim mogućim rješenjima. Drugi dio broja 37/38 časopisa *Opuscula archaeologica* nas posebno raduje jer se sastoji od osam radova posvećenih 30-godišnjici smrti uglednog hrvatskog profesora prapovijesne arheologije Stojana Dimitrijevića. Radovi su prezentirani na skupu posvećenom Stojanu Dimitrijeviću na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu 13.12.2011.

Napor koji je uredništvo časopisa uložilo u izlazak ovoga broja nije nas obeshrabrio nego potaknuo da i dalje činimo sve potrebno da bi autori i dalje imali priliku objavljivati članke za koje smatraju da doprinose arheološkoj znanosti. Za kvalitetu objavljenih priloga brinuo se cijeli tim recenzentata, čije je mišljenje i omogućilo da svaki prilog ima onu kvalitetu kakvu naš časopis i zaslужuje. Stoga na kraju svim autorima i suradnicima najsrdačnije zahvaljujemo na prilozima tiskanim u ovome broju časopisa *Opuscula archaeologica*.

*Glavni i odgovorni urednici*

## PROLOGUE

*We are proud to present a double volume 37/38 of *Opuscula archaeologica* on behalf of the Editorial board. Since its first volume in 1956, journal *Opuscula archaeologica* has been publishing scientific articles in the field of archaeology and other historical disciplines. Despite current financial challenges we were able to publish 19 articles by 25 authors on more than 400 pages containing high quality original scientific articles and professional papers.*

*The structure of this double volume differs from previous ones because it is divided into two sections. The first section consisting of 11 articles that are, in the tradition of this journal, facing specific archaeological issues. We hope that these articles will provide information to readers on new, unpublished material and current debates. The second section contains 8 papers dedicated to the 30th anniversary of death of Professor Stojan Dimitrijević, a distinguished professor of Prehistoric Archaeology at the University of Zagreb. These papers were originally presented at the conference organized by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb on December 13th 2011.*

*Various challenges presented to us during the preparation of this volume were not discouraging, but, on the contrary, gave us the additional motivation to secure the future of this journal as a platform for publication of quality scientific and professional papers by fellow scholars. Extensive team of domestic and international reviewers is the quality assurance of the published articles, and the journal as a whole.*

*We would like to express our gratitude to all contributors whose articles are published in this double volume.*

*Editors*



*Marinko TOMASOVIĆ*

## KATEDRALA SV. TRIPUNA U KOTORU I BENEDIKTINSKA CRKVA SV. MIHOVILA NA PREVLACI KOD TIVTA – PRIMJEDBE UZ PORIJEKLO OBLIKA I DATIRANJE

### THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. TRYPHON IN KOTOR AND THE BENEDICTINE CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL ON PREVLAKA NEAR TIVAT – COMMENTS ON THE DATE AND THE ORIGIN OF DESIGN

doi: 10.17234/OA.37.9

Pregledni rad / Review paper

UDK / UDC 726:262.3(497.16 Kotor)"11"  
726:27-789.2(497.16 Prevlaka)

Primljeno/Received: 26.09.2011.

Prihvaćeno/Accepted: 28.3.2013.

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*U radu se razmatraju primjedbe o izvoru trobrodnog i troapsidalnog rješenja romaničke katedrale sv. Tripuna u Kotoru (1124.-1166.) i postave kupole u njezinom središtu. Mogućnost njezinih lombardijskih svojstava, izraženih ponajprije u nacrtu dvotravejnih jedinica pobočnih brodova preko alternacije nosača, ostvarenih posrednim prijenosom preko crkava u srednjotalijanskem jadranskom zaleđu, ovdje se ponovo sagledava u pogledu nereferiranja ranijeg tumačenja prilikom novijeg osvrta na ovaj problem. Isto vrijedi i po pitanju tumačenja uzora za postavu dvaju pročelnih zvonika, izvorom u matičnoj crkvi benediktinskog reda na Monte Cassinu. Rješenje začelja benediktinske crkve sv. Mihovila na Prevlaci kod Tivta, također u Boki kotorskoj, u postavi polukružnih apsida od kojih su bočne zatvorene ravnim zidom, ostvareno je kod znamenite crkve Cluny II u drugoj polovini 10. st. U slučaju crkve na Prevlaci takvo oponašanje ukazuje na dosljednost, s obzirom da sličan upliv na apeninske gradnje 11. st. nije rezultirao identičnim rješenjem. Trobrojni i troapsidalni tip na dubrovačkom okružju uezao se kao prethodnica istorodne pojave uzduž istočnog Jadrana, u ozračju početnog razvoja ranoromaničkog stila prve polovine 11. st. Analogna zamisao trobrodnosti i istog broja apsida, premda manje uniformirana, ostvarena je približno u isto vrijeme i kod benediktinske crkve sv. Mihovila na Prevlaci.*

*This paper discusses the origin of the architectural design of the Romanesque cathedral of St. Tryphon in Kotor (1124 - 1166), comprising a central nave with two aisles and three apses, and a dome placed at its center. The possibility of Lombard features, primarily expressed in the design of the alternating double-bay vault support system of the side-aisles, achieved by an indirect transfer via the churches of the Adriatic central Italian hinterland, is examined here once again in terms of the lack of reference to the earlier interpretations in the recent reviews of the problem. The same applies to the question of the interpretation of the source of the two facade bell towers, originating at the mother church of the Benedictine order at Monte Cassino. The back wall of the Benedictine church of St. Michael on Prevlaka near Tivat, also in the Bay of Kotor, with lateral semicircular apses enclosed with straight walls, traces its inspiration to the famous Cluny II church from the second half of the 10th century. In the case of the Prevlaka church, such imitation indicates consistency, given that a similar influence on the Apennine architecture of the 11th century did not result in identical solutions. The architectural features of the central nave with two aisles and three apses from the Dubrovnik area were taken as precursors of equivalent appearances along the eastern Adriatic coast, in the climate of the first-stage de-*

*Ključne riječi:* Apulijska arhitektura, rješenje katedrale sv. Tripuna, romanička arhitektura Apeninskog poluočka, benediktinci, crkva sv. Mihovila na Prevaci, trobrodno i troapsidalno rješenje, Cluny II

Tumačenja u literaturi, predmetom razmatranja pojava i stanja srednjovjekovne crkvene arhitekture južnih dijelova istočnog Jadrana, apostrofirala su naglasak jednosmjernog utjecaja južnotalijanskog, apulijskog graditeljstva (Tomasović 2006: 127-133; 2010: 181-209).<sup>1</sup> Slika o kreativno pasiviziranom istočnom Jadranu odraz je početnog, zadugo i jedinog akcentuiranja utjecaja apulijskih gradnji na romanička ostvarenja naše obale. Ustrajanje u tome rezultiralo je ocjenom gotovo importiranih rješenja, unatoč priznanja nekih razlikovnosti u odnosu na južnotalijanske gradnje. Prenaglašavanje tih utjecaja često je bilo usputno, gdje se misao vodilja jednosmjernog upliva, poglavito u izvorima rješenja, iskazala kao opće shvaćanje. Tek se izuzetno pristupilo oprezno i trezveno u ocjeni značaja apulijskog graditeljstva na pojave istočnog Jadrana.<sup>2</sup>

Dvije gradnje, obje u Boki kotorskoj, zaslužuju ponovni osvrт u recepciji nedavnih osvrta unutar relativno uskog vremenskog tjesnaca. Riječ je o katedrali sv. Tripuna u Kotoru i benediktinskoj crkvi sv. Mihovila na susjednoj Prevaci, iznimnim romaničkim gradnjama južnog dijela istočnog Jadrana.

Kotorska katedrala sv. Tripuna primjer je najranijeg i dosljednog pozivanja na utjecaj apulijskog graditeljstva.<sup>3</sup> Oznakama koje su trebale potvrditi takvu ovisnost, razmatranjem tamošnjih rješenja, posebnu je pažnju posvetio V. Korać (Korać 1967). Time je bezuvjetno gradio temelj za primarnu važnost Apulije u prijenosu segmenata prostornog oblikovanja (makar su i gradnje istočnog Jadrana okvirno spomenute), dojmom o latentnoj potrebi da se kotorskog sv. Tripuna označi "prijelaznim spomenikom" značenja koji su obilježili razvoj apulijske romaničke arhitekture (Korać 1967: 19).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ondje se analitičkim razmatranjem stanja romaničke arhitekture na obje jadarske obale upozorava na neutemeljenosti takvih pozivanja i upućuje na odvojene kreativne izraze, glavninom u pozivanju na ranija područna ostvarenja bizantskog karaktera.

<sup>2</sup> Takva je nedvosmislena primjedba da je ovoj prekomorskoj pokrajini u razmatranjima "davana veća važnost negoli zasluzuje" (Fisković 1989: 179, n. 58).

<sup>3</sup> U prilog shvaćanja polazilo se od uvjerenja u prвtno nenadsvodenje njezinog srednjeg broda, tobožnjim utjecajem romaničke crkve sv. Nikole u Bariju, o čemu je bilo govora pregledom mjesta u literaturi.

<sup>4</sup> Takvom tumačenju izvora izgleda kotorskog sv. Tripuna iznijete su primjedbe u pogledu neuvjerljivih tipoloških sagledavanja, kronoloških inverzija i metodoloških nedosljednosti (Tomasović 2006: 137-147). Apostrofirana je i nedovoljno vrednovana raznolikost sustava i rješenja u Apuliji i susjednim regijama.

*development of the Romanesque style in the first half of the 11th century. The corresponding idea of a nave with two side-aisles and three apses, though less uniformed, was realized around the same time on the Benedictine church of St. Michael on Prevaka.*

*Keywords:* Apulian architecture, St. Tryphon cathedral design, Romanesque architecture of the Apennine peninsula, Order of Saint Benedict, church of St. Michael on Prevaka, three-aisled church with three apses, Cluny II

Interpretations in scientific literature, discussing the occurrence and condition of medieval church architecture in the southern parts of the eastern Adriatic coast, have singled out the emphasis of a unidirectional influence of southern Italian Apulian architecture (Tomasović 2006: 127-133; 2010: 181-209).<sup>1</sup> The image of a creatively passive eastern Adriatic reflects the initial, and before long the only, accentuation of the Apulian influence on the Romanesque architecture along our coastline. Insistence on this fact has resulted in an assessment of imported designs, despite the recognition of some distinctive elements in relation to southern Italian architecture. Over-emphasis of such influence has often been incidental, with the guiding principle of unidirectional influence, particularly in design origins, expressed as the general concept. Assessing the significance of Apulian architecture in the eastern Adriatic has only been done exceptionally and cautiously.<sup>2</sup>

Two buildings, both in the Bay of Kotor, deserve another evaluation of the reception of the recent reviews within a relatively narrow time frame. The first one is the cathedral of St. Tryphon in Kotor, and the second the Benedictine church of St. Michael on the neighboring Prevaka, both exceptional examples of Romanesque architecture from the southern part of the eastern Adriatic.

The Kotor cathedral of St. Tryphon is an example of the earliest and most consistent reference to the influence of Apulian architecture.<sup>3</sup> V. Korać has dedicated special attention to the signs which ought to have confirmed this dependence, based on an examination of local designs (Korać 1967). Thus,

<sup>1</sup> The analytical examination of the condition of Romanesque architecture along both Adriatic coastlines warns of a lack of foundation for such references and points to separate creative expressions, mostly referring to the earlier regional achievements of Byzantine character.

<sup>2</sup> Such is the unambiguous remark that this overseas province "has been given more importance than it deserves" (Fisković 1989: 179, n. 58).

<sup>3</sup> In support of this notion, the nave was initially not regarded as vaulted, allegedly under the influence of the Romanesque church of St. Nicholas in Bari, which has been discussed in the reviews of scientific literature.

Alternacija masivnih pilona i stupova sv. Tripuna, unutar kojih su odmjereni dvojni traveji poprečnih brodova, kao prethodnica se ne prepoznaje na tlu Apulije. Ovdje crkvama izostaje zasnovanost takvog odnosa gdje većem traveju srednjeg broda odgovara par manjih u pobočnim. Očito da u cjelokupnom sagledavanju stanja diljem europskog Zapada treba tražiti odlučne poticaje za pojavu rješenja romaničkih gradnji istočnog Jadrana, uostalom unutar kojih se objavljaju i lombardijske gradnje. Ovim su katedrali u Kotoru najpotpunije analogije sagledane u sjevernijim dijelovima Italije. Na primjerima gradnji u Lombardiji i Emiliji promotriła se vjerojatnost sjevernotalijanskih izvora za pojavu njezine prostorne strukture, pri čemu je istaknuta i podudarnost s crkvom S. Maria di Portanuovo u Anconi, središnjem dijelu Italije (Tomasović 2006: 142, 145, n. 179),<sup>5</sup> o čemu će još biti riječi. Uvažavajući spomenute primjere crkava sa sjevera Apeninskog poluotoka, pogotovo srovne li se sa sagledavanjima koja su upućivala na apulijsku romaniku, iznijeta je definicija sv. Tripuna kao crkve "vizantijsko-lombardijskog tipa" (Čanak-Medić 1997: 91). Proistekla je iz uvažavanja tradicije, konkretno ranijih rješenja u samom Kotoru, naročito prepoznatljivog u otkrivenoj crkvi ispod romaničke sv. Marije. Značenje joj je u trobrodnost i tri apsidalna polukružna istaka. S razlogom treba uvažiti mišljenje koje naglašava smjenjivanje biskupskog sjedišta bez međurazdoblja s nekom trećom crkvom kao katedralom. Početkom gradnje nove katedrale (1124.), ona sv. Marije, iako trošna i dotrajala, još je u funkciji (Martinović 1990 b: 26).<sup>6</sup> Do njezinog rušenja i gradnje romaničke crkve na njezinim temeljima (posvećena 1221.), u opsegu srednjeg broda prethodne, dolazi nakon posvete katedrale sv. Tripuna (1166.). Uvažavajući graditeljske preinake na katedralnoj crkvi sv. Marije tijekom 9. st. (Martinović 1990 b: 26), očito je kako ponajprije svojim ugledom nosi udio i u prostornom osmišljanju nove. Zapaženo je, naime, kako širina srednjeg broda ranokršćanske sv. Marije, zadržana i u predromaničkoj fazi, u potpunosti odgovara onoj katedrale sv. Tripuna, što je i navelo na pomisao o oponašanju prostornih mjera starije gradnje kod provedbe nove stolnice (Čanak-Medić 1989: 231; 1997: 88-89).

Svakako, stanje nakon pregradnji uključilo je i trobrodnost sv. Marije jer je, zajedno s prethodnicom sv. Mihovila, i protumačena kao veća crkva bazilikalnog oblika 9. st. (Martinović 1990 a: 29). Dakle,

<sup>5</sup> Kao najizglednije se uzelo da je upravo crkva S. Ambrogio u Milunu bila presudna kod idejnog stvaranja prostorne zamisl kotorskog sv. Tripuna, naročito u pogledu ranog svođenja središnjeg broda.

<sup>6</sup> Kako se zaključuje iz izlaganja.

he has unconditionally cemented the primary importance of Apulia in the transfer of spatial design (though eastern Adriatic designs have roughly been mentioned as well), with the impression of a latent need to designate the Kotor cathedral of St. Tryphon as a "transitional monument" in the development of Apulian Romanesque architecture (Korać 1967: 19).<sup>4</sup>

The precursor of the alternating massive pylons and columns of St. Tryphon, along with the measured double-bay system of the transept, cannot be detected on Apulian territory. The churches there lack the dependent relationship of the larger bay of the nave corresponding to a pair of smaller bays in the aisles. It is obvious that the overall review of the situation across the European West should seek out decisive incentives for the solution to the appearance of Romanesque architecture in the eastern Adriatic, within which Lombardy buildings are also published. Hereby the Kotor cathedral has the most complete analogy with the northern parts of Italy. The examples of construction in Lombardy and Emilia have promoted the likelihood of northern Italian influence on the appearance of its spatial structure, with emphasis on the correspondence with the church of S. Maria di Portanuovo in Ancona, central Italy (Tomasović 2006: 142, 145, n. 179),<sup>5</sup> which will be later discussed. Taking into account the above mentioned examples of churches from the North Apennine peninsula, especially if reconciled with considerations indicating the Apulian Romanesque, a definition of St. Tryphon has been set forth as a church of the "Byzantine-Lombard fashion" (Čanak-Medić 1997: 91). It has arisen out of respect for tradition, specifically the earlier architectural designs in Kotor, especially recognizable on the church discovered beneath the Romanesque church of St. Mary. Her significance lies in its nave with two aisles and three semicircular apsidal projections. The replacement of the bishop's seat without an interim period with a third church serving as a cathedral should be taken into consideration. As the construction on the new cathedral began (1124), St. Mary, though weathered and dilapidated, was still in function (Martinović 1990 b: 26).<sup>6</sup> Its demolition and the construction of the Romanesque church on

<sup>4</sup> Such interpretation of the source of the Kotor St. Tryphon's appearance has been criticized due to unconvincing typological considerations, chronological inversions and methodological inconsistencies (Tomasović 2006: 137-147). The undervalued diversity of the system of architectural solutions in Apulia and its neighboring regions has also been emphasized.

<sup>5</sup> As has been acknowledged that the church of S. Ambrogio in Milan was most likely crucial in creating the conceptual spatial ideas of the Kotor St. Tryphon, especially in terms of the early vaulting of the central nave

<sup>6</sup> As can be concluded from the presentation.

istraživanja u srednjovjekovnoj jezgri Kotora potvrđuju trobrodni tip koji je prethodio monumentalnoj katedrali sv. Tripuna. Koncilijantno sagledavanje dodira kreativnih pojmoveva, bizantskog i sjevernjačkog, u izvoru pojave romaničke katedrale sv. Tripuna razradila je M. Čanak-Medić u novom osvrtu. Novost je u tvrdnji o lombardijskim svojstvima arhitekture kotorske katedrale s mogućnošću njihovog posrednog prijenosa, preko crkava u srednjotalijanskom jadranskom zaleđu (Čanak-Medić 2009: 53). Poticaj za takvo sagledavanje autorica je evidentno dobila od prethodnog razmatranja, u konačnici i rezimirano tvrdnjom: "Varijacije unutar apeninskog poluotoka najvjerojatnije su odlučujuće i kod očitanja istočnojadranskih stanja" (Tomasović 2006: 142). Ne smatrajući potrebnim pozvati se na ovu razradu dopustila je i navođenje primjera crkava pokrajine Marche, nesumnjivo potaknuta prešućenim navodom crkve S. Maria Portanuovo u Anconi.<sup>7</sup> Po svemu sudeći riječ je o primjeru nereferiranja tuđeg rada, a u konačnici i prešućivanja tuđih rezultata u razradi istog problema.<sup>8</sup> Isto vrijedi i za pitanje izgleda i postave pročelnih zvonika romaničke katedrale u Kotoru, koji su provedbom izvorne zamisli vertikalama završavali ritam bočnih brodova i bili udruženi vjerojatnim svodom trijema. Pozivanja su zarana bila usmjerena na crkvu sv. Nikole u Bariju, ali se potom upozorilo na njihovu neutemeljenost. Prvi puta je to učinjeno zalaganjem za neodređeni uzor neovisno od stupnja modifikacije, uz pretpostavljeno posredništvo južne Italije u pogledu komponenti sjevernjačke arhitekture (Korać 1967: 21-22). Pri tome se oprezno prepostavio prijenos kulta arhanđela Mihovila i sv. Gabrijela posredstvom benediktinaca u Kotor, s tim u vezi i njihovih kapela na zvonicima katedrale (Korać 1967: 21). Važnost primjedbe je u pogledu djelatnosti ovog reda u neposrednoj blizini Kotora i Apulije, naročito usmjereni štovanju razgranatog kulta sv. Mihovila (Božić 1963: 197-210; Bettocchi 1996: 133-162). Potom je provedba pročelnih zvonika kronološki sagledana kroz primjere u južnoj Italiji, te se promotrla kao oznaka opće, zapadnjačke pojave u rasprostiranju, mimo konkretnijeg udjela neke od apulijских gradnji (Tomasović 2006: 146).<sup>9</sup> Ovim dvama, u biti srodnim sagledavanjima, u međuvremenu je donekle suprotstavljenoinzistiranje na katedrali u Cefalú

its foundations (dedicated in 1221), to the extent of the central nave of the previous church, comes after the consecration of the Cathedral of St. Tryphon (1166).

Taking into account the architectural modifications to the cathedral church of St. Mary during the 9th century (Martinović 1990 b: 26), it is obvious that its reputation primarily formed the idea of its new spatial design. It has been noted how the width of the central nave of the early Christian church of St. Mary, kept in the pre-Romanesque phase, corresponds entirely to that of the St. Tryphon cathedral, which has led to the idea of an imitation of spatial measures of the earlier building, during the implementation of the new cathedral (Čanak-Medić 1989: 231; 1997: 88-89).

Certainly, the situation after the remodeling included the central nave with two aisles, as St. Mary has been interpreted as a larger church basilica of the 9th century, together with its predecessor St. Michael (Martinović 1990 a: 29). Thus, the research of the medieval center of Kotor confirms the three-aisle type which preceded the monumental cathedral of St. Tryphon. Conciliatory consideration of the contact point of creative concepts, Byzantine and northern, in the origin of the Romanesque cathedral of St. Tryphon has been developed by M. Čanak-Medić in her latest review. The novelty comes in the assertion of Lombardy features in the architecture of the Kotor cathedral, with the possibility of their indirect transmission via the churches of central Italian Adriatic hinterland (Čanak-Medić 2009: 53). Her incentive for such a consideration evidently comes from previous reviews, ultimately summarized by claiming: "Variations in the Apennine peninsula are most likely crucial in the readings of the eastern Adriatic case (Tomasović 2006: 142). Not deeming it necessary to refer to this development, she allowed for a further enumeration of church examples of the Marche province, undoubtedly inspired by the overlooked mention of the church of S. Maria Portanuovo in Ancona.<sup>7</sup> In all likelihood, it is a case of not referring to someone else's work, eventually passing over the work of others in the development of the same problem.<sup>8</sup> The same applies to the question of the appearance and placement of the facade bell towers of the Romanesque Kotor cathedral, which

<sup>7</sup> Ova ankonitanska crkva, najvjerojatnije iz druge polovine 12. st., promotrena je kao jedan u nizu ukazatelja gradnji na podlozi iskustava u podizanju crkava s kupolom (Krönig 1962: 205).

<sup>8</sup> Upadljivo je i nereferiranje rada V. Koraća o kotorskoj katedrali, neovisno o zaključcima u njemu. Takav izostanak teško se može pravdati sintetskim izgledom novijeg prikaza Čanak-Medićeve.

<sup>9</sup> Gdje se podseća i na ranija pozivanja na arhitekturu sv. Nikole u Bariju.

<sup>7</sup> This Ancones church, probably from the second half of the 12th century, viewed as one in a series of evidence on the underlying background experience in the construction of dome churches (Krönig 1962: 205).

<sup>8</sup> A lack of reference to the work of V. Korać on the Kotor cathedral is also noticeable, regardless of the conclusions made there. Such failure can be hardly justified by the synthetic look of the recent presentation of Čanak-Medićeva.

na Siciliji kao uzoru za kotorske zvonike (Čanak-Medić 1997: 92). Pak, upadljiv je izostanak objašnjenja koji opravdava takvu postavku. Neovisno o iznijetim datumima početka gradnje u Cefalú, 1148. ili 1151., mogućnost za utjecaj njihovih zvonika na kotorskiju katedralu gotovo je zanemariva, pogotovo što 1124. kao početak njezine gradnje ničim nije upitan. U ponovnom osvrtu na kotorskiju katedralu izostavljen je pozivanje na sicilijanske gradnje. Ugledanje po pitanju zvonika sada se prepoznaće, kako je postavkama već naznačeno u spomenutim radovima, u matičnoj crkvi benediktinskog reda na Monte Cassinu (Čanak-Medić 2009: 53). Na žalost, autorica i ovim sugerira vlastito domišljanje, dočim izostavlja pozivanje na ranije rezultate u objavama, naročito onoj koja neposredno prethodi njezinom novom osvrtu na kotorskiju katedralu.

U problemskom osvrtu na romaničku arhitekturu južnih dijelova istočnog Jadrana, upozorilo se na zanemarivanje sloja trobrodnih crkava s istim brojem apsida. Podsjecanjem na poznate crkvene gradnje istočnog Jadrana bilo je osvrta i na benediktinsku crkvu sv. Mihovila na Prevaci kod Tivta (Tomasović 2006: 138-139, n. 117). Iako se značenju i njezinom izgledu pristupilo više usputno, nastojalo se iscrpno je iznijeti kronološke i kulturne akcente predložene u literaturi. Osvrt je bio usmjeren i primjedbama tobože upitne, nerijetko prešućene pripadnosti velike crkve benediktincima. Samo trobrodno rješenje uzelo se kao gradnja 11. st., odnosno najkasnije poč. 12. st., premda je manje vjerojatan gornji vremenski okvir, prihvati li se 1124. kao vrijeme kada je samostan već bio napušten (Stjepčević 1930: 7). Stjepčevićevu uopćeno pisanje o benediktinskoj crkvi sv. Mihovila (Stjepčević 1930: 2-3), kao trobrodnoj i troapsidalnoj, višekratno se opetovalo (Karaman 1956: 50).<sup>10</sup> Konkretniji opis kako je to "velika trobrodna crkva sa tročlanim oltarskim delom, koji čine srednja apsida, polukružna iznutra i spolja, i dve bočne, iznutra polukružne spolja pravougaone" u izvještaju je arheoloških istraživanja 1956.-57. (Korać 1959: 388-389). Gradnja i ulomci kamenog namještaja pobliže se nisu datirali. Ostaci crkve uzimaju se kao romanički, i najstariji na lokalitetu, dok se za plastiku veli da je predromanička, odnosno iz 10. st. kad je datiran jedan spolij. Crkva se tipološki uzela, u pogledu oltarnog dijela, kao "posebna varijanta" gradnje. Isto se uskoro ponavlja, napomenom o vjerojatnom drvenom krovuštu, ali i pripadnosti crkve benediktincima (Korać 1966).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Karaman crkvu uzima kao zapadnjačku, benediktinsku gradnju 11. st.

<sup>11</sup> Neoprezna je, a i ishitrena tvrdnja kako se pri tome nisu spomenuli benediktinci (Tomasović 2006: 139, n. 117), očito u prevnom upozorenju o nužnosti samog spomena reda upravo uz sami spomen ostataka trobrodne crkve.

implemented the original ideas by vertically ending the pace of the side aisles, which were likely accompanied by a vaulted porch. References were originally focused on the church of St. Nicholas in Bari, but they were later proven to be unfounded.

The first time it was done by advocating an indeterminate model, regardless of the degree of modification, with the assumed mediation of southern Italy in terms of the components of northern architecture (Korać 1967: 21-22). In the process, it was cautiously assumed that the cult of the archangels Michael and Gabriel was transferred via the Kotor Benedictines, as well as their chapels in the cathedral bell towers (Korać 1967: 21). The importance of this observation lies in the view of the activities of this order in the immediate vicinity of Kotor and Apulia, especially focused on the widespread worship of the cult of St. Michael (Božić 1963: 197-210; Bettocchi 1996: 133-162).

The implementation of the bell towers was then observed chronologically on the examples from southern Italy, and was viewed as a sign of the general western expansion, outside the more specific partaking in Apulian construction (Tomasović 2006: 146).<sup>9</sup> These two, essentially similar, considerations were in the meantime somewhat opposed by the insistence on the cathedral of Cefalu in Sicily serving as an example for the Kotor bell towers (Čanak-Medić 1997: 92). What is striking is the lack of explanation justifying such a statement. Regardless of the proposed commencement date of the construction in Cefalu, 1148 or 1151, the possibility of it influencing the bell towers of the Kotor cathedral is virtually nonexistent, especially since the date of its construction is undisputedly 1124. A second review of the Kotor cathedral leaves out the reference to Sicilian architecture. As already mentioned in the previously cited work, the model for the bell towers is currently regarded to be the mother church of the Benedictine order in Monte Cassino (Čanak-Medić 2009: 53). Unfortunately, the author's opinion is also primarily suggested here, instead of a reference to previously published results, particularly the work immediately preceding her latest review of the Kotor cathedral.

The problem review of the Romanesque architecture of the southern parts of the eastern Adriatic warns of the disregard of churches with a central nave and two aisles, ending in three apses. Recollecting the famous church architecture of the eastern Adriatic, we have mentioned the Benedictine church of St. Michael on Prevaka near Tivat (Tomasović 2006: 138-139, n. 117). Although its meaning and appearance have been approached in a casual manner,

<sup>9</sup> Reminder of the earlier reference to the architecture of St. Nicholas in Bari.

Na tragu Stjepčevićevih povijesnih sagledavanja, jasnjom razradom vremenskih odsječaka, boravka benediktinskih redovnika i odlaska do 1124., o crkvi sv. Mihovila kao trobrodnoj s tri polukružne apside pisao je I. Ostojić (Ostojić 1964: 495-496).<sup>12</sup> Stoga svojevrsnu inverziju znači sljedeći Koraćev osrvt. Ignorirajući Stjepčevićeve i Ostojićeve povijesne navode, tek se oslanjajući na srpsku historiografiju, tendenciozno iznosi pretpostavku da je samostanska crkva na Prevlaci izgrađena u drugoj pol. 12. st. (Korać 1970:135). Interesantno, potom veli kako je riječ o gradnji s „drvenom gornjom konstrukcijom... jedva se može rekonstruisati na jednom mjestu, u manastiru sv. Arhandela Mihaila na Prevlaci“ (Korać 1970: 138). Ovim je iznijetu dataciju doveo u pitanje, s obzirom da ovaj tip gradnje uzima kao karakterističan za ranu romaniku južne Italije i Zadra. Uz to, ničim nije upućivao na pomisao o stilskoj retardaciji, susljadno datiranju u poodmaklo 12. st. Pri svemu tome ignorira i datiranje ornamentirane kamene plastike s Prevlake, opredijeljene u 9.-11. st. (Kovačević 1956: 6; 1967: 380). Štoviše, J. Kovačević smatra da je njezina brojnost odraz boravka benediktinaca sve do sredine 13. st., kada su Prevlaku „osvojili“ pravoslavni monasi. Također, obradom jednog natpisa upućuje na gradnju crkve, ili u njezinoj blizini, u 9. st., iako ne upućuje da se ima raditi o spomenutoj trobrodnoj, troapsidalnoj crkvi. Kako se radi o jednoj, navodno ranijoj gradnji apside unutar veće središnje, tvrdi se netom uoči izvještaja o istraživanju lokaliteta u kojem se ostaci veće crkve i ne spominju (Subotić 1959).<sup>13</sup>

Teškoča u predočavanju ostataka i datiranja crkve benediktinskog sjedišta na Prevlaci na ovaj se je način ispostavila kao polje disparatnih sagledavanja, unutar kojeg se svakim novom osrvtom donosi kakav novi podatak ili barem sugestija o lokalitetu. Otežavajuća se iskazala i usputnost primjedbi, stvarajući pogrešan dojam o prethodno uspјelom elaboriranju problema. Dobar primjer ovome nalazimo u napomeni o kupoli u srednjem traveju crkve na Prevlaci (Čanak-Medić 1997: 89). Razmišljanje je iznijeto u momentu razložnog apostrofiranja mogućnosti udjela i benediktinske crkve sv. Mihovila u kreiranju kotorske katedrale sv. Tripuna. Međutim, o postojanju kupole u srednjem traveju crkve na Prevlaci govori se više usputno. Ipak, dojam je kako se pri tome uvažavaju zapažanja s davnih istraživanja, iako se daje do znanja kako su neobjelodanjena. Uza sve to, osjetljivost po pitanju konfesionalne pri-

more detailed chronological and cultural features were aimed to be presented in the literature. The review was directed at the remarks on the allegedly questionable, and often unmentioned, affiliation of the large church with the Benedictines. The central nave with two aisles design was dated to the 11th century, i.e. no later than the beginning of the 12th c, although the later date is less likely if we take into account that the monastery was abandoned by 1124 (Stjepčević 1930: 7). Stjepčević's general writing on the Benedictine church of St. Michael (Stjepčević 1930: 2-3), as a building with two aisles, a central nave and three apses, has been repeatedly reiterated (Karaman 1956: 50).<sup>10</sup> A more precise description of it being, "a large church with two aisles and a central nave, and a three-part altar piece consisting of a central apse, semicircular inside and outside, and two lateral apses, semicircular on the outside", was published in the archaeological report of 1956-57 (Korać 1959: 388-389). The construction and fragments of stone furniture have not been precisely dated. The church remains are taken as Romanesque, and as the oldest on the site, while sculptural work seems to be pre-Romanesque, i.e. dating from the 10th century, based on one piece of spolia. The church has been considered typologically, in regards to the altar area, as a "special variant" of the construction. The same is soon reiterated by mentioning the likely wooden roof, and the affiliation to the Benedictine order (Korać 1966).<sup>11</sup> In the wake of Stjepčević's historical overview, by giving a more clear analysis of the time slots, the stay and departure of the Benedictine monks by 1124, I. Ostojić has discussed the St. Michael church as being the central nave with two aisles type, with three semicircular apses (Ostojić 1964: 495-496).<sup>12</sup> Therefore, the following review by Korać means sort of an inversion. Ignoring Stjepčević's and Ostojić's historical assertions, merely relying on Serbian historiography, he tendentiously suggests that the monastery church on Prevlaka was built in the second half of the 12th century (Korać 1970:135). Interestingly, he then says it is a building with "wooden upper structure.... which can be barely reconstructed in one place, in the monastery of St. Archangel Michael on Prevlaka" (Korać 1970: 138). This brings the date put forward here into question, given that

<sup>10</sup> Karaman regards the church as a western, Benedictine building of the 11th century.

<sup>11</sup> It was careless and hasty to say that any mention of the Benedictine order was left out (Tomasović 2006: 139, note 117), obviously in an overzealous warning of the necessity to mention the order alongside any reference to the remains of the church with a central nave and three aisles.

<sup>12</sup> A statement on the three semicircular apses of the Benedictine church, without reference to the lateral ones being enclosed in a straight wall, has been made recently (Milanović 2003: 296; Žeravica 2003: 263).

<sup>12</sup> Tvrđnja o tri polukružne apside benediktinske crkve, ne naglašavajući kako su bočne zatvorene ravnim zidom, iznosi se i u novije vrijeme (Milanović 2003: 296; Žeravica 2003: 263).

<sup>13</sup> Ovim se je donekle nepotrebno otvorilo pitanje radi li se o gradnji koju spominje natpis ili kojoj crkvici u blizini.

padnosti lokaliteta na Prevlaci, koliko god bila forsirana i nerijetko, više ili manje, latentno ispoljavana, iskazala se i kao jedan od ciljeva sagledavanja arhitektonskog kompleksa. Istraživanja tijekom 1997. donose moguće i zanimljive podatke o prethodnim, antičkim vremenskim slojevima na poluotoku, ali i iskazanu upitnost njegove opstojnosti tijekom 10.-12. st. (Janković *et al.* 1998: 140). Pod snimkom lokaliteta autori ne govore kojem razdoblju pripadaju ostaci troapsidalne crkve, na koje se u tekstu uopće i ne osvrću. Stoga dvosmisleno upućuju na dvije mogućnosti iščitavanja tlocrta crkve, kao kasnoantičke ili na vrijeme od 13. st., nakon preuzimanja položaja od strane pravoslavnih monaha. Samo prisustvo benediktinskih redovnika na Prevlaci uopće se nije spomenulo. Iako ne treba odveć sumnjati kako su recentna istraživanja potakla i objavu rezultata radova 1956.-57. ovi su konačno dati u zadovoljavajućem opsegu i opisnom tumačenju arhitektonskih ostataka velike trobrodne crkve (sl. 1). Ponavlja se pretpo-

this type of construction is considered to be a characteristic feature of the early Romanesque period of southern Italy and the West. In addition, there was nothing to indicate the stylistic decline, in accordance with it being dated to the late 12th century. Meanwhile, the date of the ornamented stone sculptures from Prevlaka, set between the 9th and 11th century, is entirely ignored (Kovačević 1956: 6; 1967: 380). Moreover, J. Kovačević considers its numbers to reflect the stay of the Benedictine order until the middle of the 13th century when Prevlaka was "conquered" by the Orthodox monks. Likewise, by analyzing one inscription the date of the construction of the church is being put as the 9th century, or its surroundings, even though there is no mention of a central nave with two aisles or the three apses. It appears to be the construction of one earlier apse inside a larger central one, as is suggested prior to the official report on the research of the site, which does not mention any remains of the larger church (Subotić 1959).<sup>13</sup>

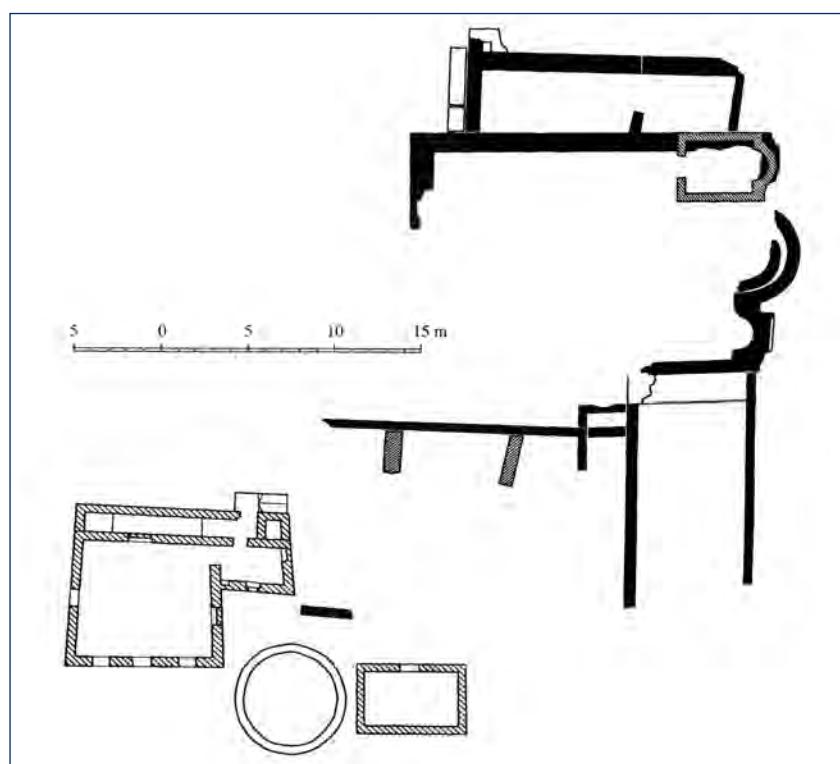
The difficulty in dating and presenting the remains of the Benedictine church headquarters on Prevlaka has turned out to be a field of disparate considerations, whereby each new reference brings some new information or at least some new suggestion on the site. What complicated matters was the passing remarks creating a false sense of previous successful elaboration of problematic issues. A good example of this is the remark on the dome in the central bay of the church on Prevlaka (Čanak-Medić 1997: 89). The reasoning was set forth in the moment of justified emphasis on the possibility of the contribution of the Benedictine church of St. Michael to the creation of the Kotor cathedral of St. Tryphon. However, the existence of a dome in the

central bay of the Prevlaka church is mentioned only in passing. Nonetheless, the impression is given that the remarks from past research have been taken into consideration, even if it is pointed out that they remain unpublished. With all that, the sensibility of the issue of the denominational affiliation of the site on Prevlaka, as forced and often, more or less, latently manifested as it can be, has proven to be one of the

Slika 1. Ostaci trobrodne benediktinske crkve sv. Mihovila unutar kompleksa na Prevlaci (Korać 2002: 148, sl. 5).

Figure 1. The remains of the three-aisled Benedictine church of St. Michael inside the complex on Prevlaka (Korać 2002: 148, sl. 5).

stavka o drvenoj konstrukciji njezinih gornjih dijelova, domišljanjem o izgledu u okvirima koncepcija benediktinskih crkava u Apuliji (Korać 2002: 142). Programatski stav kakav se i ranije uočavao kod V. Koraća ponešto je relativiziran "priznanjem" o crkvi kao benediktinskoj. Prihvatljivo govori o podizanju pravoslavne crkve u 13. st. na njezinim ostacima,



<sup>13</sup> Somewhat unnecessarily, this raises the question of whether it is the building mentioned on the inscription, or some other church nearby.

čime se nastojala definirati i pripadnost manje apside unutar obrisa veće, kao pretpostavljene crkve zetskog episkopa (Korać 2002: 143, 150, sl. 8). Neka pitanja Korać i ne postavlja, kao ono o vremenu podizanja trobrodne benediktinske crkve, koju je ranije datirao u drugu pol. 12. st. Moguće da i ovdje prešutno upućuje na isto, dočim uvažava Stjepčevićovo mišljenje o napuštenom, ruševnom samostanu početkom 13. st. (Korać 2002: 144), ali ne i odlazak benediktinskih redovnika do 1124. Stoga i ne treba iznenaditi tvrdnja o napuštanju samostana i crkve iz „*nepoznatih razloga*“ (Korać 2002: 142). Znači li to, također, kako crkvu treba datirati u 9. st., sukladno kamenom namještaju kojemu se iznalaze analogije u Italiji (Korać 2002: 140)?<sup>14</sup> Naime, samom problemu vremena dolaska benediktinaca na Prevlaku ranije je usputno pristupio I. Božić, smatrajući vjerojatnije kako se ipak radi o usponu reda tijekom 11. st. (Božić 1963: 197-198). Uz to, donekle je nastojao oslabiti stav po kojemu nakon 1124. na Prevlaci ne bi bilo više redovnika. U prilog tome iznio je primjedu kako je teško prihvatići da bi papa Klement VI. 1346. položaj na Prevlaci još uvjek smatrao benediktinskim samostanom, i tražio ga za povrat, nakon što je prošlo više od dva stoljeća od odlaska redovnika (Božić 1963: 198, n. 5; Stjepčević 1930: 20, 64-65).<sup>15</sup> Ipak, i sam Božić papinu aktivnost, u konačnici neuspjelu, sagledava kao pokrenutu poticajem pravog nezadovoljnika, grada Kotora. Već se nastojao pružiti odgovor na problem Koraćevog pobližeg nedatiranja benediktinske crkve sv. Mihovila na Prevlaci u svom konačnom i iscrpnom osvrtu, iako je iznijet unutar šireg sagledavanja. Prepoznao se u okvirima kulturološkog problema, konkretno u neuvažavanju sloja ranoromaničkih benediktinskih gradnji na istočnom Jadranu, što je pisca i dovelo do rečenog domišljanja o koncepciji crkve uzorom na benediktinske gradnje Apulije. Tako mišljenje, prihvatljivo tek u svojoj uopćenosti, nemoguće je sagledavati pozivanjem na konkretne primjere s juga Italije. Na žalost, pisac nije obrazložio tako kasnu pojavu pretpostavljenog nenadsvođenja crkve na

main goals of the review of the architectural complex. Research in 1997 brought forth plausible and interesting data on the ancient cultural layers on the peninsula, and questioned its existence during the 10th - 12th centuries (Janković *et al.* 1998: 140). The authors do not identify the date of the remains of the church with three apses in their recorded image of the site, they do not mention it in the text at all.

Therefore, they ambiguously suggest two possible readings of the church layout, either as belonging to late antiquity or to the 13th century, after Orthodox monks assumed position there. The presence of Benedictine monks on Prevlaka is not mentioned at all. Although there can be no doubt that the recent research has prompted the publication of the 1956-57 findings, these have been finally provided to a satisfactory extent with a descriptive interpretation of the architectural remains of the large three-aisled church (fig. 1). The assumption of a wooden structure frame for its upper parts is reiterated, by devising the layout in terms of the Benedictine churches of Apulia (Korać 2002: 142). The programmed attitude, as previously noted in V. Korać's writing, is made somewhat relative by "admitting" the church to be Benedictine. He accepts the construction of an Orthodox church on its remains in the 13th century, which aims to define the background of the smaller apse within the outline of the larger one, as the presumed church of the Zeta Bishop (Korać 2002: 143, 150, fig. 8). Korać does not raise some other questions, such as the one on the date of construction for the three-aisled Benedictine church, dated earlier by him to the second half of the 12th century. It is possible he implicitly suggest this, thereby acknowledging Stjepčević's opinion on the abandoned, dilapidated monastery in the early 13th century (Korać 2002: 144), but not the departure of the Benedictine monks by 1124. The statement on the desertion of the church and monastery "for unknown reasons" should not surprise then (Korać 2002: 142). Does that imply that the church should be dated to the 9th century, according to the stone furniture with analogies in Italy (Korać 2002:

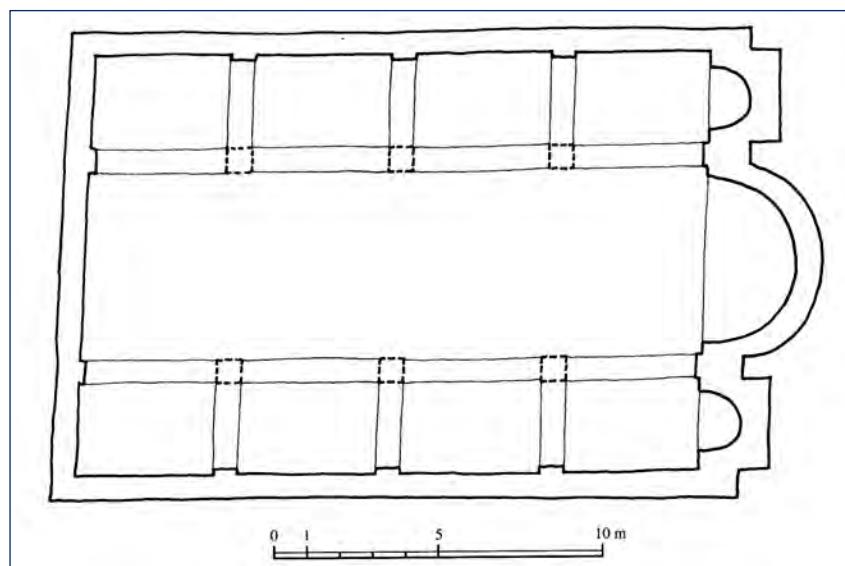
<sup>14</sup> Svakako, ne treba ozbiljnije pristupiti tumačenjima gdje se govori o 9. st. kao vremenu gradnje velike troapsidalne crkve, uz ponovno isticanje pretpostavke o postojanju kupole (Janković 2007: 96-98, 138). U duhovito brzopletom tumačenju stanja na terenu politikantski se negira i samo postojanje benediktinskog samostana na Prevlaci. Tim putem je i dokinut „uljudbenji“ pristup beogradsko historiografske škole u tumačenju skladne koegzistencije dvaju konfesija (a u konačnici temeljen na programu objašnjavanja iste nacionalne pripadnosti) pod okriljem Nemanjića. Na to se, u slučaju umjetnosti južnog Jadrana i Boke kotorske, nije uvjek upozoravalo posve izravno. Gotovo identično na tragu Jankovićevog negiranja benediktinaca, iako primarno usmjereno kasnijim arheološkim slojevima, vidi i u: Pašić 2004: 171-173, ali i u drugim napisima (Janković 2004: 78; Sindik 2004: 130).

<sup>15</sup> Gdje Stjepčević u Dodatku donosi prijepis papinog pisma.

<sup>14</sup> Certainly, interpretations that consider the construction date of the large three-aisled church to be the 9th century should not be taken seriously, with re-emphasis on the assumption of the existence of a large dome (Janković 2007: 96-98, 138). The amusingly hasty interpretation of the situation on site gives a cheap political denial of the existence of a Benedictine monastery on Prevlaka. This has abolished the "more civil" approach of the Belgrade historiographic school whereby there existed a harmonious coexistence of the two denominations (ultimately based on the program to explain the same nationality) under the protection of Nemanjić. This has not been regularly pointed out, in the case of the art of southern Adriatic and the Bay of Kotor. Identical to Janković's denial of the Benedictine presence, though aimed at the later archaeological layers, see at: Pašić 2004: 171-173, and in other writings (Janković 2004: 78; Sindik 2004: 130).

Prevlaci. Ranije iznijetu dataciju njezine gradnje u kasno 12. st. sada je tek posredno uveo. Po svemu sudeći, učinio je to u namjeri vezivanja pojave i dje-latnosti benediktinskog reda u tivatsko-kotorskom zaljevu upravo susretljivošću raških Nemanjića, u trenutku njihovih izraslih dinastičkih i političkih prohtjeva.<sup>16</sup>

Koje analogije prostornog rješenja benediktinske crkve sv. Mihovila na Prevlaci podupiru povjesno tumačenje odlaska redovnika s Prevlake do 1124., odnosno njezinu gradnju u 11. st.? Nedvojbeno, one bi se trebale odnositi na začelje, u postavi i oblikovanju polukružnih apsida od kojih su manje bočne zatvorene ravnim zidom (sl. 2). Ovi dijelovi bazi-



*Slika 2. Prijedlog izgleda benediktinske crkve sv. Mihovila na Prevlaci (Korać 2002: 150, sl. 7).*

*Figure 2. Proposal for the layout of the Benedictine church of St. Michael on Prevlaka (Korać 2002: 150, sl. 7).*

like ujedno su i najbolje sačuvani, te za razliku od brodova i pročelja crkve ne potiču na nedoumice izvornog izgleda.<sup>17</sup> Rješenje sv. Mihovila na Prevlaci kod Tivta u Boki kotorskoj prvi je puta ostvareno kod znamenite benediktinske crkve Cluny II u drugoj polovini 10. st. (sl. 3) (Krönig 1962: 203; Conant 1979: 146-148). Uskoro je, uz manje modifikacije, opće prihvaćeno na tlu juga Italije u sklopu osnažene, reformirane crkve (Krautheimer 1934: 18-20),<sup>18</sup> kao i benediktinskim ograncima istočnog Jadrana

140)?<sup>14</sup> Namely, the problem of the arrival of the Benedictines on Prevlaka was formerly approached in passing by I. Božić, who thought it more likely that the order gained influence during the 11th century (Božić 1963: 197-198). In addition, he sought to weaken the opinion that after 1124 there would have been no more monks on Prevlaka. To corroborate this he remarked how it was difficult to accept that the Pope Clement VI would have viewed the location on Prevlaka as a Benedictine monastery, and he would have demanded its return, more than two centuries after the departure of the monks (Božić 1963: 198, n. 5; Stjepčević 1930: 20, 64-65).<sup>15</sup> Nonetheless, Božić views the Pope's activity, though unsuccessful, as motivated by the dissatisfied town of Kotor. An attempt has already been made to give an answer to Korać's lack of a date for the Benedictine church of St. Michael on Prevlaka, in his final and extensive review, though presented as part of a larger overview. Recognized in terms of a cultural issue, specifically in the lack of acceptance of the early Romanesque Benedictine constructions along the eastern Adriatic, it has lead the author to the conjecture about the church being influenced by Benedictine architecture in Apulia. This opinion, accepted only generally, is impossible to support with

concrete examples from the south of Italy. Unfortunately, the author has not explained such a late appearance of the assumed lack of vaulting in the Prevlaka church. The formerly state date of construction as the late 12th century is now being brought forth indirectly. By all accounts, he did it with the aim to link the appearance and activity of the Benedictine order in the Tivat-Kotor bay to the obligingness of the Raška Nemanjić family, at the time of their growing dynastic and political demands.<sup>16</sup>

Which analogies of the spatial solution of the Benedictine church of St. Michael on Prevlaka support the historical interpretation of the departure of the monks from Prevlaka by 1124, i.e. its construction in the 11th century? Undoubtedly, they should refer to the back wall, the setting and formation of the semicircular apses, the smaller of which have been

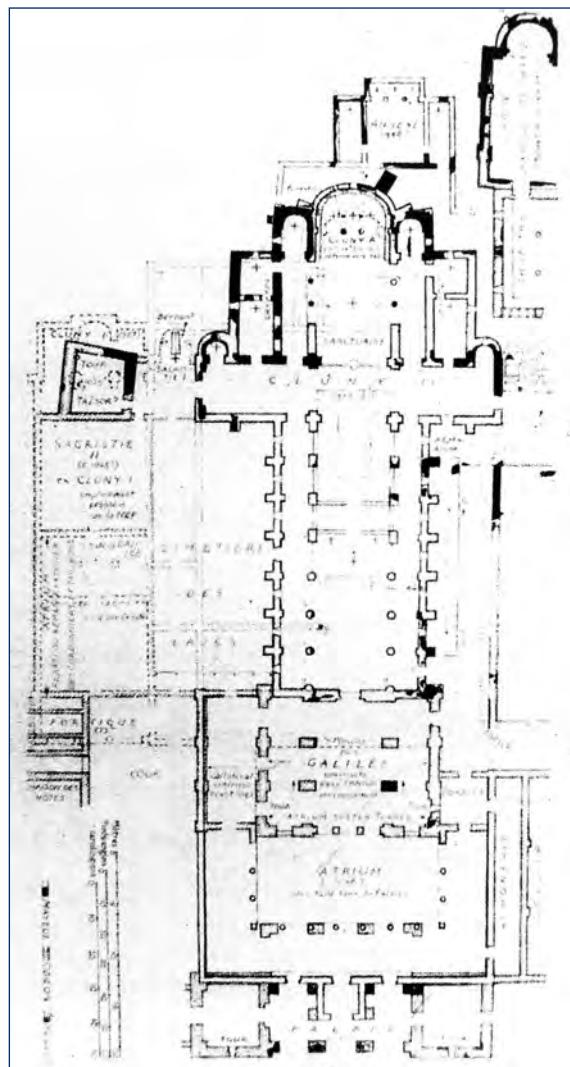
<sup>16</sup> Naposljeku, zastaje se i u okvirima prešućivanja i samog spomena benediktinaca na Prevlaci (Čubrović 2009: 63-64), bez ikakvog poticaja za datiranje trobrodne crkve u osrtu koji i nije posve usputan.

<sup>17</sup> Neka se ponovi, odavno se naglasila specifičnost takvog oblikovanja, iako joj se nikada nije ukazalo na izvor (Korać 1959: 389).

<sup>18</sup> Gdje se govori o značenju crkve Cluny II na jugu Apeninskog poluotoka uoči graditeljskog rasta u 12. st. Sliku stanja općenito vidi: Thiery 1978b.

<sup>15</sup> Stjepčević brings a transcript of the Pope's letter in the Appendix.

<sup>16</sup> Finally, the mere mention of the Benedictine order on Prevlaka is passed over (Čubrović 2009: 63-64), with no incentive to date the three-aisled church in a review that is not so incidental.



Slika 3. Izgled crkve Cluny II (Conant 1979: 147, fig. 105).

Figure 3. The layout of Cluny II (Conant 1979: 147, fig. 105).

najuže povezanih s Apenskim poluotokom (Jurković 1990: 191-211). Ta skupina crkava obilježava vjerski razvoj objašnjiv u vezivanju za južnije dijelove Italije, usmjeren montekasinskom žarištu obnovljenog reda. Zanimljiva je dosljednost u oponašanju utjecajne benediktinske burgundske gradnje u slučaju crkve na Prevlaci, jer njezin upliv na apenske gradnje 11. st. nije rezultirao identičnim apsidalnim rješenjem (Krönig 1962: 203-206).<sup>19</sup> Podizanje crkve na Prevlaci od strane benediktinaca treba sa gledavati početnim poletom istog razdoblja prve polovine ili sredine 11. st.,<sup>20</sup> kada je poduzeta i iz-

<sup>19</sup> Širi pregled stanja vidjeti kod: Thiery 1978a.

<sup>20</sup> Posebni problem predstavlja kronološko usuglašavanje dekorativne kamene plastike s izgradnjom crkve na Prevlaci, o čemu je ovdje bilo tek usputnog spomena. S tim u vezi indikativna je tvrdnja kako trobrodna crkva predstavlja arhitektonsko rješenje u svojoj "posljednjoj fazi" (Žeravica 2003: 263). Oslonac za ovu tvrdnju vjerojatno treba vidjeti u širem rasponu datiranja kamene plastike, od 9. do 12. st. Autor se pri tome poziva na Ostojićevo djelo, iako se u njemu tek iznose stavovi meritornijih

enclosed with a straight wall (fig. 2). These parts of the basilica are also the best preserved elements, and unlike the aisles and the church facade, they do not incite doubts on the original appearance of the church.<sup>17</sup> The architectural solution of St. Michael on Prevlaka near Tivat in the Bay of Kotor was first applied to the famous Benedictine church Cluny II in the second half of the 10th century (fig. 3) (Krönig 1962: 203; Conant 1979: 146-148). Soon, it was widely accepted in southern Italy, with minor modifications, as part of the empowered, reformed church (Krautheimer 1934: 18-20),<sup>18</sup> as well as in the Benedictine branches along the eastern Adriatic, closely tied to the Apennine peninsula (Jurković 1990: 191-211). This group of churches marks the religious development explicable by the close ties to southern Italy, aimed at the Monte Cassino center of the re-established order. The consistency in the imitation of the influential Benedictine Burgundy architecture in the case of the Prevlaka church is interesting, since her influence on the Apennine architecture of the 11th century did not result in an identical solution of the apses (Krönig 1962: 203-206).<sup>19</sup> The construction of the Prevlaka church by the Benedictine order should be viewed as the initial enthusiasm of the same era, the first half or the middle of the 11th century,<sup>20</sup> when the monastic church

<sup>17</sup> To reiterate, the specificity of such a design has long since been emphasized, although the source has never been pointed out (Korać 1959: 389).

<sup>18</sup> Where the meaning of the Cluny II church is pointed out in the south of the Apennine peninsula in the eve of the architectural growth of the 12th century. For an overview of the general situation, see: Thiery 1978b

<sup>19</sup> For a broader overview of the situation: Thiery 1978a.

<sup>20</sup> Agreement on the chronology of the decorative stone sculptures and the construction of the church on Prevlaka presents a special problem, only briefly mentioned here. With this in mind, the claim that the three-aisled church represents the architectural solution in its "last phase" is indicative (Žeravica 2003: 263). This claim can be backed with a wider time frame for the stone sculptures, from the 9th to the 12th century. The author refers to Ostojić's work even though Ostojić only mentions the opinions of more meritorious authors concerning this question. Having in mind that the context of the finds is unknown, as well as the geographical dispersion, and that caution is necessary when directly linking the fragments with the three-aisled or another earlier church, we can bring to mind the new, more relevant parameters for classifying them to the 9th century (Jakšić 1999-2000: 135-136; 2000a: 203-204; 2000b: 130; 2009: 86-88, 108-109). Unfortunately, much remodeling, done not just on the Benedictine church but around the entire site as well, including the surrounding area, makes it impossible to directly link the stone sculptures to any individual sacred structure. The remark on the three-aisled church, allegedly its final remodeling, suggests the presence of the Benedictine order on Prevlaka even earlier than the 11th century. Reasonable objections cannot be made to support this, especially since the heads of archaeological research done in the 1950s agree that the three-aisled church with three apses (regardless of its dating) belongs to the earliest phase (recognizing that the next one would be the Orthodox church within the perimeter of

gradnja redovničkog sklopa s crkvom na Lokrumu, zasnovanog već 1023. (Ostojić 1964: 421).<sup>21</sup> Ovaj arhitektonski tip na dubrovačkom okružju uzeo se kao prethodnica analognih rješenja uzduž istočnog Jadrana, te je i tretiran ozračjem rane faze u razvoju ranoromaničkog stila prve polovine 11. st. (Jurković 1996: 329-330).<sup>22</sup> Istorodna zamisao trobrodnosti s istim brojem apsida, premda manje uniformirana, ostvarena je približno u isto vrijeme i u susjednoj Boki kotorskoj, u slučaju benediktinske crkve sv. Mihovila na Prevaci.

complex on Lokrum was constructed, established already in 1023 (Ostojić 1964: 421).<sup>21</sup>

This architectural type in the Dubrovnik area was taken to be the predecessor of analogous architectural solutions across the eastern Adriatic, and as such was treated as part of the early phase of the development of the early Romanesque style in the first half of the 11th century (Jurković 1996: 329-330).<sup>22</sup> The equivalent idea of a central nave with two aisles and three apses, though less uniform, was realized at the approximately same time in the neighboring Bay of Kotor, in the case of the Benedictine church of St. Michael on Prevlaka.

pisaca po istom pitanju. Imajući u vidu nepoznavanje konteksta nalaza plastike, njezinu prostornu raspršenost, kao i potrebu opreznog promatranja ulomaka u smislu izravnog vezivanja za trobrodnu ili koju raniju crkvu, može se podsjetiti tek na novije, relevantne parametre njihovog svrstavanja u 9. st. (Jakić 1999-2000: 135-136; 2000a: 203-204; 2000b: 130; 2009: 86-88, 108-109). Na žalost, brojne pregradnje, ne samo na užem prostoru benediktinske crkve već i lokaliteta, ali i susjednih položaja, upozoravaju o nemogućnosti vezivanja plastike za pojedini sakralni objekt. Sama primjedba o trobrodnoj crkvi, navodno u izgledu njezine konačne pregradnje, upućivala bi na prisutnost benediktinaca na Prevaci i ranije od 11. st. U prilog tome nije moguće iznositi razložne primjedbe, pogotovo što se i voditelji arheoloških istraživanja sredinom minulog stoljeća slažu u konstataciji kako je trobrodna crkva s tri apside (neovisno o datiranju) ujedno i najranija faza (uvažavajući kako bi naredna bila gradnja pravoslavne crkve u perimetru postojeće). Također, zauzimanje za ranije prisutstvo benediktinaca podrazumijevalo bi i upitnost datiranja danog izgleda benediktinske crkve u 11. st. ili, u konačnici, domišljjanju o jednoj ranijoj, manjoj i opisno teže predočivoj gradnji na Prevaci ili okolicu. Njoj bi svakako i pripadala kamena plastika datirana u 9. st., te je posve i razumljivo njezino isticanje kao nepoznate crkve (Kovačević 1973: 38-39). Stoga je donekle i neoprezno izričito vezivanje dekorativne plastike iz 9. st. za trobrodnu crkvu (Delonga 2000: 131).

<sup>21</sup> Vjerojatno je riječ o prvoj većoj gradnji obnovljenog reda na dubrovačkom području, pri čemu se pretpostavlja da je sačuvano rješenje s troapsidalnim oblikovanjem uspostavljeno upravo tada. Vidi tlocrt lokumske crkve u: Jurković 1996, sl. 5/10, gdje se prvi puta upućuje na tako rano oblikovanje prostora.

<sup>22</sup> Za brojčanost benediktinskih gradnji na dubrovačko-kotorском području vidi: Ostojić 1964: 417-508; Milanović 2003.

this one). Also, claiming that the Benedictine order had been present earlier would question the dating of the design of the Benedictine church to the 11th century, or ultimately a new conceptualization of an earlier construction, much smaller and difficult to describe visually, on Prevlaka or in the surrounding area. The stone sculptures of the 9th century would certainly belong to it, and it is understandable one has to highlight it as an unidentified church (Kovačević 1973: 38-39). Thus, explicitly linking the 9th century decorative stone sculptures to the three-aisled church is somewhat careless (Delonga 2000: 131).

<sup>21</sup> It is likely the first large construction of the restituted order on the Dubrovnik area, whereby it is assumed that the preserved architectural solution of the three apses was established then. See the layout of the Lokrum church in: Jurković 1996, fig. 5/10, first reference t such an early architectural solution.

<sup>22</sup> For a precise number of the Benedictine buildings in the Dubrovnik-Kotor area, see: Ostojić 1964: 417-508; Milanović 2003.

## KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

PPUD  
Zagovori svetom Tripunu

*Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, Split.  
R. Tomić (ed.), *Zagovori svetom Tripunu. Blago kotorske biskupije: povodom 1200. obljetnice prijenosa moći svetoga Tripuna u Kotoru: Galerija Klovićevi dvori* (14. prosinca 2009. – 14. veljače 2010.), Zagreb, 2009.

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