

CRKVA SV. PETRA STAROG I BIANCHIJEVA EDICOLA S. MARINA U ZADRU

ST. PETER THE OLD'S CHURCH AND BIANCHI'S EDICOLA S. MARINA IN ZADAR

Autor raspravlja o crkvi sv. Petra Starog u Zadru. Riječ je o malenom sklopu koji tvore prednja i stražnja kapela. Temeljita istraživanja provedena od 1959. do 1963. godine pokazala su da je prednja zapravo ranokršćanski oratorij. Stražnja, za koju se mislilo da je već nastankom izravno bila povezana s prednjom, čini se da je izgrađena kao zasebni oratorij. Podignuta je u ranome srednjem vijeku u obliku jednostavne prostorije izduženoga trapezastog tlocrta. Potom je adaptacijom stekla jedinstvenu arhitektonsku kompoziciju ugrađenoga dvobrodnog i dvoapsidalnog prostora natkrivena križnim svodovima. Obilježava ga ranoromanička arhitektura svojstvena crkvama u Zadru i Dalmaciji 11. stoljeća. Tijekom srednjega vijeka prednji oratorij služio je kao kapela i prostorija udruge graditelja u tadašnjem Zadru, bratovštine posvećene sv. Mariji (Njezinu kultu Navještenja, *Annunziata*). Čini se da je u 15. stoljeću ta družba povezala prednji i stražnji oratorij koristeći stražnji kao kapelu Navještenja. Međutim, indicije ukazuju na mogućnost da je stražnji, kao prethodno odvojeni oratorij, izvorno bio posvećen kultu sv. Marine. Naime, u sklopu Sv. Petra Starog otkriven je ulomak arkade ciborija s imenom MARINA, a C. F. Bianchi zabilježio je podatak o *edicoli* sv. Marine koja se nalazila "pored starog arsenala". Navedena je u ispravi iz 1420. godine. Autor pretpostavlja da je to mogao biti stražnji oratorij sklopa, u 15. stoljeću posvećen Bogorodičinu Navještenju i tada povezan s prednjim crkvom sv. Petra Starog. U 17. stoljeću pak ta je bila posvećena kultu sv. Andrije, pokrovitelju udruge ribara i mornara. Time je *edicola* postala njezina sakristija.

Ključne riječi: crkva, memorija, edikula, apsida, trompa, svodovi

In this paper the author discusses the St. Peter the Old's Church in Zadar. It is a small complex consisting of two chapels – the front and the rear one. The fundamental excavations carried out from 1959 to 1963 showed that the front chapel was actually an early Christian oratory. As regards the rear one, originally thought to have been directly connected with the front one from the very beginning, it seems it was built as a separate oratory. Built in Early Middle Ages as a simple room with an elongated trapezoidal layout, it was later adapted and turned into an inbuilt double-naved and double-apsed space of an undivided architectural composition, arched with cross vaults. It is characterized by the early Romanesque architecture typical for the 11th-century churches in Zadar and Dalmatia. In Middle Ages, the front oratory was used as a chapel and the meeting place of the then Zadar builders' guild, a fraternity dedicated to St. Mary (more precisely, to *Annunziata* – the cult of her Annunciation). It seems that the fraternity connected the front and rear oratories in the 15th century, while using the rear one as the chapel of Annunciation. However, there are indications that the rear oratory – earlier separated – was originally dedicated to the cult of St. Marina: a fragment of the ciborium arcade with the name MARINA inscribed in it was found in the complex of St. Peter the Old and C. I. Bianchi records the mentioning of the *edicola* of St. Marina, located "next to the old arsenal". It is mentioned in a 1420 document. In the author's opinion, it could have been the rear oratory of the complex, dedicated to Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the 15th century and connected with the front oratory – the St. Peter the Old's Church – during the same period. However, in the 17th century, it was dedicated to the cult of St. Andrew, the patron of the fishermen's and sailors' guild. The *edicola* became its sacristy.

Keywords: church, memorial church, aedicula, apse, trompe, vaults

U odnosu na ortogonalnu mrežu uličnih pravaca antičkoga *ladera* crkva sv. Petra Starog, ranokršćanski oratorij iz 5. ili 6. stoljeća, nalazi se na sjecištu *dekumana* i *karda* s istočne strane pretpostavljenoga emporija, a taj se nalazio posred povijesne jezgre današnjega Zadra.¹ Tijekom ranoga srednjeg vijeka na začelnoj strani oratorija prigradna je zgrada pačetvorinastoga tlocrta.² Ta je uz pomoć mlađih konstrukcija, nosača i svodova, preuređena u dvobrodnu crkvu s dvije apside upisane uz začelni zid.³ Sklop je u liturgijskim funkcijama opstojao, čini se, do potkraj 18. stoljeća.⁴ Potom je desakraliziran i profaniran, s konobama u prizemlju i stambenim prostorima nadograđenim na katu. Prva arheološka istraživanja u ranosrednjovjekovnom dijelu sklopa proveo je G. Smirich još za austrijske uprave u Dalmaciji 1886. godine.⁵ Za talijanske uprave u Zadru 1929. godine arhitekt A. Bizzari vodio je građevinske radove uklanjanja novijih konstrukcija u konobama i uređenja njihova prostora za potrebe lapidarija Arheološkoga muzeja.⁶ Taj je iseljen 1954. godine pa su Institut za historijske nauke i Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Zadru proveli nove poslove dokumentiranja i konzerviranja bivših sakralnih prostora.⁷ Potom je 1959. godine brigu za sklop preuzeo Jugoslavenski institut za zaštitu spomenika kulture koji je do 1963. godine vodio cjelovita sustavna istraživanja s potpunom arheologijom tla i zidova te opsežnom arhitektonskom i fotografskom dokumentacijom. Današnje stanje spomenika posljedica je tih konzervatorskih radova i prezentacije kompleksa koji nazivamo crkvom sv. Petra Starog. Voditelji poslova bili su I. Petricioli i S. Vučenović.⁸

PODATCI IZ POVIJESNE GRAĐE

U oporuci priora Andrije iz 918. godine spomenuta je neka crkva sv. Petra.⁹ Čini se da je riječ o onoj koju kasniji arhivski zapisi bilježe kao „Sv. Petar Stari“. Tako je hram već imenom različit od Sv. Petra Novog.¹⁰ Taj se pak nalazio na Velikome trgu, glavnome trgu grada, te je po njemu bivao zapisivan kao *de platea magna*.¹¹ Najstariji pisani izvor o njoj potječe iz 1199. godine.¹² Pred crkvom sv. Petra Starog bio je maleni trg te je ona po njemu određivana i kao *de plateola*, ali, čini se, tek nakon rušenja one na Velikome trgu. Ta je razorena 1447. godine.¹³ Uz stariju je po boku tekla ulica zvana

The St. Peter the Old's Church – an early Christian oratory from the 5th or 6th century – is located at the intersection of the *decumanus* and *cardo* of the orthogonal grid of ancient *lader*, east of the assumed emporium (which used to be in the middle of the historical core of the present-day Zadar).¹ A rectangular-layout building was added to the oratory on its back side in the Early Medieval Period.² Using newer structures, carriers and vaults, it was converted into a double-naved church with two apses next to the rear wall.³ It seems the complex was used for liturgical purposes until the late 18th century.⁴ It was then desacralized and adapted for profane purposes, with wine cellars in the ground floor and living quarters on the upper floor. The first archaeological excavations of the Early Medieval part of the complex were carried out by G. Smirich during Austrian reign in Dalmatia, in 1886.⁵ In 1929, during Italian reign in Zadar, architect A. Bizzari supervised the removal of the newer structures in the wine cellars and converting them to accommodate the collection of stone monuments of the Archaeological Museum.⁶ After it moved out in 1954, the Institute for Historical Sciences and Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments in Zadar undertook new efforts in documenting and conserving former sacral premises.⁷ Then, in 1959, the Yugoslav Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments took care the complex; until 1963, it carried out thorough and systematic excavations, including complete archaeology of the ground and walls and an extensive architectural and photographic documentation. The present-day condition of the monument is a result of these conservation works and the presentation of the complex we call the St. Peter the Old's Church. The works were supervised by I. Petricioli and S. Vučenović.⁸

INFORMATION FROM HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

The testament of Prior Andrew from 918 AD mentions a St. Peter's Church.⁹ It seems it is the same one mentioned in later archive documents as St. Peter the Old. The temple thus differed from St. Peter the New by the name itself.¹⁰ As the latter one was located in Grand Square – the city's main square – it was referred to in documents as *de platea magna*.¹¹ The oldest written source about it is from 1199.¹² As there was a small plaza in front of St. Peter the Old, the church was referred to as *de plateola*, but only – as it seems – after the one

1 M. Suić, 1981, 200; P. Vežić, 2005, 63-64.

2 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 186; N. Klaić, I. Petricioli, 1976, 134.

3 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 187-189; N. Klaić, I. Petricioli, 1976, 134.

4 M. Stagličić, 1996, 191, bilj. 20.

5 G. Smirich, 1894, 22-23; 1895, 97.

6 L. Serra, 1930, 535 (Citirano prema: I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 182).

7 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 182-183.

8 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 177-202.

9 L. Benevenia, 1890, 99.

10 *Andrija pok. Petra iz Cantua – I.*, 2001, 739. *Andrija pok. Petra iz Cantua – II.*, 2003, 514. Inventari, 2006, 434.

11 P. Vežić, 1996, 340.

12 N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 169.

13 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 178.

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4 M. Stagličić, 1996, 191, footnote 20.

5 G. Smirich, 1894, 22-23; 1895, 97.

6 L. Serra, 1930, 535 (Cited from: I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 182).

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8 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 177-202.

9 L. Benevenia, 1890, 99.

10 *Andrija pok. Petra iz Cantua – I.*, 2001, 739. *Andrija pok. Petra iz Cantua – II.*, 2003, 514. Inventari, 2006, 434.

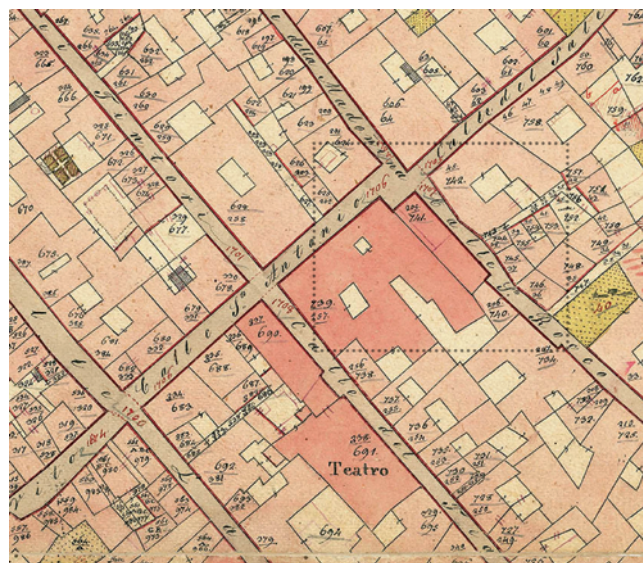
11 P. Vežić, 1996, 340.

12 N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 169.

contrata Sancti Petri Veteris.¹⁴ Kuće uz bok s južne strane pripadale su župniku za stanovanje i svećenički prihod.¹⁵ U Zadarskome statutu zabilježen je 1305. godine đakon Sv. Petra Starog, *Damianus diaconus Sancti Petri Veteris*.¹⁶ U arhivskoj građi iz 14. stoljeća spominju se svećenici crkve, *plebanus* ili *presbyter*.¹⁷ Isprave bilježe u crkvi i oltar sv. Bartolomeja.¹⁸ U spisima zadarskoga nadbiskupa Petra Matafara s kraja 14. stoljeća nabrojeno je šest tzv. zbornih ili kolegijalnih crkava u Zadru: Sv. Marija Velika, Sv. Stjepan, Sv. Petar Novi, Sv. Mihovil, Sv. Spasitelj i Sv. Petar Stari. Njima je upravljala zajednica kanonika kaptola, *Capitulum civitatis ladre*.¹⁹ Međutim, čini se da je potkraj stoljeća naša crkva izgubila takav status. U nju se uselila bratovština graditelja posvećena Navještenju Bogorodice, *Annunziati*.²⁰ Isprava iz 1439. godine udrugu navodi kao "fratelia sancte Marie marangonorum in ecclesia Sancti Petri Veteris"²¹ (Sl. 1)

Nakon što su redovnice Samostana sv. Marcele iz Nina preselile u Zadar za svoju su zajednicu 1501. godine počele graditi hram na mjestu spomenutih kuća uz južni bok Sv. Petra Starog.²² Po ninskoj bazilici novu su crkvu u Zadru posvetile također kultu sv. Marije. Podigle su je u renesansnim oblicima. Godine 1506. već je bila u izgradnji.²³ S vremenom je u imenu stekla i određenje prema predjelu na kojem se nalazila *Santa Maria della Piazzola*.²⁴ Tu se uselila spomenuta bratovština graditelja, prenijevši iz stare crkve i štovanu ikonu s likom Bogorodice. To je možda ona slika o kojoj svjedoče arhivski izvori iz poznoga razdoblja 14. stoljeća.²⁵ Za nju ili neku drugu zlatar Stjepan Venzon po narudžbi članova udruge izradio je srebrni okov 1597. godine.²⁶ Konačno, u 18. stoljeću nova crkva nazvana je imenom sv. Marcele.²⁷ Samostan s njom ukinut je 1807. godine (Sl. 2).

Oko 1615. godine u prednji oratorij sklopa crkve sv. Petra Starog uselila se nova bratovština, udruga ribara i mornara sv. Andrije. Godine 1684. opsežno je preuredila crkvicu i nazvala je imenom svoga naslovnika. Oratorij je stekao status bratovštinske kapele, odnosno *scola San An-*



Slika 1. Katastarski plan Zadra iz 1824. godine, predio uz crkvu sv. Petra Starog, (DAZd)
Figure 1. Cadastral map of Zadar (1824); area around St. Peter the Old's Church (DAZd)

in Grand Square had been torn down in 1447.¹³ Along the older church used to run a street called *contrata Sancti Petri Veteris*.¹⁴ The houses along its southern side belonged to the parish priest, who used them as his living quarters and as a source of income.¹⁵ The Statute of Zadar of 1305 mentions a deacon of St. Peter the Old, *Damianus diaconus Sancti Petri Veteris*.¹⁶ The archive documents from the 14th century mention priests of the church, *plebanus* or *presbyter*.¹⁷ The documents also mention the St. Bartholomew's altar in the church.¹⁸ In the papers of Zadar Archbishop Petar Matafari from the late 14th century, six so-called collegiate churches in Zadar are listed: St. Mary the Great's, St. Stephen's, St. Peter the New's, St. Michael's, St. Savior's and St. Peter the Old's. They were managed by the local body of canons, *Capitulum civitatis ladre*.¹⁹ However, it seems that the church lost this status towards the end of that century. The *Annunziati*, a builders' guild dedicated to the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, moved in it.²⁰ A 1439 document mentions the guild as *fratelia sancte Marie marangonorum in ecclesia Sancti Petri Veteris* (Fig. 1).²¹

14 *Andrija pok. Petra iz Cantùà – I.*, 2001, 738. Inventari, 2006, 321.

15 L. Benevenia, 1890, 99 (Citirano prema: M. Stagličić, 1996, 194).

16 Zadarski statut, 1997, 507.

17 *Andrija pok. Petra iz Cantùà – I.*, 2001, 740. *Andrija pok. Petra iz Cantùà – II.*, 2003, 514. Inventari, 2006, 434.

18 *Andrija pok. Petra iz Cantùà – II.*, 2003, 119.

19 V. Brunelli, 1908, 193-195.

20 C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 380-381.

21 C. Fisković, 1959, 11 i 133. U novijoj literaturi autori tu udrugu često nazivaju bratovštinom drvodjelaca. To bi moglo upućivati na stolarstvo. Međutim, riječ je o tesarstvu, dakle struci koja je obradom drva vezana uz graditeljstvo, i to do te mjere da je u srednjem vijeku postala sinonim za graditeljstvo, a ne stolarstvo. Stoga držim da je opravdano udrugu nazivati bratovštinom graditelja kao što to čini C. Fisković.

22 L. Benevenia, 1890, 99.

23 M. Stagličić – S. Štok, 1996, 194.

24 M. Stagličić – S. Štok, 1996, 187-204; M. Stagličić, 1998, 47-51.

25 E. Hilje, 1999, 164-165.

26 *Prošlost Zadra III*, Zadar, 1987, 296. Ikona je sačuvana, ali u vrlo lošem stanju. Nalazi se u Stalnoj izložbi crkvene umjetnosti u Zadru (Vidi: I. Petricioli, 2004, 100).

27 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 178-179.

13 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 178.

14 *Andrija pok. Petra iz Cantùà – I.*, 2001, 738. Inventari, 2006, 321.

15 L. Benevenia, 1890, 99 (Quoted from: M. Stagličić, 1996, 194).

16 *Zadarski statut*, 1997, 507.

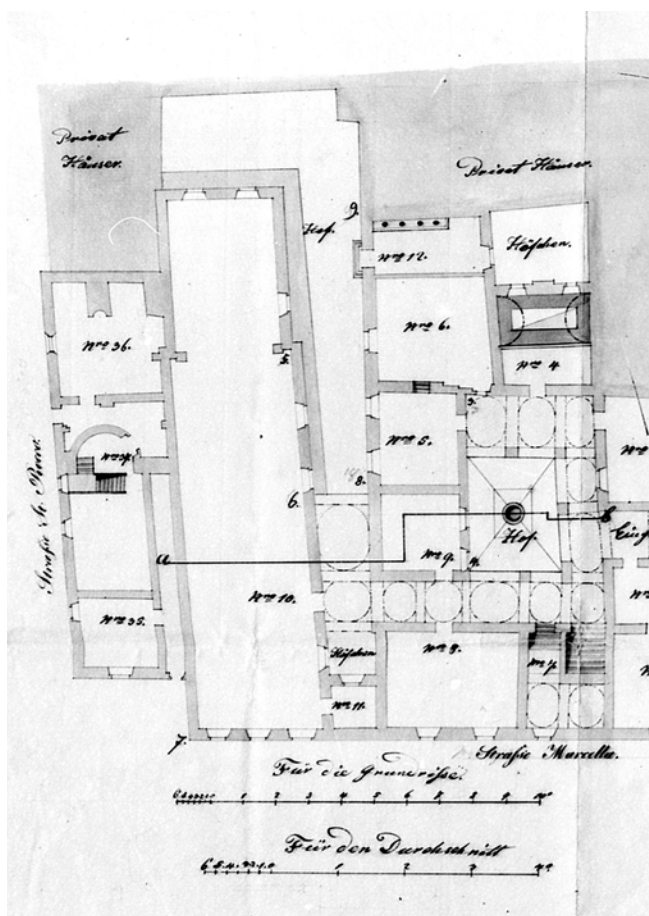
17 *Andrija pok. Petra iz Cantùà – I.*, 2001, 740. *Andrija pok. Petra iz Cantùà – II.*, 2003, 514. Inventari, 2006, 434.

18 *Andrija pok. Petra iz Cantùà – II.*, 2003, 119.

19 V. Brunelli, 1908, 193-195.

20 C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 380-381.

21 C. Fisković, 1959, 11 and 133. In more recent literature, this guild is often called the woodworkers' fraternity. This could connect them with joinery. However, their craft was carpentry – the profession linked to construction, to the extent that in medieval period it became a synonym for construction, not for joinery. This is why I find it justified to call this guild the builders' fraternity, as C. Fisković does.



Slika 2. Tlocrt već desakralizirane crkve sv. Petra Starog te crkve i Samostana sv. Marcele preuređenih u vojarnu 1828. godine, prostorna situacija

Figure 2. Plan view of the already desacralized St. Peter the Old's Church and of St. Marcela's Church and Convent, converted into army barracks in 1828; spatial plan

preuzeto / from: Stagličić, M., Štok, S., Crkva i samostan Sv. Marcele u Zadru, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti, 36 (Petriciolijev zbornik II), Split, 1996, 189

drea, kako je ubilježena na planu Zadra u *Museo Correr* u Veneciji iz 1765. godine.²⁸ Stražnja dvobrodna kapela postala je sakristija prednje crkvice. Potom ni na planu grada iz 1798. godine nije zapisan stari naziv sklopa.²⁹ Titular sv. Petra Starog ostao je tek u arhivskoj građi, relativno brojnim povijesnim zapisima koji spominju crkvu: *ecclesia Sancti Petri Veteris*.

SLIJED ISTRAŽIVANJA I PROUČAVANJA

Stručno proučavanje sakralne arhitekture općenito u Dalmaciji, pa tako i u Zadru, započeo je Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski. U dva je navrata posjetio Zadar, naprije 1854. godine te dvije godine potom. Osobito su ga zanimali hramovi *bizantskoga sloga*. Posebnu pozornost poklonio je rotondi

In 1501, after they had moved from Nin to Zadar, the nuns of the St. Marcela's Convent started building their new temple on the site of the abovementioned houses flanking St. Peter the Old along its south side.²² Their new church in Zadar was dedicated to the cult of St. Mary, just like the basilica in Nin, where they had come from. They built the church in Renaissance style. In 1506, the construction was already in the process.²³ With time, its location became part of its name: *Santa Maria della Piazzola*.²⁴ The said builders' guild moved in, bringing with them the worshipped icon of Blessed Virgin Mary from the old church. It could be the same painting that is mentioned in archive sources from the late 14th century.²⁵ Goldsmith Stjepan Venzon studded this (or, perhaps, some other?) painting with gold. The job was commissioned by the members of the guild in 1597.²⁶ Finally, in the 18th century, the church was named after St. Marcela.²⁷ The convent was closed down in 1807 (Fig. 2).

Around 1615, a new fraternity – the fishermen's and sailors' guild of St. Andrew – moved in the front oratory of the complex of St. Peter the Old. In 1684 they thoroughly rearranged the oratory and named it after their patron saint. The oratory became their chapel: it is designated as *scola San Andrea* on the 1765 town plan of Zadar kept in *Museo Correr* in Venice.²⁸ The rear double-naved chapel became the sacristy of the front oratory. On a 1798 town plan the old name of the complex cannot be found any more.²⁹ The name of St. Peter the Old as the patron saint remained only in archives, in the relatively numerous historical documents mentioning the church: *ecclesia Sancti Petri Veteris*.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF EXCAVATIONS AND STUDIES

The beginnings of expert studies of sacral architecture in Zadar – as well as in Dalmatia in general – are connected with Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski. He visited Zadar two times, first in 1854 and then two years later. He was particularly interested in temples of "Byzantine layering pattern". He paid particular attention to the rotunda of St. Donat's Church and to St. Vitus' Church, St. Domenica's Church and St. Peter the Old's Church. The latter one he called the church of "Our Blessed Lady". The reports containing his expert observations were published in 1855 and 1857.³⁰

Numerous important information about St. Peter the Old's Church was gathered by C. F. Bianchi,³¹ but it was L.

22 L. Benevenia, 1890, 99.

23 M. Stagličić – S. Štok, 1996, 194.

24 M. Stagličić – S. Štok, 1996, 187-204; M. Stagličić, 1998, 47-51.

25 E. Hilje, 1999, 164-165.

26 *Prošlost Zadra III*, Zadar, 1987, 296. The icon has been preserved but it is in a very poor condition. It is part of the Permanent Exhibition of Sacral Art in Zadar. (See: I. Petricioli, 2004, 100).

27 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 178-179.

28 I. Petricioli, 1999, 30 i 52-53.

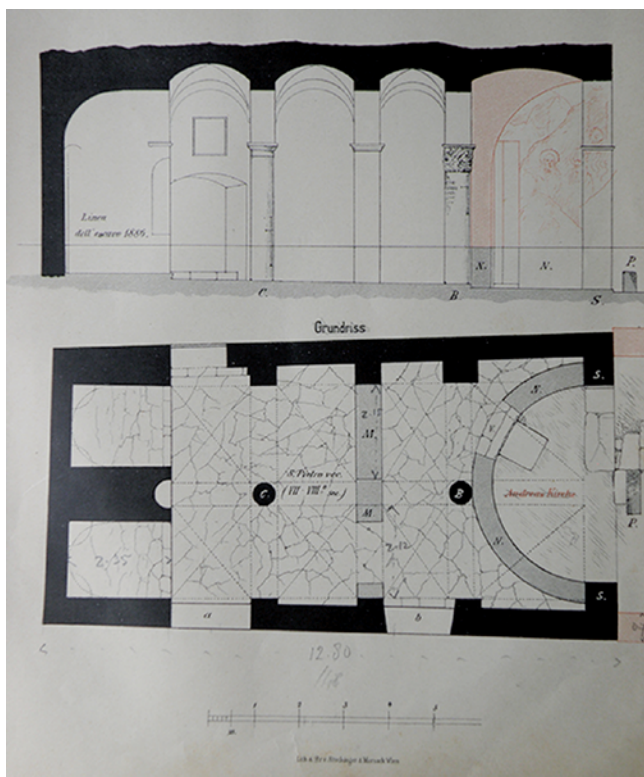
29 M. Stagličić – S. Štok, 1996, 191, footnote 20.

30 I. Kukuljević Sakcinski, 1855; 1857; 1873; 1997.

31 C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 380-382.

28 I. Petricioli, 1999, 30 i 52-53.

29 M. Stagličić – S. Štok, 1996, 191, bilj. 20.



Slika 3. G. Smirich, tlocrt i presjek stražnje kapele u sklopu crkve sv. Petra Starog, crtež iz 1886. godine
Figure 3. G. Smirich, plan view and section of the rear chapel of the St. Peter the Old's Church complex, 1886 drawing

preuzeto / from: Mittheilungen d. k. k. C. Com., 1895

Sv. Donata i crkvama sv. Vida, sv. Nediljice i sv. Petra Starog. Potonju je nazvao crkvom *blažene Gospoje*. Stručne izvještaje sa zapažanjima objavio je 1855. i 1857. godine.³⁰

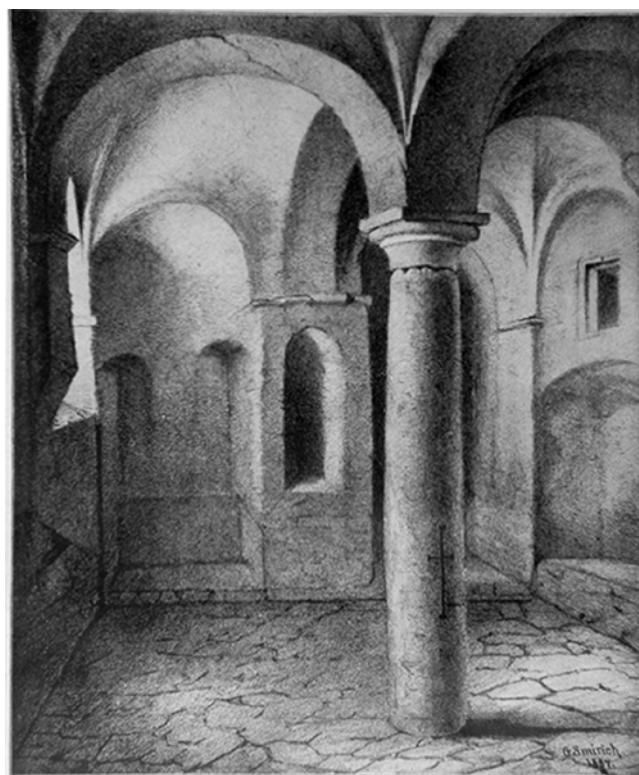
Niz važnih podataka o crkvi sv. Petra Starog sabrao je C. F. Bianchi,³¹ ali ih je sistematizirao tek L. Benevenia.³² Stražnju crkvu datirao je u 9. stoljeće.

Arheološka iskapanja u crkvi sv. Petra Starog proveo je već G. Smirich 1886. godine. Pozornost je posvetio u prvom redu stražnjemu dvobrodnom prostoru. Njega je nazivao crkvom sv. Petra Starog. Uklanjajući zatečeni pod i nasip otkrio je na dubini od 90 cm stariji pločnik građen od nepravilno složenih kamenih ploča. Napravio je precizne arhitektonske crteže, tlocrt i uzdužni presjek kroz sjeverni brod, s pogledom na kolonadu i južni zid. Izradio je i prostorni crtež s pogledom prema apsidama. Proučavajući crkvu stekao je dojam da je ona starija od prednje jednobrodne koju naziva crkvom sv. Andrije. Pretpostavio je da je izgradnjom oble apside na njoj bilo razoreno pročelje na dvobrodnoj. Istražujući zid apside pod jednim i drugim vratima u njemu, koja su vodila u negdašnju sakristiju, pod

30 I. Kukuljević Sakcinski, 1855; 1857; 1873; 1997.

31 C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 380-382.

32 L. Benevenia, 1890, 99-137.



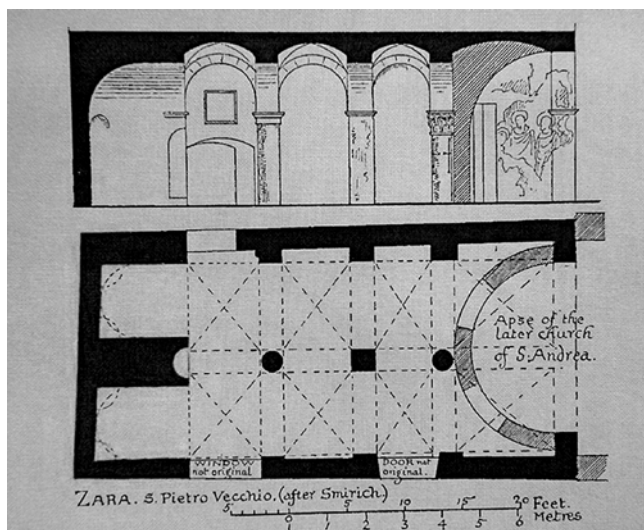
Slika 4. G. Smirich, prostorni crtež nutrine stražnje kapele u sklopu crkve sv. Petra Starog, crtež iz 1887. godine
Figure 4. G. Smirich, spatial drawing of the interior of the rear chapel of the St. Peter the Old's Church complex, 1887 drawing

preuzeto / from: V. Brunelli, Storia della città di Zara, Venezia, 1908

Benevenia who systematized it.³² He dated the rear church to the 9th century.

Archaeological excavations in St. Peter the Old's Church were carried out by G. Smirich as early as in 1886. He was primarily focused on the rear double-apsed space. He called that space St. Peter the Old's Church. Having removed the floor and fill he had found there, at a depth of 90cm he discovered an older pavement made of unevenly arranged stone slabs. He made precise architectural drawings, a plan view and a longitudinal section through the northern nave with a view of the colonnade and southern wall. He also made a spatial drawing with a view of the apses. While studying the church, he got the impression it was older than the front, single-apsed one that he calls St. Andrew's. He presumed that the façade of the double-apsed church had been demolished when the round apse was built on this one. While examining the apse wall under its both doors that used to lead to the former sacristy, he discovered remains of an older passage deeper under the southern door. He indicated it on the plan view. However, while lowering the thresholds down on the level of

32 L. Benevenia, 1890, 99-137.



Slika 5. T. G. Jackson, tlocrt i presjek stražnjega oratorija u sklopu crkve sv. Petra Starog, crtež je napravljen prema onome G. Smiricha iz 1886. godine

Figure 5. T. G. Jackson, plan view and section of the rear oratory of the St. Peter the Old's Church complex, based on the 1886 drawing by G. Smirich

preuzeto / from: T. G. Jackson, Dalmatia, the Quarnaro and Istria, vol. I, Oxford, 1886

onima s južne strane otkrio je ostatke starijega prolaza na većoj dubini. Zabilježio ih je u tlocrtu. Međutim, spuštajući pragove na razinu otkrivenoga pločnika, razorio je ostatke starijih vrata i zida pod njima.³³ Dvobrodnu crkvu datirao je u 7. ili 8. stoljeće. Izvještaj o istraživanjima objavio je tek 1894., potom i 1895. godine³⁴ (Sl. 3 i Sl. 4).

Spoznajama koje G. Smirich još nije dospio objaviti koristio se već 1887. godine T. G. Jackson u svojoj opsežnoj studiji o nasljeđu Istre, Kvarnera i Dalmacije. Tamo je sažeto pisao o zadarskoj dvobrodnoj crkvi koju i on naziva "Sv. Petar Stari". Bila mu je vrlo zanimljiva zbog neobične prostorne strukture. Od G. Smiricha preuzeo je crteže, ali je crkvu datirao, kao i L. Benevenia, u 9. stoljeće. Važno je spomenuti da na oblini apside crta dvojica vrata u simetričnoj radialnoj dispoziciji, ali pod južnima ne bilježi starija koja je otkrio G. Smirich³⁵ (Sl. 5).

Objavljivanje crteža pobudilo je pozornost historičara za dvobrodnu crkvu u Zadru i vrijeme njezina nastanka. Važna zapažanja o stilu građenja i primjeni trompa koje naziva "lombardskima" iznio je U. Monneret de Villard, a s tim i uvjerenje da nije mogla nastati prije 11. stoljeća.³⁶ Međutim, W. Gerber prihvatio je dataciju G. Smiricha, ali je izrazio neobično mišljenje da polukalote u apsidama podržavaju pandativi, a ne trompe.³⁷ Za prednju crkvu pak V. Brunelli je mislio da je nastala tek u 17. stoljeću.³⁸ M. Vasić stražnju je datirao također u 9. stoljeće, svakako prije 918. godine.³⁹ Lj. Karaman svrstao ju je u brojnu skupinu *malih crkvice slobodnih oblika*, široko datirajući cijelu grupu u razdoblje od 9. do 11. stoljeća. Poslužio se Gerberovim tlocrtom i Smirichevim prostornim crtežom, koji mu je dobro došao osobito za izlaganje o fenomenu ugaonih trompa.⁴⁰

the pavement discovered, he destroyed the remnants of an even older door and a wall underneath it.³³ He dated the double-naved church to the 7th or 8th century. He published a report on his excavations only in 1894, and then also in 1895 (Fig. 3 and Fig. 4).³⁴

As early as in 1887, in his comprehensive study of the heritage of Istria, Kvarner and Dalmatia, T. G. Jackson used the insights that G. Smirich still had not published at the time. His study gave a summary on a double-naved church in Zadar that he himself called St. Peter the Old's Church. He found it very interesting because of its unusual spatial structure. He accepted Smirich's drawings but he dated the church to the 9th century, same as L. Benevenia. Importantly, on the apse's curve he drew two doors in a symmetrical radial arrangement, but under the southern door he failed to indicate the older door discovered by G. Smirich (Fig. 5).³⁵

The publishing of the drawing attracted historians' interest in the double-naved church in Zadar and the period of its construction. U. Monneret de Villard made important observations on the style of construction and use of the trompes that he called "Lombardian". He was convinced it could have not been built before the 11th century.³⁶ W. Gerber, however, accepted the date fixed by G. Smirich, but took the unusual view that the semi-calottes in the apses were supported by pendentives, not by trompes.³⁷ As for the front church, V. Brunelli thought it had been built not before the 17th century.³⁸ M. Vasić also dated the rear church to the 9th century, certainly before 918 AD.³⁹ Lj. Karaman classified it into the numerous group of "small free-form churches", dating the whole group into a wide period between the 9th and 11th centuries. He used both Gerber's plan view and Smirich's spatial drawing; the latter one particularly came in handy for his discussion on the phenomenon of corner trompes.⁴⁰

33 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 192.

34 G. Smirich, 1894, 22-23 (= G. Smirich, 1895, 97).

35 T. G. Jackson, 1887, 262-263.

36 U. Monneret de Villard, 1910, 54-59.

37 W. Gerber, 1912, 107-108.

38 V. Brunelli, 1913, 235-240.

39 M. Vasić, 1922, 44-46.

40 Lj. Karaman, 1930, 9-58.

33 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 192.

34 G. Smirich, 1894, 22-23 (= G. Smirich, 1895, 97).

35 T. G. Jackson, 1887, 262-263.

36 U. Monneret de Villard, 1910, 54-59.

37 W. Gerber, 1912, 107-108.

38 V. Brunelli, 1913, 235-240.

39 M. Vasić, 1922, 44-46.

40 Lj. Karaman, 1930, 9-58.

REZULTATI TEMELJITIH ARHEOLOŠKIH ISTRAŽIVANJA

Fundamentalna istraživanja koja su vodili I. Petricioli i S. Vučenović urodila su novim saznanjima presudnim za spoznaju i tumačenje prostornoga i vremenskoga razvoja graditeljskoga sklopa crkve sv. Petra Starog.

1) Prije svega valja navesti saznanja o prvoj kultnoj građevini, o prednjem oratoriju, za koji je I. Petricioli sažeto rekao da je to "(...) jednobrodna građevina s polukružnom apsidom koja se zbog svojih građevinsko-tehničkih osobina može datirati u V ili VI st."⁴¹ Njezine elemente opisao je S. Vučenović.⁴² Riječ je o relativno malenjoj kapeli pačetvorinasta tlocrta u obliku izduženoga pravokutnika, vanjske dužine oko 11 m i širine 5 m. Na tu se osnovu nadovezuje oblina apside istaknute u prostoru na začelnoj strani crkve, s unutrašnjim promjerom od 3 m i dubinom od 2,25 m. Apsida je natkrivena svodom u obliku polukalote. Pod njom je sačuvan gornji dio uske monofore, malenoga, ekscentrično postavljenoga prozora. Visina bočnih zidova bila je preko 5 m. Pročelni i sjeverni zid nisu sačuvani. Na južnome se očuvao donji dio jednoga prozora. Krovna konstrukcija nad prednjim dijelom crkve bila je drvena. U odnosu na razinu poda u tom dijelu pod u apsidi za stubu je viši.

2) Potom valja iznijeti važnu spoznaju o drugoj građevini prigradenoj na začelnoj strani prve. Za nju je I. Petricioli utvrdio da se kao "prigradena zgrada nepravilna trapezasta tlocrta naslanjala na druge susjedne zgrade"⁴³ Približne je veličine 12 x 6,5 m. Jednako je važan i podatak koji za njezin južni zid iznosi S. Vučenović: "Nije isključena mogućnost da je južni zid bio fasada nekog starijeg objekta (kasnoantičkog?) (...)"⁴⁴ To bi značilo da su vrata s okvirima u južnome zidu vjerojatno starija od prigradene prostorije te zazidana s njezinom izgradnjom. Stoga je jedini sačuvani otvor iz vremena građenja nove zgrade zapravo tek donji dio prozora na njezinu istočnom zidu. Trag kosine pokrova ukazuje na jednoslivni krov i drvenu konstrukciju. Važno je i zapažanje koje se odnosi na prag ograde u prostoru te zgrade. Naime, svojom dužinom prag seže sve do bočnoga zida, prislanja se na njega, odnosno "podvlači se pod pilastar sve do južnog zida", kako naglašava S. Vučenović.⁴⁵

3) Konačno, valja navesti dvobrodnu i dvoapsidalnu crkvu naknadno izgrađenu u prostoru opisane zgrade. Dakle, crkvice je nastala s preuređenjem prethodne građevine na način da je u njezin prostor ugrađen sustav novih nosača: uz bočne zidove prislonjen je niz od šest pilastara, tri na jednoj i tri na drugoj strani, a posred prostora dvije kolone i jedan pylon među njima, te drugi kao široki zid

RESULTS OF FUNDAMENTAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

The fundamental archaeological excavations led by I. Petricioli and S. Vučenović resulted in new insights crucial for understanding and interpretation of the spatial and chronological development of St. Peter the Old's Church.

1) First of all, we should mention here what is known about the first structure intended for cult purposes – the front oratory that I. Petricioli concisely described as "... a single-naved structure with a semicircular apse that can be dated to the 5th or 6th century based on its architectural and technical characteristics"⁴¹ Its elements were described by S. Vučenović.⁴² It is a relatively small, elongated chapel with a rectangular layout, its outer length being approx. 11 meters and its outer width being 5 meters. Jutting out from this base is the curved apse on the churches rear side, with its inside diameter of 3 meters and depth of 2.25 meters. The apse is arched with a semi-calotte. The upper part of a narrow monophore – a small, eccentrically positioned window – has been preserved underneath. The side walls were more than 5 meters high. The front and northern walls have not been preserved. The lower part of one window has been preserved on the southern wall. The front part of the church once had a wooden roof structure. The floor level in the apse is one step higher than the floor level in this part.

2) We should also mention here the important fact we have learned about the other structure, added to the rear end of the first one. According to I. Petricioli, it was an "added structure of an asymmetrical trapezoidal layout that leant on other, adjacent structures"⁴³ Its approximate dimensions are 12x6.50m. Equally important is the fact about its southern wall, mentioned by S. Vučenović: "We cannot rule out the possibility that the southern wall was the façade of some older structure (from Late Antiquity?)..."⁴⁴ This would mean that the framed door in the southern wall is probably older than the added room and was walled in when it was built. As a result, the only preserved opening from the time when the new building was built is the lower part of the window on its eastern wall. The trace of the roof bevel indicates a one-gutter roof and wooden structure. Important observations were also made about the railing threshold found in the building. Along its length, the threshold leans on the side wall and, "slipping under the pilaster, reaches the south wall", as S. Vučenović underlines.⁴⁵

3) Finally, the double-naved and double-apsed church subsequently built in the above described building should be mentioned here. The church is the result of the remodeling of the preceding structure. A system of new carriers

41 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 184.

42 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 185-186.

43 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 184.

44 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 186.

45 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 188.

41 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 184.

42 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 185-186.

43 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 184.

44 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 186.

45 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 188.

među apsidama učahurenim u prostoru do začelja. Nad tim sustavom nosača izgrađeni su svodovi: dvije polukalote oslonjene na ugaone trompe u apsidama, a nad travajima među ostalim nosačima niz od ukupno osam križnih svodova. Dva prednja do obline apside na začelju staroga oratorija nemaju punu formu ni dimenziju. Važno je naglasiti činjenicu da su sve te nove konstrukcije ugrađene u prostor stare prigradnje te da je s tako oblikovanim oratorijem zapravo riječ o njegovu preuređenju. To je stalno naglašavao I. Petricioli,⁴⁶ a jednako tako i S. Vučenović, koji u već u citiranom izvještaju piše: "Dvobrodna crkva sv. Petra Starog nastala (je) adaptacijom u ranom srednjem veku jednog starijeg objekta (...)"⁴⁷

4) Autori su vrlo temeljito obradili arheologiju zidova, razlučili njihovu slojevitost, objasnili proces rasta struktura u vremenu i prostoru pri čemu su podjednako važna njihova objašnjenja za starija razdoblja, za kasnu antiku i rani srednji vijek, kao i za mlađa razdoblja, za renesansni i barokni sloj kompleksa. U vremenu renesanse stražnja je crkva stekla novi sjeverni zid, a prednja niz kamenih konzola za klupe pod bočnim zidovima. Jedna konzola i utori za još tri stoje i danas sačuvani na južnome zidu. Tamo svjedoče o razini poda, tek za 10 cm višem od onoga ranokršćanskog.⁴⁸ U vremenu baroka prednja je crkva povišena, a usto je stekla i posve novi sjeverni zid i pročelje sa zvonikom u obliku preslice za dva zvona. Pročelje je izgrađeno na novoj crti. Crkva je tako produžena za dva metra. Razina poda u obje građevine podignuta je za 80 cm, a "na apsidi su tada probivena dvojna visoka vrata kojima su povezani prostori obeju crkava".⁴⁹ Tim je stražnja postala tek sakristijom prednje.⁵⁰

RAZMATRANJE PROBLEMA

Ad. 1)

Spoznaja o starijim građevinama s južne strane ranokršćanskoga oratorija i poslijeanitičke prigradnje na njegovoj začelnoj strani ukazuje na mogućnost da je oratorij, a s njim i kasnija prigradnja, izgrađen u prostoru nekadašnje ulice do pretpostavljenoga emporija.⁵¹ Vjerujem da zaista jest i da tome u prilog govori okvir zazidanih dvojnih vrata u zidu koja su pripadala starijim građevinama uz spomenutu ulicu. Njima je taj zid bio pročelje na nekadašnjoj ulici, pravcu koji ocrta trasu dekulmana u tom dijelu *ladera* (Sl. 6).

Ad. 2)

Spoznaja o prigradnji na začelnoj strani prednjega oratorija upućuje na pretpostavku o stražnjem oratoriju. Naime,

was installed in it: a series of six pilasters were leant against longitudinal walls (three on either side), two columns along the center of the room (with a pylon between them and another one as a wide wall between the apses incorporated in the room and extending to the rear wall). Vaults were built above this system of carriers: two semi-calottes leaning against the corner trompes in the apses and a series of eight cross vaults above the bays between the remaining carriers. The two front ones, next to the apse's curve at the rear end of the old oratory, lack full form and dimensions. It is important to underline the fact that all these new structural elements were built within the old addition; therefore, with the oratory shaped up in such way, we can say it was actually remodeled. This is what I. Petricioli kept pointing out.⁴⁶ So did S. Vučenović, who, in his above quoted report, says: "The double-naved St. Peter the Old's Church [was] created as a result of adaptation of an older structure in Medieval Period..."⁴⁷

4) The authors studied the archaeology of the walls very thoroughly, analyzing their layering and explaining the chronological and spatial process of growth of the structures. Equally important are also their explanations given for both the older (Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages) and newer (Renaissance and Baroque) periods of the layers of the complex). In Renaissance, the rear church acquired a new northern wall and the front one a series of stone cantilevers for the pews under its side walls. One cantilever and grooves for three other ones can still be seen on the southern wall, indicating that the floor level is merely 10cm higher than in the early Christian period.⁴⁸ In Baroque period, the front church was elevated, acquiring at the same time a new northern wall and a façade with a distaff-shaped bell tower for two bells. The façade was built along a new line, thus extending the church for two meters. The floor level in both structures was elevated for 80cm "and two high new doors were made in the apse, connecting the churches."⁴⁹ The rear church thus acquired a new role – it became the sacristy of the front one.⁵⁰

PROBLEM ANALYSIS

Ad. 1)

Everything we know about the older structures south of the early Christian oratory and the post-Antiquity addition on its rear side suggest that the oratory – and the subsequent addition with it – was built in what had earlier been a street leading to the assumed emporium.⁵¹ I agree with

46 N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 134.

47 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 189.

48 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 191.

49 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 192, T.1, T.2 i T.7.

50 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 1970, 184.

51 P. Vežić, 2005, 63-64.

46 N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 134.

47 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 189.

48 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 191.

49 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 192, Pl.1, Pl.2 and Pl.7.

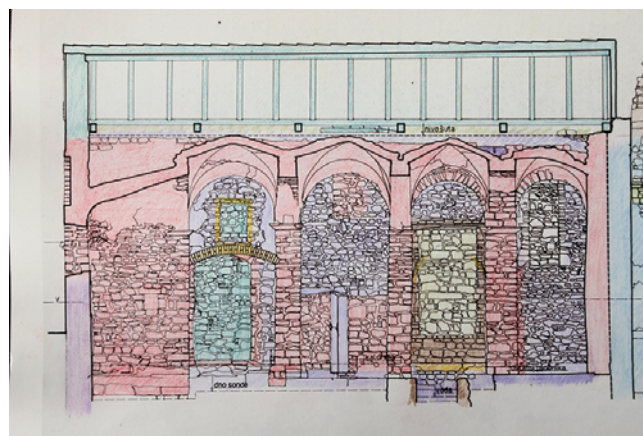
50 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 1970, 184.

51 P. Vežić, 2005, 63-64.

Slika 6. S. Vučenović, uzdužni presjek stražnje kapele u sklopu crkve sv. Petra Starog s pogledom na južni zid (iz arhitektonske dokumentacije s istraživanja od 1961. do 1963. godine, planoteka Konzervatorskoga ureda u Zadru)

Figure 6. S. Vučenović, longitudinal section of the rear chapel of the St. Peter the Old's Church complex, view of the southern wall (from the architectural documentation of the 1961 – 1963 excavations, Maps Archive of the Conservation Department in Zadar)

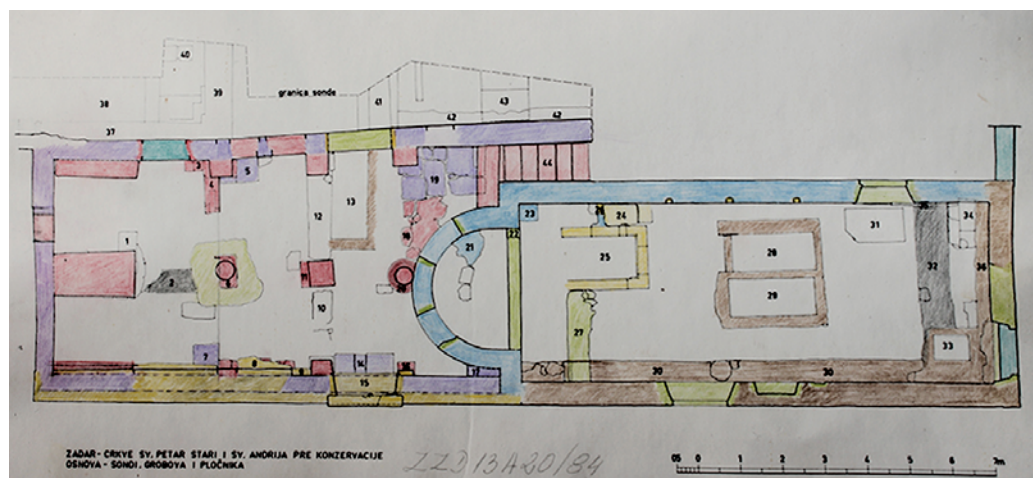
sačuvani dio spomenutoga praga u njegovu prostoru paralelan je sa začelnim zidom. Ima utore za ogradne ploče, što ukazuje na mogućnost da je riječ o elementu koji pripada parapetu s plutejima. U prilog tome govori i "drugi znak", kako ga je nazvao S. Vučenović. Taj je "na bazi stuba koja je zasečena tako da se uz nju mogao postaviti kameni blok".⁵² Čini se da je obrnuto, da je polovina baze o kojoj piše autor odsječena i prislonjena uz postojeći prag u trenutku kada je s preuređenjem prostora iznad praga trebalo osoviti stup. Stup je "sjeo" na tako priklesanu bazu prislonjenu uz stariji prag. Istovremeno je i susjedni pilastar, prigraden uz južni zid, također "sjeo" na isti prag. To upućuje na spomenutu mogućnost da je nova zgrada u svojoj nutrini imala svetišni prostor na istočnoj strani do začelja. Na to je ukazao već M. Jurković.⁵³ Svetište je ogradom bilo odvojeno od naosa. Ukoliko su na taj način prihvatljivo objašnjeni prostor i elementi u njemu, istom logikom moguće je pretpostaviti da je prigradena zgrada bila zapravo stražnji oratorij, ujedno i vanjska kriptna, o kojoj za kasniju fazu sklopa govori također M. Jurković.⁵⁴ Kamena plastika, odnosno ulomci liturgijskoga namještaja, datirani u 9. stoljeće, možda mogu poslužiti kao predodžba o vremenu nastanka tako protumačenoga stražnjeg oratorija.⁵⁵ Tom namještaju valja pridodati i pilastar ograde svetišta otkriven



this; the frame of the walled-in double door in the wall that used to belong to the older structures along the said street supports the claim. The wall was their façade on the former street – the line delineating the route of the decumanus in this part of *lader* (Fig. 6).

Ad. 2)

What is known about the addition on the rear side of the front oratory supports the assumption that it was used as the rear oratory. The preserved portion of the abovementioned threshold inside it is parallel with the rear wall. It has grooves for screen panels, indicating it could have been an element belonging to a parapet with plutei. The "second evidence", as S. Vučenović calls it, supports this theory. It is found in "the base of the stairs, cut in such way that a stone block could have been placed next to it".⁵² It seems it was the other way around – that the half of the base mentioned by the author was cut off and leant against the existing threshold at the moment when a pillar was to be erected as part of the remodeling. The pillar "sat" on the



Slika 7. S. Vučenović, tlocrt sklopa crkve sv. Petra Starog (iz arhitektonske dokumentacije s istraživanja od 1961. do 1963., planoteka Konzervatorskoga ureda u Zadru)

Figure 7. S. Vučenović, plan view of the St. Peter the Old's Church complex (from the architectural documentation of the 1961 – 1963 excavations, Maps Archive of the Conservation Department in Zadar)

52 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 188.

53 M. Jurković, 1997, 83.

54 M. Jurković, 1997, 77-90.

55 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 194-195; Katalog, 2000, 166., (V. Delonga, kat. jed. br. III. 52).

52 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 188.



Slika 8. Baza prvoga stupa do svetišta u stražnjoj kapeli sklopa crkve sv. Petra Starog, pogled iz svetišta

Figure 8. Base of the pillar closest to the sanctuary in the rear chapel of the St. Peter the Old's Church complex, view from the sanctuary

foto / photo: P. Vežić

1955. godine i pohranjen u Arheološkome muzeju.⁵⁶ Međutim, važno je naglasiti da prednji i stražnji prostor nisu imali izravnu vezu kroz zajednički zid. Na zidu apside nisu uočeni tragovi koje bi bilo moguće tome pripisati. Vrata su mogla biti eventualno na sjevernome zidu, tamo gdje će se i kasnije nalaziti bočni ulaz u dvobrodni prostor. Taj ulaz funkcionirao je i u 19. stoljeću, kad je oratorij već postao konoba.⁵⁷ Međutim, čini se opravdanim pomišljati da je u pretpostavljeni stražnji oratorij vodio prilaz po boku s južne strane prednjega oratorija. Tamo se uz njegov začelni ugao nalaze stube koje se spuštaju prema stražnjem prostoru. Autori su ih provedenom analizom spoznali i označili kao ranosrednjovjekovne.⁵⁸ No, na dnu stubišta nije prolaz, već je puni zid, i to bez traga vrata u njemu. Krak stuba ne vodi nikamo! Ipak, zacijelo je vodio, valja pretpostaviti, u stražnji oratorij prije njegova preuređenja. Dakle, čini se da stube pripadaju zapravo prvoj fazi stražnjega oratorija, vremenu u kojem je tu bio izvorni ulaz, prije negoli je prostor bio preuređen u dvobrodnu crkvicu (Sl. 7 - 10).

Ad. 3)

Dvobrodna i dvoapsidalna struktura stražnjega oratorija nastala je zacijelo adaptacijom njegove prvotne jednostavne forme. Unatoč preciznom tumačenju prve i druge faze istraživači se nisu izravno odredili u odnosu na vrijeme njihova nastanka. Opravdano su veću pozornost poklonili arhitektonskoj kompoziciji te značajne adaptacije. Ona je izvornošću rješenja zaista najveća vrijednost umjetnosti oblikovanja prostora u tom sklopu. Naravno, samo rješenje u njemu nametnula je prethodna zadanost građevine, a ne određeno tipološko rješenje njezine strukture. Dvobrodni oratorij u Zadru jedina je takva zgrada u sakralnom nasljeđu ranoga srednjeg vijeka u nas. Stoga na osnovi samo nje nije moguće govoriti o dvobrodnome tipu. Ipak, u Zadru postoji još jedna adaptacija s kojom je prethodni pačetvorinasti prostor preuređen u dvobrodni. Riječ je o taberni na

chiseled base leant against the older threshold. The adjacent pilaster, added next to the southern wall, also "sat" on the same threshold. All this supports the said possibility that the new building had a sanctuary area inside it, extending to its rear end along the eastern side. M. Jurković was the first one to draw attention to it.⁵³ The sanctuary was separated from the naos with a screen. If this explanation of the space and the elements in it is acceptable, the same logic suggests that the added structure served as the rear oratory, but also the outside crypt, also mentioned by M. Jurković in the context of the later phase of the complex.⁵⁴ The stone sculptures (fragments of liturgical furnishings), dated to the 9th century, could perhaps give us a clue for dating of the construction of the thus interpreted rear oratory.⁵⁵ These furnishings also include the pilaster of the sanctuary screen discovered in 1955 and kept in the Archaeological Museum.⁵⁶ However, it is important to note that there was no connection through a shared wall between the front and rear space. No traces that would indicate that have been found on the apse wall. The door could have possibly been in the northern wall, where the side entrance to the double-naved space would be built in a later period. The entrance was still functional in the 19th century, when the oratory had already been turned into a wine cellar.⁵⁷ However, it seems reasonable to assume that an access to the presumed rear oratory led along the southern side of the front oratory. There, next to its rear corner, stairs leading down to the rear space are found. The authors identified them during the analysis and dated them to Early Middle Ages.⁵⁸ However, at the bottom of the stairs, instead of a passage, only a wall without door or any other opening can be found. The staircase leads nowhere! It must have led somewhere, though, probably to the rear oratory before its remodeling. Consequently, it seems that the stairs actually belong to the first phase of the rear oratory, when the original entrance was there and before the space was converted into a double-naved church (Fig. 7 - 10).

56 P. Vežić, 2015, 29.

57 M. Stagličić – S. Štok, 1996, vidi crtež na str. 189.

58 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, br. 44 na T. I.

53 M. Jurković, 1997, 83.

54 M. Jurković, 1997, 77-90.

55 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 194-195; Katalog, 2000, 166., (V. Delonga, cat. entry no. III. 52).

56 P. Vežić, 2015, 29.

57 M. Stagličić – S. Štok, 1996, see drawing on p. 189.

58 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, no. 44 on Pl. I.



Slika 9. Prag ograde svetišta u stražnjoj kapeli sklopa crkve sv. Petra Starog, pogled iz naosa, prag se podvlači pod pilastar prigraden uz južni zid oratorija

Figure 9. Threshold of the sanctuary screen in the rear chapel of the St. Peter the Old's Church complex, view from the naos; the threshold slips under the pilaster added to the oratory's southern wall

foto / photo: P. Vežić

bivšem rimskom forumu. Ona je najprije pretvorena u jednobrodnu sakristiju do ranokršćanske katedrale, a potom u dvobrodnu cisternu episkopalnoga kompleksa u ranome srednjem vijeku.⁵⁹ Radi se o sustavu konstrukcija koji tvore dugi polukružni svodovi položeni na ravne grede koje nose potpornji.⁶⁰ Po tome je cisterna srodna trobrodnoj kripti u Auxerreu, važnom sakralnom prostoru datiranom u drugu četvrtinu 9. stoljeća.⁶¹ Dakle, obilježavaju ih brodovi bez traveja, bez njihove podjele prostora. Takve podjele nema ni pod polukružnim svodovima u crkvi sv. Donata, koji su također iz 9. stoljeća⁶² (Sl. 11 – a i b).

59 P. Vežić, 1995, 153.

60 P. Vežić, 1980, 525-527.

61 J. Hubert – J. Porcher – W. F. Volbach, 1968, 62-63, sl. 50.

62 P. Vežić, 2002, 82-83.



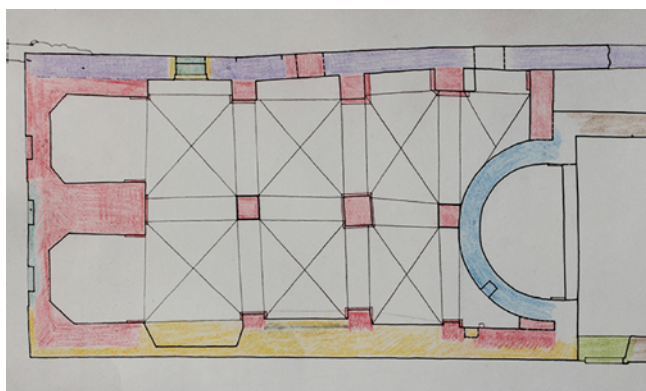
Slika 10. Pilastar ograde svetišta otkriven 1955. godine s radovima na crkvi sv. Marcela uz crkvu sv. Petra Starog

Figure 10. Pilaster of the sanctuary screen, discovered in 1955 during the excavations in St. Marcela's Church near St. Peter the Old's Church

foto / photo: P. Vežić

Ad. 3)

The double-naved and double-apsed structure of the rear oratory must have been created when its original simple form was adapted. Despite the precise interpretation of the first and second phases, the researchers have not dated them positively. Justifiably, they paid more attention to the architectural composition of this important adaptation. By the originality of the solution, it indeed is of the greatest value for the art of space design in this complex. Naturally, the solution as such was imposed by the previously set parameters of the building, not by a specific typological solution of its structure. The double-naved oratory in Zadar is the only such building in the sacral heritage of Early Middle Ages in Croatia. This is why it is not possible to talk about the "double-naved type" only on the basis of this single example. And yet, there is another case in Zadar where an earlier rectangular space was adapted into a double-naved



Slika 11 a–b. S. Vučenović, tlocrt na razini svodova te vrata i prozora stražnje kapele u sklopu Sv. Petra Starog (iz arhitektonске dokumentacije s istraživanja od 1961. do 1963. godine, planoteka Konzervatorskoga ureda u Zadru)

U našem oratoriju pak sustav je konstrukcija drukčiji. Tamo potpornji nose polukružne lukove, lukovi omeđuju kvadratne traveje, a traveji su natkriveni križnim svodovima, svodovi imaju tzv. kupolastu formu, ukupno ih je osam, dva niza po četiri svoda. (Dva svoda do apside ranokršćanskoga oratorija nisu cjelovita). Križni svodovi u zadarskome graditeljskom nasljeđu svojstveni su ranoromaničkim građevinama: crkvi sv. Lovre i bazilici sv. Ivana, (poznatijoj pod imenom sv. Nediljice).⁶³ Međutim, riječ je o križnim svodovima spomenute kupolaste forme. U njima je svod najvišom točkom u sjecištu dijagonala viši od tjemena lukova pod njim. Srodan im je zapravo samo jedan u crkvi sv. Lovre, onaj nad prostorijom na katu prigradenoga nartekse.⁶⁴ No, slični su bili i svodovi u spomenutoj bazilici sv. Ivana, kao i oni iz druge faze bazilike sv. Martina u Trogiru (poznate i pod imenom sv. Barbare).⁶⁵ Sve to datira svodove pa time i opće stilsko rješenje arhitekture dvobrodnoga oratorija u Zadru u razdoblje rane romanike 11. stoljeća. Prema takvim spoznajama vodila su i prva rasuđivanja M. Jurkovića,⁶⁶ ali je autor kasnije izrazio uvjerenje da je riječ o arhitekturi karolinškoga razdoblja. Povezao je svodove kao konstrukcije s onima u crkvi sv. Donata: "Takvo naglašeno i jasno vidljivo korištenje spolija, uz način zidanja, artikulaciju svodovnih pojasnica u Zadru prepoznajemo samo na crkvi sv. Donata."⁶⁷; ili na drugom mjestu: „Oblikovanje svodova i pojasnica gotovo je identično onome u Sv. Donatu, a i ovdje se uočava upotreba antičkih spolija (...)”⁶⁸

63 I. Petricioli, 1988, 64; P. Vežić, 1999, 11.

64 Naglašavam da je nartek prigraden uz crkvu 11. stoljeća. O tome svjedoče žbuka i oslik otkriven istraživanjem na pročelju crkve uz koju je naknadno prislonjen nartek (Vidi: P. Vežić, 1996, 341; 1998, 61-63). Međutim, u novije vrijeme iznesena je pretpostavka da je crkva prigradena uz nartek, koji autori nazivaju westwerkom. (Vidi: A. Milošević, 2009, 163-165).

65 R. Bužančić, 1995, 242.

66 M. Jurković, 1997, 87.

67 Katalog, 2000, 165, (M. Jurković, kat. jed. br. III. 51).

68 M. Jurković, 2000, 181.

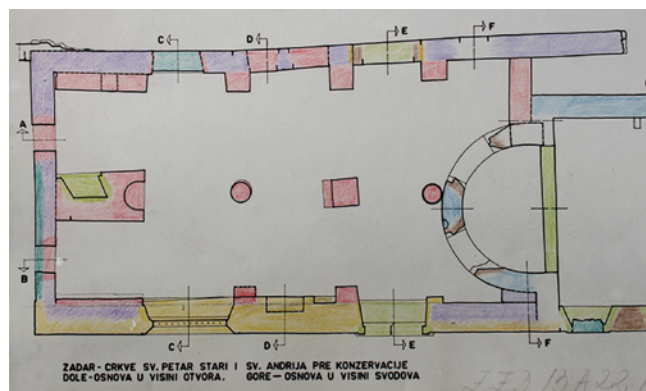


Figure 11a-b. S. Vučenović, plan view of the vaults, doors and windows of the rear chapel of the St. Peter the Old's Church complex (from the architectural documentation of the 1961 – 1963 excavations, Maps Archive of the Conservation Department in Zadar)

space. It is the *taberna* in the former Roman forum. It was first converted into a single-naved sacristy next to the early Christian cathedral, and then, in the Early Middle Ages, into a double-naved cistern of the Episcopal complex.⁵⁹ It is a system of structural elements made up of long, semicircular vaults lying on horizontal beams supported by props.⁶⁰ This makes the cistern related to the triple-naved crypt in Auxerre, an important sacral structure dated to the second quarter of the 9th century.⁶¹ Thus, they are characterized by naves without bays, without subdivision of their respective spaces. Such subdivision also cannot be found in the semicircular vaults of St. Donat's Church, which are also dated to the 9th century (Fig. 11a and b).⁶²

As for our oratory, the system of structural elements is different. The props there support semicircular arches, the arches delineate square bays, and the bays are covered with cross vaults. The vaults, in turn, have a dome-like shape: there are eight of them, arrayed in two lines with four vaults each (the two vaults next to the apse of the early Christian oratory are incomplete). The cross vaults in Zadar's architectural heritage are typical of early Romanesque structures: St. Lawrence's Church and St. John's Basilica (better known as St. Domenica's).⁶³ However, these are cross vaults of the above mentioned dome-like shape. Their highest points, located in the intersections of their diagonals, are higher than the arch tops underneath them. Similar to them is only a vault in St. Lawrence's Church, the one above the gallery of the added narthex.⁶⁴ However,

59 P. Vežić, 1995, 153.

60 P. Vežić, 1980, 525-527.

61 J. Hubert – J. Porcher – W. F. Volbach, 1968, 62-63, fig. 50.

62 P. Vežić, 2002, 82-83.

63 I. Petricioli, 1988, 64; P. Vežić, 1999, 11.

64 I want to point out here that the narthex was added to the 11th century church. Evidence to it can be found in the plaster and wall paintings discovered on the church's façade to which the narthex was subsequently leaned against (see: P. Vežić, 1996, 341; 1998, 61-63). However, it has been

Međutim, sekundarno ugrađene rimske lapide zatječemo u Zadru i na zidu ranoromaničkih građevina, npr. upravo u crkvi sv. Lovre ili u bazilici sv. Nediljice, te na romaničkim bazilikama i zvonnicima. S druge strane, u rotondi Sv. Donata zaista nema križnih svodova s pojasnicama, dok takve konstrukcije, vidjeli smo, obilježavaju arhitekturu Sv. Lovre i Sv. Ivana u Zadru ili pak Sv. Martina u Trogiru. Usto, valja spomenuti i prostor bivše sakristije ispred cele trihore u sklopu Eufrazijeve bazilike u Poreču. Primjer je zanimljiv jer se radi upravo o dvobrodnoj dvorani nastaloj preuređenjem starijega prostora. Posred dvorane izgrađena su dva pilona koja nose tri para svodova, ukupno šest traveja. Omeđeni su pojasnicama i presvođeni križnim svodovima kupolaste forme.⁶⁹ Po tome su srodni sa spomenutim primjerima u Dalmaciji (Sl. 12).

Međutim, razmišljajući s jedne strane o dvobrodnom prostornom rješenju kao atipičnom sakralnom ambijentu, s druge strane o dvoapsidalnom sklopu svetišta treba govoriti kao uobičajenom rješenju specifičnoga liturgijskog programa. Ono je u nas svojstveno relativno brojnoj skupini jednobrodnih crkava s dvije apside, upisane ili istaknute, pravokutne ili polukružne. Uz posebno obrađeni primjer crkve sv. Marije Male kraj Bala, cijelu je grupu sličnih građevina u Istri i na Kvarneru naveo I. Matejčić. Niša na čeonjoj plohi pilona među apsidama dodatni je zajednički element svetišta u Zadru te onoga kraj Bala i onoga kraj Osora, ili onoga u Jasenoviku, a sličnu je nišu, čini se, imala i crkva sv. Petra u Mesoccu u Švicarskoj, u kantonu Ticino.⁷⁰

U izvještaju o rezultatima istraživanja crkve sv. Petra Starog u Zadru I. Petricioli za stražnji je oratorij zapisao da je to prostorni dodatak "karakterističan za ranosrednjovjekovnu arhitekturu, kada su improvizacije i adaptacije bile uobičajena pojava".⁷¹ S. Vučenović pak piše da je prigradnja "bila sastavni deo razvijenog građevinskog kompleksa, a ne samostalan objekt".⁷² Međutim, takvim stavovima protuslovi činjenica da ni dvobrodni oratorij u vremenu kada je preuređenjem nastao nije imao vrata koja bi izravno povezivala oba prostora. Naime, na zidu oble apside nisu registrirani tragovi koje bi bilo moguće pripisati nekom otvoru iz ranoga srednjeg vijeka. Stražnji oratorij u drugoj je fazi možda ipak stekao prolaz, ili samo nišu, na južnome zidu. Tu se uz svetište nalazi segmentni luk građen od sedre. Njezini blokovi s vanjske strane izlaze iz plohe zida te se čini da je riječ zapravo o razorenome omanjem svodu. G. Smirich na tome mjestu u crkvi crta duboku nišu i nad njom kameni okvir prozora, ili možda malene konfesije (Sl. 13 i Sl. 14).



Slika 12. Križni svodovi u travejima svetišta i pred njim u stražnjem oratoriju sklopa Sv. Petra Starog

Figure 12. Cross vaults in the sanctuary bay and in front of it in the rear oratory of the St. Peter the Old's Church complex

foto / photo: P. Vežić

similar were also the vaults in the above mentioned St. John's Basilica, as well as the ones in the second phase of St. Martin's Basilica in Trogir (known also as St. Barbara's).⁶⁵ All this helps us date the vaults – and even the general architectural style of the double-naved oratory in Zadar – to the early Romanesque period of the 11th century. The original conclusions of M. Jurković also led in this direction.⁶⁶ However, the author later expressed an opinion that the architecture was typical of the Carolingian period. He linked the vaults as structural elements with those in St. Donat's Church. "Such emphasized and clearly visible use of spolia, together with the type of masonry and articulation of transverse ribs can only be seen in one more place in Zadar – in St. Donat's Church".⁶⁷ Or, as the author says elsewhere: "The shape of the vaults and transverse ribs is almost identical as in St. Donat and the use of ancient spolia can also be seen here..."⁶⁸ However, in Zadar, the subsequently inbuilt stone fragments (*lapides*) can also be found on the walls of early Romanesque structures (such as St. Lawrence's Church and St. Domenica's Basilica) and on Romanesque basilicas and bell towers. On the other hand, while in St. Donat's rotunda there are no cross vaults with transverse ribs, we have seen that such structural elements are a distinguishing feature of the architecture of St. Lawrence's Church and St. John's Basilica in Zadar and St. Martin's Basilica in Trogir. We should also mention here the former sacristy in front of the *cella trichora* in Euphrasian Basilica in Poreč. It is an interesting example because

69 Tlocrt cele trihore i njezina pretprostora vidi u knjizi M. Preloga iz 1986. godine, str. 13, te u članku M. Jurkovića iz 1997. godine, str. 85. Međutim, istraživanja provedena s nedavnim konzervatorskim radovima u tom prostoru urodila su i novim spoznajama, koje će objaviti voditelj radova Ivan Matejčić.

70 I. Matejčić, 1997, 3-9, bilj. 8.

71 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 184.

72 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 189.

assumed recently that the church was added to the narthex (the latter being called westwerk by the authors). (See: A. Milošević, 2009, 163-165).

65 R. Bužančić, 1995, 242.

66 M. Jurković, 1997, 87.

67 Katalog, 2000, 165, (M. Jurković, cat. entry no. III. 51).

68 M. Jurković, 2000, 181.



Slika 13. G. Smirich, niša do svetišta stražnje kapele u sklopu crkve sv. Petra Starog (detalj na crtežu iz 1887. godine)

Figure 13. G. Smirich, niche next to the sanctuary of the rear chapel of the St. Peter the Old's Church complex (an 1887 drawing, detail)

Oratorij je vjerojatno naslijedio i prolaz na sjevernome zidu. Taj je s ulice vodio u naos i trajao tijekom srednjega vijeka sve do vremena baroka. Prag vrata na tom mjestu i danas stoji *in situ* na originalnom dijelu sjevernoga zida, na dubini od 30 cm ispod pločnika današnje ulice, odnosno 68 cm iznad poda u crkvi.⁷³ Razliku u visini savladavale su očito stepenice kojih više nema. Na njihovom dnu, a u tjemenu dijelu oble apsida bila je škropionica visinom primjereno postavljena u odnosu na razinu poda. S vremenom je odlomljena, ali njezin korijen, dio koji je bio ugrađen u zid, sačuvan je tamo *in situ* i danas. Prag zajedno sa škropionicom svjedoči da su vrata prema stražnjem oratoriju bila na sjevernome zidu te da se u njegovu nutrinu ulazilo s ulice, a ne kroz apsidu prednjega oratorija. Sudeći po tome, jedan i drugi, onaj prvotni

73 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 190.



Slika 14. Blokovi sedre na presječenome svodu niše s južne strane do svetišta stražnje kapele u sklopu crkve sv. Petra Starog

Figure 14. Blocks of tufa on the remaining portion of the vault of the niche south of the sanctuary of the rear chapel of the St. Peter the Old's Church complex

foto / photo: P. Vežić

it is a double-naved hall created by remodeling of an older space. In the center of the hall there are two pylons, supporting three pairs of vaults – a total of six bays. They are bounded by transverse ribs and covered with dome-like cross vaults.⁶⁹ This makes them related to the above mentioned examples in Dalmatia (Fig. 12).

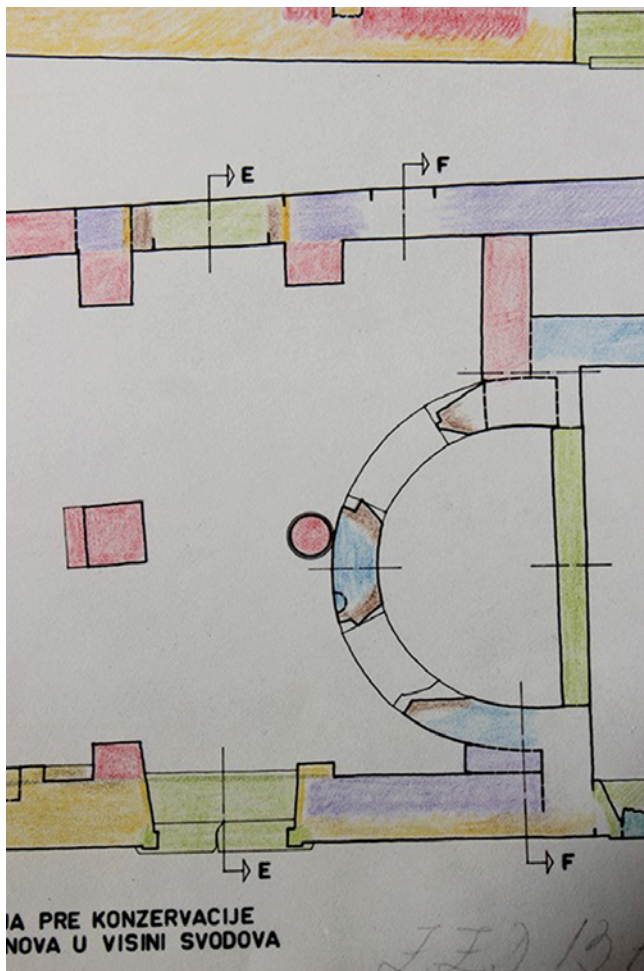
However, while the double-naved spatial solution is considered an atypical sacral setting, the double-apsed complex of the sanctuary should be seen as a usual solution for a specific liturgical program. In Croatia, it is typical for the relatively numerous group of single-naved churches with two apses, incorporated or protruding, rectangular or semicircular. I. Matejčić mentions a whole group of similar structures in Istria and Kvarner, paying particular attention to the Church of St. Mary the Small near Bale. A niche on the frontal surface of the pylon between apses is an additional element shared by the sanctuaries in Zadar, near Bale, near Osor and near Jasenik. It seems that the St. Peter's Church in Mesocco in Swiss canton of Ticino once had a similar niche.⁷⁰

In his reports on the results of the excavations in the St. Peter the Old's Church in Zadar, I. Petricioli wrote that the rear oratory was a spatial addition "typical of early medieval architecture, when improvisations and adaptations were very common".⁷¹ On the other hand, S. Vučenović

69 The plan view of the entire cella trichora and plan and its anteroom can be found in M. Prelog's 1986 book, p. 13, and in M. Jurković's 1997 article, p. 85. However, the excavations carried out together with the recent conservation works there have resulted with some new insights which are to be published by their supervisor Ivan Matejčić.

70 I. Matejčić, 1997, 3-9, footnote 8.

71 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 184.



Slika 15. S. Vučenović, dio tlocrta sa zabilježenim vratima u sjevernome zidu stražnje kapele s nišom škropionice u tjemenu zida apsida prednje kapele (planoteka Konzervatorskoga ureda u Zadru)

Figure 15. S. Vučenović, part of the plan view with designated door in the northern wall of the rear chapel, with the holy-water font niche in the top part of the apse wall in the front chapel (Maps Archive of the Conservation Department in Zadar)

ranokršćanski i potonji ranosrednjovjekovni u prvoj i drugoj fazi, bili su samostalne građevine, a ne *augmentum* jedan drugome⁷⁴ (Sl. 15 – 17).

To je naslutio već V. Goss, kojega je sklop oratorija podsjetio na *basilicae geminae*,⁷⁵ odnosno na porodicu crkava, *Familienkirche*, kako to u svom komentaru, a prema literaturi, naziva M. Jurković. Međutim, on je u nastavku iznio zapažanje koje bi moglo biti vrlo važno za daljnja promišljanja o našim oratorijima. Autor piše kako bi "valjalo utvrditi da oba dijela sklopa imaju svoje vlastite titulare, odnosno da je riječ o dvije odvojene crkve. Doista, porodice crkava najčešće se povezuju u uzdužnoj osi, kako pokazuje niz poznatih primjera, od kojih

74 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 184.

75 V. Goss, 1987, 71 i 144-145 (Vidi ujedno: I. Matejčić, 1997, 6, bilj. 4).



Slika 16. Ostatak škropionice stražnje kapele ugrađene u zid apsida prednje kapele u sklopu crkve sv. Petra Starog

Figure 16. Remnants of the holy-water font of the rear chapel, built in the apse wall of the front chapel of the St. Peter the Old's Church complex

foto / photo: P. Vežić

writes that the addition "was an integral part of a developed complex, not a detached structure".⁷² However, the fact that the double-naved oratory also did not have a door directly connecting these two spaces at the time when it was created by remodeling contradicts such viewpoints. No traces were found on the wall of the round apse that could be attributed to some opening from the Early Medieval Period. The rear oratory could have acquired an access, or just a niche, in the southern wall in the second phase. Next to the sanctuary, we can find here a segmental arch made of tufa. As its blocks on the outside rise from the surface of the wall, it seems that it is actually a demolished small vault. On this place in the church, G. Smirich drew a

72 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 189.



je dobar dio u relativnoj blizini – uglavnom u Noriku⁷⁶; ili, prije toga, kako "treba naglasiti da pitanje titulara ne može biti definitivno riješeno. Nikada se, naime, ne zna nije li koji titular s vremenom nestao, a da nije ostavio nikakva traga."⁷⁷

Kad je u pitanju stražnji oratorij u našem sklopu, čini se da je nekakav trag možda ipak ostao. Naime, prigodom istraživanja Sv. Petra Starog otkriven je ulomak arkade na kojem je uklesano ime *Marina* sa znakom križa ispred, dakle "+ MARINA". I. Petricioli pretpostavio je da je riječ o zabatu ograde svetišta.⁷⁸ V. Delonga zabat je datirala u 9. stoljeće.⁷⁹ U novije vrijeme iznesena je i pretpostavka da je riječ zapravo o arkadi malenoga ciborija.⁸⁰ U ovom trenutku te mogućnosti nisu važne. Značajan može biti odgovor na pitanje na koga se odnosi uklesano ime, na stvarnu osobu iz zadarske povijesne zbilje, kako sugerira votivni natpis s kamene grede iz crkve sv. Krševana, na kojem neku Marinu spominje njezin suprug: "CONIVGE MEA MARINA"⁸¹, ili možda na sveticu i mučenicu Marinu iz Pisidije u Antiohiji, čiji

Slika 17. S. Vučenović, dio uzdužnoga presjeka sklopa crkve sv. Petra Starog s pogledom na tragove vrata u sjevernome zidu prednje kapele (planoteka Konzervatorskoga ureda u Zadru)

Figure 17. S. Vučenović, part of the longitudinal section of the St. Peter the Old's Church complex, with view of the traces of a door in the northern wall of the front chapel (Maps Archive of the Conservation Department in Zadar)

deep niche and, above it, a stone frame of a window, or perhaps of a small confessional (Fig. 13 and 14).

The oratory probably inherited the access through the northern wall. That access led from street to the naos and it was there throughout Middle Ages, until Baroque period. The door threshold can still be found *in situ* today, on the original part of the northern wall, at a depth of 30cm below the present-day pavement (68cm above the church floor).⁷³ Obviously, the different levels must have been connected with stairs, which are now gone. At the bottom of the stairs, in the top part of the round apse, there was a holy-water font, adequately positioned in relation to the floor level. It was knocked off with time, but its root has been preserved and can be seen *in situ* today. The threshold and holy-water font are evidence that the door to the rear oratory was in the north wall and that the rear oratory was accessed from the street, not from the apse of the front oratory. Based on this, both the original, early Christian oratory and the later, early medieval one in the first and second phases were separate structures, not an *augmentum* to each other (Fig. 15 -17).⁷⁴

V. Gloss was the first one to suspect it; the oratory complex reminded him on *basilicae geminae*,⁷⁵ or church family. M. Jurković calls it in *Familienkirche* his comment, referring to literature. However, in the same place he makes an observation that could be very important for future consideration about our oratories. According to the author, "it should be established whether both parts of the complex had different titular saints – in other words – whether they were two separate churches. Indeed, church families are in most cases connected longitudinally, as can be seen in a number of well-known examples, many of which can be found relatively close to here – mostly in Noricum⁷⁶; or, in an earlier text, "we should point out that the problem of titular saints cannot be resolved definitely: we cannot say for sure if some titular saint disappeared with time, leaving no trace".⁷⁷

When it comes to the rear oratory in our complex, it seems a trace could have been found after all. During the excavations in St. Peter the Old's, a fragment of the arcade

76 M. Jurković, 1997, 80.

77 M. Jurković, 1997, 78-79.

78 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 194.

79 Katalog, 2000, 166 (V. Delonga, kat. jed. br. III. 52).

80 P. Vežić – M. Lončar, 2009, 93-94; T. Marasović, 2009, 325-326.

81 I. Petricioli, 1962, 256-257; Katalog, 2000, 166-167 (V. Delonga, kat. jed. br. III. 54).

73 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 190.

74 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 184.

75 V. Goss, 1987, 71 i 144-145 (See also: I. Matejčić, 1997, 6, footnote 4).

76 M. Jurković, 1997, 80.

77 M. Jurković, 1997, 78-79.

Slika 18. Ulomak ciborija s uklesanim imenom "MARINA" iz crkve sv. Petra Starog

Figure 18. Fragment of ciborium with the name MARINA carved in it, from St. Peter the Old's Church

foto / photo: S. Kukić, fototeka Arheološkoga muzeja u Zadru / S. Kukić, photo archive of Archaeological Museum Zadar

se kult znatno štovao u srednjovjekovnoj Europi? Predaja govori o Marini, svetici koja je stradala u progonima kršćana u Dioklecijanovo doba, no hagiografska literatura bilježi još nekoliko svetica istoga imena.⁸² Stoga problem i dalje ostaje otvoren, uz pitanje koju to Marinu spominje ciborij; radi li se uopće o svetici, a ako jest, o kojoj je riječ (Sl. 18)?

Pomoć pri tome možda nam donekle nudi C. F. Bianchi. On u popisu bogomolja koje su nekada postojale u Zadru bilježi za našu temu zanimljiv podatak o crkvi sv. Marine, *chiesa di s. Marina*. U vrlo kratkom opisu zapisao je ovako: "questa edicola, consacrata a S. Marina vergine e martire, era situata presso l'antico arsenale. Della passata sua esistenza ne fa certa prova una scrittura del 25 novembre 1420."⁸³ Dakle, kapela se nalazila u "blizini starog arsenala". Navedena je u ispravi s datumom od 25. studenoga 1420. godine. Podatak je zapazio već R. Jurić govoreći o kultu te svete u Zadru.⁸⁴ No, sam navod nikada nije doveden u relaciju sa sklopom Sv. Petra Starog. S dužnim oprezom prema takvoj mogućnosti ipak ću pokušati obrazložiti eventualnu vezu crkve sv. Petra Starog i *chiese* ili *edicole* sv. Marine. Naime, područje Arsenala, *confinio arsenatus*,⁸⁵ *contrata arsanati*,⁸⁶ *contrata Arsane*,⁸⁷ u Zadru srednjega vijeka mogli bismo danas nazvati "kvart Arsenala". Taj se nalazio u jugoistočnome dijelu grada. Protezao se od kuta gradskih zidina, gdje je bio smješten povijesni arsenal⁸⁸, do širega područja koje je po njemu nosilo ime – s jedne strane do bazilike sv. Stjepana i velikih gradskih vrata, *lanua maior*, odnosno do *Argate* ("in contrata s. Petri de Argata in confinio arsenatus", kako je to zapisano u ispravi iz 1366. godine)⁸⁹ – te s druge strane do područja bazilike sv. Marije Velike. Kvart je ujedno nazivan i njezinim imenom: "confinio arsenatus seu sancte Marie Maioris", te su i vrata u gradskome zidu do nje nosila ime "vrata sv. Marije" – ali čini se i po arsenalu: "vrata arsenala"⁹⁰ Tako ih bilježe C. F. Bianchi i



was found, with the name "Marina" carved in it together with the sign of the cross: + MARINA. In I. Petricioli's opinion, it is the sanctuary screen gable.⁷⁸ V. Delonga dates the gable to the 9th century.⁷⁹ An assumption has been made recently that it is actually the arcade of a small ciborium.⁸⁰ This is irrelevant at the moment. Relevant may be the answer to the question who was the person behind the carved name. Was it a real person from Zadar's history, as is suggested by the votive inscription on a stone beam in St. Krševan's Church, made by some Marina's husband (CONIVGE MEA MARINA)⁸¹, or is it the saint and martyr Marina from Pisidia in Antioch, whose cult was often worshipped in medieval Europe. According to the tradition, Marina was a saint who was killed during Diocletian's persecution of Christians. However, hagiographic literature records a few other female saints of the same name.⁸² The problem of the identity of the person whose name is carved in the ciborium thus remains: is it a saint after all and – if so – which saint it is (Fig. 18)?

Perhaps C. F. Bianchi can help us here to an extent. In his places of worship that once existed in Zadar, he mentions an interesting piece of information about St. Marina's Church, *chiesa di s. Marina*. He gives a very brief description of it: *questa edicola, consacrata a S. Marina vergine e martire, era situata presso l'antico arsenale. Della passata sua esistenza ne*

82 *Biblioteca Sanctorum* – VIII, 1967, stupac 1150-1191; A. Badurina, 1977, 156-157, bilj. 15; R. Jurić, 1995, 388-393.

83 C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 459-460.

84 R. Jurić, 1995, 388.

85 I. Petricioli, 1966, 171.

86 I. Petricioli, 1966, 177.

87 *Andrija pok. Petra iz Cantua I*, 2001, 738.

88 I. Petricioli, 1966, 177.

89 Toponima *Argata* u srednjovjekovnome Zadru znatno je zastupljen u arhivskim izvorima. (Vidi: N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 261). Predio se nalazio na području današnjega Trga Petra Zoranića. (Vidi: P. Vežić, 2001, 303). Nedavno je kolega Serdo Dokoza, istražujući građu u Državnome arhivu u Zadru, otkrio ispravu koja svjedoči o predjelu *Argata* i uputio me na nju, na čemu mu i ovom prilikom zahvaljujem. (Vidi: DAZd, Curia Maior Jadre, Kutija 3. F. 1. f. 48r. 30. IV. 1366).

90 I. Petricioli, 1966, 171.

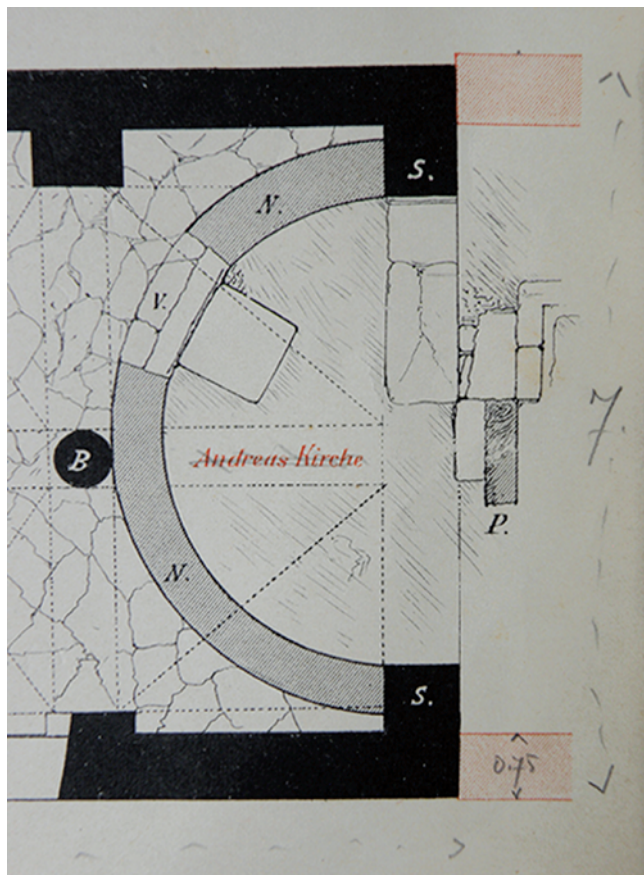
78 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 194.

79 Katalog, 2000, 166 (V. Delonga, cat. entry no. III. 52).

80 P. Vežić – M. Lončar, 2009, 93-94; T. Marasović, 2009, 325-326.

81 I. Petricioli, 1962, 256-257. Katalog, 2000, 166-167 (V. Delonga, cat. entry no. III. 54).

82 *Biblioteca Sanctorum* – VIII, 1967, column 1150-1191. A. Badurina, 1977, 156-157, footnote 15; R. Jurić, 1995, 388-393.



Slika 19. Tlocrt vrata koja je otkrio G. Smirich 1886. godine u zidu oble apsidi u sklopu Sv. Petra Starog (detalj s tlocrta na Sl. 4)
Figure 19. Plan view of the door discovered by G. Smirich in 1886 in the wall of the round apse of the St. Peter the Old's Church complex (detail from the plan view on Fig. 4)

V. Brunelli.⁹¹ U odnosu na to područje crkva sv. Petra Starog i pretpostavljena *chiesa* ili *edicola* sv. Marine iza nje zaista nije daleko od *staroga arsenala*, nalazi se blizu tako omeđenoga kvarta, “*era situata presso l'antico arsenale*”, kako je to zapisao C. F. Bianchi, koji ujedno navodi da se arsenal nalazi blizu Sv. Roka, *vicino s. Rocco*, a Sv. Roko je kapela prigradna uz crkvu sv. Marije Velike u 16. stoljeću.⁹²

Spomenuo sam ispravu iz 1439. godine koja navodi bratovštinu graditelja kao “*fratelia sancte Marie marangonorum in ecclesia Sancti Petri Veteris*”.⁹³ Riječ je o Družbi sv. Marije koja se uselila u crkvu sv. Petra Starog, odnosno u prednji oratorij. Tu je čuvala drevnu ikonu s likom Bogorodice koja očekuje Navještenje, *Annunziata*.⁹⁴ Godine 1462. udruga je povećala crkvu s kapelom koju je posvetila tome

fa certa prova una scrittura del 25 novembre 1420.⁸³ The church is mentioned in a document of 25 November, 1420. R. Jurić took notice about the cult of this saint in Zadar.⁸⁴ However, the fact has never been related to the complex of St. Peter the Old. While taking such possibility with a pinch of salt, I will try to explain the possible connection between St. Peter the Old's Church and the *chiesa*, or *edicola*, of St. Marina. What was the area around the Arsenal (*confinio arsenatus*,⁸⁵ *contrata arsanati*,⁸⁶ *contrata Arsane*)⁸⁷ in medieval Zadar, today we would call “Arsenal district”. It was located in the southeastern part of the town, stretching from the corner of the city walls where the historical arsenal once was⁸⁸ to the area around it that was named after it: to St. Stephen's Basilica and the large city gate (*lanua maior*) and *Argata*, (*in contrata s. Petri de Argata in confinio arsenatus*, as mentioned in a 1366 document)⁸⁹ at one end, and to the Basilica of St. Mary the Great at the other end. The district had the saint's name, too (*confinio arsenatus seu sancte Marie Maioris*), and so did the gate in the city walls: “St. Mary's Gate”. The gate was also called the “Arsenal Gate”.⁹⁰ C. F. Bianchi and V. Brunelli also mention it under this name.⁹¹ Compared to this area, St. Peter the Old's Church, and the assumed *chiesa* or *edicola* of St. Marina behind it, are indeed not far from the “old arsenal”; they are situated close to the district with such boundaries – *era situata presso l'antico arsenale*, as C. F. Bianchi puts it. He also mentions that the arsenal is located *vicino s. Rocco* – near St. Rok's (this being a chapel added to the Church of St. Mary the Great in the 16th century).⁹²

I have already mentioned the 1439 document mentioning the builders' fraternity (*fratelia sancte Marie marangonorum in ecclesia Sancti Petri Veteris*).⁹³ It was a St. Mary's fraternity that moved in St. Peter the Old's Church – in its front oratory, to be more exact. There they guarded an ancient icon depicting Blessed Virgin Mary expecting Annunciation, the *Annunziata*.⁹⁴ In 1462, the fraternity extended the church by adding a chapel and dedicating it to that cult. M. Stagličić assumed that “on a location southwest of the St. Peter the Old's Church, the members

83 C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 459-460.

84 R. Jurić, 1995, 388.

85 I. Petricioli, 1966, 171.

86 I. Petricioli, 1966, 177.

87 *Andrija pok. Petra iz Cantua I*, 2001, 738.

88 I. Petricioli, 1966, 177.

89 The toponym *Argata* is rather common in the archive sources on the medieval Zadar. (See: N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 261). It used to be where the present-day Petar Zoranić Square is. (See: P. Vežić, 2001, 303). While studying documents in the State Archives in Zadar, our colleague Serdo Dokoza has recently discovered a document about the part of the town called *Argata* and has drawn my attention to it. I am using this opportunity to express my gratitude to him. (See: DAZd, Curia Maior Jadre, Box 3. F. 1. f. 48r. 30 April, 1366).

90 I. Petricioli, 1966, 171.

91 C. F. Bianchi, 1880, 432 (Bianchi mentions “*sei cassette attigue all'arsenale vicino s. Rocco*”); V. Brunelli, 1913, 474; 1935, 57.

92 P. Vežić, 1975, 125, pl. 1, fig. 2.

93 C. Fisković, 1959, 11 and 133.

94 C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 109-110 and 382; I. Petricioli, 2004, 100; N. Jakšić – R. Tomić, 2004, 249.

91 C. F. Bianchi, 1880, 432 (Bianchi spominje “*sei cassette attigue all'arsenale vicino s. Rocco*”); V. Brunelli, 1913, 474; 1935, 57.

92 P. Vežić, 1975, 125, pl. 1, sl. 2.

93 C. Fisković, 1959, 11 i 133.

94 C. F. Bianchi, 1877, 109-110 i 382; I. Petricioli, 2004, 100; N. Jakšić – R. Tomić, 2004, 249.

kultu. M. Stagličić pretpostavila je “da su na lokaciji jugozapadno od crkve Sv. Petra Starog bratimi” Anuncijate “podigli neku novu građevinu”.⁹⁵ Međutim, čini se vjerojatnim da je družba uselila u stražnji oratorij i da se od tada gubi njegov prvotni naslovnik. Ukoliko je zaista tako, tom bi zahvatu bilo moguće pripisati ostatke vrata koja je u zidu ranokršćanske apside ispod baroknog poda i vrata otkrio G. Smirich 1886. godine.⁹⁶ Sve bi to značilo da su tek u 15. stoljeću izravno bila povezana dva dotad odvojena oratorija. Tako pretpostavljenom zahvatu načinom građenja odgovara i slog novoga oplošja na sjevernome zidu, kao i veliki prozor na njemu (Sl. 19).⁹⁷

ZAKLJUČNE PRETPOSTAVKE

U sklopu dviju međusobno povezanih građevina koje već dugo nazivamo crkvom sv. Petra Starog tek je s fundamentalnim istraživanjima i rezultatima koje su objavili I. Petricioli i S. Vučenović razotkrivena ukupna prostorna i vremenska slojevitost toga sakralnog kompleksa. Za razliku od prethodnih mišljenja, ta su proučavanja pokazala da je prednja crkva zapravo ranokršćanski oratorij. Dakle, znatno je starija od stražnje zgrade prigradene u ranome srednjem vijeku na začelnoj strani prvotnoga oratorija. Ne postoje arheološki dokazi koji bi potvrdili da su oba, ta dva prostora, bila već u ranome srednjem vijeku izravno povezana vratima u oblome zidu apside među njima. Dapače, čini se da je prilaz stražnjemu prostoru bio po boku prednjega s južne strane te da je stražnja prigradnja funkcionirala također kao oratorij ili vanjska kript. Ulomke kamene plastike s odlikama predromaničke skulpture moguće je datirati u 9. stoljeće. To možda može poslužiti kao oslonac za datiranje starijega sloja stražnjega oratorija. Mlađi sloj pak sa svojim stilskim i konstrukcijskim odlikama ukazuje na srodnosti s oblicima ranoromaničke arhitekture u Zadru i Dalmaciji 11. stoljeća, primjerice, s onima iz crkvice sv. Lovre i bazilike sv. Ivana (sv. Nediljice) u Zadru ili one sv. Martina (sv. Barbare) u Trogiru. Posebnost u oblikovanju mlađega sloja čini originalna prostorna kompozicija. Nju tvore dva broda s križnim svodovima u naosu prožeta s dvije pravokutne apside u svetištu, obje upisane uz ravno začelje oratorija. Ta je dvobrodnost posljedica preuređenja starijega prostora, a ne tipološka odlika. Naime, kako nema drugoga sličnog primjera, dvobrodnoga oratorija s dvije učajurene apside, tako se o takvome tipu prostorne skladbe ne može govoriti. Međutim, o vrijednome primjeru preuređenja starijega prostora u novu arhitektonsku kompoziciju svakako može.

of the *Annunziata* erected a new structure”.⁹⁵ However, it seems probable that the fraternity moved in the rear oratory and that the original titular saint’s name has since been dropped. If so, the remnants of the door discovered in the wall of the early Christian apse underneath the Baroque floor and door by G. Smirich in 1886 could be a part of these alterations.⁹⁶ All this would mean that the two oratories, separated until then, were connected not earlier than in the 15th century. The type of construction of the layering pattern of the new face of the northern wall and the new window on it could thus be seen as evidence to these assumed alterations (Fig. 19).⁹⁷

FINAL ASSUMPTIONS

It was not before the fundamental excavations of the two interconnected structures that have long been called St. Peter the Old’s Church, carried out and published by I. Petricioli and S. Vučenović, that the full spatial and chronological complexity of this sacral complex was shown. Contrary to earlier opinions, these studies indicated that the front church was actually an early Christian oratory. Consequently, it is much older than the rear building, added to it in Early Middle Ages on the rear side of the original oratory. There is no archaeological evidence that the two spaces were directly connected with a door in the round wall of the apse between them as early as in Early Middle Ages. On the contrary, it seems that the access to the rear space was along the south side of the front one and that the rear addition also served as an oratory or an outer crypt. The fragments of stone sculptures with pre-Romanesque characteristics could be dated to the 9th century. This, in turn, could help us date the older layer of the rear oratory. The younger layer, with its style and structural traits, shows similarities with the forms of the early Romanesque, 11th-century architecture in Zadar and Dalmatia in general – for example, with those from St. Lawrence’s Church and St. John’s (St. Domenica’s) Basilica in Zadar or those from St. Martin’s (St. Barbara’s) Basilica in Trogir. A distinguishing feature in the shape of the younger layer is the original spatial composition. It is characterized by two naves with cross vaults in the naos, combined with two rectangular apses in the sanctuary, both incorporated along the flat rear wall of the oratory. The double-naved structure is a result of the remodeling of the older space, not a typological trait: as there are no other examples like this – a double-naved oratory with two incorporated apses – we cannot talk about a separate type of a spatial complex. However, we can certainly talk about a valuable example of conversion of an older space into a new architectural composition.

95 M. Stagličić – S. Štok, 1996, 196.

96 G. Smirich, 1894, 22-23.

97 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 184.

95 M. Stagličić – S. Štok, 1996, 196.

96 G. Smirich, 1894, 22-23.

97 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1970, 184.

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