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# TLOCRTNI TIPOVI FRANJEVAČKIH CRKAVA U ISTRI I NA OTOCIMA KVARNERSKOG ZALJEVA GRAĐENIH OD SREDINE 13. DO KRAJA 16. STOLJEĆA: PODRIJETLO, RAZVOJ, KONTINUITET

## THE GROUND PLANS OF FRANCISCAN-TYPE CHURCHES IN ISTRIA AND ON THE ISLANDS IN THE KVARNER BAY CONSTRUCTED BETWEEN THE MID 13<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY AND THE END OF THE 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: THEIR ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT AND CONTINUITY

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UDK 904:726-272-789.3](497.571)“12/15“  
904:726-272-789.3](497.5)(262.3.04Kvarner)“12/15“  
Pregledni znanstveni članak  
Primitljeno: 27.3.2017.  
Odobreno: 20.6.2017.

UDC 904:726-272-789.3](497.571)“12/15“  
904:726-272-789.3](497.5)(262.3.04Kvarner)“12/15“  
Scientific review  
Received: March 27, 2017  
Approved: June 20, 2017

*Proučavanjem jedanaest u većoj mjeri dobro sačuvanih franjevačkih crkava u Istri (Puli, Poreču i Pazinu) i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva (Krku, Cresu, Lošinju, Rabu i Pagu), izgrađenih do kraja 16. stoljeća, uspostavljena je njihova tipološka klasifikacija. Ona je pokazala da su sve te crkve jednostavnog oblika, pravokutno položene prizme lađe, jasnog volumena definiranog zidovima minimalno rastvorenima prozorima i izrazito izdvojene četverokutne apside. Dakle, sve su te crkve jednobrodne i jednoapsidne, izuzev crkve sv. Franje u Puli, koja ima troapsidno svetište, i crkve Pohođenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Pazinu, koja ima trostranu završenu apsidu izvana razvedenu kontraforima, i pokazuju jednostavnu prostornu artikulaciju ostvarenu dvjema prostornim jedinicama: višom i širom lađom te nižom i užom apsidom.*

*U ovom radu dat će se pregled tlocrtnih tipova franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, izgrađenih do kraja 16. stoljeća, predstaviti će se povijesno-prostorni okvir njihovog razvoja, pokazati će se smještaj tih crkava u prostoru, oblikovanje njihovih masa (konstrukcija), izdvojiti će se imena graditelja-majstora poznatih iz arhivskih dokumenata, raspraviti će se podrijetlo obrađivanih franjevačkih crkava te prikazati njihov razvoj i kontinuitet od sredine 13. do kraja 16. stoljeća. Poseban osvrt bit će na izvorne tipove franjevačkih crkava sagrađenih u srednjoj Italiji, u Umbriji i Toskani, koje su kolijevka novog duhovnog pokreta predvođenog tzv. prosijskim redovima, među njima i franjevcima, na čijim su načelima i idejama osmišljena pravila gradnje crkava. Na taj način bit će moguće jasnije sagledati razvoj, utjecaje, dosege i razlike franjevačkih crkava sagrađenih na proučavanom prostoru do kraja 16. stoljeća, nasuprot onima talijanskim. Provedenim analizama pokazati će se zajednička obilježja i regionalne odlike obrađenih franjevačkih crkava, čime se raskriva njihova uloga i značenje u prostoru te njihova važnost kao sakralne arhitektonske baštine, što im osigurava značajno mjesto u nacionalnoj povijesti umjetnosti.*

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:** *Franjevačke crkve, Istra, otoci Kvarnerskog zaljeva, srednja Italija, analiza, podrijetlo, razvoj, kontinuitet*

*In studying eleven, on the whole, well preserved Franciscan churches in Istria (Pula, Poreč and Pazin) and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay (Krak, Cres, Lošinj, Rab and Pag), constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, their typological classification was established. It was shown that these churches were of a simple shape, a rectangular positioned nave prism, a clear mass defined by walls with minimally open windows and a very separate quadrangular apse. All these churches had one nave and one apse, with the exception of the Church of Saint Francis in Pula, a sanctuary which has three apses, and the Church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pazin, which has a three-sided apse with externally vaulted buttresses, and show a simple spatial articulation achieved through two spatial units: a higher and wider nave and a lower and narrower apse.*

*In this paper, a review of the floor plans of Franciscan type churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay, constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, will be made. The historical-spatial framework of their development will be illustrated, their significance in the area and region will be shown, the way their mass was formed (construction), the names of the known master builders from archival documents will be listed, a discussion of the churches that were studied will be made, and their development and continuity from the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century will be presented. Particular attention will be given to the original Franciscan-type churches built in central Italy, in Umbria and Tuscany. They are the birthplace of the new spiritual movement led by the so-called mendicant orders, among which were Franciscans, whose ideals and ideas formed the basis for the principles of the church's construction. In this way, it will be possible to see the development, influences, reach and differences in Franciscan churches built up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the researched region, as opposed to the Italian ones, more clearly. The analyses undertaken will show the common features and regional characteristics of the Franciscan churches studied, will reveal their role and significance as sacral architectural heritage, and show why they hold an important place in national historical art.*

**KEY WORDS:** *Franciscan churches, Istria, islands of the Kvarner Bay, central Italy, analysis, origin, development, continuity*

## UVOD

**F**ranjevačke crkve u Istri (Puli, Poreču i Pazinu) i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva (Krku, Cresu, Lošinju, Rabu i Pagu), građene od sredine 13. do kraja 16. stoljeća, izvode se na načine određene pravilima franjevačkog reda. One poštuju i zadržavaju u osnovnoj ideji uzore srednjotalijanskih tipova i oblika, mijenjajući i prilagođavajući izvorni oblik prilikama i sredini u kojoj se grade. Premda je njihov tip ostao u začetku, u smislu oblikovanja razvedenijeg tlocrta sa svetištem s više od jedne apside, transeptom, vijencem kapela ili većim brojem lađa, to ne znači da one nisu tipološki zanimljive, jer su tek naizgled međusobno slične. Iako su krajnje jednostavnih tlocrtnih oblika, može ih se smatrati odrazom sredine, naručitelja i materijalnih prilika.

Proučavanjem jedanaest u većoj mjeri dobro sačuvanih franjevačkih crkava izgrađenih do kraja 16. stoljeća u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva uspostavljena je njihova tipološka klasifikacija. Ona je pokazala da su sve te crkve jednostavnog oblika, pravokutno položene prizme lađe, jasnog volumena definiranog zidovima minimalno rastvorenima prozorima i izrazito izdvojene četverokutne apside. Dakle, sve su te crkve jednobrodne i jednoapsidne, izuzev crkve sv. Franje u Puli, koja ima troapsidno svetište, i crkve Pohoda Blažene Djevice Marije u Pazinu, koja ima trostranu završenu apsidu izvana razvedenu kontraforima, i pokazuju jednostavnu prostornu artikulaciju ostvarenu dvjema prostornim jedinicama: višom i širom lađom te nižom i užom apsidom.

U ovom radu dat će se pregled tlocrtnih tipova franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, izgrađenih do kraja 16. stoljeća, raspraviti će se njihovo podrijetlo i prikazati razvoj i kontinuitet od sredine 13. do kraja 16. stoljeća. Poseban osvrt bit će na izvorne tipove franjevačkih crkava sagrađenih u srednjoj Italiji, u Umbriji i Toskani, koje su kolijevka novog duhovnog pokreta predvođenog tzv. prosjačkim redovima, među njima i franjevcima, na čijim su načelima i idejama osmišljena pravila gradnje crkava. Također, analizirat će se i interpretirati njihov smještaj, kompozicija volumena, konstrukcija i graditelji-majstori. Na taj način bit će moguće jasnije sagledati razvoj, utjecaje, dosege i razlike franjevačkih crkava sagrađenih na proučavanom prostoru do kraja 16. stoljeća, nasuprot onima talijanskim. Provedenim analizama pokazat će se zajednička obilježja i regionalne odlike obrađenih franjevačkih crkava, čime se raskriva njihova uloga i značenje u prostoru te njihova važnost kao sakralne arhitektonske baštine, što im osigurava značajno mjesto

## INTRODUCTION

**F**ranciscan churches in Istria (Pula, Poreč and Pazin) and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay (Krk, Cres, Lošinj, Rab and Pag), constructed from the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, were created in ways dictated by the principles of the Franciscan Order. They respect and retain as their basic idea the models of central Italian types and designs, changing and adapting the original shape to suit the circumstances and area in which they are constructed. Although their type remained in its early stages, in terms of designing a more developed ground plan with more than one apse, transept, corniced chapel and a larger number of naves, this does not mean that they are not typologically interesting, as they appear to be similar. Although they have an extremely simple shaped ground plan, they can be considered a reflection of the regional, clients and financial circumstances.

In studying eleven on the whole well preserved Franciscan churches constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay, their typological classification was established. It was shown that these churches were of a simple shape, a rectangular positioned nave prism, a clear mass defined by walls with minimally open windows and a very separate quadrangular apse. In other words, these churches had one nave and one apse, with the exception of the Church of Saint Francis in Pula, a sanctuary which has three apses, and the Church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pazin, which has a three-sided apse with vaulted buttresses on its exterior, and show a simple spatial articulation achieved through two spatial units: a higher and wider nave and a lower and narrower apse.

In this paper, a review of the ground plans of Franciscan type churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, will be made. Their origins will be discussed and their development and continuity from the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century will be shown. Particular attention will be given to the original Franciscan-type churches built in central Italy, in Umbria and Tuscany. They are the birthplace of the new spiritual movement led by the so-called mendicant orders, including the Franciscans, whose ideas and principles were used to create rules for church construction. In addition, their location, the composition of their mass, construction and master builders will be analysed and interpreted. In such a way, a clearer picture of the development, influence, reach and the differences in the Franciscan churches constructed in the studied region up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century as opposed to their Italian counterparts

u nacionalnoj povijesti umjetnosti. Tako će se proširiti i produbiti te utemeljiti i potvrditi dosadašnje spoznaje o franjevačkoj sakralnoj arhitekturi kao jednom od segmenata franjevačke umjetnosti, a zaključci mogu biti od koristi u budućim promišljanjima o sakralnoj arhitekturi srednjovjekovnog i nadolazećih razdoblja kako u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, tako i na ostalim hrvatskim prostorima.

## OSVRT NA LITERATURU

Franjevačke crkve – i samostani – u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, izgrađene u razdoblju od 13. do kraja 16. stoljeća, bile su predmetom istraživanja domaćih i stranih znanstvenika različitih profila i interesa. Međutim, donedavno je izostajala sustavna obrada arhitektonskih tipova, uz sagledavanje specifične problematike sakralne franjevačke arhitekture na istočnom Jadranu.

Malobrojne su franjevačke crkve u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva bile detaljno istražene i sustavno obrađene. U znanstvenoj literaturi najčešće se susreću sažeti pregledi ili radovi vezani uz pojedine samostanske cjeline, a vrlo rijetko iscrpni radovi koji sveobuhvatnije obrađuju jednu franjevačku crkvu. Razloga za to ima više. Najvažniji je, čini se, što franjevačke crkve ne pokazuju osobito razvijene oblike tlocrta koji bi privukli pozornost istraživača. One su građene uz poštivanje krajnje racionalnih graditeljskih načela, a njihovi oblici uglavnom slijede zadane norme. Uz to, zbog siromaštva su naručitelji, franjevci, sukladno prilikama sredine, iskazivali svoja umjetnička htijenja u skromnijim okvirima. Međutim, postojanje stanovitog broja franjevačkih crkava, ako već ne i njihova kvaliteta, pokazuje da ta htijenja nisu nikada jenjavala. Usprkos životnim prilikama koje su često bile teške, iznalazile su se mogućnosti da se podižu franjevačke crkve, koje postaju bitna sastavnica kulturnog i umjetničkog pejzaža.

Franjevačke crkve u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva intenzivnije se proučavaju od početka 20. stoljeća. One su bile predmetom zanimanja hrvatskih istraživača, a povremeno i onih stranih, ali vidljivo je da su franjevačke crkve, posebice specifičniji problemi koji se, primjerice, tiču razlikovanja tipova ili tipoloških inačica, vrlo rijetko proučavane kao zasebna tema. Uglavnom su se obrađivale kao dijelovi cjelovitog umjetničkog sklopa srednjovjekovnog razdoblja ili pak u okviru monografskih obrada pojedinih samostana.

Analiza zastupljenosti obrade franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, sagrađenih do

can be seen. The analyses undertaken will show the common features and regional characteristics of the Franciscan churches studied, which will reveal their role and significance as sacral architectural heritage and why they hold an important place in national historical art. As such, knowledge gained up to the present regarding Franciscan sacral architecture as one of the segments of Franciscan art will be expanded and deepened, as well as established and confirmed. The conclusions may be of use in future observations regarding the sacral architecture of medieval and forthcoming periods, both in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay, as well as other parts of Croatia.

## A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Franciscan churches – and monasteries – in Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay, constructed in the period from the 13<sup>th</sup> up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, have been the subject of research for both Croatian and foreign scientists of various profiles and interests. However, up until recently, there was a lack of systematic research regarding the architectural types, with an overview of specific issues in regard to sacral Franciscan architecture in the eastern Adriatic.

Very few Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay were studied in detail and dealt with systematically. In scientific literature, a brief summary or papers related to individual monastery units can usually be found, but rarely in depth papers that deal with one Franciscan church in detail. There are many reasons for this. The most important of all, it seems, is that Franciscan churches do not have a particularly complex ground plan that would draw the attention of the researcher. They were built by faithfully respecting the most rational of construction principles and their designs are usually in line with the given norms. In addition, due to their poor financial standing, the Franciscans, in accordance with their circumstances, expressed their artistic desires in a more modest fashion. However, the large number of Franciscan churches in existence, despite their quality, shows that their desires never waned. Despite their often difficult life situations, they managed to find ways to construct Franciscan churches, which became an important component of the cultural and artistic landscape.

Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay began to be studied more intensely at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. They were the subject of interest for Croatian researchers, and occasionally

kraja 16. stoljeća, u dostupnoj inozemnoj i domaćoj znanstvenoj literaturi pokazala je da su najbrojniji bili radovi talijanskih i austrijskih stručnjaka. Talijanski su stručnjaci franjevačku arhitektonsku baštinu obrađivali prije svega s povjesničarskog motrišta, potiskujući u drugi plan kulturna i umjetnička obilježja, dok su austrijski istraživači donosili opise, analize i interpretaciju franjevačkih crkava, objektivnije ih, u odnosu na talijanske, smještajući u prostorno-vremenski kontekst (Demonja 2013, 39-40; isti 2016, 197). Slovenski istraživači, pak, pokušali su dostupnu franjevačku arhitektonsku baštinu cjelovitije prikazati i bili su skloni sinteznim prikazima (Stele 1960; Demonja 2013, 40-41; isti 2016, 198-199). Radovi, pak, domaćih, hrvatskih istraživača poglavito su se bavili kulturno-povijesnom prošlosti franjevačkih crkava i samostana sagrađenih u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva do kraja 16. stoljeća (Demonja 2013, 41-46; isti 2016, 199-202). Ti radovi su dragocjeni izvor jer donose uglavnom provjerene povijesne podatke, posebno one arhivske, slabo javno dostupne ili nedostupne, i predstavljaju primjereno polazište te oslonac za kronološku klasifikaciju franjevačkih crkava.

Mali je broj domaćih autora dio svog istraživačkog rada posvetio proučavanju franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva. One su poglavito obrađivane kao dijelovi samostanskih cjelina ili se, češće, spominju u malobrojnim i kratkim opisima u povijesnim pregledima, a svega je nekoliko franjevačkih crkava monografski obrađeno. Radovi domaćih istraživača, za razliku od inozemnih, koji su počesto instrumentalizirali povijesno-umjetničke činjenice, posebno oni talijanski, u mnogo većoj mjeri donose primjere sakralne franjevačke arhitekture, napose one monumentalnije. Radovi većeg broja domaćih istraživača, kao i onih stranih, cjelovito i iscrpno su obrađeni i analizirani u tekstovima Damira Demonje (Demonja 2013, 39-49; isti 2016, 196-202). Upravo su noviji hrvatski znanstveni prilozi o franjevačkim crkvama u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva oni D. Demonje. U radu "Prilog proučavanju crkve sv. Franje u Puli" (Demonja 2014) arhitektonski i tipološki analizirana je crkva sv. Franje u Puli, njezina zastupljenost u određenom broju znanstvenih i stručnih radova hrvatskih i inozemnih autora, talijanska ishodišta njezinog tlocrtnog tipa te je definiran njezin tlocrtni i arhitektonski tip temeljem otprije uspostavljenog, jednog od rijetkih prijedloga tipologije propovjedničkih crkava u Umbriji i Toskani. Jedanaest franjevačkih crkava, građenih od sredine 13. do kraja 16. stoljeća, u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, obrađeno je u radu "Prilog proučavanju tipologije franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na

foreign researchers. However, it is evident that Franciscan churches, especially specific issues regarding, for example, differentiation in types or typological variants, were very rarely studied as a distinct topic. They were mainly dealt with as a part of the entire opus of art of the Medieval Period, or in the framework of a monograph regarding an individual monastery.

An analysis of the number of studies done regarding Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay, constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, available in foreign and Croatian research literature, showed that the largest number of studies was done by Italian and Austrian experts. The Italian experts dealt with Franciscan churches from, above all, a historical point of view, placing cultural and artistic features second. On the other hand, Austrian researchers offered descriptions, analyses and interpretations of Franciscan churches in a more objective way than their Italian counterparts, placing them in the context of their area and time (Demonja 2013, 39-40; *idem* 2016, 197). Slovenian researchers, however, attempted to present the available Franciscan architectural heritage in a more complete way and were prone to synthesis presentation (Stele 1960; Demonja 2013, 40-41; *idem* 2016, 198-199). The works of Croatian researchers mainly dealt with the cultural-historical past of Franciscan churches and monasteries constructed in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Demonja 2013, 41-46; *idem* 2016, 199-202). These works are a precious source as they offer, on the whole, verified historical facts, especially those archival data that are either rarely available or completely unavailable to the public, and are an appropriate starting point and basis for the chronological classification of Franciscan churches.

Very few Croatian authors dedicated part of their research work to studying Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay. They were mainly dealt with as part of the monastery unit or, more often, were merely made mention of in a small number of and short descriptions from a historical standpoint, and only a few Franciscan churches were dealt with in monographs. The works of Croatian researchers, as opposed to foreign ones, who often orchestrated historical-artistic facts, most especially Italian researchers, to a greater extent present examples of sacral Franciscan architecture, most especially monumental types. The works of Croatian researchers, just like their foreign counterparts, have been dealt with and analysed completely and in detail in the texts of Damir Demonja (Demonja 2013, 39-49; *idem* 2016, 196-202). The latest Croatian research contributions regarding Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the



otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva” (Demonja 2015), u kojem su te crkve interpretirane s obzirom na oblikovanje masa i konstrukciju, (pre)poznate graditelje-majstore i zastupljenost u dostupnim znanstvenim i stručnim radovima hrvatskih i inozemnih autora. Slijedom navedenoga predložena je tipološka klasifikacija tih crkava temeljena na oblikovanju njihovih prostornih i tlocrtnih jedinica, dakle lađa i apsida, te načinu njihova svođenja. U tekstu, pak, “Elementi arhitekture franjevačkih crkava građenih do kraja 16. stoljeća u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva”, analizom elemenata arhitekture franjevačkih crkava predmetnog područja pokazala se njihova arhitektonska i stilska razrada (vrsnoća) te u kojoj su mjeri ti arhitektonski elementi primjenjivi u preciznijem datiranju tih crkava (Demonja 2016). Naposljetku, treba izdvojiti i knjigu “Franjevačke crkve na hrvatskoj obali do kraja 16. stoljeća” (Demonja 2013), u kojoj su arhitektonski i tipološki analizirane franjevačke crkve u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva proučavane u kontekstu uspostavljanja tipološke klasifikacije franjevačkih crkava izgrađenih na hrvatskoj obali u rasponu od 13. do kraja 16. stoljeća. Namjera je bila analizom elemenata arhitekture četrdesetak franjevačkih crkava koje su građene od sredine 13. do kraja 16. stoljeća na hrvatskoj obali prikazati razvoj te arhitekture na proučavanom prostoru, uz otkrivanje međusobnih sličnosti i/ili različitosti, kao i sukladnosti/razlika s franjevačkim crkvama na susjednom području, u srednjoj Italiji, izvorištu franjevačkog reda, te njihovo značenje u odnosu na prostor, vrijeme i stil. Vrijednost tih tekstova, nastalih u težnji za širim tumačenjem franjevačke sakralne arhitekture u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, ogleda se u sveobuhvatnom sagledavanju problema i isticanju njihovih konzekvenci. Te tekstove treba gledati prije svega kao poziv na metodološku cjelovitost, dosljednost i preciznost iz kojih se može stvoriti temelj za uspostavljanje drukčije slike o franjevačkim crkvama u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva u domaćoj arhitektonskoj baštini.

I, na kraju, treba izdvojiti studiju Igora Fiskovića “Identitet crkava propovjedničkih redova u jadranskoj Hrvatskoj”, u kojoj se raspravljaju načela oblikovanja crkava propovjedničkih redova, franjevaca i dominikanaca, u jadranskoj Hrvatskoj, propitivanjem njihove arhitekturne tipologije i o njoj ovisne morfologije (Fisković 2016). I. Fisković je u ovaj svoj rad uvrstio i formalne analize franjevačkih crkava iz Istre i s kvarnerskih otoka. Znanstvena javnost tek se treba očitovati o vrijednosti ovoga rada, čiju tekstualnu raspravu, bremenitu autorovim osebnim stilom izlaganja i nekritičkom selekcijom dosadašnjih postignuća

Kvarner Bay are in fact given by D. Demonja. In his work “A Contribution to the Study of the Church of St. Francis in Pula” (Demonja 2014), the church of St. Francis in Pula was architecturally and typologically analysed, its presence in a number of scientific and expert works by Croatian and foreign authors, the Italian origins of its type of ground plan and the architectural type based on the aforementioned, one of the rare suggestions regarding typology of preaching churches in Umbria and Tuscany. Eleven Franciscan churches, constructed from the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, in Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay, were dealt with in the work “A Contribution to the Study of Typology of Franciscan Churches in Istria and on the Kvarner Bay Islands” (Demonja 2015). In this work, the churches were interpreted with regards to the way their mass was formed and constructed, identified and well known master builders and their presence in available scientific and expert works by both Croatian and foreign authors. Subsequently, a typological classification based on the shape of their spatial and ground plan units, i.e. the nave and apse, as well as their vaulting, was proposed. The text “The Architectural Elements of Franciscan Churches Built up to the End of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century in Istria and the Kvarner Bay Islands”, an analysis of the architectural elements of Franciscan churches in the aforementioned region, illustrated their architectural and stylistic development (excellence) and the extent to which these churches can be dated precisely using these architectural elements (Demonja 2016). Finally, the book “Franciscan Churches on the Croatian Coast to the End of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century” (Demonja 2013) should be singled out. In it, an architectural and typological analysis of Franciscan churches in Istria and the Kvarner Bay are researched in the context of establishing a typological classification of Franciscan churches constructed on the Croatian coast in the period from the 13<sup>th</sup> up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Its aim was, through analysing the architectural elements of forty Franciscan churches constructed from the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century on the Croatian coast, to show the development of this architecture in the aforementioned region, while also revealing common similarities and/or differences, as well as similarities/differences with Franciscan churches from neighbouring regions, in central Italy, the origin of the Franciscan Order and their significance in regard to the region, time period and style. The value of these texts, brought about through a desire to interpret Franciscan sacral architecture in Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay more extensively, is reflected in the comprehensive overview of the issue and identifying

hrvatskih autora u proučavanju poglavito franjevačkih crkava na hrvatskoj obali, prati relevantna literatura, fotografije, arhitektonski nacrti i grafički prilozi.

Slijedom iznesenog može se zaključiti da i danas vlada stanoviti interes znanstvene javnosti za istraživanje franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, a i općenito na hrvatskoj obali. Vrijednost tih radova je u tome što razrađuju specifičnije probleme, napose one tipološke klasifikacije i interpretacije, i tako učinkovito pridonose kvalitetnijem općem stanju obrađivanosti pojedinih franjevačkih crkava i skupina. Također, ti radovi iznose niz značajnih opservacija o pojedinim franjevačkim crkvama u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, sagrađenih do kraja 16. stoljeća, u regionalnom okviru te ukazuju na njihove brojne samosvojne crte i mjesto u sklopu spomeničke baštine kraja kojem su gravitirale.

## **FRANJEVAČKE CRKVE U ISTRI I NA OTOCIMA KVARNERSKOG ZALJEVA KAO ODRAZ OSEBUJNE POVIJESTI FRANJEVAČKOG REDA**

### **Povijesno-prostorni okvir**

Franjevački red u kasnom srednjem vijeku predstavnik je nove crkvene politike i ojačane dogme. Primarna funkcija toga reda bila je prosjačenje i propovijedanje pa je za njezino opravdanje i ostvarivanje regule franjevcima potrebna blizina naselja, odnosno manji posjedi, za razliku od benediktinaca i cistercita koji su bili veliki zemljoposjednici, a kako su preferirali fizički rad dobivali su velike posjede pa su na taj način postali potpuno neovisni. Pojava prosjačkih redova, dakle i franjevačkog, predstavlja značajan događaj u povijesti Katoličke crkve i neposredno je vezana za velike promjene u ekonomskoj i društvenoj strukturi zapadnoeuropskog feudalnog svijeta. Nastanak gradova i gradskog stanovništva donosi nova, drukčija socijalna i društvena strujanja, a koncepcije franjevačkog reda o ulozi religije u tadašnjem životu izravno izražavaju ta nova strujanja (Demonja 2013, 20–23). Humanizacija religije, do koje tada dolazi, zapravo je njezino prilagođavanje nižim slojevima novog, gradskog stanovništva, koje postaje važan društveni činitelj. Katolička crkva prihvatila je nove redove, pretvorivši ih u snažno sredstvo svoje politike u promijenjenim uvjetima života.

Franjevački red tipičan je gradski samostanski red. Prilagođeni novim društvenim slojevima, franjevci se vrlo brzo šire europskim gradovima, kao i onima na hrvatskoj obali potvrđujući je kao dio europskog kruga

its consequences. These texts should be viewed as, above all, an invitation to methodological integrity, consistency and precision for laying the foundations for establishing a different image regarding Franciscan churches in Istria and islands in the Kvarner Bay in Croatian architectural heritage.

And, in the end, the study undertaken by Igor Fisković, “The Identity of Churches of Preaching Orders in Adriatic Croatia”, should also be singled out. It discusses the principles that shaped churches of the preaching orders, the Franciscans and Dominicans, in Adriatic Croatia, by studying their architectural typology and dependent morphology (Fisković 2016). Fisković included formal analyses of Franciscan churches in Istria and the Kvarner Bay in his work. The scientific community has yet to acknowledge the value of this work, whose textual discussion, the weightiness and particular style of the author’s presentation and uncritical selection of achievements by Croatian authors up to the present in the study of Franciscan churches on the Croatian coast, is accompanied by relevant literature, photographs, architectural sketches and graphical supplements.

As can be ascertained by the aforementioned, even nowadays there is certain interest in the scientific community for researching Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay, and on the Croatian coast in general. The value of these works is that they delve into specific issues, especially typological classification and interpretation, and effectively contribute to the quality of the general state of research in regard to particular Franciscan churches and groups. In addition, these works present a whole range of important observations regarding particular Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay, constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, in a regional context and point out their numerous independent features and their significance within the monumental heritage of the area that they were drawn towards.

## **FRANCISCAN CHURCHES IN ISTRIA AND ON THE ISLANDS OF THE KVARNER BAY AS A REFLECTION OF THE PARTICULAR HISTORY OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER**

### **Historical-Regional Framework**

In the late Middle Ages, the Franciscan Order was a representative of the new ecclesiastical policies and reinforced church dogma. The primary function of this order was mendicancy and preaching, and, as such, in order

i dokazujući njezino vremensko uklapanje u europske tokove. Franjevci su za domaću kulturu i umjetnost značajni ne samo kao nositelji novih shvaćanja vjere u gradovima već prije svega kao nositelji gotike, osobito određenih koncepcija toga stila u arhitekturi. To su uočili istraživači poput primjerice Ljube Karamana i Cvite Fiskovića. Karaman je primijetio da su na srednjovjekovnim spomenicima u gradovima u Dalmaciji osim apulskih uočljivi i utjecaji Ankonske Marke, a osvrnuo se i na ulogu franjevac (i dominikanaca) u prijenosu gotike na prostor hrvatske obale, kao i na gotički tip crkve koji ta dva reda donose iz Italije (Karaman 1952, 34–38). Fisković, pak, raspravlja o ulozi franjevac u širenju gotike, ali ne razrađuje šire taj problem (Fisković 1955). Oba istraživača tek su djelomično ocijenila pojavu gotike i ulogu franjevac (i dominikanaca) u njezinom širenju, ne upuštajući se u opširnije rasprave. Dakle, dolazak franjevac u gradove na hrvatskoj obali i njihovo djelovanje, ondje i prema Bosni, značajni su za umjetnost toga područja u 13. i 14. stoljeću te kasnije.

U 13. i 14. stoljeću u gradovima u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, kao i u drugima na hrvatskoj obali, koji su bili privredno razvijeni, ali ne u tolikoj mjeri koliko veći i bogatiji gradovi bliskog zapadnoeuropskog prostora, grade se razmjerno velike franjevačke (i dominikanske) crkve, uz koje se podižu i samostani. Crkve i samostani franjevac zauzimali su važno mjesto u prostornom oblikovanju obalnih gradova, o čemu je iscrpno pisao Anđelko Badurina (Badurina 1990, 39–47). Za izgradnju franjevačkih crkava sa samostanima značajna materijalna sredstva davale su gradske uprave, ali i pojedinci, plemići, o kojima će dalje u tekstu biti više riječi. Državna uprava dodjeljivala je zemljišta za izgradnju franjevačkih crkava i samostana u najjačim naseljima i blizini svojih sjedišta, očekujući pomoć franjevac pri svekolikom uređenju prilika u teritorijalnim granicama. Dakle, franjevačke crkve i samostani osim uloge u prostornom oblikovanju imali su i onu društveno-političku (Badurina 1990, 40–42 i 54–55). Oni su bili ključna mjesta uravnoteženja slojevitog i osebnog života stanovnika određenog podneblja s kojim su i vizualno zaživjeli, uklopivši se usklađenim volumenima u naselja i pejzaž, postavši njihov neodvojiv dio, kako je to osobito razvidno u primjerima franjevačkih crkava i samostana dubrovačkog područja (Badurina 1990; Fisković 1998; isti 1999). Na taj način franjevačke crkve sa samostanima svoje sadržaje ne iskazuju samo oblikom već i značenjem u povijesnom kontekstu, čiji su, među ostalim, nositelji.

to justify and maintain the regulations of the Franciscans, they needed to be in close proximity to a town, i.e. smaller properties, as opposed to the Benedictines and Cistercians who were large landowners and, as they preferred physical labour, received large properties and could as such be completely independent. The appearance of mendicant orders, in other words the Franciscan Order, was an important event in the history of the Catholic Church and is closely tied to large changes in the economic and social structure of Western European feudal society. The emergence of cities, towns and townships brought about new, different social and societal tendencies, and the concept of the Franciscan Order regarding the role of religion in life at that time was a perfect reflection of these new tendencies (Demonja 2013, 20–23). The humanisation of religion that had then come about was actually an adaptation to the lower classes of the new, city population, which became an important factor in society. The Catholic Church accepted the new Order, transforming it into a powerful force for their policies in these changed living conditions.

The Franciscan Order is a typical city monastic order. Adapted to the new social classes, the Franciscans rapidly expanded throughout European cities and town, including those on the Croatian coast, endorsing it as part of the European circle and proving that it fitted in the time of European flow. The Franciscans were noteworthy for Croatian culture and art, not only due to their new attitudes towards religion in cities, but foremost because they were the exponents of Gothic architecture, especially certain concepts of this style. Researchers such as Ljubo Karaman and Cvito Fisković noticed this. Karaman noticed that medieval monuments in Dalmatian cities, with the exception of Apulian, are clearly influenced by the March of Ancona and made note of the role of Franciscans (and Dominicans) in bringing the Gothic style to the Croatian coast, as well as Gothic style churches which these two orders brought from Italy (Karaman 1952, 34–38). Fisković, however, discusses the role of Franciscans in spreading the Gothic style, but does not go into further detail regarding this issue (Fisković 1955). Both researchers only partly assessed the appearance of the Gothic style and the role of the Franciscans (and Dominicans) in its expansion, not engaging in more extensive discussions. Therefore, the arrival of Franciscans in towns on the Croatian coast and their activities from there and further into Bosnia, are significant for art during the period of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries and later.

During the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries relatively large Franciscan (and Dominican) churches were built, next



Prema franjevcima bili su blagonakloni plemići, puk i državna vlast, koji potiču izgradnju njihovih crkava i samostana. Osobito važna je uloga plemstva, koje jača tijekom 14. i posebice u 15. stoljeću, pa je, primjerice, veći broj franjevačkih crkava na hrvatskoj obali u 15. stoljeću podignut kao plemićke zadužbine. Međutim, svojim ukusom i željama plemstvo ne utječe u većoj mjeri na franjevačke crkve izgrađene na hrvatskoj obali do kraja 16. stoljeća. Plemstvo preuzima ustaljenu osnovnu građevnu tipologiju, a svoj ukus za dekorativnim ostvaruje podizanjem kapela uz jedan od bočnih zidova lađe, koje su bogato ukrašene arhitektonsko-plastičkim ukusom, kako je to u crkvi sv. Franje u Cresu (Demonja 2015, 180–181). Taj primjer svjedoči da je plemstvo donekle utjecalo na strogu franjevačku arhitekturu, koja je na prostoru hrvatske obale preuzela od cistercita tipologiju crkve s ravno završenim svetištem. Taj tip s elementarnim prostorima, lađom i svetištem, pročišćenog stila, odražava odnos franjevac prema svjetovnoj zbilji i sukladan je njihovom osnovnom psihološkom ustrojstvu – askezi.

Plemstvo je zaslužno za izgradnju stanovitog broja franjevačkih crkava na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, kao i drugdje na hrvatskoj obali do kraja 16. stoljeća, a s obzirom da ta njihova uloga i zasluge do sada nisu bili temeljitije obrađeni, nužno je tome posvetiti pozornost. Franjevci su se uzdržavali prosjačenjem i propovijedanjem pa im je bila potrebna blizina naselja, odnosno posjedi koje su im darovnicama poklanjali plemići.

Neke franjevačke crkve sa samostanima na kvarnerskim otocima, izgrađene u 15. stoljeću, utemeljili su i sredstva za njihovu izgradnju dali su najmoćniji feudalci toga kraja, knezovi Frankopani, o čijoj je povijesnoj ulozi u srednjem vijeku opširnije pisao Vjekoslav Klaić (Klaić 1901). Oni su bili značajni nositelji izgradnje crkava uopće, a ne samo franjevačkih. Njihovi posjedi na kvarnerskim otocima, kao i u Hrvatskom primorju i Lici, bili su kulturno vezani i uz Istru i uz regiju Friuli. Frankopani razvijaju i šire gotički arhitektonski stil izrazite kvalitete, koji je vezan uz obližnju Italiju, kao i uz onu zanimljivu stilsku mješavinu što je pokazuju arhitektonska i umjetnička ostvarenja Istre, Goričkog kraja i Friulija, odnosno krajeva koji su došli pod izravan i snažan utjecaj Austrije. Međutim, kakvoća arhitekture frankopanskog kulturnog kruga ne uočava se na danas sačuvanim franjevačkim crkvama. Naime, te su crkve građene po pravilima koje propisuje franjevački red, a tijekom vremena na njima se interveniralo, osobito u baroku, pa ako su i imale obilježja uobičajena za sakralne građevine koje su podizali Frankopani, ona

to which monasteries were built in cities in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay, as well as other on the Croatian coast that were economically developed but not to the extent of the larger and richer cities closer to Western Europe. Franciscan churches and monasteries played an important role in the spatial shaping of coast cities which Anđelko Badurina wrote about in great depth (Badurina 1990, 39–47). Large sums of money were given by the city government for the construction of Franciscan churches and monasteries, as well as by individuals and aristocrats, of which more will be written later. The state government gave land for the construction of Franciscan churches and monasteries in the most powerful villages and in close proximity to their headquarters, expecting assistance from the Franciscans in terms of keeping the order on their territorial borders. Therefore, the Franciscan churches and monasteries, besides playing a role in the spatial shaping of the area, also played a social and political role (Badurina 1990, 40–42 and 54–55). They were the key locations for balancing the layered and particular lives of the population of the area, which also materialised visually, fitting into the town and landscape in a harmonious mass, becoming an inseparable part of it, as can be clearly seen in the examples of Franciscan churches and monasteries in the region of Dubrovnik (Badurina 1990; Fisković 1998; *idem* 1999). In this way, the substance of Franciscan churches with monasteries is not only expressed in terms of form, but also their significance in a historical context, of which, among other things, they are the exponents.

The Franciscans were favoured by the aristocracy, general population and the state government, which encouraged the construction of their churches and monasteries. The aristocracy played a particularly important role, which became more substantial during the 14<sup>th</sup> and particularly the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries so that a larger number of Franciscan churches on the Croatian coast in the 15<sup>th</sup> century was constructed with aristocratic endowments. However, the tastes and desires of the aristocracy had little influence on the Franciscan churches constructed on the Croatian coast up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The aristocracy accepted the conventional basis of constructional typology, and fulfilled its desire for decoration through the construction of chapels on one of the side walls of the nave, which are ornately decorated with architectural-plastic decoration, as can be seen in the Church of St. Francis on Cres (Demonja 2015, 180–181). This example vouches that the aristocracy to some measure influenced the rigid principles of Franciscan architecture, which, on the Croatian coast, takes its cue from Cistercian typological churches with a straight ending sanctuary. This type, with elementary rooms,



nisu sačuvana. Međutim, postoje pouzdani podaci da su zemljišta i sredstva za izgradnju nekih franjevačkih crkava osiguravali članovi obitelji Frankopan. Franjevačke crkve frankopanskog kulturnog kruga podizane su poglavito na kvarnerskim otocima, odnosno u Hrvatskom primorju. Dakle, u zadužbine krčkih knezova Frankopana ubrajaju se dvije franjevačke crkve sagrađene na Krku i Košljunu. Crkva sv. Marije u Glavotoku na otoku Krku nalazi se na posjedu koji je u 14. stoljeću u vlasti Frankopana, na mjestu gdje je nekoć bila kapela te obitelji, a godine 1445. posljednji frankopanski knez Ivan darovao je kapelicu franjevcima trećorecima (Ivančić 1910, 217; Szabo 1930; Bolonić 1986, 63). Crkva Navještenja Blažene Djevice Marije na Košljunu sagrađena je donacijom Ivana Frankopana i njegove kćeri Marije Katarine (Brusić 1932; Velnić 1966; Strčić 1994; Fugošić 1999, 108-109).

Osim Frankopana, i drugi plemići sudjelovali su u utemeljivanju i izgradnji franjevačkih crkava i samostana na kvarnerskim otocima. Tako su franjevačka crkva i samostan sv. Marije na Bijaru kod Osora na Cresu utemeljeni 1464. godine darovnicom osorskog plemića Stjepana Zbare, nasljednika izumrle plemićke osorske obitelji Romić (de Romeis), u čijem posjedu su bili stari samostan, crkva i okolno zemljište (Ivančić 1910, 233-234; Fučić 1949, 68; Deanović 1976, 27 i 85; Imamović 1979, 136-138; Fučić 1990, 27). U Porožini, na Cresu, sredstva za gradnju crkve i samostana sv. Nikole dao je creski plemić Bartula Bokina (de Bocchina) 1465. godine (Ivančić 1910, 241), crkvu i samostan sv. Jerolima u Martinšćici na Cresu osnovao je creski plemić Blaž Kolombis 1474. godine, a članovi te creske plemićke obitelji višekratno su darivali franjevce u Martinšćici (Farlati 1751-1819, 210; Milčetić 1884, IV, 109; Ivančić 1910, 222-225), dok je samostanska cjelina s crkvom sv. Franje u Nerezinama na Lošinju bila zadužbina moćnog osorskog patricija Kolana Draže (Milčetić 1884, IV, 110).

Najveći broj zadužbina plemića predstavljaju crkve srednjih, odnosno manjih dimenzija, što je i razumljivo s obzirom da su sredstva za njihovu izgradnju bila uglavnom skromna. Kako je otprije pokazano u analizama franjevačkih crkava sagrađenih do kraja 16. stoljeća, poglavito na kvarnerskim otocima (Demonja 2015, 170-188), o čemu će još biti riječi dalje u tekstu, i crkve podizane donacijama plemića, bez obzira na dimenzije, ponavljaju jednostavnu prostornu artikulaciju izraženu dvjema prostornim jedinicama - pravokutnom lađom i četverokutnim svetištem, i sudržane su u upotrebi dekoracije. I kod tih crkava spajanje, odnosno odvajanje lađe i svetišta naglašeno je trijumfalnim lukom i tipom svodenja svetišta, a u nekim primjerima i lađe,

naves and a sanctuary, refined in style, is a reflection of the regard the Franciscans had to everyday realities and is in harmony with the basis of their psychological organisation - austerity.

The aristocracy is responsible for the construction of numerous Franciscan churches on the islands of the Kvarner Bay, as well as in other places on the Croatian coast, up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. As their role and credit regarding the construction of these churches has not up until the present been dealt with in an in depth manner, it is necessary to shed some light on this matter. The Franciscans made their living through begging and preaching as such, needed to be in close proximity to towns and cities, that is, properties that were bequeathed to them by the aristocracy.

Some Franciscan churches with monasteries on the Kvarner islands, built in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, were founded and funded by the most powerful feudatories of the area, the Frankopan lords, and whose historical role in the Middle Ages is written extensively by Vjekoslav Klaić (Klaić 1901). They were significant exponents in the construction of churches in general, not just Franciscan ones. Their properties in the Kvarner islands, as well as the Croatian coast and Lika, were culturally tied to Istria and the Friuli region. The Frankopans developed and expanded the Gothic architectural style of high quality, which was connected to nearby Italy, as well as the interesting mixture of styles that can be seen in architectural and artistic works in Istria, the Gorica region and Friuli, that is, regions that were under the direct and strong influence of Austria. However, the quality of the architecture of the Frankopan cultural circle is not perceived in the preserved Franciscan churches nowadays. Namely, these churches were built in accordance with the regulations stipulated by the Franciscan Order, and with time, interventions were made, most particularly during the Baroque period, so that if they had the features common to sacral structures built by the Frankopans, they have not been preserved. However, there are reliable sources that state that the land and funds for the construction of some Franciscan churches were provided by members of the Frankopan family. Franciscan churches funded by the Frankopan cultural circle were mainly built on the Kvarner islands, that is, on the Croatian coast. Thus, two Franciscan churches on Krk and Košljun were built with endowments from Frankopan lords from Krk. The Church of St. Mary in Glavotok on the island of Krk was in the possession of the Frankopans in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, whereupon there used to be family chapel. The last Frankopan lord, Ivan, gave the chapel to the Third Order of St. Francis (Ivančić

koja je poglavito bila nesvedena, a tabulat je dobila u kasnijim vremenima. Međutim, u jednoj velikoj, gradskoj franjevačkoj crkvi, onoj sv. Franje u Cresu, plemići daju sredstva za podizanje kapela koje se izgrađuju uz jedan od uzdužnih zidova lađe (Demonja 2013, 147; isti 2015, 179–180). Te kapele ogleadne su u smislu upotrebe skulpturalnog uresa promišljena u duhu vremena i prevladavajućeg stila, a arhitektonsko-plastički motivi imaju predloške u istodobnoj arhitekturi crkava i javnih građevina značajnih domaćih središta. Možda je ukras tih kapela samo oprimjerenje uvjerenja da se spasenje čovjeka odvija u raskošnom okviru, koji je sukladan postizanju jedinstva zemaljskog i nebeskog života. U tim kapelama prezentiran je prevladavajući stil, gotički i/ili renesansni, obilje i razigranost ukrasa, pa su ta mjesta u creskoj franjevačkoj crkvi njezini najukrašeniji dijelovi.

Bez obzira na to tko je podizao franjevačke crkve (plemići, puk ili državna vlast) i gdje (u gradu, uz gradske zidine s unutrašnje strane, udaljene od grada, na osamljenim mjestima), izgradnja kroz duže vremensko razdoblje ostavila je traga na njihovu umjetničkom oblikovanju. Te crkve nemoguće je stilski čisto odrediti jer one ne poznaju niti priznaju čisti stil. Primjerice, crkva sv. Franje u Puli zadržala je romaničku tradiciju razvidnu u kompaktnom volumenu i repertoaru arhitektonsko-plastičkih detalja (Demonja 2014, 127–133; isti 2015, 165); paška franjevačka crkva ima apsidu koja pokazuje gotičke oblike u načinu svodenja, zvonik u obliku preslice također se može odrediti kao gotički, dok trijumfalni luk apside i pročelje imaju renesansne odlike (Demonja 2015, 187; isti 2016, 217–218, 226, 228), a crkva sv. Franje na Komrčaru na Rabu ima gotička (šiljasto-bačvasti svod lađe i apside) i renesansna obilježja (trodijelni zabat s polukružnim renesansno ukrašenim školjkama) (Demonja 2015, 184–187; isti 2016, 214–215, 224–225, 228). Izvjesno je da su neke crkve, osobito njihovi interijeri, manje ili više izmijenjene u kasnijim stoljećima, poput primjerice crkava sv. Franje u Poreču, Navještenja Blažene Djevice Marije na Košljunu, sv. Marije Magdalene u Poratu (Krk) i sv. Bernardina u Kamporu (Rab).

Državne, odnosno političke uprave također su bile aktivne u dodjelama zemljišta za izgradnju franjevačkih crkava i samostana u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, kao i drugdje na hrvatskoj obali do kraja 16. stoljeća. Vlast se redovito oslanjala na franjevce i njihovu vještinu ophođenja s pukom, ali uloga franjevaca bila je mnogoznačna, jer su oni smještajem svojih crkava sa samostanima sudjelovali i u oblikovanju naselja; bili su

1910, 217; Szabo 1930; Bolonić 1986, 63). The Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Košljun was built with a donation from Ivan Frankopan and his daughter Marija Katarina (Brusić 1932; Velnić 1966; Strčić 1994; Fugošić 1999, 108–109).

Besides the Frankopans, other aristocrats took part in founding and constructing Franciscan churches and monasteries on the Kvarner islands. The Franciscan church and monastery of St. Mary on Bijar near Osor on Cres was founded in 1464 with the endowment of the aristocrat Stjepan Zbara an heir of the late aristocratic family from Osor, the Romić family (de Romeis), who were the owners of an old monastery, church and surrounding grounds (Ivančić 1910, 233–234; Fučić 1949, 68; Deanović 1976, 27 and 85; Imamović 1979, 136–138; Fučić 1990, 27).

In Porozina on Cres, funds for the construction of the church and monastery of St. Nicolas were given by an aristocrat from Cres, Bartul Bokina (de Bocchina) in 1465 (Ivančić 1910, 241), while the church and monastery of St. Jerome in Martinščica on Cres was founded by an aristocrat from Cres, Blaž Kolombis in 1474. Members of this aristocratic family from Cres made many donations to the Franciscans in Martinščica (Farlati 1751–1819, 210; Milčetić 1884, IV, 109; Ivančić 1910, 222–225), while the monastery and church of St. Francis in Nerezine on Lošinj was built with the endowment of the powerful patrician from Osor, Kolano Draža (Milčetić 1884, IV, 110).

The majority of churches built with endowments from aristocratic families are of a medium or small size, which is understandable given that the funds for their construction were on the whole quite modest. As has been previously shown in the analyses of Franciscan churches constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, most especially on Kvarner islands (Demonja 2015, 170–188), regarding which more will be discussed later in the text, churches built with the donations of aristocrats, regardless of their dimensions, reiterate a simple spatial articulation expressed by two spatial units – a rectangular nave and a quadrangular sanctuary, while refraining from the use of decoration. In these churches as well, the connection, or separation, between the nave and the sanctuary is expressed in a triumphant arch and the type of vaulting of the sanctuary, and in some examples the nave, that were mainly not vaulted, while the painted wooden part of the ceiling, *tabulata*, was added in later times. However, in one large Franciscan church in a city, St. Francis on Cres, the aristocrats donate funds for the construction of a chapel which was built next to one of the longitudinal walls of the nave (Demonja 2013, 147;

na važnim, najprometnijim točkama protoka života, neki su imali i ulogu čuvanja i održavanja reda (primjerice oni na području Dubrovačke Republike), a odražavali su kulturnu razinu užeg okružja te sposobnost i važnost društvene zajednice u kojoj su nastali i s kojom su živjeli. Franjevci su zbog svoje jake centralističke organizacije otpočetak imali u službi Crkve izrazitu političku funkciju i obavljali su zadatke za koje je bila potrebna velika pokretljivost (Badurina 1990, 40-42).

### **Oblikovanje franjevačke arhitekture u svjetlu razvoja franjevačkog reda**

Potrebno je u kraćim crtama osvrnuti se na prilike i događanja unutar franjevačkog reda te posljedice koje su ta zbivanja ostavila na franjevačku arhitekturu u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, kao i na hrvatskoj obali općenito. Mnogi samostani posjedovali su zemlju koju su davali u najam pa su redovnici imali dobre i sigurne prihode od kojih se moglo udobnije živjeti. Time je opadala disciplina među redovnicima pa su se počeli udaljavati od karizme sv. Franje i siromašnijih slojeva društva. Kako se taj proces više nije mogao zaustaviti, redovnici željni obnove bili su prisiljeni tražiti jednostavnija obitavališta ne želeći primati ni novac ni imanja. Oni su, naime, htjeli što strože opsluživati pravilo sv. Franje i zbog toga su se prozvali *observantes* – opsluživači, dok su redovnici koji su nastavili živjeti u bogatim i udobnim samostanima prozvani *conventuales* – samostanci. Ni jedni ni drugi nisu željeli podjelu franjevačkog reda, ali događaji i napetosti u 15. stoljeću pokazali su da je podjela neminovnost. Tako su se od jedinstvenog *Ordinis fratrum minorum* počele oblikovati dvije grane, konventualska i opservantska (Škunca 1999, 17-26). U Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva u 15. stoljeću sagrađene su dvije crkve i samostani za potrebe opservanata: crkva Pohoda Blažene Djevice Marije u Pazinu podignuta je na periferiji grada, dok je crkva sv. Bernardina u Kamporu na Rabu na osami, a osim vrta posjedovale su i imanja (Škunca 1999, 24).

Međutim, unatoč podjelama unutar franjevačkog reda osnovna arhitektonska koncepcija franjevačkih crkava i samostana sagrađenih na proučavanom prostoru do kraja 16. stoljeća nije mijenjana jer su promjene koje su se dogodile u redu uglavnom bile ideološke (Esser 1972; Badurina 1990, 28-30). Te crkve obilježava sklad, funkcionalnost, jednostavnost i suzdržanost arhitektonskih ukrasa. Kada je riječ o samostanima i nadalje se upotrebljava klaustralni tip, koji su franjevci usvojili na početku svoga širenja. Klaustralni tip samostana sastoji se od arhitektonskog prstena

*idem* 2015, 179-180). These chapels are a reflection of the spirit of their time and the prevailing style in terms of the use of sculptural adornments, and the architectural-plastic motifs can also be found in the architecture of churches and public buildings significant to the region. Perhaps the adornments of these chapels were a reflection of the belief that the salvation of man took place in an opulent framework, which is consistent with the attainment of unity in the earthly and heavenly life. These chapels are a representation of the prevailing style, be it Gothic and/or Renaissance, an abundance and playfulness of decorations, so that these spaces in the Franciscan churches of Cres are the most decorative.

Regardless of who constructed the Franciscan churches (the aristocracy, the general public or the government) and where they were constructed (in the city, inside the city walls, far from the city, in isolated areas), their construction through long periods of time left its marks on their artistic figuration. It is impossible to determine their style clearly as they do not have a clear style. For example, the church of St. Francis in Pula retained its Romanesque tradition in its compact mass and the repertoire of architectural-plastic details (Demonja 2014, 127-133; *idem* 2015, 165); the Franciscan church on Pag has an apse which shows Gothic shapes in the way it was vaulted, while the triumphant arch of the apse and the facade have Renaissance features (Demonja 2015, 187; *idem* 2016, 217-218, 226, 228). The church of St. Francis in Komrčar on Rab has Gothic (a pointed and barrel-like vault in the nave and apse) and Renaissance features (a three part gable with semicircular shells with Renaissance decorations) (Demonja 2015, 184-187; *idem* 2016, 214-215, 224-225, 228). It is clear that some churches, most especially their interiors, were more or less altered in later centuries, for example, the church of St. Francis in Poreč, the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Košljun, St. Mary Magdalene in Porat (Krk) and St. Bernardino in Kampor (Rab).

The state, that is, political administrations, were also active in donating land for the construction of Franciscan churches and monasteries in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay, as well as elsewhere on the Croatian coast, constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The authorities regularly relied on the Franciscans and their skills in interacting with the common people, but the role of the Franciscans was manifold, as the position of their churches with monasteries also shaped the towns. They were positioned at important and busy points of the town; some even had the role of keeping and maintaining order (for example, those in the area of the Republic of Dubrovnik). They were a reflection of the



oblikovanog oko šuplje jezgre, četverokutnog dvorišta, kojem jednu stranicu tvori volumen crkve, a ostale tri stranice volumeni samostanskih krila (Badurina 1990, 11-14, 33-35). Razlika između samostana konventualaca i opservanata nije bila u primjeni drukčijih tipova već u veličini i bogatstvu arhitektonsko-plastičkih detalja. Oni su, pak, prije svega ovisili o stilskom razdoblju nastanka, bogatstvu donatora i sredine u kojoj se gradi te o vještini graditelja-majstora (Badurina 1990, 57-59).

Podjela franjevaca na ogranke djelovala je vrlo pozitivno na izgradnju njihovih crkava na cijeloj hrvatskoj obali, što je vrlo važno, pa se s pravom to razdoblje u povijesti franjevačkog reda naziva "franjevačka renesansa" (Škunca 1999). Riječ je, prije svega, o pozitivnom pomaku u kvantitativnom smislu, o izgradnji većeg broja crkava, a ne o usvajanju razvijenijih tlocrta ili bogatijoj primjeni arhitektonsko-plastičkog ukrasa. Premda bi se moglo pretpostaviti da opservanti u skladu sa strožim pridržavanjem i provođenjem pravila franjevačkog reda grade crkve manjih dimenzija, njihova je veličina ipak ovisila o prilikama mjesta, odnosno donatoru (Badurina 1990, 33-35).

## ISHODIŠTE: FRANJEVAČKE CRKVE U UMBRIJI I TOSKANI GRAĐENE DO KRAJA 16. STOLJEĆA

Regije Umbrija i Toskana kolijevka su novog duhovnog pokreta predvođenog tzv. prosjačkim redovima, među njima i franjevcima, na čijim su načelima i idejama osmišljena pravila gradnje crkava. Budući da su se utjecaji iz srednje Italije širili u druga područja, pa tako i na susjednu, istočnu obalu Jadrana, posve je opravdano prikazati izvorne tipove franjevačkih crkava jer se tako jasnije sagledavaju razvoj, utjecaji, dosezi i razlike franjevačkih crkava sagrađenih u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva te na hrvatskoj obali do kraja 16. stoljeća, nasuprot onima talijanskima.

Sredinom 13. stoljeća u Umbriji i Toskani nekoliko je izvora arhitektonskog nadahnuća. Još uvijek je živa romanička tradicija, a potom prevladavaju utjecaji francuske gotičke arhitekture prožete iskustvima njemačkih posrednika, ostvareni u cistercitskim crkvama i samostanima što su ih gradili francuski graditelji majstori. Postoji utjecaj malih arhitektonskih izvedbi, u kojima su se elementi sjevernjačke gotičke umjetnosti usvajali na poseban način, primjeren talijanskom ukusu i potrebama.

Franjevačke crkve srednje Italije, s obzirom na tlocrtnu oblike, pokazuju sljedeće tipove: crkve s pravokutnom

cultural level of the surrounding area and the capabilities and importance of the social community in which they were born and with which they lived. The Franciscans, because of their centralistic organisation, had, from the very onset, a pronounced political function in serving the Church and performed tasks that required great mobility (Badurina 1990, 40-42).

## The Formation of Franciscan Architecture in Light of the Development of the Franciscan Order

It is necessary to briefly examine various occurrences and events within the Franciscan Order and the consequences that they had on Franciscan architecture in Istria and on islands of the Kvarner Bay, as well as on the Croatian coast in general. Many monasteries possessed land that they rented so that the monks had satisfactory and secure incomes from which they could live more comfortably. With this, discipline within the Order began to wane and as a consequence, the monks began to detach themselves from the charisma of St. Francis and the underprivileged classes in society. As they could not stop this process, monks seeking renewal were forced to look for simpler lodgings not wanting to accept neither money nor property. In fact, they wanted to adhere to the regulations of St Francis more stringently and therefore called themselves *observantes* - observants, while monks that continued living in prosperous and comfortable monasteries were called *conventuales* - Conventual Franciscans. Neither of them wanted a split in the Franciscan Order, but events and tensions in the 15<sup>th</sup> century nonetheless resulted in a split. So that from the single *Ordinis fratrum minorum* came the formation of two branches, the Conventual Franciscans and the observant (Škunca 1999, 17-26). Two churches and monasteries were built in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay in the 15<sup>th</sup> century for the use of the observant order: the church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pazin was built on the outskirts of the city, while the church of St. Bernardino in Kapor on Rab was built in an isolated area, where, besides the garden, they also possessed property (Škunca 1999, 24).

However, despite the split within the Franciscan Order, basic architectural concepts in the construction of Franciscan churches and monasteries built in the researched region up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century did not change as changes in the Order were mainly of an ideological nature (Esser 1972; Badurina 1990, 28-30). These churches are characterised by harmony, functionality, simplicity and restraint in terms of architectural decoration. The cloistered



lađom s kapelama bočno od apside ili bez njih; crkve s jednom lađom i transeptom, među kojima se razlikuju dvije varijante: lađa i transept jednake su visine, a njihovo križište, odnosno spoj nije naglašen lukovima, i varijanta u kojoj je lađa viša od transepta, a na mjestu njihova spajanja (povezivanja) lukovi naglašeno odjeljuju krakove nižeg transepta od više lađe; potom crkve s dvije lađe, koje su takva tlocrtnog oblika zbog kasnijih preradbi i izmjena; i na kraju crkve s tri lađe (Biebrach 1908; Krönig 1938; isti 1971, 165-178; Curuni 1982). Međutim, pomnijom analizom razlikuju se franjevačke crkve i s obzirom na način svodenja pa se tako u Umbriji javljaju crkve s jednom lađom svedenom križnim svodom, podrijetlo kojih je, nesumnjivo, u crkvi S. Francesca u Assisiju; crkve s jednom lađom bez svoda; crkve s jednom svedenom lađom čiji je svod ojačan poprečnim lukovima; nesvedene dvoranske crkve i svedene dvoranske crkve (Krönig 1938; isti 1971; Héliot 1972; Zander 1973, 187-189).

Uočava se da u Umbriji izostaje tip crkve s tri lađe, poput bazilike, izražene širine i s osvijetljenjem iz srednje, glavne lađe, što potvrđuje primjenu onih tlocrtnih tipova koji se odlikuju jedinstvenom i potpunom sagledivošću unutrašnjosti. Međutim, postoje i neke varijante toga tipa, primjerice crkva S. Francesca u Orvietu, gdje je jedinstvo unutrašnjosti narušeno artikulacijom uzdužnih zidova svežnjastim polupilastrima spojenima visokim šiljastim lukovima (Bonelli 1958; Bozzoni 1982, 143).

Osim po tipu, franjevačke crkve u srednjoj Italiji treba razlikovati i s obzirom na njihove dimenzije (velike, srednje i male), smještaj (u središtu grada na mjestu širenja gradske jezgre, uz gradske zidine, izvan gradova, primjerice polururalne i ruralne, na usamljenim mjestima), odnos prema drugim građevinama (npr. pretežito samostanske ili one u vezi s relevantnim pastoralnim aktivnostima, crkve ženskih samostana), odnos veličina (dimenzija) lađe i apside te, naposljetku, grobljanske crkve posvećene svecu utemeljitelju, sv. Franji, obilježene monumentalnošću.

Takva je upravo najstarija i, s povijesnog gledišta, najznačajnija franjevačka crkva S. Francesca u Assisiju, iznimno monumentalna, ne samo u dimenzijama i izvedbi, već i u tlocrtnoj koncepciji. O ovoj crkvi postoji opsežna literatura, kako monografska, tako i ona problemska. Posebno zanimljivom za raspravu čini se monografija Edgara Hertleina, koji je temeljito proučio konstrukciju i arhitektonski oblik ove crkve (Hertlein 1964). Međutim, premda je ispravno uočio uzore i sličnosti donje, grobne crkve S. Francesca u Assisiju s Kristovom grobnom crkvom u Jeruzalemu, povukavši niz

type of monastery was still used, which Franciscans had embraced from the outset of their expansion. A cloistered type of monastery is made up of an architectural ring around a hollow centre, a quadrangular courtyard whereby one side forms the mass of the church, while the other three sides the mass of the monastery wings (Badurina 1990, 11-14, 33-35). The difference between the monastery of the conventuals and observants was not a different type of construction; rather, it was different in size and the abundance of architectural-plastic details. They depended on, above all, the style of the period, the prosperity of the donor and the region in which they were built, as well as the skills of the master builder (Badurina 1990, 57-59).

The splitting of the Franciscans in two branches had a positive effect on the construction of their churches on the whole Croatian coast, which is of great significance. As such, it is rightly that this period in the history of the Franciscan Order is called the "Franciscan Renaissance" (Škunca 1999). It had, above all, a positive shift in the quantitative sense, with the construction of a larger number of churches, not in the sense of adopting more developed ground plans or the ornate use of architectural-plastic decorations. Even though it may be assumed that observers, in accordance with strict adherence to the rules of the Franciscan order, made smaller churches, their size nevertheless depended on the region or donor (Badurina 1990, 33-35).

## **ORIGINS: FRANCISCAN CHURCHES IN UMBRIA AND TUSCANY CONSTRUCTED UP UNTIL THE END OF THE 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

The regions of Umbria and Tuscany are the birthplace of the new spiritual movement led by the so-called mendicant orders, among which were Franciscans, whose ideals and ideas formed the basis for the principles for the church's construction. As the influence of central Italy spread to other areas, including the neighbouring area of the Adriatic east coast, it is with reason that the original Franciscan types of churches be described. In this way, the development, influence, reach and differences between the Franciscan churches constructed in Istria and on islands of the Kvarner Bay as well as the Croatian coast in general up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and the Italian ones can be seen more clearly.

In the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century, there were many sources of architectural inspiration in Umbria and Tuscany. The Romanesque tradition was still alive, while later, the influence of French Gothic architecture permeated with the experience of their German counterparts

paralela s ostalim tipološki sličnim primjerima i naglasivši utjecaj francuske gotičke arhitekture na gradnju gornje crkve, Hertlein je odbacio mogućnost da je katedrala St. Mauricea u Angersu bila uzorom za gradnju gornje crkve S. Francesca u Assisiju. Usporede li se tlocrti i fotografije unutrašnjosti obiju crkava, uočava se da gornja crkva S. Francesca u Assisiju i katedrala u Angersu pokazuju sličnosti te da je potonja bila uzorom za gradnju asiške. Ta je sličnost već otprilike uočena u literaturi i dokumentirana (Krönig 1938, 36-48). Crkva S. Francesca u Assisiju i katedrala u Angersu jednobrodne su, križnog tlocrta, monumentalnih dimenzija, kvadratičnih lučno završenih otvora i križnih svodova na svežnjevima stupića koji plastički izlaze iz zidova dijeleći unutrašnjost na niz kvadratičnih polja, interkolumnija. Postoji horizontalna podjela zidova u dva pojasa: donji pojas je zatvoren, a slijedi, u dubini zida, otvoreni hodnik i nad njim svežnjevi stupića koji nose lukove svodova. Hertleinova pogrešna tumačenja argumentirano je i iscrpno analizirao Wolfgang Krönig (Krönig 1971, 166-175). Tipološke uzore gornje crkve S. Francesca u Assisiju, potkrijepljene brojnim arhitektonskim i fotografskim priložima, proučavao je Alessandro Curuni (Curuni 1982, 85-87), koji također ističe tlocrtnu sličnost gornje crkve S. Francesca u Assisiju s katedralom u Angersu, dok utjecaje crkve Saint-Remija i katedrale u Reimsu na gornju franjevačku crkvu u Assisiju pronalazi u obliku apside i vanjskom ophodu.

Crkva S. Francesca u Assisiju grobna je crkva sveca osnivača reda. Njezina je gradnja započela 1228. godine, kada je Franjo proglašen svecem, dvije godine poslije njegove smrti. Zbog raskošne arhitektonske i prostorne koncepcije te obilja zidnih slika i vitraža, a ponajprije zbog iznimne religiozne važnosti, asiška crkva S. Francesca jedna je od najvažnijih kršćanskih crkava. Arhitektonski stil te građevine, koja se sastoji od dvije crkve, naglašeno je inovativan, a njezin prototip je nepoznat. Donja crkva je masivnih zidova, polukružne apside, mračna i nalikuje kripti - ona je grobna crkva sv. Franje. Jednostavan tlocrt gornje crkve - jedna izdužena pravokutna lađa, istaknut transept i jedna peterostrana apside na istočnoj strani - donekle je razveden kasnijim dodavanjem kapela uz uzdužne zidove i izvedbom zapadnog transepta. Visoki zidovi crkve prekriveni su oslikanom zidnom dekoracijom, između koje se nalaze dvostruki visoki, uski i izduženi, šiljasto završeni prozori, udubljeni u zidu, koji pridonose ritmu kretanja u lađi. Takav način rješavanja zida i tlocrt sukladni su s tlocrtom i artikulacijom zida katedrale St. Mauricea u Angersu, građenom od sredine 12. stoljeća do prve trećine 13. stoljeća. Obje crkve u Assisiju, premda

prevailed. This can be seen in the Cistercian churches and monasteries built by French master builders. There is also the influence of small architectural constructions, in which elements of northern Gothic art were adopted in a special way, suitable to Italian tastes and needs.

The following types of Franciscan churches in central Italy, in regard to their ground plan shape, exist: churches with a rectangular nave with a chapel on the side of the apse or without one; churches with one nave and transept, among which there are two differing variants: a nave and transept with an identical height, where their intersection or joining section, is not highlighted with arches; churches with two naves, which have this ground plan shape due to later modifications and alterations; and finally, churches with three naves (Biebrach 1908; Krönig 1938; *idem* 1971, 165-178; Curuni 1982, 83-143). However, upon further analysis, Franciscan churches differ even in relation to the vaulting, and, as such, churches in Umbria appear with one nave vaulted with a crossed vault, the origin of which is undoubtedly the church of St. Francis in Assisi; churches with one nave without a vault; churches with one vaulted nave whose vault is reinforced with crossing arches; hall churches without a vault and hall churches with a vault (Krönig 1938; *idem* 1971; Héliot 1972; Zander 1973, 187-189).

It can be observed that in Umbria there are no types of churches with three naves, such as a basilica, rather wide, and lit from the middle, main nave, which confirms the use of ground plans that are distinguished by the unity and simplicity of the interior. However, there are some variants of this type, for example, the church of St. Francesco in Orvieto where the unity of the interior is disrupted by the articulation of longitudinal walls with bundled half-pilasters) connected by high pointed arches (Bonelli 1958; Bozzoni 1982, 143).

Besides type, Franciscan churches in central Italy should be distinguished in regard to their size (large, medium and small), location (in the middle of city where city centre widens, near the city walls, outside the city, for example, in semi-rural and rural areas, in isolated areas), its relation to other buildings (e.g. mainly monasterial or those associated with relevant pastoral activities, churches for female convents), the relative size (dimensions) of the nave and apse and, finally, cemetery churches dedicated to the founding saint, St. Francis, marked by monumentality.

That is exactly what the oldest and, from a historical point of view, most important Franciscan church is like, the church of St. Francis in Assisi, which is extremely monumental, not only in its size and construction, but

tlocrtno različite, zamišljene su i izvedene istovremeno, a njihova je gradnja završena 1239. godine (Biebrach 1908, 11; Krönig 1938, 36). Za razliku od donje crkve, gornja pokazuje iznimnu volumensku čistoću i u lađi nametljiv smisao za jedinstvenim, ujedinjenim prostorom, nenarušenim raščlanjivanjem u traveje uz pomoć stupova. Ravnoteža je uspostavljena ublažavanjem vertikalnog uzgona jednakovrijednim horizontalnim, odnosno svako izrazito horizontalno protezanje umanjeno je vertikalnim. Gornja crkva sigurnog gotičkog uzora i gotičkih arhitektonskih elemenata unutrašnjosti (križni svodovi sa šiljastim rebrima, usredotočenost na horizontalnu protegnutost koja je u suglasju s vertikalnim potpornjacima, artikulacija zidova lađe, transepta i apside, i sl.) jasno potvrđuje prodor francuske arhitektonske kulture u srednju Italiju. Vanjština pokazuje više odlike tradicionalne talijanske romanike nego francuskog gotičkog izraza, a slobodnostojeći zvonik stilski je posve romanički. Pročelje gornje crkve ima gotički portal, rozetu i okulus u zabatnom polju, ali horizontalno protezanje nije gotičko već romaničko.

Tip asiške franjevačke crkve, usprkos neospornoj činjenici da predstavlja crkvu maticu reda, slijedi vrlo malo crkava u regionalnom području, primjerice crkve S. Chiare u Assisiju (1257), S. Francesca u Perugi (oko 1230) i S. Francesca u Viterbu (Frankl 1962, 122). Crkva S. Chiare u Assisiju, jednobrodna, križnog tlocrta, imitacija je gornje crkve S. Francesca u Assisiju i među njima nema većih razlika, osim što je u crkvi S. Chiare dosljednije izražena neovisnost svoda od tankih zidova i reducirana je u dimenzijama (Krönig 1938, 48-51; Curuni 1982, 88-90). Unutrašnjost je organizirana kao u crkvi S. Francesca u Assisiju: kretanje je usmjereno prema oltaru, naglasci su na trodijelnim stupićima pilastara, lukovima prozora i rebrima svodova. Ograničeno vertikalno protezanje vidljivo je na pročelju, koje pokazuje romaničku tradiciju. Njegova visoka, pravokutna, ravna ploha horizontalno je podijeljena kamenim vijencima. Donji dio ima ulazna vrata i ublažava svaku vertikalnu usmjerenost, a gornji je površinski neutralan, s prozorskom ružom i završen zabatom s malim okulusima. Pročelje je naglašene širine u odnosu na visinu, oživljeno je horizontalnim trakama ružičastog i bijelog kamena, a kosina njegova zabata nije jako strma.

Konstrukcija crkve S. Francesca u Gualdo Tadinu slična je onoj crkve S. Francesca u Assisiju, ali je ovdje samo djelomično preuzeto rješenje koje pokazuje tipološku sličnost crkvi matici (Krönig 1938, 46-48; isti 1971, 175-176). Dakle, crkva S. Francesca u Gualdo Tadinu sastoji se od jedne lađe svedene križnim

also in regard to the ground plan concept. There is much literature that exists regarding this church, be it in monographs or articles dealing with certain issues. Of particular interest for this discussion is the monograph of Edgar Hertlein, who studied the construction and architectural shape of this church in great depth (Hertlein 1964). However, even though he rightfully observed the inspiration and similarities of the lower, cemetery church of St. Francis in Assisi with the church of Christ's grave in Jerusalem, interlacing a series of parallels with other, typologically similar examples and stressing the influence of Franciscan Gothic architecture on the construction of the upper church, Hertlein dismissed the possibility that the church of St. Maurice in Angers was the model for the construction of the church of St. Francis in Assisi. If the ground plans and photographs of the interior of the two churches are compared, one will notice that the upper church of St. Francis in Assisi and the cathedral of Angers have many similarities, and that the latter was the inspiration for the construction of the church in Assisi. These similarities had been noticed previously in literature and have been documented (Krönig 1938, 36-48). The church of St. Francis in Assisi and the cathedral in Angers both have one nave, a cross ground plan, are of a monumental size, square arched openings and cross bars on the bundles of columns that plastically protrude from the walls dividing the interior into a series of square fields, intercolumns. There is a horizontal division of the walls in two zones: the lower zone is closed and follows, in the depths of the wall, an open hallway and above it, a cluster of columns which hold the arches of the vaults. Hertlein's erroneous interpretation was argued and analysed in depth by Wolfgang Krönig (Krönig 1971, 166-175). Typological role models for the upper church of St. Francis in Assisi, supported by many architectural and photographic supplements, were researched by Alessandro Curuni (Curuni 1982, 85-87), who also points out the similarities in the ground plans of the upper church of St. Francis in Assisi with the cathedral in Angers, while influences from the churches of Saint Remi and the cathedral in Reims on the upper Franciscan church in Assisi can be seen in the shape of the apse and the external ambulatory.

The church of St. Francis in Assisi is a cemetery church dedicated to the founding saint of the Order. Its construction began in 1228, when Francis was canonised two years after his death. Because of its luxurious architecture and spatial concept, with numerous wall paintings and stained glass windows, as well as its religious significance, the church of St. Francis in Assisi is one of the most important Christian churches. The architectural



svodom, poprečnim lukovima podijeljene na tri traveja, i poligonalne, sedmerostrane apside (peterostranu apsidu ima gornja crkva S. Francesca u Assisiju). Ima svežnjaste pilastre reducirane na tri stupića (u franjevačkoj crkvi u Assisiju svežanj se sastoji od pet stupića) i samo jedan, južni krak transepta nakalemljen na južni zid trećeg traveja (asiška crkva S. Francesca ima oba kraka transepta). Na uzdužnim zidovima, u svakom traveju, nalaze se po dvije niše.

Uz zaista skroman broj franjevačkih crkava koje predstavljaju tipološku inačicu izravno preuzetu od crkve matice u Assisiju, neki primjeri franjevačkih crkava, čija je izvedba u cjelini izvorna i originalna, pokazuju povezanost s francuskim gotičkim uzorima. Primjerice, crkva S. Fortunata u Todiju, čija je gradnja započela 1292. godine (Curuni 1982, 139-142; Krönig 1938, 73-91; isti 1971, 187-189; White 1993, 38-41). U izvedbi te crkve ostvaren je monumentalan učinak, sličan onome crkve S. Francesca u Assisiju, te je s gledišta monumentalnosti unutar franjevačke sakralne arhitekture crkva u Todiju, uz onu u Assisiju, u suprotnosti s asketskom prirodom franjevačkog reda. Njezine tri lađe jednake visine, s gotičkim stupovima složenima od osam stupića, pokazuju preuzimanje rješenja gotičke dvoranske crkve, odnosno sličnost koja se ogleda u pozivanju na prijašnje arhitektonske uzore, prije svega na katedralu u Poitiersu s kraja 12. stoljeća, posebno što se tiče rješenja svoda. Ključna je razlika da su glavna lađa i bočni brodovi katedrale u Poitiersu jednake širine, dok je u crkvi S. Fortunata u Todiju glavna lađa dva puta šira od bočnih brodova. Dakle, može se zaključiti da neke franjevačke crkve s kraja 12. i iz 13. stoljeća u srednjoj Italiji obilježava u većoj mjeri preuzimanje drukčijeg, izmijenjenog oblika gotičke katedrale francuskog podrijetla, koji se infiltrira u lokalnu talijansku sredinu oblikujući poseban arhitektonski izraz, zamjetan i u drugim crkvama, kao i onima na širem području. Primjerice, katedrala u Sieni, jasnog longitudinalnog tijela, pokazuje izvor u crkvi Notre Dame-la-Grande u Poitiersu i bila je uzorom za gradnju gotičkih crkava u srednjoj Italiji (Krönig 1938, 130; isti 1971, 171-172), ili pak bazilika S. Antonija u Padovi, koja priziva uzore starijih vremena iz istočne Francuske (Wagner-Rieger 1955; White 1993, 41-44).

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Iz navedenih primjera nije moguće uspostaviti razvoj osnovnog tipa franjevačke crkve. Često se crkva S. Francesca u Assisiju zbog konstrukcije, stilskog izraza i reprezentativnosti te zato što je u njoj pokopan sv. Franjo smatrala uzorom za gradnju franjevačkih crkava,

style of this building, which is made up of two churches, is highly innovative and its prototype unknown. The lower church has massive walls, semicircular apses, dark and akin to a crypt - it is the cemetery church of St. Francis. The simple ground plan of the upper church - one prolonged rectangular apse, a prominent transept and one five-sided apse on the eastern side - was somewhat indented by the later addition of the chapel along the longitudinal walls and the construction of the western transept. The high walls of the church are covered in wall decorations, between which are high, double, narrow, long and pointed windows which are embedded in the walls and give a certain rhythm when walking through the nave. This type of wall and ground plan arrangement is consistent with the ground plan and wall articulation of the cathedral of St. Maurice in Angers, built from the mid 12<sup>th</sup> century to the first third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Both churches in Assisi, despite differences in ground plans, were conceived and constructed at the same time, and their construction completed in 1239 (Biebrach 1908, 11; Krönig 1938, 36). Unlike the lower church, the upper one is quite orderly in terms of mass and the nave gives intriguing sense to the unique and unified space, undisrupted by splitting in traves with the help of columns. Equilibrium is achieved through subduing vertical lifts with an equal measure of horizontal lifts, that is, each distinctly horizontal extension is reduced by a vertical one. The upper church which is most certainly inspired by the Gothic style and the Gothic architectural elements of its interior (crossed vaults with pointed ribs, focus on the horizontal extensions that are balanced out with vertical posts, the wall articulation of the nave, transept and apse, etc.), clearly proves the reach that French architectural culture had on central Italian. The exterior shows more of the features of the traditional Italian Romanesque rather than French Gothic style, while the freestanding belfry is completely Romanesque in style. The facade of the upper church has a Gothic portal, rosette and oculus in the tympanum. However, the horizontal extensions are not Gothic but rather, Romanesque.

Very few churches in the region followed the example of the Franciscan type church in Assisi, despite the fact that it is the central church of the Order. For example, the church of St. Clare of Assisi (1257), St. Francis in Perugia (around 1230) and St. Francis in Viterbo (Frankl 1962, 122). The church of St. Clare in Assisi, with a single nave and cross ground plan, is an imitation of the upper church of St. Francis of Assisi and there are no major differences between them, except that the church of St. Clare consistently exemplifies the independence of the vaults from the thin walls, and is smaller in size



što je netočno. To potkrjepljuju primjeri franjevačkih crkava koje pokazuju posve drukčije tipološke oblike, jednostavnije od crkve matice, skromnije i reduciranije u dimenzijama. Franjevačke su crkve jedinstvena grupa arhitekture i primjenjuju arhitektonski tip koji je odgovarao okupljanju velikog broja vjernika oko propovjednika. Riječ je o crkvama jedinstvenog longitudinalnog prostora lađe, građene u obliku velike i prostrane pravokutne odaje. Jednostavnost prostorne sheme odgovarala je osnovnim zahtjevima kulta, a izgradnja je tražila relativno mala materijalna sredstva. Uzori tom arhitektonskom tipu nisu gotičke katedrale, jer franjevačke crkve obilježava redukcija, što je ostvarenje asketskog načela, a to nije nikako gotička crta. Stoga uzori za gradnju franjevačkih crkava nisu izravno preuzeti gotički tlocrtni oblici već prerada, izmjena i oblikovanje onih tlocrta koji odgovaraju općim načelima franjevačkog reda, dakle jednostavnosti, skromnosti i siromaštvu. Postoje i rijetke franjevačke crkve koje su izvorno planirane kao gotičke, kakva je, primjerice, crkva S. Francesca u Bologni (White 1993, 25-27). Riječ je o trobrodnoj crkvi s deambulatorijem i devet radijalnih kapela poduprtih kontraforima, bez čipkastih gotičkih prozora i s pročeljem dominantnog romaničkog učinka. Premda ta crkva pokazuje redukciju pojedinih arhitektonskih elemenata katedrala i prostornu racionalizaciju cistercijske arhitekture (prepoznatljivu u radijalnom sistemu kapela), čistoća formalnih detalja (šesterodijelni svodovi glavne lađe koji nemaju ničeg franjevačkog) i zadržavanje strukturalnih elemenata gotičke arhitekture čine je vrlo gotičkom.

Za daljnje tumačenje razvoja osnovnog tipološkog obrasca franjevačkih crkava važno je istraživanje Kurta Biebracha, koji je dao svojevrsnu evolucijsku interpretaciju tipološke klasifikacije (Biebrach 1908). Biebrachova je klasifikacija osobito zanimljiva jer neki primjeri crkava kojima se koristi za potkrjepu predloženih tipova pokazuju sukladnosti s pojedinim franjevačkim crkvama izgrađenima na hrvatskoj obali (Demonja 2013, 87-203).

Dakle, Biebrachova klasifikacija ima polazište u jednostavnom tipu crkve koji se sastoji od pravokutne lađe i svetišta s tri četverokutne apside, a primjer mu je crkva S. Francesca u Cortoni (Biebrach 1908, 14-17). Tome tipu sukladan je onaj koji se sastoji od pravokutne lađe i jedne kvadratične apside, kako pokazuje crkva S. Francesca u Arroneu, ili poligonalne apside, o čemu svjedoče crkve S. Francesca u Montoni i S. Nicola u Spoletu (Bozzoni 1982, 146). Povezan je s prethodnim tipom crkve sa svetištem s tri apside, kod kojeg bočne

(Krönig 1938, 48-51; Curuni 1982, 88-90). The interior is organised just as in the church of St. Francis in Assisi: orientation is towards the altar, focus is on the three part columns of the pilasters, arched windows and ribs of the vault. Limited vertical extensions are visible on the facade, which shows its Romanesque tradition. Its high, rectangular, flat surface is horizontally divided by stone cornices. The lower part has an entrance and neutralises all vertical extensions, while the upper part is on the surface neutral, with a rose window and tympanum with a small oculus. The facade is quite wide compared to its height, enlivened by horizontal bands of pink and white stone, while the angle of its tympanum is not very steep.

The construction of the church of St. Francis in Gualdo Tadino is similar to the church of St. Francis in Assisi, but only part of the design was used which shows typological similarities to the central church (Krönig 1938, 46-48; *idem* 1971, 175-176). As such, the church of St. Francis in Gualdo Tadino is made up of one nave vaulted with a cross vault, transverse arches divided into three groin vaults and polygonal, seven-sided apses (the upper church of St. Francis of Assisi has a five-sided apse). It has clustered columns reduced to three columns (in the church of St. Francis in Assisi, the clustered columns are made up of five columns) and just one, southern arm of the transept connected to the southern wall of the third groin vault (the church of St. Francis in Assisi has both arms of the transept). On the longitudinal walls, in each groin vault, are two more.

With only a very few Franciscan churches that have the typological features directly taken from the central church in Assisi, some examples of Franciscan churches, whose construction was on the whole original, show a connection with French Gothic ideals. For example, the church of Saint Fortunato in Todi, whose construction began in 1292 (Curuni 1982, 139-142; Krönig 1938, 73-91; *idem* 1971, 187-189; White 1993, 38-41). A monumental effect was achieved in the construction of this church, similar to that in the church of St. Francis in Assisi. From the viewpoint of monumentality in Franciscan sacral architecture, the church in Todi, as well as that in Assisi, is in direct conflict with the ascetic nature of the Franciscan Order. Its three naves which are equal in height, with Gothic columns arranged in eight smaller columns, show that it took its lead from Gothic hall churches. That is to say, similarities that are reflected in the representation of previous architectural role models, above all the cathedral in Poitiers from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, are most apparent especially in regard to the construction of the vault. The key difference is that the

apside izlaze iz tlocrtnog perimetra, kako je ostvareno u primjeru crkve S. Francesca u Ascianu (Biebrach 1908, 23–25). Idući razvojni stupanj pokazuje tip crkve pravokutne lađe s tri apside i nižim, bočnim kapelama sa strane. Takav tlocrtni oblik ima crkva S. Francesca u Pesci (Biebrach 1908, 39–40). Složeniji tip predstavljaju crkve jednostavne pravokutne lađe, sa svetištem s jednom većom srednjom apsidom i nizom manjih, nanizanih uz krakove transepta, na koje se otvaraju lukovima, kako je to izvedeno u crkvi S. Francesca u Pisi (Biebrach 1908, 45–47; White 1993, 248) ili, pak, u crkvi S. Francesca u Sieni (Biebrach 1908, 52–54; White 1993, 231–234). Varijantu tipa crkve s jednom lađom predstavljaju one svedene šiljastim svodom sa susvodnicama, odnosno poprečnim lukovima šiljastog profila. Ta tipološka inačica rasprostranjena je u središnjem talijanskom području. Razloge česte primjene toga tipa Wolfgang Krönig tumači njegovim tehničkim, ekonomskim i estetskim prednostima, koje se ogledaju u jednostavnosti izvedbe, velikoj čvrstoći i otpornosti na vatru, a pružaju i raznolike mogućnosti artikulacije unutrašnjosti (npr. ritmičko nizanje lukova). Najkarakterističniji primjeri tih crkava su crkve S. Francesca u Piedlucu, S. Francesca u San Geminiju, S. Francesca u Teramu, i druge (Krönig 1938, 66–68; isti 1971, 179–183). Izvor tog strukturalnog rješenja nalazi se u rezidencijalnim građevinama cistercita, koji su i inače imali velik utjecaj na oblikovanje franjevačkih crkava, osobito na usvajanje kvadratične apside, karakterističnog elementa cistercitskih crkava (Aubert 1943, 64). Franjevci preuzimaju šiljaste svodove sa susvodnicama iz velikih gradskih palača, odnosno bilježničkih dvorana građenih u ono doba u Perugi, Orvietu, Todiju, Spoletu, Viterbu i drugdje. Ulogu svjetovne arhitekture, njezin utjecaj na franjevačku crkvenu arhitekturu i primjere protumačio je Krönig (Krönig 1938, 72–73; isti 1971, 182). Čini se da franjevci namjerno u svoju sakralnu arhitekturu uvode elemente i rješenja koja imaju podrijetlo u profanoj arhitekturi, čime zapravo inzistiraju na praktičnosti crkava, a preuzeti arhitektonski rječnik obogaćuju te ga upotrebljavaju u brojnim tipološkim inačicama.

Važan trenutak u završnoj fazi evolucije osnovnog tipa jest ustroj dvoranske crkve (Hallenkirche). Ona se sastoji najčešće od tri, ponekad i pet svedenih lađa, istih visina, proporcionalnih njihovim dužinama. Kod tih crkava postoji izražena namjera usredotočivanja prostora, no primjeri pokazuju da se u takvim rješenjima nije nikada u cijelosti mogao razviti jedinstven, neprekinut, neometan prostor. Kod dvoranskih je crkava bitno da sve lađe dosežu jednaku visinu i da se cezura, koja je prije postojala među lađama, ukida. Riječ je o ostvarenju

main nave and the side naves of the cathedral in Poitiers are equal in width while the main nave in the church of St. Fortunato in Todi is twice the width of the side naves. As such, it can be concluded that some Franciscan churches from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries in central Italy are to a large extent marked by taking other, amended shapes of Gothic cathedral of French origin, that infiltrate the local Italian region, creating a special architectural expression, noteworthy in other churches, as well as those in the wider area. For example, the cathedral in Siena, with a clear longitudinal body, where one can see its origins in the church of Notre Dame-la-Grande in Poitiers, and was the role model for the construction of Gothic churches in central Italy (Krönig 1938, 130; *idem* 1971, 171–172), or the Basilica of St. Anthony in Padua, which was influenced by former periods in eastern France (Wagner–Rieger 1955; White 1993, 41–44).

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It is not possible to establish the development of the original type of Franciscan church from the aforementioned examples. Often, due to its construction, stylistic expression, representation, as well as the fact that St. Francis is buried there, the church of St. Francis in Assisi was considered a role model for the construction of Franciscan churches which is simply not the case. This can be corroborated with examples of Franciscan churches which have a completely different typological shape, which is much simpler than the central church, more modest and smaller in size. Franciscan churches are a unique group of architecture and apply an architectural type which served for the congregation of a large number of believers around the preacher. The churches have a uniquely longitudinal nave space, constructed in the shape of a large and spacious rectangular chamber. The simplicity of the spatial design was in line with the basic demands of the cult, while the construction cost relatively little. The role models for these types of architecture are not Gothic cathedrals, as Franciscan churches are markedly reduced, which is a reflection of their ascetic principles, and is certainly not a Gothic trait. As such, the role models for the construction of Franciscan churches are not directly drawn from Gothic ground plans, but rather from the adaptation, modification and reshaping of ground plans which suited the general principles of the Franciscan Order, i.e. simplicity, modesty and poverty. There are a few rare Franciscan churches that were originally planned as Gothic, for example, the church of St. Francis in Bologna (White 1993, 25–27). It is a church with three naves with ambulatory and nine radial chapels supported by buttresses, without laced Gothic windows

visokokvalitetnog arhitektonskog zadatka, a najdomljiviji je primjer crkva S. Fortunata u Todiju (Krönig 1938, 73-91; isti 1971, 187-189; Curuni 1982, 139-142; White 1993, 39-40).

## FRANJEVAČKE CRKVE U ISTRI I NA OTOCIMA KVARNERSKOG ZALJEVA GRAĐENE DO KRAJA 16. STOLJEĆA

### Smještaj franjevačkih crkava u prostoru

Franjevačke crkve razlikuju se s obzirom na smještaj, odnosno mjesta na kojima se podižu, što proizlazi iz njihova povijesnog značenja. Budući da je u osnovnim zadaćama franjevačkog reda propovijedanje, dakle misionarska djelatnost, posve je razumljivo da su prve franjevačke crkve smještene u gradovima ili u njihovoj blizini, u području određene koncentracije stanovništva, odnosno neposrednog širenja reda. Stoga se i prve franjevačke crkve (sa samostanima) javljaju najprije na onim prostorima koji su bili urbano najrazvijeniji. Ali, ne smije se zanemariti činjenica da postoje i franjevačke crkve koje su podignute na osamljenim mjestima.

Ako se kao osnovno polazište u proučavanju smještaja franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva prihvati kronološka odrednica, tada se uočava da se prve franjevačke crkve, izgrađene u 13. i idućem 14. stoljeću, javljaju unutar gradskih zidina. O smještaju crkava (i samostana) franjevačkog reda odlučivali su praktični razlozi, odnosno raspoloživo slobodno zemljište u gradu. Međutim, i obrambena odrednica u podizanju franjevačkih kompleksa, pa tako i crkava, bila je značajna. Naime, smještaj franjevačkih crkava i samostana uz gradske zidine ili gradska vrata nije imao za svrhu samo pojačavanje sustava utvrda već su se franjevci brinuli o održavanju zidina, a njihova redovnička pouzdanost i uloga "dojavljivača" o mogućim nepozvanim došljacima u gradove bila je također značajna (Badurina 1990, 32-33, 36-37, 40-44). Ovdje je riječ o uobičajenom usvajanju pravila srednjovjekovnog urbanizma, koji je naročitu pozornost posvećivao obrambenoj ulozi.

Prema podacima, franjevci u gradove ulaze već poslije 1220. godine (Wadding I 1931, 333; isti II 1931, 54). Smještaju se u predgrađa, s unutrašnje strane gradskih zidina, tik uz gradska vrata, koja su najprometnija mjesta. To je u skladu s pokretljivošću franjevaca, a ona je pak u vezi s temeljnim zadaćama koje izvršavaju prema puku: propovijedi, ispovijedi, pokori i obraćenju. Poslije Franjine smrti, u većem broju grade se franjevačke crkve i samostani u svim većim europskim gradovima, a podižu ih vladari, knezovi i moćni feudalci, poklanjajući im

and a predominantly Romanesque facade. Despite the fact that this church has a reduction in certain architectural elements of a cathedral and the spatial rationalisation of Cistercian architecture (recognisable by its radial chapel system), the purity of its formal details (a six-part vault in the main nave which has no Franciscan characteristics) and possessing structural architectural Gothic elements, make it very Gothic.

For a further detailed explanation of the development of the basic typological forms of Franciscan churches, the research of Kurt Biebrach is vital as it offered an evolutionary interpretation of their typological classification (Biebrach 1908). Biebrach's classification is particularly interesting as some examples used to corroborate the types proposed are compatible with certain Franciscan churches constructed on the Croatian coast (Demonja 2013, 87-203).

As such, Biebrach's classification has its starting point in a simple type of church made up of a rectangular nave and sanctuary with three quadrangular apses, an example being the church of St. Francis in Cortona (Biebrach 1908, 14-17). This type is in line with one that consists of a rectangular nave and one quadrangular apse, as can be seen in the church of St. Francis in Arrone, or a polygonal apse as is the case in the church of St. Francis in Montone and St. Nicholas in Spoleto (Bozzoni 1982, 146). It is tied to the aforementioned type of churches with a sanctuary with three apses, whereby the side apse protrudes from the perimeter of the ground plan, as is the case in the church of St. Francis in Asciano (Biebrach 1908, 23-25). The next development is a type of church with a rectangular nave and three apses and a lower chapel on the side. The church of St. Francis in Pescia has this type of ground plan (Biebrach 1908, 39-40). A more complex type of church is one with a simple rectangular nave, with a sanctuary with one larger central apse and a series of smaller, aligned apses on the arms of the transept, upon which open arches, as is the case in the church of St. Francis in Pisa (Biebrach 1908, 45-47; White 1993, 248) or the church of St. Francis in Siena (Biebrach 1908, 52-54; White 1993, 231-234). A variant of churches with one nave are those that are vaulted with a pointed vault with sections or crossed pointed arches. This typological construction is widespread in the central Italian region. Wolfgang Krönig explains that the reasons for its widespread use are its technical, economic and aesthetic advantages, which are reflected in its simple construction, great strength and fire resistance, and provide a variety of options for interior articulation (e.g. the rhythmic alignment of arches). The most characteristic



zemljišta i/ili novac (Badurina 1990, 32 i dalje). Kasnije, sredinom 13. stoljeća, biskupi daruju franjevcima već gotove crkve u gradovima pa se tako uloga franjevaca sve više učvršćuje i oni preuzimaju gotovo sve važnije funkcije u religioznom životu (Wadding IV 1931, 289). Krajem 13. stoljeća jača gradnja gradova, a sukladno tome franjevci se nalaze u gotovo svakom europskom gradu (Goff 1970; Raukar 1999, 10). Podizanje franjevačkih samostana i crkava unutar grada postaje pravilo pa su oni uz katedralu i trg važni činitelji prostorne organizacije grada. Brojni su primjeri smještaja franjevačkih crkava sa samostanima uz gradska vrata i na hrvatskoj obali: u Krku, Šibeniku, Dubrovniku i drugdje (Demonja 2013, 56, 58–59).

Prostori, arhitektonske mase i oblik franjevačkih samostanskih kompleksa podignutih u gradu doživjeli su izrazite promjene. S obzirom da je u gradu zemljište ograničeno i skupo, franjevci svoje prostore organiziraju vertikalno, u visinu. Benediktinci, koji su bili vezani uz zemlju, gradili su svoje samostane horizontalno, u širinu, a samostanske jedinice podizane su prizemno. Franjevci se od benediktinaca razlikuju u načinu gradnje, koji odudara od dotadašnje tradicije (Badurina 1990, 38 i dalje). To je ovisilo ne samo o veličini zemljišta već i o broju redovnika koji u samostanu obitavaju. Kako se način života franjevaca razlikuje od onog tradicionalnih redova, primjerice benediktinaca, došlo je i do promjene namjena prostora u kojima žive. Franjevcima zemlja nije glavni izvor sredstava za život pa su gospodarski prostori smanjeni, a povećani su oni društveni, namijenjeni javnosti, kao što su crkva, klaustar, itd. (Badurina 1990, 38–39).

Franjevci oblikuju prostornu sredinu u kojoj se nalaze. Crkve sa samostanima ostavljale su tragove utjecaja u urbanizaciji, koja je u Europi izrazita u 13. i 14. stoljeću (Badurina 1990, 40; Raukar 1999, 14–15). Franjevačke crkve i samostani svojom brojnošću utječu ne samo na društveno-političko oblikovanje sredine već su oni važne društvene komponente grada (Badurina 1990, 41; Raukar 1999, 15–16). Međutim, franjevci nisu grad koristili samo kao novi oblik života već su ga i razvijali (Goff 1970, 926). Smještajem u predgrađima, izgradnjom svojih crkava sa samostanima, franjevci oblikuju taj dio grada, koji je poglavito bio urbanistički neoblikovan i neodređen. Crkva sa samostanom tako postaje osnovna urbanistička jedinica oko koje će se dalje organizirati i graditi. Kraj njih se gotovo redovito nalaze manje proširene površine nalik trgu, kako je to, primjerice, s južne strane crkve sv. Franje u Poreču (Ivančević 1963–1964; isti 1987, 103–110) ili sa zapadne,

examples of these churches are the church of St. Francis in Piediluco, St. Francis in San Gimignano, St. Francis in Teramo and others (Krönig 1938, 66–68; *idem* 1971, 179–183). The source of these structural designs can be found in the residential buildings of the Cistercians, who had a great influence of the shaping of the Franciscan churches, most especially in adopting quadrangular apses, a characteristic element of Cistercian churches (Aubert 1943, 64). The Franciscans adopted pointed vaults with smaller vaults from large town palaces, or notary hills built at the time in Perugia, Orvieto, Todi, Spoleto, Viterbo and elsewhere. The role of international architecture, its influence of Franciscan church architecture, as well as examples, were studied by Krönig (Krönig 1938, 72–73; *idem* 1971, 182). It seems that the Franciscans intentionally introduced elements and designs in their sacral architecture that were originally found in secular architecture, thus insisting on the practicality of the churches, and enriching the architectural vocabulary and using it in numerous typological versions.

An important moment in the final evolutionary phase of the basic type is the structure of the hall church (Hallenkirche). It is usually made up of three, sometimes five vaulted naves, all of the same height in proportion to their length. In these churches there is a pronounced intent of focusing on the space, but examples show that these designs were never fully able to develop a unique, uninterrupted, undisturbed space. In hall churches, it is important that all the vaults are of the same height and that the caesura, which had previously existed between the naves, is abolished. It is the accomplishment of a high-quality architectural task, and the most fitting example is the church of St. Fortunato in Todi (Krönig 1938, 73–91; *idem* 1971, 187–189; Curuni 1982, 139–142; White 1993, 39–40).

## **FRANCISCAN CHURCHES IN ISTRIA AND ON THE ISLANDS OF THE KVARNER BAY CONSTRUCTED UP UNTIL THE END OF THE 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

### **The Location of Franciscan Churches in the Area**

Franciscan churches vary regarding their location, that is, the location in which they are built, which derives from their historical significance. Considering that the basic tasks of the Franciscan Order were preaching and missionary work, it is completely understandable that the first Franciscan churches were built in the cities or in the vicinity of cities, in populous areas, where the Order could then spread. As such, the first Franciscan churches (with monasteries) appeared first in areas that were developed



pročelne strane crkve sv. Frane u Zadru ili, pak, one sv. Jeronima u Slanom i drugdje, no ti prostori nemaju ni naziv ni funkciju trga (Demonja 2013, 54). Riječ je o protočnim površinama koje, premda nastaju nauštrb samostanskog kompleksa, ne pripadaju njemu već gradu, a služe vjernicima za brži i lakši ulaz i izlaz iz crkve, dakle za lakšu komunikaciju.

Snažan i uglavnom geometrijski pravilan volumen franjevačkog samostana s crkvom nije bio samo ključan činitelj urbanizacije dijela grada u kojem se nalazio, već je smještaj na određenom mjestu, poglavito kraj gradskih vrata, imao i drugu vrlo važnu ulogu – obrambenu. Naime, pri smještanju samostana prosjačkih, propovjedničkih redova nisu odlučivali samo praktični razlozi raspoloživosti slobodnog zemljišta u gradu već je srednjovjekovni urbanizam uključivao i one obrambene: smještajem samostana uz zidine pojačavao se utvrđni sustav, a dobro organizirana samostanska zajednica bila je dovoljno pouzdana za obavljanje zadaće stražarenja, moguće i one obrambene (Ivančević 1987, 109–110; Badurina 1990, 43). Primjeri franjevačkih samostana s crkvama na hrvatskoj obali, koji su svojim smještajem, tlocrtima i konstrukcijom imali izrazito obrambeni značaj jesu oni u Dubrovniku, Krku i drugdje (Demonja 2013, 55).

I dok se u 13. i 14. stoljeću franjevačke crkve i samostani grade uglavnom u predgrađima, pokraj gradskih vrata, u 15. stoljeću gradovi se šire pa ono što je nekoć bila periferija sada postaje središte. Tako su se franjevački samostani s crkvama, primjerice u Puli i Senju, našli u središtu grada (Demonja 2013, 55). Međutim, i franjevačke crkve sa samostanima koje se grade dalje od gradova imaju važnu ulogu u oblikovanju prostorne sredine. To je slijedom primjera franjevačkih crkava i samostana na dubrovačkom području pokazao Anđelko Badurina (Badurina 1990, 55–57). Oni, naime, svojim smještajem, položajem, ali i oblikom i prostorima predstavljaju jezgru, začetak daljnje organizacije prostora i oblikovanja predjela. Njihov smještaj u pejzažu počesto je na strateški važnom mjestu pa im je funkcija često primarno obrambena. Zanimljiv primjer su franjevački samostani s crkvama na dubrovačkom području, primjerice crkve sa samostanima sv. Vlaha u Pridvorju, Rođenja Blažene Djevice Marije na Lopudu, Gospe od Anđela u Orebićima i druge, koji su smješteni na strateški najvažnijim mjestima na tome prostoru (Badurina 1990, 56–57; Demonja 2013, 55). Nakon prestanka te funkcije, oko njih se počinju podizati stambene zgrade pa nastaju mala naselja. Međutim, gledajući u odnosu prema okolini, oblici samostana neće imati toliko izraziti

in an urban way. But, the fact that there are Franciscan churches built in isolated areas should not be ignored.

If the basic starting point for the study of the location of the Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay is accepted as a chronological sequence, then the first Franciscan churches, built in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, appear within the city walls. The location of churches (and monasteries) of the Franciscan Order was decided upon due to practical reasons, that is, available disposable land in the town. However, a determining and important factor was also defence when constructing a Franciscan complex, including a church. Namely, the location of the Franciscan churches and monasteries near the city walls or the city gate did not have the purpose of strengthening the fortress system alone – the Franciscans also maintained the walls and the reliability of the Order and their role as “messenger” regarding possible, uninvited newcomers in the town were also important (Badurina 1990, 32–33, 36–37, 40–44). This was how the rules of medieval urbanism were usually adopted where special attention was given to the role of defence.

According to records, the Franciscans began entering cities after 1220 (Wadding I 1931, 333; *idem* II 1931, 54). They lived in the suburbs, within the city walls, right next to the city gates, in other words, in the busiest places. This in line with the mobility of the Franciscans and is connected to the underlying tasks that they had in regard to the common population: preach, confess, give penance and convert. After Francis' death, a larger number of Franciscan churches and monasteries was built in all major European cities, and they were constructed by rulers, lords and powerful feudatories, donating land and/or money to them (Badurina 1990, 32 and further). Later, in the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century, bishops donated already constructed churches in cities to them so that the role of the Franciscans is further strengthened and they occupy almost all the important functions in religious life (Wadding IV 1931, 289). At the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century construction increases in towns and cities and accordingly, the Franciscans can be found in almost every European city (Goff 1970; Raukar 1999, 10). The construction of Franciscan monasteries and churches within the city becomes the norm and, in addition to cathedrals and squares, is an important factor of the spatial organisation of the town. There are numerous examples of the location of Franciscan churches with monasteries near the city gates on the Croatian coast as well: in Krk, Šibenik, Dubrovnik and elsewhere (Demonja 2013, 56, 58–59).

The space, architectural mass and shape of Franciscan monastery complexes erected in towns underwent great

utjecaj koliko njihovi arhitektonski i plastički detalji, koji će se koristiti i na stambenoj arhitekturi (Badurina 1990, 57-59).

Svojim uglavnom monumentalnim volumenima franjevačke crkve i samostani davali su mjestima na kojima su se nalazili reprezentativno obilježje, a zvoncima vertikalni naglasak. Najslikovitije to dočarava Dubrovnik i na Stradunu smještaj i oblikovno značenje samostanskog kompleksa Male braće (Badurina 1990, 43; Demonja 2013, 55). Franjevački i samostanski kompleksi drugih prosjačkih, propovjedničkih redova odražavaju novu srednjovjekovnu koncepciju, za koju je najznačajnije gospodarstvo vezano za stanovanje i osnivanje groblja uz crkvu (Ivančević 1963-1964, 10; isti 1987, 109). Ti samostanski kompleksi su sakralna i društvena središta dijela grada u kojem su podignuti i aktivno sudjeluju u definiranju cjelovite urbanističke slike grada.

S namjerom zaokruživanja srednjovjekovnog obrambenog sustava podiže se crkva i samostan sv. Franje u Poreču, uz morska vrata, u sjeverozapadnom kutu grada. Porečka franjevačka crkva sa samostanom imala je ulogu u oblikovanju i uređenju urbanističke i prostorne organizacije grada (Ivančević 1963-1964, 5-12; isti 1987, 103-116; Demonja 2013, 56; isti 2015, 166-170). S urbanističkog gledišta ta je crkva označavala jednu "religioznu" točku grada kojoj je u sjeveroistočnom dijelu odgovarala druga, ranokršćanski i ranobizantski Eufrazijev kompleks.

Crkva sv. Franje u Puli podignuta je na zaravnim zapadnih padina brežuljka Kapitula, nad gusto napučenim obalnim dijelom grada i donjim dijelovima padine. Njezino svetište dodiruje ulica, a uz južnu fasadu strmo se spušta prolaz koji povezuje donju i gornju ulicu. Ispred pročelja oblikovan je mali trg, do kojeg vode stube s tog prolaza, a sa sjeverne strane na crkvu se nastavljaju krila samostana i klaustar. Franjevačka crkva i samostan u Puli bili su smješteni izvan gradske jezgre i glavnih prometnih putova. Zaravan pred crkvom bila je najviši gradski trg i najljepši vidikovac prema luci i zaljevu. Tako se glavna fasada pulske crkve sv. Franje činila poput velike kulise, a bogato ukrašen portal imao je vrijednost javne skulpture. Svojim čistim volumenom golih zidova i naglascima portala i rozete na pročelju crkva je dominirala gradom i davala mu posebno obilježje u pogledu s mora, s glavnog pristupnog puta (Ivančević 1964, 109-110; Demonja 2013, 56; isti 2014, 126-127).

Unutar gradskih zidina, i to tik uz njih, smještena je franjevačka crkva u Krku, sagrađena u 14. stoljeću.

change. As land in the town was limited and expensive, the Franciscans organised their spaces vertically, upwards. The Benedictines, who had a strong connection to the ground, built their monasteries horizontally, in width, while the monastery units were erected on the ground floor. The Franciscans differ from the Benedictines in their building methods, which was in opposition with traditions up to that point in time (Badurina 1990, and further). It did not only depend on the size of the land but also on the number of monks that habituated the monastery. As the Franciscan's way of life differed from traditional orders, for example the Benedictines, changes came about in terms of the purpose of the living space. Land was not the Franciscans' primary source of income so that economically viable properties decreased, while communal lands, those meant for the public, such as churches, cloisters, etc., increased (Badurina 1990, 38-39).

Franciscans shaped the space of the area in which they lived. Churches with monasteries left traces of their influence on urbanisation, which was most pronounced in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries (Badurina 1990, 40; Raukar 1999, 14-15). The large number of Franciscan churches and monasteries influenced not only the socio-political shaping of the area; they were also an important social component of the town (Badurina 1990, 41; Raukar 1999, 15-16). However, the Franciscans did not utilise the town solely for a new way of life but also developed it (Goff 1970, 926). Located in the suburbs, with the construction of their churches with monasteries, the Franciscans shaped this part of the city which was on the whole, from an urban point of view, not fully formed and undefined. The church with monastery becomes an elemental urban unit which will be further organised and constructed. Near them there are almost always small extended spaces akin to squares as is the case in the southern side of the church of St. Francis in Poreč (Ivančević 1963-1964; *idem* 1987, 103-110) or, from the western side, the facade side of the church of St. Francis in Zadar or, for example, St. Jerome in Slano and elsewhere, but these spaces do not have the name nor function of a square (Demonja 2013, 54). They are circulatory spaces which, despite the fact that they are created to the detriment of the monastery unit, do not belong to the complex but to the town, and assist in the quicker and easier entrance and exit to the church for the believers, that is, for ease of communication.

The powerful and usually geometrically regular mass of the Franciscan monastery with a church was not only a key factor in the urbanisation of the part

Crkva sv. Franje u Krku bila je podignuta na samom kraju grada, uz sjeverni gradski zid. Njezin jednostavan i čist volumen sa zvonikom dominira pri pogledu na grad (Demonja 2013, 58).

Izvan gradskih zidina, na jugoistočnoj strani, na otvorenom polju poviše terena nad morem, sagrađena je crkva sv. Franje u Cresu (Demonja 2013, 59).

U istočnom dijelu Paga, unutar gradskih zidina, na malom trgu, podignuta je crkva sv. Frane, sada stiješnjena između gusto raspoređenih kuća, od kojih je odvojena uskim ulicama. Ona je, dakle, uklopljena u gradsko tkivo, a svojim odmjerenim dimenzijama i naglašenom horizontalnošću ne izdvaja se među stambenim objektima koji je okružuju (Demonja 2013, 59-60).



Sl. 1 Pag, crkva sv. Frane, vanjština - donji dio pročelja (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 1 Pag, the church of St. Francis, the exterior - the lower part of the facade (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

Smještaj crkava u prirodnom okružju izvan naselja, ali nedaleko od njih, u potpunosti je odgovarao opservantskom duhu njihovih korisnika. Na proučavanom prostoru primjer je crkva Marijina Pohoda u Pazinu, koja se smjestila na brdu, poput crkve sv. Franje u Puli. Nalazi se na uskoj zaravni strmog brijega nad glavnom ulicom srednjovjekovnog grada, a ispod prometnice koja vodi iz Pule (Demonja 2013, 60).

Posve izoliran, ali s namjerom odabran smještaj pokazuje franjevačke crkve koje se nalaze na otocima. One su podignute izvan naselja ili na njihovim rubovima, poglavito na vrhovima brežuljaka, ali u blizini obale, odakle se pogled nadaleko pružao. Takva je, na primjer, crkva sv. Franje na brdu Komrčaru poviše grada Raba, osamljenom i zaštićenom položaju na vrhu brežuljka (Demonja 2013, 60).

Kontinuitet starijih sakralnih mjesta nastavljali su i franjevci, podizanjem svojih crkava sa samostanima.

of the city in which it was located. Its position in a certain area, most especially near the city gates, played another important role - defence. The positioning of the monastery of the mendicant, preaching Order was not decided upon only due to the practical reason of available land in the town; medieval urbanisation also included the reason of defence. The positioning of the monastery near the wall reinforced the fortress system, and a well-organized monastic community was sufficiently reliable to perform the task of keeping guard, as well as defending (Ivančević 1987, 109-110; Badurina 1990, 43). Examples of Franciscan monasteries with churches on the Croatian coast, which due to their location, ground plan and construction were of major significance in regard to defence, are those in Dubrovnik, Krk and elsewhere (Demonja 2013, 55).

While Franciscan churches and monasteries were mainly constructed in the suburbs, near the city gates in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century cities expanded and, as such, what used to be the outskirts now became the centre. In this way, the Franciscan churches, for example in Pula and Senj, were now located in the centre of the city (Demonja 2013, 55). However, Franciscan churches with monasteries that were built outside the city also played an important role in shaping the area. The Franciscan churches and monasteries in the Dubrovnik area were given as an example of this by Anđelko Badurina (Badurina 1990, 55-57). With their location, position and shape, they represent the centre, the very beginning of the organisation and the shaping of the suburbs. Their position in the landscape was frequently a strategically vital location so that their function was usually and primarily a defensive one. Interesting examples are the Franciscan monasteries with churches in the region of Dubrovnik, for example the church with monastery of St. Blaise in Pridvorje, The Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Lopud, Our Lady of the Angels in Orebić and elsewhere, that are located in strategically vital locations in this region (Badurina 1990, 56-57; Demonja 2013, 55). Once defence was no longer necessary, residential buildings began to be erected and small settlements ensued. However, considering their relationship with the environment, the shape of monasteries would not have as much influence on residential architecture as their architectural and plastic details (Badurina 1990, 57-59).

Franciscan churches and monasteries gave the areas in which they were built a representative characteristic due to their, on the whole, monumental mass, and the belfries a vertical accentuation. This can most vividly



O tome na proučavanom prostoru svjedoči nekoliko primjera. U uvali Bijar, prirodnoj luci zaštićenoj od vjetrova sa sjeverne strane zidina grada Osora, nalaze se ruševine crkve sv. Marije. Do mjesta na kojem je podignuta crkva, a obilježava ga okružje neprijeporne ljepote i sklada, vodila je šetnica od Osora, preko ruševina samostana. Smještaj franjevačke crkve i samostana na takvu mjestu uvjetovan je kontinuitetom kršćanske tradicije, potvrđujući njegovo izuzetno sakralno značenje za Osor. O postojanju starije crkve na mjestu današnje ruševne crkve i samostana sv. Marije u Bijaru izvješćuju Stjepan Ivančić (Ivančić 1910, 233-235), Ivan Ostojić (Ostojić 1964, 156) i Enver Imamović (Imamović 1979, 136-137). Smještaj sukladan osorskoj crkvi sv. Marije ima crkva sv. Bernardina, koja se nalazi izvan zidina grada Raba, na niskom brežuljku u dnu drage sv. Eufemije, gdje je bila i istoimena starija crkva. Na području današnje franjevačke cjeline u uvali Kampor nalazi se crkva sv. Eufemije, koja je uklopljena u kasnije izgrađeni samostan i starija je od samostana i crkve sv. Bernardina (Kukuljević Sakcinski 1873, 30; Brusić 1925, 173; Jurković 1990, 47-48, s navođenjem izvora; Petricioli 1999, 101 i Fugošić 1999, 114).

Neke franjevačke crkve građene su izvan naselja, na njihovim rubovima ili u osami. Osobit smještaj ima crkva sv. Marije u Glavotoku na Krku. Ta crkva sa samostanom smještena je na zapadnoj strani otoka Krka, nasuprot kaštelu Beli otoka Cresa, na samoj morskoj obali, na rubu naselja Glavotok. Njezin položaj omogućuje pogled i kontrolu cijelog morskog kanala između Krka i Cresa (Demonja 2013, 64).

Izoliran smještaj na obližnjim otočićima, udaljenima od naselja, ali ipak u njihovoj blizini, imaju dvije franjevačke crkve proučavanog prostora. Na južnom dijelu otoka Krka, kod mjesta Punta, usred zaštićene i zatvorene uvale, na malom i šumom bogatom otočiću Košljunu, na kojem su nekada obitavali benediktinci (Brusić 1932, 247-258; Ostojić 1964, 182-185; Velnić 1966, 35-47; Jurković 1990, 131; Fugošić 1999, 108-113) - o čemu svjedoče sačuvani dijelovi utvrđenih srednjovjekovnih zdanja i kapela sv. Bernardina u sklopu današnjeg samostana, koje su arheološki istražili Hrvoje Giacconi (Giacconi 1993) i Goranka Lipovac (Lipovac 1993; ista 1996) - sazidana je franjevačka crkva Navještenja Blažene Djevice Marije sa samostanom.

Na rubu naselja, na zapadnom rtu dubašljanskog zaljeva, kod Malinske na otoku Krku, nekoliko metara od mora, tik do sela Porat podignuta je crkva sv. Marije Magdalene sa samostanom (Badurina 1980; Demonja 2013, 65).

be seen in Dubrovnik, on Stradun, in the location and importance in form of the monastery complex of The Small Brothers (Badurina 1990, 43; Demonja 2013, 55). The monastery complexes of Franciscan and of other mendicant, preaching orders reflected new medieval concepts whereby the most significant form of income was related to housing and the establishment of a cemetery near the church (Ivančević 1963-1964, 10; *idem* 1987, 109). These monastery complexes were the sacral and social centre of the area of the city in which they were erected and actively participated in defining the whole urban picture of the city.

So as to encompass the entire defined mechanism, the church of St. Francis in Poreč was erected near the sea gate, on the north western corner of the town. The Franciscan church with monastery in Poreč played a role in shaping and organising the urban and spatial organisation of the city (Ivančević 1963-1964, 5-12; *idem* 1987, 103-116; Demonja 2013, 56; *idem* 2015, 166-170). From an urban viewpoint, this church signified a "religious" point in the town which, in the north eastern part, was better suited to a second, early Christian and early-Euphrasian complex.

The church of St. Francis in Pula was erected on the flatter, western slopes of the Kapitul Hills, above the densely populated part of the city and the lower parts of the slope. The sanctuary touches the street, and along the southern facade, a steep passage connects the lower and upper street. In front of the facade is a small square, whose stairs lead to this passage and on the northern side of the church, the wings of the monastery and cloister continue. The Franciscan church and monastery in Pula were located outside the town's centre and main roadways. Directly in front of the church was the highest town square and the loveliest view point towards the harbour and bay. As such, the main facade of the church of St. Francis in Pula seemed to be a huge backdrop, while the ornately decorated portal was as valuable as a public sculpture. The purity of the mass of its bare walls and the accents of the portal and rosette on the facade of the church dominated the town and gave it a distinctive feature with its view of the sea from the main access street (Ivančević 1964, 109-110; Demonja 2013, 56; *idem* 2014, 126-127).

Within the city walls, just next to them, is the Franciscan church on Krk, built in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The church of St. Francis was erected at the very end of the city, near the northern city wall. Its simplicity and purity of mass with a belfry dominate the view of the town (Demonja 2013, 58).





Sl. 2 Košljun, crkva Navještenja Blažene Djevice Marije, vanjština - pogled na Košljun iz Punta na otoku Krku (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).  
Fig. 2 Košljun, the church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the exterior - a view towards Košljun from Punat on the island of Krk (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

Razmotri li se smještaj crkava sa samostanima s obzirom na njihove korisnike, tada se uočava da opservanti, ogranak franjevačkog reda koji se strogo pridržava pravila reda, grade svoje crkve i samostane na osamljenim mjestima, u zaljevima, na hridima ili pak na rubovima naselja. Konventualci, koji su liberalnije provodili pravila reda, grade crkve i samostane poglavito u gradovima i većim naseljima, isto kao i trećoreci (Demonja 2013, 66). Premda se ti liberalniji odvjetci reda dosljednije vežu uz gradske aglomeracije, neke njihove crkve, poput one u Glavotoku na Krku, pokazuju izoliraniji smještaj.

Dakle, franjevačke crkve sa samostanima koje se podižu u gradu smještene su u predgrađima, redovito uz gradska vrata, a često se naslanjaju na gradske zidine (primjeri franjevačkih crkava u Poreču i Krku). One crkve sa samostanima koje se javljaju na osamljenim mjestima zapravo se nalaze na prometnim raskrižjima kopnenih i morskih putova pa postaju izviđačke točke i skloništa-pribježišta, a kasnije se u njihovim blizinama postupno oblikuju naselja. Poglavito se crkve trećoredaca podižu na najprometnijim i najživljim mjestima: uz morske tjesnace (Glavotok, Porat, Osor) i u predgrađima izvan gradskih zidina (Osor).

The church of St. Francis was built on Cres outside the town walls, on the south eastern side, on an open field above the sea (Demonja 2013, 59).

The church of St. Francis was erected on the eastern part of Pag, within the city walls, on a small square, now squeezed between densely built houses, from which it is separated by narrow streets. It has melded into the cityscape, and with its moderate size and highlighted horizontality, it does not stand out from the residential buildings that surround it (Demonja 2013, 59-60).

The location of a church in a natural landscape outside the city, but not far from it, perfectly suited the observant nature of its inhabitants. An example of this in the researched area is the church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pazin, located on a hill, akin to the church of St. Francis in Pula. It is located on a narrow plateau of a steep hill above the main street of the medieval city, below the road that leads to Pula (Demonja 2013, 60).

Completely isolated, but located intentionally where it is, it is representative of the Franciscan churches on the islands. They were erected outside the city or on its outskirts, mainly on the tops of hills or near the coast, from where forth was a distant view. An example of this is the church of St. Francis on Komrčar Hill above the town of Rab, an isolated and protected location on top of the hill (Demonja 2013, 60).

In erecting churches with monasteries, the continuation of old sacred places was sustained by the Franciscans. There are numerous examples in the studied area that can vouch for this. In the Bay of Bijar, a natural harbour protected from winds on the northern side of the wall of the city of Osor, are the ruins of the church of St. Mary. A promenade from Osor, over the ruins of the monastery, lead to where the church was erected, and the surrounding area is undeniably beautiful and agreeable. The location of the Franciscan church and monastery in this location was due to the continuity of the Christian tradition, upholding the sacral significance of Osor. The existence of an older church on the location of the ruins of the church and monastery of St. Mary in Bijar was confirmed by Stjepan Ivančić (Ivančić 1910, 233-235), Ivan Ostojić (Ostojić 1964, 156) and Enver Imamović (Imamović 1979, 136-137). A location comparable to the church of St. Mary in Osor is the church of St. Bernardino which is outside the city walls of Rab, on a low hill at the bottom of St. Euphemia, where an older church of the same name used to be. In the area of the Franciscan monastery, in the Bay of Kampo, is the church of St. Euphemia, which was incorporated into a monastery that was later built and is older than the monastery and

STOLJEĆE SMJEŠTAJ	13. stoljeće	14. stoljeće	15. stoljeće	16. stoljeće
U GRADU, UZ GRADSKO ZIDINE I/ILI GRADSKA VRATA	2 Poreč Krk	/	/	/
U GRADU, NA NEKOM DRUGOM MJESTU	1 Pula	/	1 Pag	/
IZVAN NASELJA	/	1 Cres	3 Kampor (Rab) Komrčar (Rab) Pazin	/
NA OTOCIMA, U BLIZINI NASELJA	/	/	1 Košljun	2 Porat (Krk) Glavotok (Krk)

Tablica 1 Smještaj franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, izgrađenih do kraja 16. stoljeća, po stoljećima.

CENTURY POSITION	13 <sup>th</sup> century	14 <sup>th</sup> century	15 <sup>th</sup> century	16 <sup>th</sup> century
IN THE CITY, NEAR THE CITY WALLS AND/OR THE CITY GATE	2 Poreč Krk	/	/	/
IN THE CITY, IN ANOTHER LOCATION	1 Pula	/	1 Pag	/
OUTSIDE THE SUBURBS	/	1 Cres	3 Kampor (Rab) Komrčar (Rab) Pazin	/
ON THE ISLANDS, NEAR SUBURBS	/	/	1 Košljun	2 Porat (Krk) Glavotok (Krk)

Table 1 The location of Franciscan churches in Istria and on islands of the Kvarner Bay, constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, by centuries.

### Oblikovanje masa, konstrukcija

Ne postoje poznati posebni propisi o gradnji franjevačkih crkava. Pravila, odnosno načela gradnje proizlaze iz naravi samog franjevačkog reda, kojemu je primarna zadaća propovijedanje. Stoga se prostor crkve prilagođuje propovijedanju te se grade jednobrodne crkve, velikog i jedinstvenog prostora lađe, koji omogućuje vizualnu komunikaciju slušatelja s propovjednikom, ali i međusobno. Veličina crkve i bogatstvo njezine arhitektonske plastike ovise o strukturi i broju pučanstva za koje se crkva podiže, a ponekad i o tome tko skrbi o gradnji.

the church of St. Bernardino (Kukuljević Sakcinski 1873, 30; Brusić 1925, 173; Jurković 1990, 47–48, with a source reference; Petricioli 1999, 101 and Fugošić 1999, 114).

Some Franciscan churches were built outside the city, on its outskirts or in isolation. The church of St. Mary in Glavotok on Krk is quite interestingly located. This church with a monastery is located on the western side of the island of Krk, on the opposite side of the Beli citadel on the island of Cres, on the very edge of the sea and in the town of Glavotok. Its position has a view and control over the entire sea channel between Krk and Cres (Demonja 2013, 64).

Franjevačke su crkve u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva sagrađene do kraja 16. stoljeća jednobrodne i imaju jednu četverokutnu apsidu, s iznimkom crkve sv. Franje u Puli, koja ima tri četverokutne apside, te crkve Pohoda Blažene Djevice Marije u Pazinu, koja ima poligonalno svetište.

S obzirom na rješenje svetišta, crkva sv. Franje u Puli izdvaja se iz korpusa franjevačkih crkava ne samo na proučavanom prostoru nego i na istočnojadranskoj obali (Demonja 2013, 71; isti 2014, 133-136). Svetište te crkve cijelom širinom izlazi izvan perimetra lađe i sastoji



Sl. 3 Pula, crkva sv. Franje, vanjština - začelje srednje apside (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 3 Pula, the church of St. Francis, the exterior - the facade of the central apse (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

Two churches in the researched area on nearby islands have an isolated position, distanced from settlements but nearby nonetheless. On the southern part of the island of Krk, in Punat, in the middle of a protected and enclosed bay, on the small and richly forested island of Košljun, where Benedictines had previously been (Brusić 1932, 247-258; Ostojić 1964, 182-185; Velnić 1966, 35-47; Jurković 1990, 131; Fugošić 1999, 108-113) – as evidenced by the preserved parts of the medieval buildings and the chapel of St. Bernardino within today's monastery, which the architects Hrvoje Giaconi (Giaconi 1993) and Goranka Lipovac (Lipovac 1993; *idem* 1996) researched – a Franciscan church with monastery, the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was built.

On the edge of the settlement, on the western cape of the Dubašljanski Bay, near Malinska on the island of Krk, several metres from the sea, right next to the town of Porat is the church of St. Mary Magdalene with a monastery (Badurina 1980; Demonja 2013, 65).

When considering the location of churches with monasteries in view of their inhabitants, one notices that the Observants, a branch of the Franciscan Order that strictly adhered to the regulations of the Order, built their churches and monasteries in isolated areas, in bays, on caps or on the outskirts of the town. The Conventual Franciscans, who were more liberal in adhering to the regulations of the Order, built their churches and monasteries mainly in cities and suburbs, just like the Third Order Franciscans (Demonja 2013, 66). Even though the more liberal branches of the Order are more connected to massive towns, some of their churches, such as the one in Glavotok on Krk, are positioned in an isolated area.

As such, Franciscan churches with monasteries that are built in cities are located in suburbs, usually near the city gates, and often lean against the city walls (as is the case in the Franciscan churches in Poreč and Krk). Churches with monasteries that are in isolated areas are actually located on busy traffic intersections of land and sea routes and become a lookout point and shelter-refuge, while later, suburbs are formed in its vicinity. In particular, the churches of the Third Order of Franciscans are erected in the busiest and liveliest places: the sea straits (Glavotok, Porat, Osor) and suburbs outside the city walls (Osor).

### Forming the Mass, Construction

There are no known rules and regulations regarding the construction of Franciscan churches. The regulations, i.e. the principles of construction are derived from the nature of the Franciscan Order itself, whose primary



se od tri apside koje se međusobno razlikuju u tlocrtu i prostoru. Ta trodijelna apsidalna kompozicija ostala je bez odjeka među franjevačkim crkvama, kako u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, tako i na hrvatskoj obali u idućim razdobljima, obilježivši crkvu sv. Franje u Puli kao jedinstven i izuzetan primjer s “razvijenijim” tlocrtom svetišta i oblikom elevacije, drukčijim od svetišta ostalih franjevačkih crkava, koja imaju jednu četverokutnu, prizmatičnu apsidu.

Franjevačke crkve u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, sagrađene do kraja 16. stoljeća, imaju jednostavnu prostornu shemu, koja je pretežito izražena s dvije prostorne jedinice, lađom i jednoapsidnim svetištem. Budući da franjevci žele okupiti što veći broj vjernika na propovijed i molitvu, upravo se lađi posvećuje izrazita pozornost, u smislu određivanja njezine veličine. Lađa se gradi kao prostrana dvorana pravokutnog tlocrta, u stoljećima nastanka i početnog širenja reda najčešće s drvenom tavanicom, a od 15. stoljeća i ona se presvođuje. Svetište, uže i niže od lađe, bilo je četverokutno i uvijek svedeno. Kako se franjevci na istočnom Jadranu javljaju od druge polovice 13. stoljeća, tako se u njihovim crkvama očitovao novi, gotički stil, o čemu je među prvima pisao Ljubo Karaman (Karaman 1949, 121), skromno razvidan u blago prelomljenom trijumfalnom luku, u svodu svetišta s rebrima i elementima arhitektonsko-plastičke dekoracije. U franjevačkim crkvama apside su svedene na različite načine, a u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva najbrojnije su franjevačke crkve s apsidama svedenim križno-rebrastim svodom (njih šest). Po brojnosti slijede crkve čije apside imaju šiljasto-bačvasti svod (tri crkve) i, naposljetku, jedna crkva sa zvjezdastim svodom u apsidi. Apside križno-rebrastog svoda po odnosu dužine i širine gotovo su kvadratične, što je u vezi s konstrukcijskim razlozima koje je nužno slijediti pri razapinjanju rebara svoda. Kako pokazuju izmjeri i izračuni koje je izradio Ivan Tenšek, d.i.a., s Instituta za povijest umjetnost iz Zagreba, većina apsida nije velikih dimenzija. Njihove dužine i širine su najčešće u rasponima od 3 do 5 metara, a zbog malih i uravnoteženih dimenzija, bez izrazitih odstupanja dužine od širine, rebra njihovih svodova, koja bi poglavito trebala imati konstrukcijsku ulogu, imaju više dekorativno obilježje, što potvrđuju njihove jednostavne profilacije i mala debljina. Navedene dimenzije susreću se, primjerice, kod apsida crkava sv. Franje u Krku (4,40 m x 5,10 m) i sv. Marije Magdalene u Portu na Krku (4,40 m x 3,80 m). Međutim, u nekim primjerima apside svedene križno-rebrastim svodom pokazuju veću dužinu i širinu od 5 metara, kako je to u crkvi Navještenja Blažene Djevice Marije na Košljunu (6,90 m x 5,90 m) i crkvi sv. Franje

task is preaching. As such, churches are adapted to the task of preaching and churches with one, large, single nave are built, which allow visual communication between the listener and the preacher, as well as each between themselves. The size and the opulence of their architectural plasticity depend on the structure and size of the population that the particular church was built for, and, in some cases, who was responsible for its construction.

Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay built up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century have one nave and one quadrangular apse, with the exception of the church of St. Francis in Pula which has three quadrangular apses, and the church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pazin, which has a polygonal sanctuary.

The church of St. Francis in Pula differs from the corpus of Franciscan churches in regard to the construction design of the sanctuary, not only from those in the studied area but also those on the eastern Adriatic coast (Demonja 2013, 71; *idem* 2014, 133–136). The sanctuary of this church exudes throughout its entire width from the perimeters of the nave and is made up of three apses, each with a different ground plan and space. This three part apse composition is not echoed in other Franciscan churches, be they in Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay or on other parts of the Croatian coast, in periods that followed. As such, the church of St. Francis in Pula is a unique example of a “developed” sanctuary ground plan and type of elevation, different from all other Franciscan churches which have one quadrangular, prismatic apse.

Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay that were constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century have a simple spatial design which is on the whole expressed in two spatial units, a nave and a sanctuary with one apse. As the Franciscans wanted to gather as many believers as possible to their sermons and prayers, particular attention was paid to the nave in terms of its size. The nave is constructed as a spacious hall with a rectangular ground plan, usually with a wooden ceiling during the time of its inception and at the beginning of the spread of the Franciscan Order, while from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards it becomes vaulted. The sanctuary, narrower and lower than the nave, was quadrangular and always vaulted. As the Franciscans appeared on the eastern Adriatic during the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, their churches manifested a new, Gothic style, first discussed by Ljubo Karaman (Karaman 1949, 121), clearly modest in its slightly fragmentary triumphant arch in the vault of the sanctuary with ribs and architectural-plastic decorative elements. The apses in Franciscan churches are vaulted



u Poreču (6,20 m x 5,65 m). Apsida može biti svedena i šiljasto-bačvastim svodom. Apside svedene tim tipovima svodova pokazuju da se odnosi dužina i širina približavaju kvadratu, primjerice u crkvi sv. Franje u Cresu (5,80 m x 5,60 m), crkvi sv. Franje na Komrčaru na Rabu (3,40 m x 3,40 m) i crkvi sv. Marije u Glavotoku na Krku (4,20 x 4 m). Usredotočivši se na odnose dužina i širina apsida franjevačkih crkava sagrađenih na proučavanom prostoru do kraja 16. stoljeća, a s obzirom na način njihova svođenja, vidljivo je da se apside koje se odnosima dužine i širine približavaju kvadratu, ili su pak kvadratične, svode križno-rebrastim i šiljasto-bačvastim svodovima. Dakle, u oba načina svođenja apside se pridržavaju uravnoteženijih odnosa dužina i širina.

Odnosi dužina i širina lađa, odnosno dimenzija franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, izgrađenih do kraja 16. stoljeća, omogućavaju međusobno razlikovanje tih crkava, što se može dovesti u vezu s njihovim smještajem i vremenom u kojem se podižu. Iznimnu dužinu lađa pokazuje nekoliko njih: crkva sv. Franje u Puli (34,30 m), crkva sv. Franje u Krku (28,70 m), crkva sv. Franje u Cresu (26 m), crkva Navještenja Blažene Djevice Marije na Košljunu (25,80 m) i crkva sv. Franje u Poreču (24,70 m). Dužina njihovih lađa veća je od 20 metara. Riječ je o franjevačkim crkvama koje se nalaze u predgrađima, odnosno pokraj gradskih vrata. Uočava se veza smještaja i njihovih velikih dimenzija, što potvrđuje da je veličina crkve ovisila ponajprije o brojnosti pučanstva koje joj gravitira. Također se može uspostaviti stanovita ovisnost dimenzija lađa s obzirom na vrijeme u kojem se crkve grade. Navedene franjevačke crkve, izuzev one na Košljunu, podignute su u 13. i 14. stoljeću, kada franjevci nastoje biti na najpristupačnijim, ali i po broju stanovnika najnapučenijim mjestima, dakle u gradovima, odnosno predgrađima ili u blizini/okolici gradova, kao najvažnijim točkama svoga djelovanja i rada. S obzirom na izraziti razvoj gradova u prvom vremenu širenja franjevačkog reda, franjevci svojim crkvama i samostanima aktivno sudjeluju u oblikovanju srednjovjekovnih urbanih naselja.

Četiri franjevačke crkve pokazuju umjerene dužine lađa, koje se kreću od desetak metara. Neke franjevačke crkve manjih dimenzija, odnosno manjih dužina lađa, grade se izvan gradova, u selima ili u neurbaniziranim sredinama. U crkve čija dužina lađe iznosi oko 10 metara ubrajaju se: crkva sv. Franje na Komrčaru na Rabu (9,70 m), crkva sv. Marije Magdalene u Portu na Krku (11,30 m), crkva sv. Bernardina u Kamporu na Rabu (11,50 m) i crkva sv. Marije u Glavotoku na Krku (12,20 m).

in various ways. In Istria and islands of the Kvarner Bay, most of the Franciscan churches have apses that are vaulted with a cross-ribbed vault (six of them). In terms of number, they are followed by churches that have apses with a pointed-barrel vault (three churches) and, finally, one church with a star-shaped vault in its apse. Apses with a cross-ribbed vault are, in relationship to their length and width, almost square in shape, due to constructional reasons that need to be respected when constructing the ribs of the vault. Most apses are not large in size as can be shown in the measurements and calculations done by Ivan Tenšek, BAA, from the Institute of Art History in Zagreb. Their length and width are usually between 3 and 5 metres, and, due to their small and balanced dimensions, without any significant deviations of the length from the width, the ribs of their vaults, which should play a constructive role, are of a more decorative nature, which confirms their simple profiles and slight thickness. These dimensions can be seen, for example, in the apses of the churches of St. Francis on Krk (4.40 m x 5.10 m) and the church of St. Mary Magdalene in Porat on Krk (4.40 m x 3.80 m). However, in some cases, apses vaulted with a cross-ribbed vault are larger than 5 metres in length and width, as can be seen in the church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Košljun (6.90 m x 5.90 m) and the church of St. Francis in Poreč (6.20 m x 5.65 m). The apse can also be vaulted with a pointed-barrel vault. Apses vaulted in this way have a length and width close to that of a square, for example, the church of St. Francis on Cres (5.80 m x 5.60 m), the church of St. Francis on Komrčar on Rab (3.40 m x 3.40 m) and the church of St. Mary in Glavotok on Krk (4.20 x 4 m). In focusing on the relationship between the length and width of apses in Franciscan churches constructed in the studied area up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and in regard to the way they were vaulted, it is clear that the apses' length and width are close to that of a square, or in actual fact are a square, whether they are vaulted with cross ribs or pointed-barrel vaults. Therefore, the vaulting of the apses in both cases is balanced in terms of the relationship between their length and width.

The relationship between the length and the width of the nave, that is, the size of the Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, facilitates making a differentiation between these churches which can then assist in finding a connection between their location in the area and the time in which they were erected. Several churches have an extremely long nave: the church of St. Francis in Pula (34.30 m), the church of St. Francis in Krk (28.70 m), the church of St. Francis in Cres (26 m), the

Ako se pomnije prouče odnosi dužina i širina lađa franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, izgrađenih do kraja 16. stoljeća, tada se, također, mogu uočiti određene posebnosti. Kod crkava izrazitih dužina, dakle više od 20 metara, odnos širine i dužine lađe je najmanje 1:2,5, odnosno dužine lađa veće su od 2,5 puta u odnosu na njihove širine. Gotovo tri puta, pa čak i više, lađa opetuje širinu u franjevačkim crkvama u Krku (1:3,10), Cresu (1:2,90), Poreču (1:2,85) i Puli (1:2,79). Te su crkve podignute u gradu i takvim odnosima širina i dužina lađa ispunjavaju temeljnu zadaću franjevačkog reda, koja se ostvaruje propovijedanjem, za što su potrebni prostori velikih dimenzija. Stoga su razumljive i opravdane manje dimenzije lađa franjevačkih crkava izvan gradova, što potvrđuje da su se one gradile prema potrebama sredine, odnosno brojnosti pučanstva koje je u njima slušalo propovijedi.

I odnosi površina lađe i apside u franjevačkim su crkvama različiti. Izraziti su nesrazmjeri površina lađe i apside u crkvi sv. Franje u Puli, u kojoj je površina lađe 11,5 puta veća nego u apside, potom u crkvi sv. Franje u Krku, također 11,5 puta, crkvi sv. Franje u Cresu – oko 7 puta, crkvi Navještenja Blažene Djevice Marije na Košljunu – gotovo 7 puta, i crkvi sv. Franje u Poreču – 6 puta. Navedene franjevačke crkve pokazuju razlike površina lađe i apside, dviju prostornih jedinica različitih i po značenju i po funkciji, što još jednom potvrđuje da je za provedbu primarne zadaće franjevaca – propovijedanje – zaista bila potrebna prvenstveno prostrana lađa. Apside, premda male i u odnosu na lađu izrazito nesrazmjerne, razlikovale su se od lađe svođenjem, a u većini crkava i većom kvalitetom zidanja pa se i time naglašavala različitost njihova značenja. Uz to, treba naglasiti da franjevačke crkve u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva uglavnom pokazuju jednostavni slog unutrašnje oplate.

church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Košljun (25.80 m) and the church of St. Francis in Poreč (24.70 m). The length of their nave exceeds 20 metres. These Franciscan churches are located in the suburbs, near the city gates. A connection between their location and their large size is evident, which confirms the fact that the size of the church primarily depended on the size of the population which was drawn towards it. The size of the nave, depending on the time the church was built, was also a determining factor. The aforementioned Franciscan churches, with the exception of the one on Košljun, were built in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries when the Franciscans were intent on being in the most accessible and most populous areas, that is to say, in cities, suburbs or near/in the vicinity of cities, as the most important points of their employment and work. When considering the rapid development of cities at the time of the Franciscans' expansion, the Franciscans and their churches and monasteries actively participated in shaping medieval, urban settlements and suburbs.

Four Franciscan churches have naves of a moderate length of around 10 metres. Some smaller sized churches, that is, with a nave of a moderate length, are built outside the cities, in villages or in non urban areas. Churches that have a nave of around 10 metres in length are: the church of St. Francis on Komrčar on Rab (9.70 m), the church of St. Mary Magdalene in Porat on Krk (11.30 m), the church of St. Bernardino in Kampion on Rab (11.50 m) and the church of St. Mary in Glavotok on Krk (12.20 m).

Upon studying the relationship between the length and width of the nave of Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in more detail, certain specific features become evident. Churches that are extremely long, that is, more than 20 metres in length, have a ratio between the width and the length of the nave that is at least 1:2.5. That is, the length of the nave is 2.5 times larger than its width. The length of the nave can be three or even more times larger than its width in Franciscan churches such as the one in Krk (1:3.10), Cres (1:2.90), Poreč (1:2.85) and Pula (1:2.79). These churches were erected in the city and this relationship between the width and the length of the nave fulfils the primary task of the Franciscan Order, preaching, which requires large sized spaces. The smaller sized naves of Franciscan churches outside cities are therefore understandable and justified as they were constructed in accordance to the needs of the area, that is, the size of the population which listened to sermons in them.

The relationship between the surface area of the nave and apses is also varied in Franciscan churches. There

LOKALITET / LOCATION	DIMENZIJE LAĐE (u metrima) / SIZE OF THE NAVE (in metres)	DIMENZIJE SVETIŠTA (u metrima) SIZE OF THE SANCTUARY (in metres)
PULA, crkva sv. Franje / church of St. Francis	34,30 x 12,30	6,30 x 5,80
POREČ, crkva sv. Franje / church of St. Francis	24,70 x 8,90	6,20 x 5,65
KRK, crkva sv. Franje / church of St. Francis	28,70 x 9,00	4,40 x 5,10
CRES, crkva sv. Franje / church of St. Francis	26,00 x 9,00	5,80 x 5,60
KAMPOR (RAB), crkva sv. Bernardina / church of St. Bernardino	11,50 x 6,30	4,80 x 4,80
KOMRČAR (RAB), crkva sv. Franje / church of St. Francis	9,70 x 5,10	3,40 x 3,40
KOŠLJUN, crkva Navještenja Blažene Djevice Marije / Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary	25,80 x 10,00	6,90 x 5,90
PAG, crkva sv. Frane / church of St. Francis	24,00 x 10,70	7,40 x 6,00
GLAVOTOK (KRK), crkva sv. Marije / church of St. Mary	12,20 x 5,80	4,20 x 4,00
PORAT (KRK), crkva sv. Marije Magdalene / church of St. Mary Magdalene	11,30 x 5,20	4,40 x 3,80
PAZIN, crkva pohođenja Blažene Djevice Marije / church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary	22,00 x 9,30	7,70 x 6,15

Tablica 2 Izmjeri lađa i svetišta franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, izgrađenih do kraja 16. stoljeća, razvrstani po kronološkom slijedu (Izmjere izradio Ivan Tenšek, d.i.a., Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb)

Table 2 The measures of Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay constructed until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (created by: Ivan Tenšek, BAA, Institute of Art History, Zagreb)

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Franjevačke crkve u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, sagrađene do kraja 16. stoljeća, najčešće imaju jednu četverokutnu apsidu. No, ima i nekoliko izuzetaka. Crkva sv. Franje u Puli ima trodijelno svetište, a u tlocrtu se ističe srednja, glavna apside izbacivanjem iz ravnine istočne fasade bočnih apsida. Crkva Marijina Pohođenja u Pazinu, pak, ima poligonalno, trostrano svetište, izvana razvedeno kontraforima (Demonja 2013, 205–208). Takvo svetište, među obrađivanim franjevačkim crkvama, nalazi se samo u ovom primjeru.

Premda nije poznato tko je izrađivao projekte, razrađivao planove i nacрте franjevačkih crkava, oni su morali postojati pri osmišljavanju i odobravanju gradnji te pri izvedbi arhitekture. S obzirom na istovjetnost rješenja i ponavljanje određenih pojedinosti, uz postojanje stanovitih odstupanja, mjesta osmišljavanja franjevačkih

are large disparities between the surface area of the nave and apse in the church of St. Francis in Pula, where the surface area of the nave is 11.5 times larger than the apse, the church of St. Francis in Krk – also 11.5 times larger, the church of St. Francis in Cres – around 7 times, the church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Košljun – almost 7 times, and the church of St. Francis in Poreč – 6 times. The aforementioned Franciscan churches demonstrate the difference in the surface area of the nave and apse, two spatial units that are not similar in importance and function, which once again corroborates the implementation of the primary task of the Franciscans – preaching – in needing a primarily large nave. The apses, although small and extremely disproportionate in relation to the nave, also differed from the nave in their vaulting, and in many churches had brickwork of a higher quality, which further accentuated the difference

crkava sigurno su morale biti franjevačke zajednice, koje su određivale osnovna načela izgradnje, kako pokazuju primjeri franjevačkih crkava dubrovačkog područja, o čemu su pisali Anđelko Badurina (Badurina 1990) i Igor Fisković (Fisković 1998, 260-261; isti 1999, 63). Na izvedbama arhitekture radili su pripadnici lokalnih graditeljskih i kamenarskih radionica, domaći graditelji i majstori, o kojima će biti riječi u nastavku. Zajednička iskustva franjevac i majstora-graditelja isprepliću se u izvedbama franjevačkih crkava na cijeloj hrvatskoj obali. Njihov konačni oblik, određen temeljnom franjevačkom pastoralnom dužnosti, odraz je sredine i njezina ekonomskog stanja te povijesnog vremena i stila gradnje.

Najjednostavniji tlocrt franjevačkih crkava, s lađom i apsidom, dobiva razvijeniji oblik dogradnjama bočnih kapela, zvonika i sakristije. Te arhitektonske jedinice nisu izrazitije utjecale na okupljanje mnoštva vjernika i aksijalnu organiziranost crkve. Međutim, budući da su one integralni dijelovi tlocrta, posvećuje im se ograničena pozornost jer u stanovitom broju crkava bočne kapele, sakristija, a osobito zvonik, pokazuju stilska obilježja vremena kasnijih od 16. stoljeća, kojim se zaključuje proučavanje crkava.

Kako franjevačka sakralna arhitektura teži oblikovanju što većeg, jednostavnijeg i preglednijeg prostora namijenjenog masama vjernika, ti se prostori nisu "opterećivali" dogradnjama bočnih kapela. One se podižu donacijama vjernika, poglavito plemićkih obitelji, koje u tim zasebnim oltarnim prostorima naručuju posebne obrede, a te im kapele služe i kao mjesta pokapanja. Obično se podiže jedna, najviše tri bočne kapele, s južne ili sa sjeverne strane lađe. Tako crkva sv. Bernardina u Kamporu na Rabu ima jednu bočnu kapelu (Demonja 2013, 125; isti 2015, 182-183), a crkva sv. Franje u Cresu ima tri bočne kapele (Demonja 2013, 145, 147-148; isti 2015, 179-181), i te bočne kapele podignute su do kraja 16. stoljeća, dakle u vremenu koje je predmetom proučavanja u ovome radu.

Značenje zvonika vidljivo je u prostornom smislu, jer su oni naglasak u masi samostanskog sklopa te su pridonosili uspostavljanju odnosa ravnoteže i tektonici. Ovdje se analizira njihov smještaj u odnosu na crkvu. Vrlo je malen broj zvonika iz razdoblja od 13. do kraja 16. stoljeća sačuvan u cijelosti. U nekim primjerima očuvani su samo donji dijelovi zvonika, dok su gornji mijenjani i dograđivani u kasnijim razdobljima sve do današnjih dana (Demonja 2013, 76-77). Franjevački zvonici uglavnom su povezani s korpusom crkve te se najčešće smještaju uz bočne strane crkve, u kutu između

in their significance. In addition, it should be emphasised that the Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay mostly show a simple consistency in the interior planking.

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Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century usually have one quadrangular apse. However, there are a number of exceptions. The church of St. Francis in Pula has a three-part sanctuary, whereby the main, central apse is accentuated in the ground plan discarding from the plane the east façade of side apses. The church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pazin, however, has a polygonal, three-sided sanctuary, indented on the exterior by buttresses (Demonja 2013, 205-208). This type of sanctuary, among all the studied Franciscan churches, can only be found in this example.

Even though it is unknown as to who created these projects, elaborated the designs and did the ground plans, someone undoubtedly designed and approved the construction, as well as implemented the architectural design. When considering the similarities in design and the repetition of certain characteristics, along with the existence of particular differences, the location where the Franciscan churches were designed must have been Franciscan communities, which dictated the basic construction principles. This can be seen in examples of Franciscan churches constructed in the region of Dubrovnik and have been written about by Anđelko Badurina (Badurina 1990) and Igor Fisković (Fisković 1998, 260-261; *idem* 1999, 63). The architectural design was done by workers from the local builder's and stonemason workshops, by local builders and masters, who shall be discussed momentarily. The experience of both the Franciscans and master builders are interwoven into the construction of Franciscan churches all along the Croatian coast. Their final shape and design, dictated by the foundations of the Franciscan pastoral duties, are a reflection of the region and its economic state as well as the history of the times and the constructional style.

The simplest Franciscan church ground plan, with a nave and apse, evolves into a more developed shape with the building extensions of side chapels, a belfry and a sacristy. These architectural units did not have substantial influence on the congregation of believers and the axial organisation of the church. However, as they were an integral part of the ground plan, they are given limited attention because in a number of churches, the side



lađe i svetišta, uz sjevernu ili južnu stranu. Uz koju će bočnu stranu crkve zvonik biti smješten, ovisilo je o položaju crkve, odnosno konfiguraciji zemljišta na kojem je podignuta. Ne navodeći ovdje vrijeme njihove izgradnje i stilska obilježja, zvonik između lađe i svetišta, na sjevernoj strani, ima franjevačka crkva u Poreču. Zvonik sagrađen između lađe i svetišta na južnoj strani nalazi se u franjevačkim crkvama u Krku, Cresu i na Košljunu. Franjevačka crkva u Pazinu ima zvonik uz pročelje, uz južnu bočnu stranu. Kod ostalih franjevačkih crkava podizani su zvonici na preslicu, najčešće na pročelju, kako je to na crkvi sv. Marije u Glavotoku na Krku i crkvi sv. Marije Magdalene u Portu na Krku ili, pak, na začelju, o čemu svjedoči crkva sv. Franje u Puli, crkva sv. Bernardina u Kamporu na Rabu i crkva sv. Frane u Pagu, a samo crkva sv. Franje na Komrčaru na Rabu nema zvonika (Demonja 2013, 76-77).



Sl. 4 Poreč, crkva sv. Franje, vanjština - sjeverna i zapadna strana zvonika (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 4 Poreč, the church of St. Francis, the exterior - the northern and western side of the belfry (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

chapel, the sacristy, and especially the belfry, show post 16<sup>th</sup> century stylistic features, the period in which this study of churches ends.

As Franciscan sacral architecture aspired towards designing a larger, simpler and more visible space intended for the congregation of large numbers of believers, these spaces were not “burdened” with extending the building with side chapels. They were erected with donations made by believers, most especially aristocratic families. Special ceremonies were ordered in these separate altar spaces, and these chapels also served as a burial place. Usually, one to a maximum of three side chapels were erected on the southern or northern side of the nave. The church of St. Bernardino in Kampor on Rab has one side chapel (Demonja 2013, 125; *idem* 2015, 182-183), while the church of St. Francis in Cres has three side chapels (Demonja 2013, 145, 147-148; *idem* 2015, 179-181). These three side chapels were erected up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, within the timeframe that is being studied in this paper.

The significance of the belfry is clear in a spatial sense, as it is an accentuation in the mass of the monastery unit and contributed to the relationship between balance and tectonics. Their positioning in relation to the church will be analysed in this paper. There are very few belfries from the period between the 13<sup>th</sup> up until the 16<sup>th</sup> century that are still preserved in their entirety. In some examples, only the lower part of the belfry is preserved, while the upper part was altered and extended in later periods up to the present (Demonja 2013, 76-77). Franciscan belfries are usually connected with the body of the church and are usually placed on the side of the church, in the corner between the nave and the sanctuary, on either the northern or southern side. The position of the church’s belfry depended on the position of the church, i.e. the configuration of the land on which it was erected. Without stating the time of their construction and the stylistic characteristics, the Franciscan church in Poreč has a belfry between the nave and the sanctuary, on its northern side. The Franciscan churches in Krk, Cres and on Košljun have a belfry constructed between the nave and the sanctuary on the southern side. The Franciscan church in Pazin has its belfry on the facade, the southern side. The remaining Franciscan churches have belfries erected on the bell-cot, usually on the facade, as is the case in the churches of St. Mary in Glavotok on Krk and St. Mary Magdalene in Porat on Krk or, on the frontend, as is the case in the churches of St. Francis in Pula, St. Bernardino in Kampor on Rab and St. Francis in Pag.



Sl. 5 Krk, crkva sv. Franje, vanjština - južna i istočna strana zvonika (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 5 Krk, the church of St. Francis, the exterior - the southern and eastern side of the belfry (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).



Sl. 6 Cres, crkva sv. Franje, vanjština - začelje apside i istočna strana zvonika (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 6 Cres, the church of St. Francis, the exterior - the facade of the apse and the eastern side of the belfry (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

Neke franjevačke crkve u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, sagrađene do kraja 16. stoljeća, imaju sačuvanu sakristiju. Sakristija je arhitektonska jedinica građena uz crkvu, njezin je sastavni dio, a redovito je prislonjena uz svetište, s kojim je povezana. Arhitektonski oblici sakristije i njezine dimenzije razvijali su se i mijenjali s obzirom na veličinu crkve, a njezin ukras bile su freske, bogato rezbaren i intarzirani namještaj, raskošno klesani umivaonici s izrazitim stilskim obilježjima svoga vremena, i drugo. Sakristija je, poput svetišta, bila svedena pa se svodenjem i različitim tipovima svodova razlikovala od ostalih samostanskih prostorija. Pri planiranju tlocrtnog rasporeda sakristija se uvijek smještala uz jednu stranu svetišta, no mogla je biti i u njegovu nastavku, posebice kada su svetišta

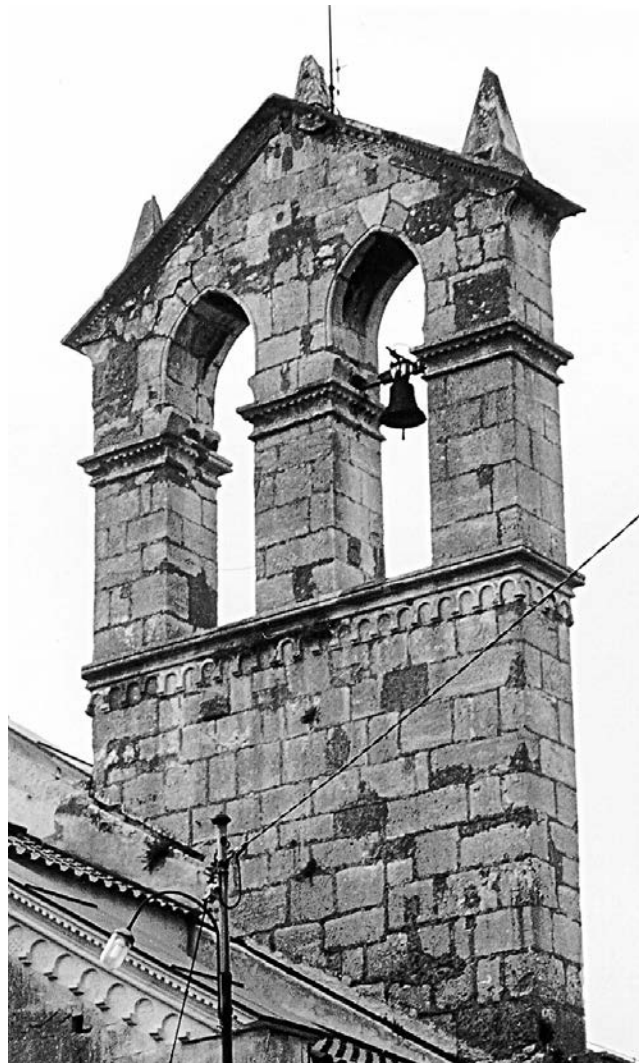
Only the church of St. Francis in Komrčar on Rab does not have a belfry (Demonja 2013, 76-77).

Some Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century have a preserved sacristy. The sacristy is an architectural unit constructed next to the church and is a vital part of it. It usually reclines on the sanctuary with which it is connected. The architectural shapes and sizes of the sacristies developed and changed in accordance with the size of the church, and they were decorated with frescoes, ornately carved and intarsia furniture, luxuriously sculpted wash basins with distinctive stylistic features of the time and so on. The sacristy, just like the sanctuary, was vaulted, so that vaulting and various types of vaulting





Sl. 7 Košljun, crkva Navještenja Blažene Djevice Marije, vanjština - istočna i južna strana zvonika (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).  
 Fig. 7 Košljun, the church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the exterior - the eastern and southern side of the belfry (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).



Sl. 8 Pula, crkva sv. Franje, vanjština - zvonik na preslicu na začelnom zidu lađe (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).  
 Fig. 8 Pula, the church of St. Francis, the exterior - bell-cot of the facade wall of the nave (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

bila naglašeno izdužena. Tlocrt sakristije varirao je četverokutne oblike: nema pravila na temelju kojih bi se oblikovale sakristije pravokutnog ili kvadratičnog tlocrta već je njihov tlocrtni oblik ovisio poglavito o smještaju i odnosu prema ostalim prostorijama samostanske cjeline. U nekim franjevačkim crkvama sakristije su, kao zasebna arhitektonska jedinica, smještene uz jednu stranu svetišta, dok su u drugima dio samostanskih krila, odnosno uklopljene su u samostanske prostorije. Prvoj varijanti pripadaju sakristije franjevačkih crkava u Puli, Krku i Cresu, a drugoj franjevačka crkva na Komrčaru na Rabu (Demonja 2013, 77). U nekim se, pak, crkvama, sakristija kao zasebno arhitektonsko tijelo prigradivala iza svetišta, što je također bilo uzrokovano konfiguracijom terena, odnosno smještajem crkve i prostorija samostana, a takve

differentiated it from other monastery chambers. When designing the ground plan, the sacristy was always placed on one side of the sanctuary, but it could also have been a continuation of it, especially when the sanctuaries were extremely long. The ground plan of the sacristy was of various quadrangular shapes: there are no rules which dictate whether the form of the sacristy is of a rectangular or square ground plan, rather, their ground plan mainly depended on their position and their relation to the other monastery units. In some Franciscan churches, the sacristies, as a separate architectural unit, are placed on one side of the sanctuary, while in others are a part of the monastery wing, that is, they are incorporated into the monastery chambers. The sacristies of the Franciscan churches in Pula, Krk and Cres have the former, while

su sakristije crkve Marijina Pohoda u Pazinu i crkve sv. Marije u Glavotoku (Krk). Neke franjevačke crkve danas nemaju sakristiju, kao primjerice crkva sv. Franje u Poreču, no ona ju je nekoć vjerojatno imala. Također, neke sakristije imaju sačuvane svodove iz vremena gradnje, poput onih crkve sv. Franje u Krku (križno-rebrasti) i crkve sv. Marije u Glavotoku na Krku (križno-rebrasti).

### Graditelji-majstori

S obzirom na veliku sličnost tlocrta, pojedinih konstrukcijskih elemenata i arhitektonsko-plastičku obradu u franjevačkim crkvama u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, izgrađenima do kraja 16. stoljeća, moguće je zaključiti da su franjevci za gradnju svojih crkava unajmljivali graditelje, odnosno majstore u sredinama u kojima se gradila crkva. Budući da je gradnja često bila dugotrajna, rijetko se događalo da jedan graditelj ili ista grupa graditelja izvedu gradnju od početka do kraja pa je svaki graditelj unosio u rad vlastita, nova iskustva. Otuda i stanovite razlike i odstupanja u nekim elementima konstrukcije i arhitektonsko-plastičke izvedbe crkava (Demonja 2013, 80–81).

Neposredni izvođači franjevačkih crkava bili su, u većem broju, pripadnici lokalnih radionica. U sačuvanim ugovorima, premda ne uvijek, ne prave se razlike između samih izvođača zidanja i onih koji su radili na plastičkom oblikovanju arhitektonskih elemenata. U do sada proučenoj arhivskoj baštini sačuvana su imena nekih graditelja-majstora i izvođača franjevačkih crkava. Zbog rijetkosti javljanja imena graditelja-majstora, vrijednosti malobrojnih arhivskih podataka i nesistematiziranosti ili nesukladnog objavljivanja istražene arhivske građe, navedena su imena svih graditelja-majstora iz dostupne literature. Njihova imena svjedoče da su ti majstori bili domaći ljudi, da su živjeli i radili u gradovima u kojima su franjevci podizali crkve te da su neko vrijeme gradili njihove crkve (Demonja 2013, 81). Vještine majstora franjevci su znali iskoristiti, premda su upravo oni (franjevci) propisivali norme izvođenja crkava, što se može pretpostaviti s obzirom na sukladna rješenja i susljedno opetovanje nekih pojedinosti.

Poznato je više imena graditelja-majstora franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na kvarnerskim otocima, izgrađenih do kraja 16. stoljeća, koja su arhivski dokumentirana. Neke podatke provjerili su kasniji istraživači, dok su druga imena više-manje moguće, ali neproverene ili proizvoljne pretpostavke.

Za crkvu sv. Franje u Puli Giuseppe Caprin pretpostavlja da ju je gradio fra Jakov, koji se 1302. godine spominje kao

the Franciscan church in Komrčar on Rab has the latter (Demonja 2013, 77). In some churches, the sacristy was built as a separate architectural unit behind the sanctuary, which was due to the configuration of the terrain, that is, the location of the church and the chambers of the monastery. This is the case in the sacristies of the churches of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pazin and St. Mary in Glavotok (Krk). Nowadays, some Franciscan churches do not have a sacristy, as, for example, the church of St. Francis in Poreč, but it most probably did once have one. In addition, some sacristies have vaults preserved from the time of their construction, such as the church of St. Francis in Krk (cross-ribbed) and the church of St. Mary in Glavotok on Krk (cross-ribbed).

### Builders-masters

As there are great similarities in the ground plans, certain constructional elements and the architectural-plastic treatment of Franciscan churches in Istria and islands of the Kvarner Bay constructed up until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it can be deduced that the Franciscans hired builders, or masters from the local area, to construct their churches. As the construction process was quite lengthy, it was rare that only one builder or the same group of builders worked on the construction from start to finish. As such, each builder contributed his own, new experiences into the work. This is why obvious differences and disparities in some constructional and architectural-plastic processes occur (Demonja 2013, 80–81).

Builders that were directly involved in the construction of Franciscan churches were, on the whole, members of local workshops. In preserved contracts, there is usually no difference between the builder undertaking brickwork and those that worked on the plastic-architectural elements. In preserved archival documents that have been studied up until the present, the names of some master builders and constructors have been retained. As the names of the master builders are rarely mentioned, the value of these few archival records and the non-systematic or uncategorised publishing in researched archival material, all the names of the master builders found in literature have been named. Their names testify to the fact that they were local people who lived and worked in the cities where the Franciscans erected their churches and worked for a particular time on the Franciscan churches (Demonja 2013, 81). The Franciscans knew how to utilise the skills of the master builders even though it was they (the Franciscans) who dictated the norms for the construction of their churches. One can draw this assumption when regarding the consistent designs and repetition of some details.



nadglednik gradnje crkve sv. Antuna u Padovi (Caprin 1905, 279). Taj podatak, bez kritičke provjere, preuzima Ferdinando Forlati (Forlati 1929, 3), a poslije i drugi autori. Pretpostavku da je Jakov bio graditelj crkve sv. Franje u Puli, premda naglašavaju da o tome nema pisanih dokumenata, preuzimaju i drugi autori, primjerice Marin Oreb (Oreb 1962, 87; isti 1983, 93) i Ljudevit Maračić (Maračić 1992, 105–111). Jedini je sumnju u vjerodostojnost tog podatka izrazio Radovan Ivančević (Ivančević 1964, 119), dok Branko Marušić navodi da je crkva djelo nepoznatog majstora (Marušić 1974, 6). S obzirom na nepostojanje sigurnog arhivskog podatka, pretpostavku da je Jakov radio i u svome rodnom gradu Puli treba shvatiti tek kao mogućnost. Budući da postoji siguran podatak da su radovi na crkvi sv. Antuna u Padovi 1310. godine izvedeni “*per fratrem Jacobum de Pola*” (Oreb 1962, 87), moguće da je zbog uspješnog rada na crkvi sv. Franje u Puli Jakov bio pozvan voditi radove na crkvi sv. Antuna. Kako je pulska franjevačka crkva građena prije crkve sv. Antuna u Padovi, vjerojatnost da je Jakov prvo sudjelovao na gradnji pulske, najizvršnije i tlocrtno najrazvedenije franjevačke crkve na istočnojadranskoj obali uopće, a potom one u Padovi, čini se prihvatljivom (Demonja 2013, 98, 101; isti 2014, 137–138).

Cvito Fisković donosi podatak da je Juraj Dimitrov, podrijetlom iz Zadra, bio protomagister pri gradnji franjevačke crkve sv. Bernardina u Kamporu na Rabu, a pomoćnici su mu bili Nikola Zadrani, koji je zidao temelje, dok je Jurko Zadrani klesao prozore (Fisković 1959, 29–30).

O graditeljima crkve sv. Franje na Komrčaru na Rabu objavljena su dva podatka koja nisu potkrijepljena dokumentima pa se navode s oprezom. Vladislav Brusić spominje da je “*godine 1491. sagradio na Komrčaru neki fra Matej Zadrani (de Jadra) trećoredac franjevac crkvi i samostan za svoju braću*” (Brusić 1925, 172), ali nije jasno je li on utemeljitelj crkve i samostana ili graditelj. Cvito Fisković navodi Petra Radu Busanina, koji je 1490. godine trebao raditi na crkvi sv. Franje na Komrčaru, ali ne označava pobliže koje je radove trebao izvesti spomenuti majstor (Fisković 1987, 330).

Kako je već istaknuto, u arhivskim podacima nije navođeno tko je izrađivao nacрте i planove, koji su s obzirom na istovjetnost rješenja ili sustavno ponavljanje pojedinosti morali postojati pri izvedbi franjevačkih crkava. Međutim, nedvojbeno je da su graditelji-majstori imali široka tehnička znanja i bili su u stanju spremno odgovoriti zadacima oblikovanja franjevačkih crkava čija su obilježja povijesni izraz sredine i prilagodbe sadržajima franjevačkog poslanstva.

The names of several builders-masters of Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century are known and have been documented in archives. Some data was later checked by researchers, while some names were more or less feasible but were not checked or were simply assumed.

Giuseppe Caprin assumes that the church of St. Francis in Pula was constructed by Fr. James (Jakov), who was mentioned in 1302 as the supervisor of the construction of the church of St. Anthony in Padua (Caprin 1905, 279). This information was accepted by Ferdinando Forlati (Forlati 1929, 3) without critical analysis, and then later by other authors. Although they themselves emphasize that there is no written proof to this, the assumption that James was the builder of the church of St. Francis has been accepted by other authors as well, for example Marin Oreb (Oreb 1962, 87; *idem* 1983, 93) and Ljudevit Maračić (Maračić 1992, 105–111). The only author who expressed doubts about the credibility of this information was Radovan Ivančević (Ivančević 1964, 119), while Branko Marušić states that the church was the work of an unknown master (Marušić 1974, 6). As there is no definite archival data, it can only be assumed that James worked in his hometown of Pula. As there is undeniable data that work on the church of St. Anthony in Padua in 1310 was done “*per fratrem Jacobum de Pola*” (Oreb 1962, 87), it is possible that due to the successful work done on the church of St. Francis in Pula, James was invited to work on the church of St. Anthony as well. As the Franciscan church in Pula was constructed before the church of St. Anthony in Padua, the possibility that James first worked on the church in Pula, the most exemplary Franciscan church with the most elaborate ground plan on the entire eastern Adriatic coast, and then later worked on the church in Padua, can be deemed as acceptable (Demonja 2013, 98, 101; *idem* 2014, 137–138).

Cvito Fisković states that Juraj Dimitrov, from Zadar, was the protomagister in the construction of the Franciscan church of St. Bernardino in Kampor on Rab and his assistants were Nikola Zadrani who made the foundations, and Jurko Zadrani who carved the windows (Fisković 1959, 29–30).

Two pieces of information regarding the builders of the church of St. Francis in Komrčar on Rab have been published but have not been corroborated with documentation and will as such be cited with caution. Vladislav Brusić mentions that “*in the year 1491, a certain Fr. Matej Zadrani (de Jadra), a Third Order Franciscan, built the church in Komrčar for his brothers*” (Brusić 1925, 172).

## Tipološka i arhitektonska klasifikacija i interpretacija

Franjevačke crkve u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, kao i na hrvatskoj obali, do kraja 16. stoljeća izvode se na načine određene pravilima reda. One poštuju i zadržavaju u osnovnoj ideji uzore talijanskih tipova i oblika, mijenjajući i prilagođavajući izvorni oblik prilikama i sredini u kojoj se grade. Proučavanjem franjevačkih crkava na prostoru i u vremenu definiranim ovim radom, zaključuje se da se one ne mogu evolucijski interpretirati i klasificirati jer je njihov tip ostao u začetku u smislu oblikovanja razvedenijeg tlocrta sa svetištem s više od jedne apside, transeptom, vijencem kapela ili većim brojem lađa. To ne znači da te franjevačke crkve nisu tipološki zanimljive, jer one su tek naizgled međusobno vrlo slične. Premda su krajnje jednostavnih tlocrtnih oblika, može ih se smatrati pravim odrazom sredine, naručitelja i materijalnih prilika.

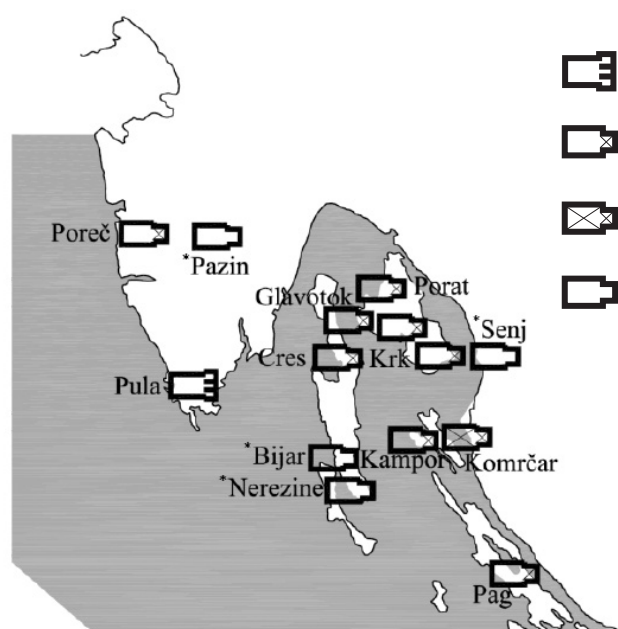
Polazište tipološke klasifikacije franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, sagrađenih do kraja 16. stoljeća, bio je tlocrt, koji je poslužio kao polazište oblikovanja i rasta arhitektonskog prostora (Demonja 2015, 188-192). Međutim, budući da se samo na temelju tlocrta ne može posve razumjeti prostor, u

However, it is not clear whether he is the founder of the church and monastery or the builder. Cvito Fisković cites that in 1490 Petar Rade Busanin should have worked on the church of St. Francis in Komrčar, but does not go into detail as to what type of work the aforementioned master was to do (Fisković 1987, 330).

As already pointed out, there is no archival data that specifies who undertook the ground plans and designs which, given the similarity in the construction or the systematic repetition of details, had to exist in the construction of the Franciscan churches. However, the builders—masters undoubtedly had a wide range of technical knowledge and were able to undertake the task of designing the Franciscan churches whose features are a historical expression of the region and an adaptation of the purpose of the Franciscans' mission.

## Typological and architectural classification and interpretation

Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay, as well as the Croatian coast, which were constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century were built in ways dictated by the rules and regulations of the Order. They respected and included the fundamental



Legenda / Legend:

1. Jednobrodna crkva otvorenoga krovništva s tri četverokutne apside / Church with one nave with an open truss with three quadrangular apses
2. Jednobrodne crkve otvorenoga krovništva s jednom četverokutnom apsidom / Churches with one nave with an open truss with one quadrangular apse
3. Jednobrodne crkve svedene lađe s jednom četverokutnom apsidom / Churches with one vaulted nave with one quadrangular apse
4. Ostale crkve / Other churches\*

\* Izvantska (crkva Pohađenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Pazinu); u ruševinama (crkva Sv. Marije na Bijaru pred Osorom na otoku Cresu), tlocrtno izmijenjena tijekom vremena (crkva Sv. Franje u Nerezinama) i tlocrtno i elevacijski uspostavljena temeljem sačuvanih arhitektonskih i fotografskih priloga (crkva Sv. Franje u Senju) / Atypical church (the church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pazin); in ruins (the church of St. Mary on Bijar near Osor on the island of Cres); church whose floor plan has changed with time (the church of St. Francis in Nerezine); and church with floor plan and elevation based on preserved architectural and photographic attachments (the church of St. Francis in Senj)

Karta I Franjevačke crkve po tipu u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, građene od sredine 13. do kraja 16. stoljeća (preuzeto iz karte Franjevačke crkve po tipu, sagrađene do kraja 16. stoljeća na hrvatskoj obali koju je izradila Ivana Valjato-Vrus, d.i.a., Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb (Demonja 2013, 18)).

Map I: Franciscan churches according to type in Istria and on islands of the Kvarner Bay constructed from the mid 13<sup>th</sup> Century up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century (taken from the map Franciscan churches according to type, constructed until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century on the Croatian coast which was done by Ivana Valjato-Vrus, BAA, Institute of Art History, Zagreb (Demonja 2013, 18)).

analize je uključena i zidna oplata, koja zatvara volumen i oblikuje prostor. Artikulacija oplata prozorima i portalima ostvaruje ritam punih i praznih ploha te raščlanjivanje u vertikalnom smislu pa je tim elementima arhitekture bila posvećena veća pozornost i pojedinačno su obrađeni (Demonja 2016).

Sve franjevačke crkve u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, a koje su sagrađene do kraja 16. stoljeća, jednostavnog su oblika, pravokutno položene prizme lađe, jasnog volumena definiranog zidovima minimalno rastvorenima prozorima i izrazito izdvojene četverokutne apside (Demonja 2015, 193-194). Tip crkve najjednostavnijeg volumena, gdje je širini i visini lađe sukladna visina i širina apside, nije prisutan među franjevačkim crkvama na proučavanom prostoru. Dakle, sve očuvane franjevačke crkve na proučavanom prostoru i vremenu jednobrodne su i jednoapsidne, izuzev crkve sv. Franje u Puli, koja ima troapsidno svetište, i pokazuju jednostavnu prostornu artikulaciju ostvarenu dvjema prostornim jedinicama: višom i širom lađom i nižom i užom apsidom. Mjesto spoja lađe i apside označeno je trijumfalnim lukom. On prati oblik otvora kojim je lađa vezana s apsidom i izveden je s naročitom pozornošću, zbog simboličkog značenja. Trijumfalni luk povezuje dva, po ulogama različita prostorna dijela: lađu, prostor za slušanje propovijedi, i apsidu, mjesto duhovnosti, gdje se odvijaju liturgijski obredi, odnosno mističko poslanje. I tip svodenja definira prostorno odvajanje, odnosno razlikuje franjevačke crkve međusobno. Apsida je uvijek svedena, dok je lađa imala strop s vidljivim drvenim gredama ili je prekrivena tavanicom, ali je i ona mogla biti zasvedena, a svod je, u jednom primjeru, imao susvodnice (Demonja 2015, 192-196).

Franjevci su donijeli na prostor Istre i otoka Kvarnerskog zaljeva te na hrvatsku obalu uopće već oblikovani tip crkve, izvana i iznutra skromne jednobrodne arhitekture. S obzirom na skromnost, kao i na sredinu u kojoj se javljaju, te su crkve bile brzo prihvaćene. U prvo vrijeme uz pomoć gotičkih izražajnih sredstava, arhitektura franjevačkog reda oblikovala je nove vrijednosti preglednog, jedinstvenog i jednostavnog crkvenog prostora. Te crkve sigurno su utjecale na razvoj drugih nefranjevačkih crkava. Utjecaj franjevačkih crkava na razvoj drugih, nefranjevačkih, nije bio dovoljno tumačen, a jedan od razloga zasigurno je nepostojanje cjelovitog korpusa sakralnih spomenika na hrvatskoj obali, koji bi omogućio odgovarajuće poredbe. Tumačenje i razradu tog problema prvi je ozbiljnije započeo Radovan Ivančević na primjerima arhitekture gotičkog razdoblja u Istri (Ivančević 1964).

ideas based on the Italian types and shapes, changing and adapting the original shapes to suit the conditions and region in which they were built. In studying the Franciscan churches in the region and the timeframe defined by this paper, it can be concluded that it is impossible to make an evolutionary interpretation and classification as their type remained in its inception in terms of the shape of a more developed ground plan with a sanctuary with more than one apse, transept, chapel or a larger number of naves. This does not mean that Franciscan churches are not typologically interesting, as they only appear to have common similarities. Despite the fact that they have an extremely simple ground plan shape, they can rightfully be considered a reflection of the region, client and financial circumstances.

A starting point for the typological classification of Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century is the ground plan which served as the foundation for the design and growth of the architectural space (Demonja 2015, 188-192). However, as the space cannot be completely discerned on the basis of the ground plan alone, the wall plating is also included in the analysis, as it closes the mass and shapes the space. The articulation in the plating of the windows and portals creates a rhythm of solid and hollow surfaces and division in a vertical sense. As such, a greater deal of focus was given to these architectural elements and they are dealt with separately (Demonja 2016).

All Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay that were built up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, are simple in shape, have a rectangular positioned nave prism, a clear mass defined by walls with minimally open windows and extremely distinct quadrangular apses (Demonja 2015, 193-194). The type of church with the simplest mass, where the width and height of the nave were in proportion with the height and width of the apse, is not the case in any of the Franciscan churches in the researched area. As such, the preserved Franciscan churches in the researched area and timeframe have one nave and apse, with the exception of the church of St. Francis in Pula, which has three apses in its sanctuary. They have a simple spatial articulation expressed through two spatial units: a higher and wider nave and a lower and narrower apse. The meeting point of the nave and apse is marked with a triumphant arch. It traces the shape of the opening which connects the nave and apse and is executed in a very transparent way due to its symbolic significance. The triumphant arch connects two chambers with very different roles: the nave, a space for listening to sermons,



On je uočio da se na tlocrtni raspored crkve sv. Franje u Poreču nadovezuje nekoliko nefranjevačkih crkava, ali s tolikim izmjenama u definiranju prostora, osobito kada je riječ o obliku svoda, ili s tolikim smanjenjem dimenzija da je krajnje rješenje posve drukčije. Prema Ivančevićevim spoznajama, “porečkom tipu” tlocrtno pripadaju župna crkva sv. Martina u Bermu, crkva sv. Jurja u Lovranu, crkva sv. Kuzme i Damjana pod Labinom i crkva sv. Trojstva u Kastvu (Ivančević 1964, 43–48; isti 1987, 113–114). Svoje pretpostavke Ivančević potkrjepljuje dovoljnim brojem primjera, a slijedom poredbi franjevačkih i drugih crkava izvodi zaključke o evoluciji arhitektonskog tipa koji proučava. Osobito je zanimljiva njegova razrada evolucije tipa od jednobrodnih crkava s kvadratičnom apsidom, kakve su upravo franjevačke koje smatra uzorom, do onih manjih, jedinstvenog prostora. Ivančević u nekim primjerima, kao u crkvi sv. Mateja u Prodolu, uočava da je ona “u malom formatu odraz istih težnji koje u monumentalnoj arhitekturi dovode do ‘dvoranskih’ rješenja” (Ivančević 1964, 45).

Na nefranjevačkim crkvama, ali i profanim građevinama mogu se uočiti utjecaji arhitekture franjevačkih crkava, i to u većoj mjeri u preuzimanju arhitektonskih elemenata poput primjerice okvira i oblika prozora i vrata. Oni su na franjevačkim zdanjima “monumentalni”, a na drugim crkvama, kućama ili palačama primjenjuju se u manjim dimenzijama i skromnijoj obradi. Izdvajam Anđelka Badurinu koji je raspravljao o utjecaju franjevačkih crkava i samostana dubrovačkog područja na nefranjevačke crkve i zdanja profane namjene u toj regiji (Badurina 1990, 59).

Franjevačke crkve svojim tlocrtnim oblicima, konstrukcijom i arhitektonskim elementima utjecale su na druge crkve, što potvrđuju neki primjeri. Daleke odjeke trodijelnog svetišta pulske franjevačke crkve pokazuje svetište katedrale sv. Marije u Puli (Forlati 1936; Demonja 2013, 107). Ono je trodijelno i sastoji se od srednje, stare apside u obliku “dugog kora” i bočnih apsida koje su zatvorene i preoblikovane u zasebne prostorije. Začelje crkve sv. Marije u Puli s dva izdužena šiljastolučna prozora na istočnom zidu pokazuje sličnost s onim pulske franjevačke crkve i možda je oblikovano pod utjecajem začelja te crkve. Poligonalno svetište crkve Pohoda Blažene Djevice Marije u Pazinu, premda s uzorom u skupini crkava s poligonalnim svetištima, moguće je imalo neposredan utjecaj u daljnjem usvajanju takvog tipa svetišta u kraškim spomenicima i onima ostalog dijela sjeverne Istre (Budinis 1910, 131; isti 1928, 25; Stele 1938, 22 i dalje; isti 1960; Karaman 1963, 49 i 51; Ivančević 1964, 10, 127–133; Demonja 2013, 207).

and the apse, a place of spirituality, where liturgical or mystical rites take place. The vaulting also defines the spatial significance and is a differentiating factor in Franciscan churches. The apse is always vaulted while the nave has a ceiling with visible wooden beams or a covered attic, but could also be vaulted, while the vault, in one example, has smaller sections (Demonja 2015, 192–196).

The Franciscans brought with them ready-shaped types of churches, which were modest constructions both internally and externally with one nave, to Istria and islands of the Kvarner Bay, as well as the Croatian coast in general. In view of their modesty, as well as the region in which they appeared, these churches became accepted quite rapidly. At first, the architecture of the Franciscan Order helped to shape new values in regard to a clear, unique and simple church space with the assistance of the Gothic means of expression. These churches most certainly influenced the development of other, non-Franciscan churches. The influence of Franciscan churches on the development of other, non-Franciscan churches has not been examined sufficiently, one of the reasons certainly being the absence of an integral corpus of sacred monuments on the Croatian coast, which would allow for proper comparison. The interpretation and expanded discussion of this issue was first begun by Radovan Ivančević using examples of architecture from the Gothic period in Istria (Ivančević 1964). He noticed that several non-Franciscan churches have the same ground plan layout as the church of St. Francis in Poreč, but with so many alterations in spatial definition, especially in regard to the shape of the vault, or with such a decrease in dimensions, that the final design is completely different. According to Ivančević, the “Poreč type” of ground plan belonged to the parish church of St. Martin in Beram, the church of St. George in Lovran, the church of St. Cosmas and Damian in Labin and the church of the Holy Trinity in Kastav (Ivančević 1964, 43–48; *idem* 1987, 113–114). Ivančević’s assumptions are based on a sufficient number of examples, and after making comparisons of Franciscan and other churches, he draws conclusions regarding the evolution of the architectural types that he studied. Of particular interest is his extended discussion regarding the evolution of the type of churches with one nave with a rectangular apse, which the Franciscans considered their role model, to smaller, simpler spaces. Ivančević in some examples, such as the church of St. Matthew in Prodol perceives that its “small format is the reflection of the same aspirations that in monumental architecture lead to ‘hall’ constructions” (Ivančević 1964, 45).

The influence of Franciscan churches can be seen in non-Franciscan churches, as well as secular constructions.

Reduciran, pak, oblik propovjedničkih crkava s jednom apsidom, četverokutnom s križno-rebrastim svodom, i ogoljele, dvostruko šire lađe, koji nastaje tijekom čitavog 14. stoljeća, pokazuje brojne odraze u manjim župnim crkvama (Gotika, EHU, 1 1995, 294).

Franjevačke crkve su bile i formalno ishodište za udomaćivanje gotičkog sloga. To ishodište u ono vrijeme nije imalo tako velik utjecaj da bi se netom plodno odrazilo na opći razvoj i izvedbu sakralne arhitekture, koja je još uvijek bila bremenita tradicijom prošlih razdoblja, poglavito romaničkog. U crkvama propovjedničkih redova, pa tako i u franjevačkim, primjenjuju se gotička konstruktivna, oblikovna i prostorna rješenja. Ta arhitektura prodirala je na našu obalu iz srednje Italije, iz Umbrije, koja je bila njezin izvor, i Toskane kao područja širenja, a obilježava je suzdržanost izraza. Usvajajući spomenuta gotička rješenja, osobito oblike konstrukcije (blago prelomljen luk u tjemenu, križno-rebrasti svod i rijetke elemente dekoracije), i njihovim prenošenjem franjevci doprinose učvršćivanju novog gotičkog stila na hrvatskoj obali. Opširnije o tome raspravljali su, primjerice, Radovan Ivančević (Ivančević 1964, 127), Vojislav Korać (Korać 1965, 187-189) i drugi. Stoga se čini ispravnim smatrati da monumentalno razdoblje gotike na istočnojadranskoj obali, s obzirom na očuvane spomenike, predstavljaju franjevačke crkve, odnosno one propovjedničkih redova. Naime, prvi prodor gotičkih konstrukcijskih, oblikovnih i prostornih rješenja u drugoj polovici 13. stoljeća vezan je upravo za sakralnu arhitekturu propovjedničkih redova koja dolazi iz srednje Italije, s izvorom u Umbriji, vjerojatno preko Maraka kao najbližeg pomorskog dodira te zbog najintenzivnijih trgovačkih veza.

Za tip koji se smatra formalnim i idejnim ishodištem franjevačke sakralne arhitekture na hrvatskoj obali primjer je crkva sv. Franje u Puli, koja je važna i za udomaćivanje gotičkog stila na spomenutom prostoru (Demonja 2013, 95-109, 303-304; isti 2014). Ona je u većoj mjeri predstavnicom izvedbe propovjedničko-redovničkog tlocrtnog tipa, razvijenog u srednjotalijanskom arhitektonskom krugu, a koriste se njime kako franjevci, tako i dominikanci. Riječ je o najjednostavnijem tipu, izrazite jasnoće – tlocrtno dugačkom pravokutniku lađe, krova vidljive strukture, s trima apsidama, središnjom istaknutom i najvećom, svedenima križno-rebrastim svodovima. Artikulaciji unutrašnjosti pridaje se velika pozornost, a definiraju je naznačeni profili apsida, koji razvrgavaju strogu geometrijsku percepciju omeđenog, mjerljivog i sagledivog prostora. Premda upravo crkva S. Francesca u Cortoni pokazuje ova obilježja (Biebrach 1908, 14-17), njezino trodijelno svetište je drukčije od

This can mostly be seen in the adaptation of architectural elements such as the frame and the shape of the windows and doors. In Franciscan constructions, they are more “monumental”, while in other churches, houses or palaces, a smaller size is used and it is more modestly made. Attention should be drawn to Anđelko Badurina who discussed the influence of Franciscan churches and monasteries in the Dubrovnik region on non-Franciscan churches and secular buildings in this region (Badurina 1990, 59).

Franciscan churches, with their ground plan shape, construction and architectural elements, influenced other churches, as can be verified by some examples. Distant traces of the three-part sanctuary of the Franciscan church in Pula can be seen in the sanctuary of the cathedral of St. Mary in Pula (Forlati 1936; Demonja 2013, 107). It has three parts and is made up of a central, old apse in the shape of a “long choir” and side apses which are closed and transformed into separate chambers. The facade of the church of St. Mary in Pula, with its two elongated windows with pointed arches on the eastern walls, is similar to the Franciscan church in Pula and was possibly designed under the influence of the facade of that church. The polygonal sanctuary of the church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pazin, though in line with the group of churches with polygonal sanctuaries, may have had a direct influence on the further adoption of this type of sanctuary in karst monuments and those in other parts of northern Istria (Budinis 1910, 131; *idem* 1928, 25; Stele 1938, 22 and further; *idem* 1960; Karaman 1963, 49 and 51; Ivančević 1964, 10, 127-133; Demonja 2013, 207). The smaller shape of preaching churches with one quadrangular apse with a cross-ribbed vault and a nave twice its size, which were established in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, is reflected in many smaller parish churches (Gotika, EHU, 1 1995, 294).

Franciscan churches were a formal starting point for the domestication of the Gothic style. This starting point did not at the time have a strong influence but would later be greatly reflected in the general development and construction of sacral architecture which was still idle in the tradition of past periods, mainly the Romanesque. In churches of the preaching orders, including the Franciscan Order, Gothic construction, shape and spatial design is used. This architecture permeated the Croatian coast from central Italy, from Umbria, where its origins came from, and Tuscany as a region of expansion, and is characterised by restraint in expression. In adopting the aforementioned Gothic design, especially the construction shape (a slightly fragmented arch in the vertices, a cross-ribbed vault

onog pulske franjevačke crkve, koja je preuzela tlocrtno rješenje crkve S. Francesca u Ascianu (Biebrach 1908, 23–25). Naime, kod ascianske i pulske franjevačke crkve trodijelno svetište, odnosno bočne apside izlaze izvan perimetra lađe te se tako pokušava ostvariti namjera naglašavanja i isticanja svetišta, odnosno svojevrсна “monumentalnost” (Demonja 2014, 133–136, 138–140).

Kako je već naglašeno, u vezi s gradnjom jedne od najstarijih franjevačkih crkava, ne samo u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva nego i općenito na hrvatskoj obali, može se tumačiti pojava gotike na ovim prostorima, čiji utjecaji struje upravo iz srednje Italije (Ivančević 1964, 127–128). Kako je za crkvu sv. Franje u Puli već otprije utvrđeno da je građena krajem 13. stoljeća, odnosno 1285. godine, kako smatraju istraživači poput Pietra Kandlera (Kandler 1855, 34), Attilija Tamara (Tamaro 1892, 95) i Radovana Ivančevića (Ivančević 1964, 27), odnosno u prvim desetljećima 14. stoljeća, 1314. godine, kako tvrde, primjerice, Cornelio Budinis (Budinis 1928, 60), Ferdinando Forlati (Forlati 1929, 3) i Branko Marušić (Marušić 1974, 4), s obzirom na njezin geografski položaj i blizinu Italije te gotička konstrukcijska i oblikovna rješenja (npr. vertikalna izduženost, šiljasti lukovi, profili rebara) ova monumentalna crkva obilježava gotičku sakralnu arhitekturu obalnog dijela Istre.

Jednobrodna crkva otvorenog krovišta s tri četverokutne apside, kakva je franjevačka crkva u Puli, arhitektonsko je ostvarenje koje pokazuje utjecaj raznovrsnih internacionalnih silnica prisutnih u arhitekturi onoga vremena. Primjer pulske franjevačke crkve trodijelnog svetišta usko je povezan s utjecajima srednjotalijanske propovjedničke arhitekture i ne može se skriti od svog formalnog ishodišta. Ali, ta crkva čuva i domaće graditeljsko nasljeđe, što se uočava u arhitektonsko-plastičkim detaljima (Ivančević 1964, 86–87; isti 1996, 59–60; Demonja 2014, 133). Taj elementarni arhitektonski tip, kao i oni još elementarniji, namijenjen je prvenstveno propovijedi i zato je shvatljiv, nezahtjevan i asketski, gotovo prejednostavan, bez ophoda i kapela uz uzdužne zidove. On nije nedostupna Božja kuća koja bi služila isključivo liturgijskim obredima i pravilima službe već je po svojoj osnovnoj funkciji namijenjen okupljanju ljudi, i na toj novoj namjeri se i temelji njegova arhitektonska osnova. Ujedno, taj arhitektonski tip pokazuje da je u 13., odnosno 14. stoljeću hrvatska obala usvojila monumentalni format gotičkog stila (Karaman 1958, 14–15, 47–48; Ivančević 1964, 27; Gotika, EHU, 1 1995, 291–298).

and rare decorative elements), and its expansion, the Franciscans contributed to the strengthening of the new Gothic style on the Croatian coast. This is discussed in detail by Radovan Ivančević (Ivančević 1964, 127), Vojislav Korać (Korać 1965, 187–189) and others. It is then correct to believe that Franciscan churches and those of the preaching orders are representative of the monumental period of Gothic architecture on the eastern Adriatic coast in regard to preserved monuments. Namely, the first permeation of Gothic construction, design and spatial design in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century is related to sacral architecture of the preaching orders that came from central Italy, with their origins in Umbria, and most probably via Marche as it was the closest maritime contact with strongest trade links..

The church of St. Francis in Pula is an example of the type of church that is considered as the formal and conceptual origin of Franciscan sacral architecture on the Croatian coast, as it is significant in regard to the assimilation of the Gothic style in the aforementioned region (Demonja 2013, 95–109, 303–304; *idem* 2014). It is representative of the design of the preaching monastic ground plan type, developed in central Italian architectural circles, and is used by Franciscans, as well as Dominicans. It is the simplest type, with the utmost clarity – a ground plan with a long, rectangular nave, a ceiling with a visible structure, three apses, the central one being the most prominent and largest, vaulted with cross-ribbed vaults. The articulation of the interior is given great attention, and is defined by the profiles of the apses, which break down the strict geometric perception of the constrained, measurable and observable space. Even though the church of St. Francis in Cortona has these characteristics (Biebrach 1908, 14–17), its three part sanctuary is different from the Franciscan church in Pula, which adopted the ground plan of the church of St. Francis in Asciano (Biebrach 1908, 23–25). Namely, the Franciscan churches in Asciano and Pula have a three-part sanctuary, or a side apse which extends outside the perimeters of the nave, and in this way tries to achieve emphasise and exalt the sanctuary, that is, achieve a kind of “monumentality” (Demonja 2014, 133–136, 138–140).

As already emphasised, it can be interpreted that the construction of the oldest Franciscan churches, not just in Istria and islands of the Kvarner Bay, but on the Croatian coast in general, brought about the appearance of the Gothic style in these areas, whose influence has its sources in central Italy (Ivančević 1964, 127–128). It had been previously determined that the church of St. Francis in Pula was constructed in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, in 1285 as



\* \* \*

Od jedanaest franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, izgrađenih do kraja 16. stoljeća, prevladavaju jednobrodne crkve, a sastoje se od dviju prostornih jedinica koje odjeljuje, odnosno povezuje trijumfalni luk: jednostavne, pravokutne dvorane, nesvedene ili svedene u malom broju primjera, i izbačene, istaknute, redovito svedene četverokutne apside. Zide je i u laži i u apsidi kompaktno jer ga rijetki uski i visoki polukružni ili šiljastolučni prozori ne uspijevaju dematerijalizirati. Apsida sa svodom ojačanim rebrima uprtim o konzole dobiva naročitu arhitektonsku vrijednost jer svod pridonosi artikulaciji njezine unutrašnjosti. U svedenim lažama, kao u primjeru crkve sv. Franje na Komrčaru na Rabu (Demonja 2015, 184-185, 192), ostvaren je stanoviti dinamički vertikalizam. Te franjevačke crkve obilježava askeza i do krajnosti neraščlanjeni, "mrtvi" zidovi, koji oblikuju kompaktan, zaokružen prostor. Kao samostalni arhitektonski dio izbačena je apsida, koja je, premda jednostavna, impresivna i ponajbolje obrađen dio crkve. Razvoj tlocrta tog tipa franjevačkih crkava kretao se unutar tradicionalnih rješenja udomaćenih u lokalnim okvirima i usvajanja novih tlocrtnih tipova i njihovih osnovnih obilježja koje donose franjevci iz svojih centara u srednjoj Italiji. Taj razvoj očitovao se u ostvarivanju skromnih i jednostavnih crkava čija je zadaća, prije svega, bila okupiti što više vjernika. Franjevačke crkve tog tipa posredovale su u razvoju onih tlocrtnih oblika koji su postajali uzorom župnim i manjim ruralnim, ladanjskim crkvama, jer su se franjevački i ostali prosjački redovi širili diljem hrvatske obale. U nekim slučajevima taj tip su usvajale i gradske katedrale, koje su, u pravilu, bile složenije u oblicima i bogatije ukrasima (Forlati 1936; Demonja 2013, 107). Razlog većoj primjeni toga tipa treba tražiti upravo u jednostavnosti prostorne sheme, za čiju su izvedbu trebala relativno skromna materijalna sredstva.

Među franjevačkim crkvama otvorenoga krovišta s jednom četverokutnom apsodom, sagrađenima do kraja 16. stoljeća u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, s obzirom na način svodenja apside razlikuju se dvije varijante: a) križno-rebrastog i b) šiljasto-bačvastog svoda (Demonja 2015, 188-189, 190-192). U samo dva primjera franjevačkih crkava koje su tema ovoga rada, crkvi sv. Franje u Cresu i crkvi sv. Bernardina u Kamporu na Rabu, uz bočni zid lađe grade se tri kapele, odnosno jedna kapela, čime tlocrt postaje "razvedeniji", "složeniji" te pridonosi razbijanju dojma jednostavnosti, preglednosti i usredotočenosti prostora (Demonja 2015,

claimed by researchers such as Pietro Kandler (Kandler 1855, 34), Attilio Tamaro (Tamaro 1892, 95) and Radovan Ivančević (Ivančević 1964, 27), or in the first decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, in 1314, as claimed by Cornelio Budinis (Budinis 1928, 60), Ferdinando Forlati (Forlati 1929, 3) and Branko Marušić (Marušić 1974, 4). Due to its geographic location and proximity to Italy, as well as the Gothic construction and design plans (e.g. vertical elongation, pointed arches, ribs' profiles), this monumental church is a testimony to sacral Gothic architecture of the coastal part of Istria.

A church with one nave, an open truss with three quadrangular apses, such as the Franciscan church in Pula, is an architectural creation which shows the influence of numerous international architectural forces of the period. The Franciscan church in Pula, with its three-part sanctuary, is closely tied to the influences of central Italian preacher architecture and its formal origin cannot be denied. However, this church also possesses local architectural heritage, as can be seen in the architectural-plastic details (Ivančević 1964, 86-87; *idem* 1996, 59-60; Demonja 2014, 133). This elementary architectural type, in addition to those that are even more elementary, was intended primarily for the use of preaching and as such, is understandable, undemanding and ascetic, almost too simple, without an ambulatory and chapel along its longitudinal walls. It is not an inaccessible house of God whose sole purpose was to serve liturgical rites and the regulations of service, rather, its primary function was to gather people, and it was on this new purpose that it based its architectural foundation. This architectural type shows that the Croatian coast adopted the monumental format of the Gothic style in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries (Karaman 1958, 14-15, 47-48; Ivančević 1964, 27; Gotika, EHU, 1 1995, 291-298).

\* \* \*

Of all the eleven Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay, constructed until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, churches with one nave prevail and are made up of two spatial units that are separated or joined by a triumphant arch: simple, rectangular chambers, either without vaulting or vaulted in a few examples, and outlined, prominent, usually vaulted quadrangular apses. The brick walls in both the nave and the apse are compact as the few narrow and high semicircular or pointed arched windows do not manage to dematerialise it. Apses with vaults strengthened with ribs and shouldered by the cantilever are of particular architectural value as the vault contributes to the articulation of its interior. In

179-180, 192). Kako bočne kapele nisu predviđene u izvornim tlocrtima već su naknadno podizane, creska i kamporska franjevačka crkva nisu obrađene kao primjeri zasebne skupine.

### Tipološka klasifikacija

Prema otprije provedenim tlocrtnim i prostornim interpretacijama franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, građenih do kraja 16. stoljeća, moguće je predložiti njihovu tipološku klasifikaciju temeljenu na oblikovanju i svođenju njihovih prostornih i tlocrtnih jedinica, dakle lađa i apsida (Demonja 2015). Temeljem toga, franjevačke crkve na obrađivanom prostoru tipološki se mogu svrstati u tri skupine, kako slijedi, dok je crkva Pohođenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Pazinu zasebni primjer, s obzirom na tlocrtno-prostorna obilježja i sredinu javljanja, i smatra se izvantipskom.

#### 1. Jednobrodna crkva otvorenoga krovišta s tri četverokutne apside

Pula, crkva sv. Franje

#### 2. Jednobrodne crkve otvorenoga krovišta s jednom četverokutnom apsidom

##### a) križno-rebrastog svoda

Poreč, crkva sv. Franje

Krk, crkva sv. Franje

Kampor (Rab), crkva sv. Bernardina

Košljun, crkva Navještenja Blažene Djevice Marije

Porat (Krk), crkva sv. Marije Magdalene

Pag, crkva sv. Frane

##### b) šiljasto-bačvastog svoda

Cres, crkva sv. Franje

Glavotok (Krk), crkva sv. Marije

#### 3. Jednobrodna crkva svedene lađe s jednom četverokutnom apsidom

##### a) šiljasto-bačvastog svoda

Komrčar (Rab), crkva sv. Franje

### Tipološka interpretacija

Bliski uzor tlocrtno najrazvijenijoj franjevačkoj crkvi na hrvatskoj obali, crkvi sv. Franje u Puli, predstavlja nekoliko franjevačkih crkava iz srednje Italije (Demonja 2013, 95-105, 107-109; isti 2014; isti 2015, 189). Riječ je o tipu crkve s **pravokutnom dvoranom, svetištem s tri apside, srednjom većom i bočnima manjima**, kojoj je primjer crkva S. Francesco u Cortoni, a istovjetne su joj crkve S. Francesco u Arezzu, S. Francesco u Ascianu

vaulted naves, as is the case in the church of St. Francis on Komrčar on Rab (Demonja 2015, 184-185, 192), a certain dynamic verticalism is achieved. These Franciscan churches are marked by ascetics and are unadorned to the extreme, with bare walls which shape a compact, rounded space. The apse is omitted as a monastery architectural element and, though simple, is an impressive and the best designed element of the church. The development of the ground plan of this type of Franciscan church shifted between traditional construction assimilated into the local framework and the adoption of new ground plan types and their basic characteristics which the Franciscans brought from their centres in central Italy. This development is clear in the creation of modest and simple churches whose purpose was, above all, to gather believers. Franciscan churches of this type were the means for the development of ground plan shapes that would become the role models for parish and smaller, rural village churches as the Franciscans and other mendicant orders spread across the Croatian coast. In some cases, city cathedrals adopted this type which were generally more complex in shape and more ornate in decoration (Forlati 1936; Demonja 2013, 107). The reason for the greater use of this type should be sought in the simplicity of the spatial scheme, the construction of which could be financed using modest funds.

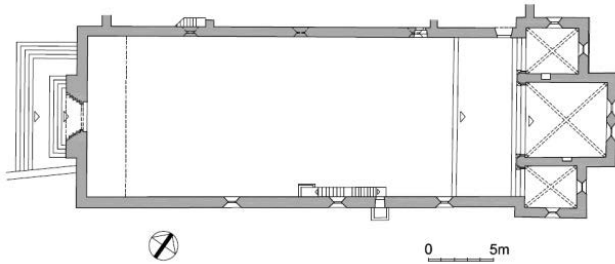
In Franciscan churches with an open truss with one quadrangular apse constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay, there are two variations regarding the vaulting of the apse: a) cross-ribbed and b) pointed-barrel vaulting (Demonja 2015, 188-189, 190-192). In only two examples of Franciscan churches that are the subject of this paper, the church of St. Francis in Cres and the church of St. Bernardino in Kampor on Rab, on the side wall of the nave three chapels are built, or one chapel, and as such the ground plan becomes "more developed", "more complex" and contributes to breaking the impression of simplicity, visibility and spatial focus (Demonja 2015, 179-180, 192). As these side chapels were not envisaged in the original ground plans but were subsequently erected, the Franciscan churches in Cres and Kampor were not dealt with as examples of a distinct group.

### Typological classification

As the ground plans and spatial interpretations of the Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century had previously been dealt with, it is possible to suggest their typological classification based on the

## 1. Jednobrodna crkva otvorenoga krovišta s tri četverokutne apside / Church with one nave with an open truss with three quadrangular apses

Pula, crkva sv. Franje / Pula, the church of St. Francis

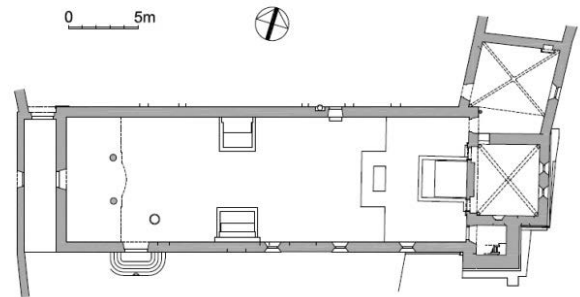
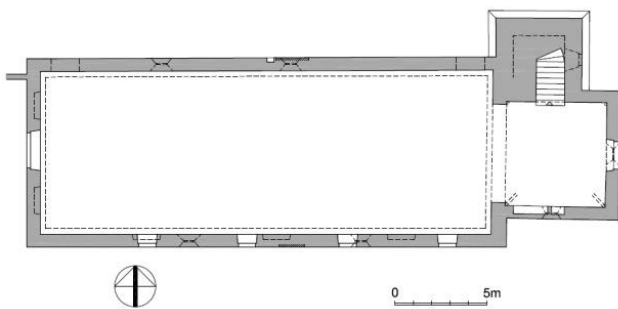


## 2. Jednobrodne crkve otvorenoga krovišta s jednom četverokutnom apsidom / Churches with one nave with an open truss with one quadrangular apse

### a) križno-rebrastog svoda / cross-ribbed vaulting

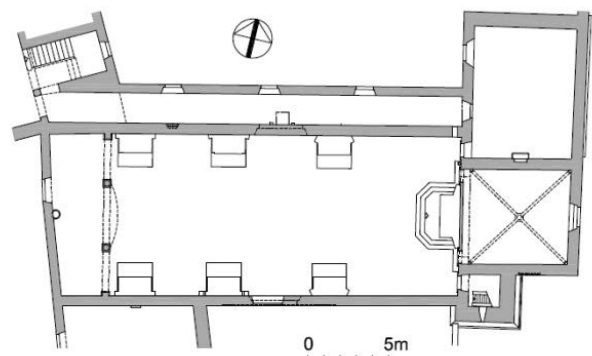
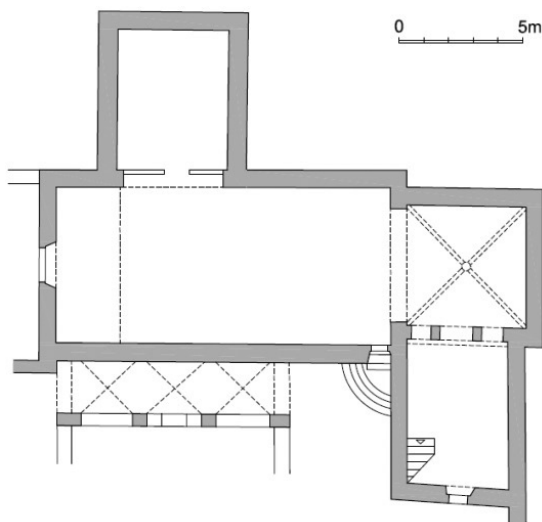
Poreč, crkva sv. Franje / Poreč, the church of St. Francis

Krk, crkva sv. Franje / Krk, the church of St. Francis



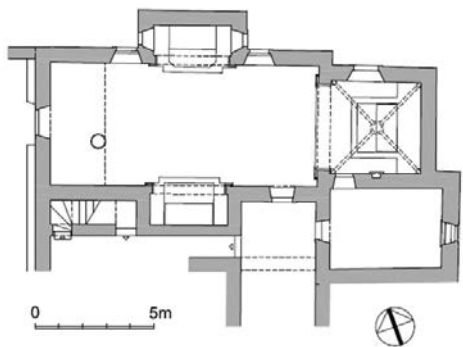
Kampor (Rab), crkva sv. Bernardina / Kampor (Rab) the church of St. Bernardino

Košljun, crkva Navještenja Blažene Djevice Marije / Košljun, the church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary

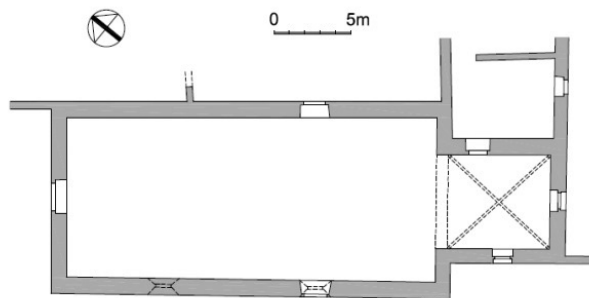




Porat (Krk), crkva sv. Marije Magdalene / Porat (Krk), the church of St. Mary Magdalene

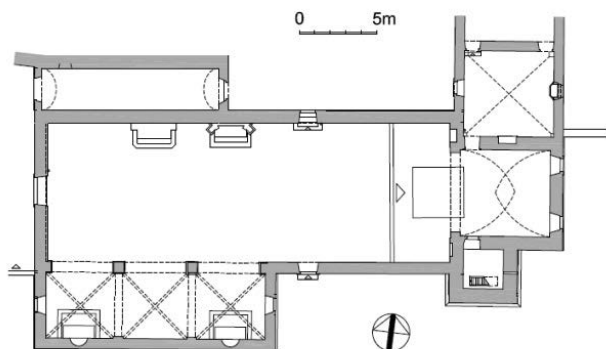


Pag, crkva sv. Frane / Pag, the church of St. Francis

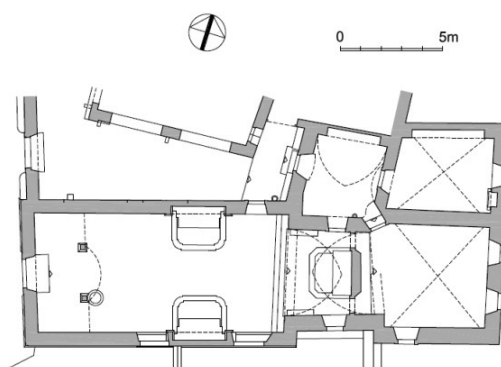


**b) šiljasto-bačvastog svoda / pointed-barrel vaulting**

Cres, crkva sv. Franje / Cres, the church of St. Francis



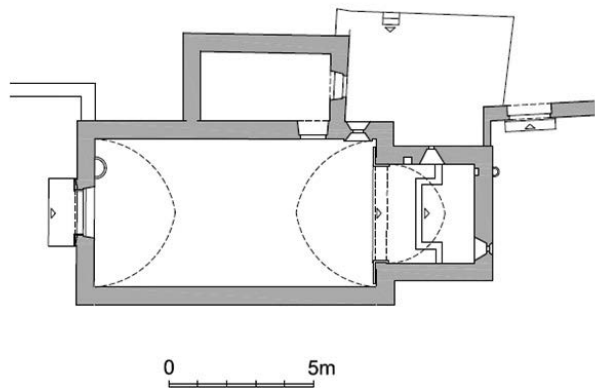
Glavotok (Krk), crkva sv. Marije / Glavotok (Krk), the church of St. Mary



**3. Jednobrodna crkva svedene lađe s jednom četverokutnom apsidom / Church with one vaulted nave with one quadrangular apse**

**a) šiljasto-bačvastog svoda / pointed-barrel vaulting**

Komrčar (Rab), crkva sv. Franje / Komrčar (Rab), the church of St. Francis



**4. Izvantijska crkva / Atypical church**

Pazin, crkva Pohođenja Blažene Djevice Marije / church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary

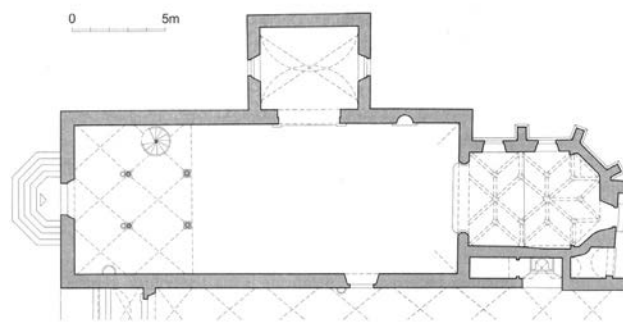


Tabla I Tipološka klasifikacija franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, građениh od sredine 13. do kraja 16. stoljeća (izradili: Ivan Tenšek, d.i.a., i Ivana Valjato-Vrus, d.i.a., Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb)

Table I The typological classification of Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay constructed between the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century and up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (created by: Ivan Tenšek, BAA and Ivana Valjato-Vrus, BAA, Institute of Art History, Zagreb)

i druge (Biebrach 1908, 15–25). Crkva S. Francesco u Cortoni dugačak je pravokutnik prekriven dvoslivnim krovom vidljive strukture, sa svetištem s tri apside, srednjom istaknutom i najvećom, i bočnima manjima, koje su sve svedene prelomljenim svodovima. Ta je crkva najstariji primjer ovog arhitektonskog tipa, koji se najčešće pojavljuje u brojnim izvedbama i vrlo je rasprostranjen u srednjotalijanskoj franjevačkoj sakralnoj arhitekturi. Unutrašnjost toga tipa crkve odlikuje se naročitom artikulacijom, postignutom naznačenim profilima lukova apsida, u koje svjetlost ulazi kroz velike prozore definirajući geometrijsku percepciju određenog, mjerljivog i sagledivog prostora. U tim je crkvama prostorno jedinstvo jasno i vidljivo, rezultat je ekonomične i praktične jednostavnosti, novih odnosa redovnika i laika, a iznad svega potrebe za propovijedanjem. Pomanjkanje, odnosno nepostojanje strukturalne složenosti proizvodi zvonku jasnoću akustičnosti i jedan je od zasigurno dojmljivijih doprinosa. Krajnja jednostavnost toga tipa ima svoju estetiku. Velike, gole dvorane toskanskih crkava ne mogu se lako zaboraviti, a njihova kakvoća utjecala je i na najveći broj sakralnih franjevačkih arhitektonskih ostvarenja na hrvatskoj obali, ali u još jednostavnijem i naglašenijem asketskom obliku. Da bi se razumio umjetnički doseg tih crkava, mora se znati njihovo značenje. Građene za čovjeka, posjeduju uravnotežene dimenzije prostranih lađa i apsida, eleganciju i mirnoću svih arhitektonskih oblika te dominantnu usmjerenost prema oltaru. Njihova simbolička unutrašnja organizacija prostora i definiran arhitektonski rječnik temeljni su oblici arhitektonskog izričaja koji je prozeo graditeljstvo srednjovjekovne Europe i javljao se stoljećima i na istočnoj jadranskoj obali.



Sl. 9 Pula, crkva sv. Franje, unutrašnjost - južni zid lađe (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).  
 Fig. 9 Pula, the church of St. Francis, the interior - the southern wall of the nave (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

shape and vaulting of their spatial and ground plan units, i.e. the naves and apses (Demonja 2015). On the basis of this, Franciscan churches in the researched area can be typologically sorted into the following three groups, while the church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pazin is a distinct example in regard to its ground plan and spatial characteristics, as well as the region where it was built and is deemed atypical.

### 1. Church with one nave with an open truss with three quadrangular apses

Pula, the church of St. Francis

### 2. Churches with one nave with an open truss with one quadrangular apse

#### a) cross-ribbed vaulting

Poreč, the church of St. Francis

Krk, the church of St. Francis

Kampor (Rab), the church of St. Bernardino

Košljun, the church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary

Porat (Krk), the church of St. Mary Magdalene

Pag, the church of St. Francis

#### b) pointed-barrel vaulting

Cres, the church of St. Francis

Glavotok (Krk), the church of St. Mary

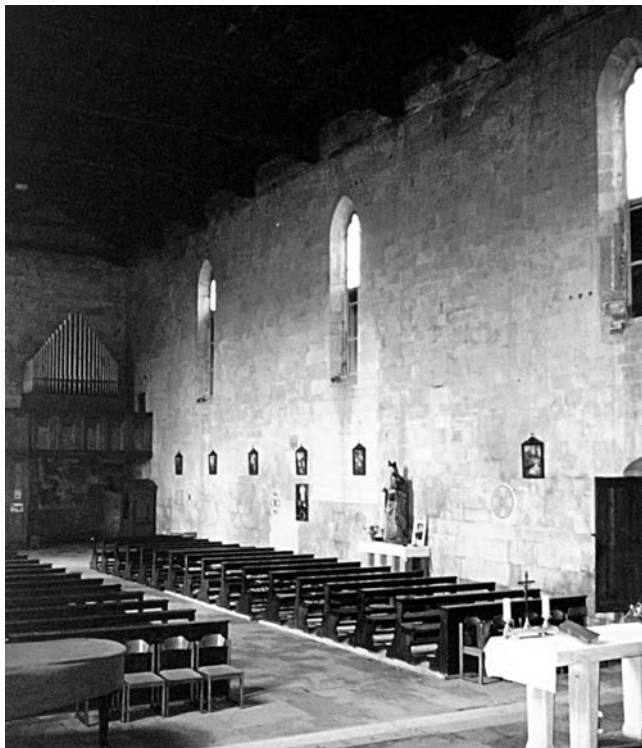
### 3. Church with one vaulted nave with one quadrangular apse

#### a) pointed-barrel vaulting

Komrčar (Rab), the church of St. Francis

### Typological interpretation

Close role models for the most developed ground plan of Franciscan churches on the Croatian coast, the church of St. Francis in Pula, are several Franciscan churches in central Italy (Demonja 2013, 95–105, 107–109; *idem* 2014; *idem* 2015, 189). Examples of these types of churches that have **a rectangular hall, a sanctuary with three apses, one central apse which is larger and two smaller ones** are the church of St. Francis in Cortona, the church of St. Francis in Arezzo, the church of St. Francis in Asciano and others (Biebrach 1908, 15–25). The church of St. Francis in Cortona is a long rectangle, covered with a gabled roof with visible structural elements, with a sanctuary with three apses, the central one being prominent and the largest, and the side ones smaller, that are vaulted with fragmented vaulting. This church is the oldest example of this architectural type, which usually appears in many constructions and is quite widespread in central Italian Franciscan sacral architecture. The interior



Sl. 10 Pula, crkva sv. Franje, unutrašnjost - sjeverni zid lađe (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 10 Pula, the church of St. Francis, the exterior - the northern wall of the nave (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

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Na prostoru poluotoka Istre i otoka Kvarnerskog zaljeva, tip **jednobrodne franjevačke crkve otvorenoga krovišta s jednom četverokutnom apsidom križno-rebrastog svoda** broji šest primjera. Analiza tlocrta pokazuje da je lađa pravokutna, ponegdje naglašene longitudinalne protegnutosti, a apside je uglavnom četverokutna i uža od lađe. Taj se tip franjevačke crkve na proučavanom prostoru gradi u svim razdobljima od 13. do 16. stoljeća. U primjerima crkava toga tipa gotika je nenametljivo prisutna u blago prelomljenom trijumfalnom luku, križno-rebrastom svodu apside i elementima dekoracije.

Crkva sv. Franje u Poreču primjer je ranogotičke građevine na početku širenja franjevačkih crkava na hrvatskoj obali (Demonja 2013, 110-117; isti 2015, 166-170, 190). Jednostavne je prostorne koncepcije, čistih proporcija i volumenskih odnosa, a cijela izvedba unutrašnjosti i vanjštine, obilježenih općim dojmom zatvorenosti i dominacije čistih, glatkih ploha s rijetkim otvorima, podređena je asketskom shvaćanju. Gotički stil prepoznaje se u detaljima portala i rozete na pročelju te u svodu apside najskromnijih i najjednostavnijih oblika rebara (Demonja 2016, 228, 230). Krajnja jednostavnost ogleda

of this type of church is characterised by a particular articulation, achieved by the indicated profiles of the arches of the apse, whereby light enters through large windows defining the geometrical perception of a defined, measurable and discernible space. Spatial unity is clear and apparent in these churches, the result of which is economic and practical simplicity, reflecting the new relationship between the monk and the clergy, and above all, the purpose of which was preaching. The lack of structural complexity produces an acoustic clarity and is one of its most impressive characteristics. The extreme simplicity of this type of church has its aesthetics. The large, bare Tuscan hall churches cannot be easily forgotten, and their quality influenced a large number of Franciscan sacral architectural constructions on the Croatian coast, but in an even simpler and a more pronounced ascetic form. In order to understand the artistic reach of these churches, one must be acquainted with their significance. Built for people, the size of their commodious nave and apse is proportional, all architectural forms are elegant and calm and the dominant focus is on the altar. The symbolic organisation of the internal space and the defined architectural vocabulary are fundamental architectural expressions which permeated construction in medieval Europe and appeared on the eastern Adriatic coast centuries later.

There are six examples of Franciscan churches with **one nave with an open truss and one quadrangular apse with a cross-ribbed vault** on the Istrian peninsula and the islands of the Kvarner Bay. An analysis of the ground plan shows that the nave was rectangular, with an occasional pronounced longitudinal extension, while the apse was usually quadrangular and narrower than the nave. This type of Franciscan church was built in the period from the 13<sup>th</sup> up until the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the researched area. In examples of this type of church, the Gothic is unobtrusively present in a mildly fragmented triumphal arch, a cross-ribbed vault of apses and decorative elements.

The church of St. Francis in Poreč is an example of early Gothic architecture at the onset of the expansion of Franciscan churches on the Croatian coast (Demonja 2013, 110-117; *idem* 2015, 166-170, 190). It has a simple spatial concept, clear proportions and ratios in mass, while the internal and external construction is marked by the general impression of the closeness and domination of clear, smooth surfaces with few openings, and is subordinated to the ascetic notion. The Gothic style is recognisable in the portal and rosette details on the facade, as well as the apse's vaulting which is the most modest and simplest form of ribbing (Demonja 2016, 228, 230).





Sl. 11 Poreč, crkva sv. Franje, vanjšina - južni zid lađe (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).  
 Fig. 11 Poreč, the church of St. Francis, the exterior - the southern wall of the nave (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).



Sl. 13 Poreč, crkva sv. Franje, unutrašnjost - gornji dio nekadašnje crkve, pogled prema pročelnom zidu (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).  
 Fig. 13 Poreč, the church of St. Francis, the interior - the upper part of the former church, view towards the facade wall (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

se u unutrašnjosti suzdržana izraza, odterećenoj svakog dinamizma, u kojoj se prepoznaje romanička tradicija. Zbog arhaičnosti, jednostavnosti koncepcije i rustičnosti izvedbe crkva sv. Franje u Poreču s pravom se može smatrati idealom asketske propovjedničke crkve. Porečka franjevačka crkva uzor je koncepcije jedinstvenog dvoranskog prostora lađe s jednom četverokutnom apsidom svedenom križno-rebrastim svodom, a njezin se utjecaj prepoznaje u ostalim crkvama ovoga tipa, građenima u stoljećima koja dolaze. Pokazuju to primjeri crkve sv. Franje u Krku, crkve sv. Bernardina u Kamporu na Rabu, crkve Navještenja Blažene Djevice Marije na Košljunu i crkve sv. Marije Magdalene u Portu na Krku.



Sl. 12 Poreč, crkva sv. Franje, vanjšina - sjeverni zid lađe (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).  
 Fig. 12 Poreč, the church of St. Francis, the exterior - the northern wall of the nave (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).



Sl. 14 Poreč, crkva sv. Franje, unutrašnjost - trijumfalni luk nekadašnje apside, pogled iz apside (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).  
 Fig. 14 Poreč, the church of St. Francis, the interior - the triumphant arch of the former apse, a view from the apse (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

Sheer simplicity is reflected in the interior which is restrained in expression, absent of all dynamics, which is Romanesque in tradition. Due to its archaic and simple concept and the rustic construction of the church of St. Francis in Poreč, it can be rightly considered the ideal ascetic preaching church. The Franciscan church in Poreč is a role model to the concept of a simple hall chamber for the nave with one quadrangular apse vaulted with cross-ribbed vaulting, and its influence can be felt in all churches of its type, constructed in centuries to come. This can be seen in the churches of St. Francis in Krk, St. Bernardino in Kampor on Rab, the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Košljun and St. Mary Magdalene in Porat on Krk.

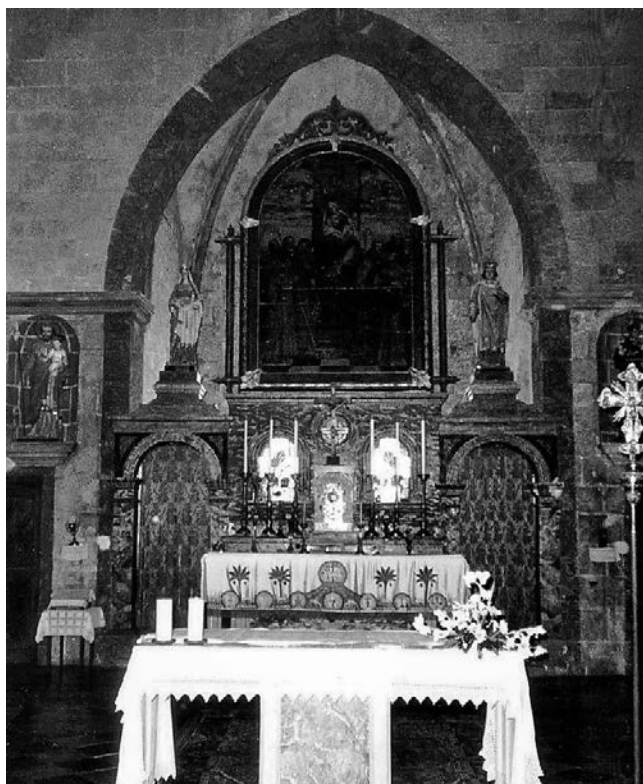
The ground plan layout and the shape of the space of the church of St. Francis in Krk are undoubtedly a reflection of the simplest role models of preaching churches, here consistently achieved in accentuated archaic

Crkva sv. Franje u Krku u tlocrtnom rasporedu i obliku prostora pokazuje nesumnjive odraze najjednostavnijih uzora propovjedničkih crkava, ovdje krajnje dosljedno provedenih u naglašenim arhaičnim i rustičnim oblicima, izrazitijima nego u primjeru franjevačke crkve u Poreču (Demonja 2013, 122–124, isti 2015, 171–173, 190–191).



Sl. 15 Krk, crkva sv. Franje, vanjština - začelje apsida (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 15 Krk, the church of St. Francis, the exterior - the facade of the apse (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).



Sl. 16 Krk, crkva sv. Franje, unutrašnjost - trijumfalni luk apsida (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 16 Krk, the church of St. Francis, the interior - the triumphal arch of the apse (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

and rustic forms, more pronounced than in the example of the Franciscan church in Poreč (Demonja 2013, 122–124, *idem* 2015, 171–173, 190–191).

The church of St. Bernardino in Kapor on Rab, with the customary ground plan for this researched type (Demonja 2013, 125–126; *idem* 2015, 182–183, 191), has one side chapel built in the western part of the northern wall which, according to Vladislav Brusić, dates back to the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Brusić 1925, 173). This chapel with a quadrangle ground plan is quite deep and opens up to the nave with a wide, fragmented arch. Even though it was constructed adjacent to the facade, it does not affect orientation towards the apse. Its awkwardness or large size comes to the fore from the outside, where the balance of a well-proportioned cube of the nave is undermined.



Sl. 17 Kapor (Rab), crkva sv. Bernardina, unutrašnjost - lađa, pogled prema pročelnom zidu (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 17 Kapor (Rab), the church of St. Bernardino, the interior - the nave, a view towards the facade wall (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).



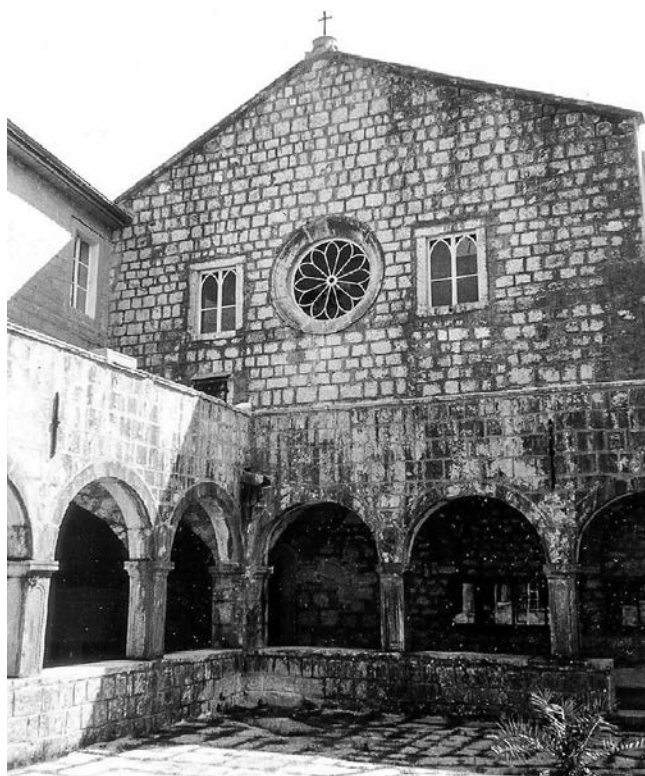
Sl. 18 Kapor (Rab), crkva sv. Bernardina, unutrašnjost - detalj trijumfalnog luka i rebra svoda apsida (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 18 Kapor (Rab), the church of St. Bernardino, the interior - a detail of the triumphal arch and ribs from the apse vaulting (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).



Crkva sv. Bernardina u Kampionu na Rabu, uobičajenog tlocrtnog rasporeda za proučavani tip (Demonja 2013, 125–126; isti 2015, 182–183, 191), ima jednu bočnu kapelu prigradenu u zapadnoj polovici sjevernog zida, koja se, po Vladislavu Brusiću, datira na početak 16. stoljeća (Brusić 1925, 173). Ta kapela četverokutnog tlocrta prilično je duboka i prema lađi se otvara širokim prelomljenim lukom. Premda je podignuta u neposrednoj blizini pročelja, ne utječe na usmjerenost prema apsidi. Njezina nezgrapnost, nakon nezgrapnost i nakon dimenzije odnosno velike dimenzije dolazi do izražaja u vanjštini, gdje je narušena uravnoteženost dobro proporcioniranog kubusa lađe.

Premda barokizirana, crkva Navještenja Blažene Djevice Marije na Košljunu sačuvala je pojedine elemente gotičkog stila u kojem je građena: rebra svoda u apsidi, njihov zaključni kamen, obris jednog šiljastog prozora na sjevernom zidu, rozetu na pročelju, dok polukružni trijumfalni luk pokazuje renesansna obilježja (Demonja 2013, 128–130; isti 2015, 173–175, 191).



Sl. 19 Košljun, crkva Navještenja Blažene Djevice Marije, vanjština - pročelje. (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 19 Košljun, the church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the exterior - the facade (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

Crkva sv. Marije Magdalene u Portu na Krku tijekom vremena doživjela je brojne pregradnje koje su izmijenile njezinu tlocrtnu i prostornu koncepciju (Demonja 2013, 131–132; isti 2015, 175–176, 191). Slijed intervencija na

Although the church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary was altered in the Baroque period, it has kept some elements of the Gothic style it was built in: the ribbed vault in the apse, its closing stone, the outline of one pointed window on the northern wall, the rosette on the facade, while the triumphant arch has Renaissance features (Demonja 2013, 128–130; *idem* 2015, 173–175, 191).

The church of St. Mary Magdalene in Porat on Krk has, over time, gone through many refurbishments that have changed its ground plan and spatial concept (Demonja 2013, 131–132; *idem* 2015, 175–176, 191). Anđelko Badurina was the first to research architectural changes in the Franciscan church and monastery in Porat (Badurina 1980). In spite of this, the layout and the cross-ribbed vault in the apse are original and correspond to the time of construction (Demonja 2016, 228 i 229).



Sl. 20 Porat (Krk), crkva sv. Marije Magdalene, vanjština - pročelje (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 20 Porat (Krk), the church of St. Mary Magdalene, the exterior - the facade (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

The church of St. Francis on Pag, with an apse which was originally vaulted with cross-ribbed vaulting, traces of which it has preserved, nowadays has a barrel vault and shows Gothic features, but its triumphal arch with a



franjevačkoj crkvi i samostanu u Portu prvi je istražio Andelko Badurina (Badurina 1980). Usprkos tome, tlocrtni raspored i križno-rebrasti svod u apside izvorni su i pripadaju vremenu gradnje (Demonja 2016, 228 i 229).



Sl. 21 Porat (Krk), crkva sv. Marije Magdalene, unutrašnjost - lada, pogled prema apside (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 21 Porat (Krk), the church of St. Mary Magdalene, the interior - the nave, a view towards the apse (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

Crkva sv. Frane u Pagu, s apsidom izvorno svedenom križno-rebrastim svodom, sačuvanim u tragovima, a danas bačvastog svoda, pokazuje gotičke oblike, no njezin trijumfalni luk s profiliranim vijencem već je tipično renesansnih obilježja (Demonja 2013, 132-133; isti 2015, 187-188, 191; isti 2016, 226). Na renesansni način izvedeno je i pročelje, na kojem je iznad karakterističnog



Sl. 22 Pag, crkva sv. Frane, unutrašnjost - lada, pogled prema pročelnom zidu (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 22 Pag, the church of St. Francis, the interior - the nave, a view towards the facade wall (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

profiled cornice is typically Renaissance in style (Demonja 2013, 132-133; *idem* 2015, 187-188, 191; *idem* 2016, 226). The facade is also Renaissance in style and has a round window with a modestly profiled frame above its characteristic portal with a three-sided gable (Demonja 2016, 217-218).

A similar ground plan and spatial features can be found in the typological version of a church with nave with an open gable and one quadrangular apse with a pointed-barrel roof. This type can be found in two churches in Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay: in the church of St. Francis in Cres and the church of St. Mary in Glavotok (Krk) (Demonja 2013, 145-148, 163-164; *idem* 2015, 176-182). The basic characteristics of this type of church are a rectangular nave connected to a quadrangular apse which is two times narrower and four times shorter, with balanced proportions and unarticulated plating. The nave is covered with an open wooden construction as can be seen in the oldest Franciscan churches. Only the apse is covered with pointed, Gothic vaulting, considerably lower than the nave. Light enters the nave through a rosette on the facade and through a number of windows on the flat, longitudinal walls. Serious treatment of the wall is done on the exterior as well, which is also consistently simple in its construction, with an elaborate facade portal, while the only ornamentation in the closed, prismatic body of the construction are the cornices (two on the facade and gable of the church of St. Mary in Glavotok on Krk) (Demonja 2015, 177; *idem* 2016, 208). Both churches are shaped in the Gothic style: the restrained Gothic morphological expression is seen in, for example, the fragmented vaulting of the apse and the pointed triumphant arch (Demonja 2016, 224, 226, 228), while in the church of St. Francis in Cres, remarkably restrained Renaissance forms in the detail of the entrance embellishment in the side chapels can be seen (profile of the entrance, chapels) (Demonja 2015, 191-192).

In the group of Franciscan churches with an open roof and vaulted apse, there are churches in which the naves are connected to independent spaces, side chapels, which are usually quadrangular on the ground plans. In this way, a more indented spatial articulation is created. Side chapels are rarely erected at the same time as the church; they are usually added later in accordance with the construction and stylistic practices of the time. As the chapels do not extend towards the entire length of the longitudinal wall, they do not form an additional "side nave" in the ground floor and in the space. Thus, Franciscan churches with side chapels cannot be considered to be ones with two naves. The significance of the chapel is more pronounced

portala s trokutnim zabatom smješten okrugli prozor skromno profilirana okvira (Demonja 2016, 217-218).

Sukladna tlocrtna i prostorna obilježja pokazuje i iduća tipološka inačica **jednobrodne crkve otvorenoga krovišta s jednom četverokutnom apsidom šiljastobačvastog svoda**, zastupljena u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva s dvama primjerima: crkvom sv. Franje u Cresu i crkvom sv. Marije u Glavotoku (Krk) (Demonja 2013, 145-148, 163-164; isti 2015, 176-182). Osnovno obilježje tog tipa je pravokutna lađa spojena s dvaput užom i četiri puta kraćom četverokutnom apsidom, odmjerenih proporcija i neartikulirane oplata. Lađa je natkrivena otvorenom drvenom konstrukcijom kakva se susreće kod najstarijih franjevačkih crkava. Šiljastim, gotičkim svodom prekrivena je samo apside, naglašeno niža od lađe. Svjetlost u lađu ulazi kroz rozetu na pročelju i kroz više prozora koji se nalaze na posve plošnim uzdužnim zidovima. Ozbiljan tretman ziđa proveden je i na vanjštini, gdje je jednako dosljedno, jednostavnom izvedbom, obrađen portal pročelja, a na zatvorenom, prizmatičnom tijelu građevine jedini ukras su vijenci (dva na pročelju i zabatu crkve sv. Marije u Glavotoku na Krku) (Demonja 2015, 177; isti 2016, 208). Obje su crkve oblikovane u gotičkom stilu: gotička morfologija ograničenoga izraza raskriva se, primjerice, u prelomljenom svodu apside, šiljastom trijumfalnom luku (Demonja 2016, 224, 226, 228), dok je u primjeru crkve sv. Franje u Cresu zamjetan suzdržani prodor renesansnih oblika u detaljima ukrasa ulaza u bočne kapele (profilacija otvora, kapiteli) (Demonja 2015, 191-192).

U skupini franjevačkih crkava otvorenoga krovišta i svedene apside izdvajaju se crkve u kojima su lađama priključeni samostalni prostori, bočne kapele, tlocrtno uglavnom četverokutne. Na taj se način ostvaruje razvedenija prostorna artikulacija. Bočne kapele rijetko se podižu istovremeno s gradnjom crkve; češće se dodaju poslije, u skladu s konstrukcijskim i stilskim običajima vremena. Budući da se kapele ne protežu cijelom dužinom uzdužnog zida, u tlocrtu i prostoru one ne oblikuju dodatnu, "bočnu lađu", te se franjevačke crkve s bočnim kapelama ne mogu smatrati dvobrodnicima. Značenje kapela je izrazitije izvana, u rasporedu masa arhitektonskih jedinica. U vanjštini dominira lađa, a kapele, međusobno uglavnom jednakih visina, niže su od lađe pa nije riječ o dva jednakovrijedna volumena. Crkve se proširuju bočnim kapelama uglavnom zbog povećanja liturgijskih potreba. U nekim crkvama kapele se uz uzdužne zidove podižu nastojanjem bogatih donatora, obično plemstva. Kapele su uglavnom međusobno



Sl. 23 Glavotok (Krk), crkva sv. Marije, vanjština - južni zid lađe i dio južnog zida apside (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 23 Glavotok (Krk), the church of St. Mary, the exterior - the southern wall of the nave and part of the southern wall of the apse (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).



Sl. 24 Glavotok (Krk), crkva sv. Marije, unutrašnjost - lađa, pogled prema pročelnom zidu (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 24 Glavotok (Krk), the church of St. Mary, the interior - the nave, a view towards the facade wall (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

from the exterior, in the arrangement of the mass of architectural units. The churches are extended with side chapels mainly because of increased liturgical needs. In some churches, the chapels are erected on the longitudinal walls due to the endeavours of rich donors, usually the aristocracy. The chapels are usually connected to each other and open towards the nave with arches. Even though the addition of side chapels creates a more "indented" ground plan, the nave does not lose its basic longitudinal orientation or "extension".

Examples of churches with an open gable and vaulted apses with side chapels that are on the islands of the Kvarner Bay are the churches of St. Bernard in Kampor



povezane, a prema lađi se otvaraju lukovima. Premda dodavanjem bočnih kapela tlocrt postaje “razvedeniji”, lađa ne gubi svoju osnovnu uzdužnu usmjerenost, odnosno “izduljenost”.

Na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva primjeri crkava otvorenoga krovišta i svedene apsida s bočnim kapelama su crkva sv. Bernardina u Kamporu na Rabu (Demonja 2013, 125–126; isti 2015, 182–183, 191) i crkva sv. Franje u Cresu (Demonja 2013, 145–148; isti 2015, 178–182, 191–192), koje se razlikuju načinom svodenja apsida.

Creska franjevačka crkva u zapadnoj polovici južnog zida ima prigradene tri kapele četverokutnog tlocrta (Demonja 2013, 145, 147; isti 2015, 179–180). One su međusobno povezane lukovima i svedene križno-bačvastim svodovima, a prema lađi se otvaraju trima lukovima. U istočnoj i zapadnoj kapeli nalaze se oltari, u zapadnoj još i nadgrobna ploča creskog fratra Antuna Marcela Petrisa, a u srednjoj su orgulje. U unutrašnjosti te kapele ublažavaju aksijalnu usmjerenost lađe i narušavaju vizualnu smirenost jer je njihova oplata artikulirana raskošnim arhitektonsko-plastičkim ukrasima. Izvana kapele razbijaju monotoniju asketski koncipirane kubične mase lađe golih zidova i ublažavaju vertikalizam cjeline istaknut pročeljem i zvonikom. S obzirom na plastičke ukrase, kapele su vjerojatno sagrađene u vrijeme renesanse. Alfonso Orlini smatra da “kapele pripadaju prvoj četvrtini 15. stoljeća, možda prvoj polovici, ali jamačno ne kasnije” (Orlini 1966, 23), dok Branko Fučić navodi da su kapele creske franjevačke crkve sagrađene u 16. stoljeću (Fučić 1990, 47).

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Tijekom 15. stoljeća, i to ne ranije, na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva javlja se **tip** franjevačkih **crkava u kojima se i nad lađom podiže svod**. On je, uglavnom, šiljasto-bačvasti. Premda se za talijanske primjere crkava svedenih lađa može pronaći daleki uzor u cistercijskim rezidencijalnim građevinama, a bliži u svjetovnoj arhitekturi gradskih palača, primjeri franjevačkih crkava svedenih lađa na proučavanom prostoru i općenito hrvatskoj obali ne potječu izravno od talijanskih uzora. Kronološki, tip crkava svedenih lađa mogao bi se širiti upravo iz talijanskih izvora budući da je jedan od prvih primjera, onaj u Piedilucu, sagrađen u polovici 14. stoljeća (Krönig 1938, 66–67; isti 1971, 179–180).

Tip franjevačke crkve svedene lađe na kvarnerskim otocima rezultat je primjene novih konstrukcijskih oblika usvojenih tijekom vremena i odraz je praktičnih potreba te je u skladu s materijalnim prilikama sredine. Franjevci su se mogli ugledati i u primjere regionalne, odnosno

on Rab (Demonja 2013, 125–126; *idem* 2015, 182–183, 191) and St. Francis in Cres (Demonja 2013, 145–148; *idem* 2015, 178–182, 191–192), which differ in the apse vaulting.

The Franciscan church in Cres has three chapels of a quadrangular ground plan connected to the western half of its southern wall (Demonja 2013, 145, 147; *idem* 2015, 179–180). They are connected together with arches and vaulted cross-barrel vaulting, while they open towards the nave with three arches. There are altars in the eastern and western chapels, while the tombstone of Fr. Antun Marcel Petris from Cres is in the western one, and in the middle one is an organ. The interior of these chapels reduce the axial orientation of the nave and undermine the visual tranquillity as their plating is articulated with ornate architectural-plastic decorations. From the exterior, the chapels break the ascetically designed monotony through cubic masses of the bare walled nave, and alleviate the verticalism of the whole by way of the facade and the bell tower. Considering the plastic decorations, the chapels were most probably built during the Renaissance period. Alfonso Orlini deems that “the chapels belong to the first quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps the first half, but most certainly not later” (Orlini 1966, 23), while Branko Fučić states that the chapels of the Franciscan churches in Cres were constructed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Fučić 1990, 47).

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During the 15<sup>th</sup> century and not earlier, a **type** of Franciscan church appears on the islands of the Kvarner Bay where **vaulting is erected above the nave**. In most cases a pointed barrel vault was used. Even though Italian churches with vaulted naves got their distant inspiration from Cistercian residential buildings, and closer inspiration from the secular architecture of city palaces, examples of Franciscan churches with vaulted naves in the researched area and on the Croatian coast in general do originate directly from Italian role models. Chronologically, the type of churches with vaulted naves may have come from Italian sources since one of the first examples, the one in Piediluco, was built in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century (Krönig 1938, 66–67; *idem* 1971, 179–180).

The type of Franciscan churches with vaulted naves from the islands of the Kvarner Bay were the result of the application of new constructional shapes adopted over time as well as a reflection of practical needs, and were in accordance with the financial situation of the region. The Franciscans may have imitated examples of regional, i.e. “smaller” architecture constructed outside the large urban areas, which at the time had vaulting in



“male” arhitekture izvan velikih urbanih središta, u kojoj su se u to vrijeme gradili svodovi u lađama. Naznaku takve mogućnosti dao je Radovan Ivančević proučavajući gotičku arhitekturu Istre, raspravljajući o sukladnostima konstrukcijskih i prostornih rješenja “malih” crkava u ruralnom (ladanjskom) okružju i “velike” arhitekture u koju je uvrstio i istarske franjevačke crkve (Ivančević 1964, 1-133, a posebno 127-133).

Crkva sv. Franje na Komrčaru na Rabu, sagrađena u 15. stoljeću, odmjerenih je proporcija, naglašene usmjerenosti k oltaru i bez ikakve artikulacije unutrašnjosti (Demonja 2013, 191-194; isti 2015, 184-187, 192). Geometrijski jasna lađa golih zidova natkrivena je najjednostavnijim gotičkim svodom obrisa prelomljenog luka, ponovljenim u apsidi (Demonja 2016, 228). Svjetlo je uvedeno samo kroz prozorsku ružu na pročelju. No, franjevačka crkva na Komrčaru je po obliku i izvedbi pročelja u mramoru izuzetak ne samo u obrađivanom tipu nego i uopće među franjevačkim crkvama na hrvatskoj obali, sagrađenima do kraja 16. stoljeća (Demonja 2015, 187; isti 2016, 214-215). Njezino trodijelno, kulisno pročelje renesansnih obilježja ima uzor u onodobnoj venecijanskoj arhitekturi. Ono skriva njezinu jednobrodnost i gotičko-renesansnu unutrašnjost sa šiljasto-bačvastim svodom lađe i apsidi (Fisković 1987, 321-332; Ivančević 1992-1993, 113).



Sl. 25 Komrčar (Rab), crkva sv. Franje, vanjština - začelje lađe i apsidi (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 25 Komrčar (Rab), the church of St. Francis, the exterior - the facade of the nave and apse (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

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Crkva Pohodaenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Pazinu je izvantipska pa s obzirom na tlocrtno-prostorna obilježja i sredinu javljanja - unutrašnjost Istarskog poluotoka - zahtijeva posebno tumačenje (Demonja 2013, 204-208, 319-320).

the naves. Radovan Ivančević denoted this possibility in studying the Gothic architecture of Istria, discussing the coherency of the constructional and spatial design of “small” churches in rural (village) areas and “large” architecture which included Istrian Franciscan churches (Ivančević 1964, 1-133, in particular 127-133).

The church of St. Francis in Komrčar on Rab, built in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, is of a modest size, with a pronounced orientation towards the altar and without any articulation in its interior (Demonja 2013, 191-194; *idem* 2015, 184-187, 192). The geometric clarity of the bare-walled nave is covered with the simplest Gothic vaulting with a fragmented arch profile, seen again in the apse (Demonja 2016, 228). Light enters solely through the rose on the facade. However, the Franciscan church in Komrčar is an exception due to its shape and the design of the facade in marble, not only amongst Franciscan churches built up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the researched area, but also throughout the Croatian coast in general (Demonja 2015, 187; *idem* 2016, 214-215). It three-part, backdrop type of facade with Renaissance features was modelled upon Venetian architecture of the time. It conceals its single nave and Gothic-Renaissance interior with a pointed-barrel vaulted nave and apse (Fisković 1987, 321-332; Ivančević 1992-1993, 113).



Sl. 26 Komrčar (Rab), crkva sv. Franje, vanjština - detalj pročelja (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 26 Komrčar (Rab), the church of St. Francis, the exterior - a detail of the facade (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

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The church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pazin is atypical in regard to the ground plan, spatial characteristics and the area in which it is erected - the interior of the Istrian peninsular - and requires some special interpretation (Demonja 2013, 204-208, 319-320).



Sl. 27 Pazin, crkva Pohođenja Blažene Djevice Marije, unutrašnjost - lađa, pogled prema apsidi (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 27 Pazin, the church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the interior - the nave, a view towards the apse (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

Tlocrt te crkve sastoji se od izrazito izdužene pravokutne lađe i poligonalne, trostrane apside. Pokazuje stanoviti razvoj izvedbom poligonalne apside svedene zvjezdasto-rebrastim svodom, čija tektonika ovisi o arhitektonskim članovima, službama i konzolama o koje se upiru rebra, i ključnom kamenu. Svod s poljima i posebno središnjim rombom usmjeren je na ostvarivanje estetskog i likovnog učinka realiziranog freskama, ali one nisu očuvane (Demonja 2016, 228-229). Dominantna trostrana apsida razigranog, dinamički oblikovanog zvjezdasto-rebrastog svoda te zidova otvorenih velikim i širokim prozorima šiljastih lukova ima nove vrijednosti koje napuštaju tektonsku usmjerenost preuzetu od cistercitske arhitekture i ukazuje na razvoj usmjeren "pravoj", otvorenoj gotičkoj arhitekturi. Izvana je apsida poduprta s tri kontrafora, jednim u sredini sjeverne fasade i po jednim na oba brida sjeveroistočne strane (Demonja 2016, 206-207).

Crkva Pohođenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Pazinu važna je zbog drukčijeg oblikovanja tlocrta i prostora apside te zbog kulturnih i graditeljskih utjecaja sredine i susjednog okruženja, koji su bili presudni za prihvaćanje poligonalnog svetišta. Za razliku od ostalih franjevačkih crkava, pazinska pokazuje izrazitije usvajanje stilskih i morfoloških elemenata gotičke arhitekture, čija idejna i oblikovna ishodišta sigurno sežu izvan uskih lokalnih okvira i lokalno obojenih varijanti. U primjeru te crkve riječ je o prihvaćanju internacionalnih oblikovnih arhitektonskih silnica koje obilježavaju srednjoeuropski graditeljski krug. One su preko Slovenije došle i na prostor Istre te su se manifestirale u tadašnjem istarskom sakralnom graditeljstvu, pa i u jednoj franjevačkoj crkvi.



Sl. 28 Pazin, crkva Pohođenja Blažene Djevice Marije, unutrašnjost - apsida (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 28 Pazin, the church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the interior - the apse (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

The ground plan of this church is made of an extremely long, rectangular nave and a polygonal, three-sided apse. It is quite developed regarding the construction of the polygonal apse vaulted with star-ribbed vaulting whose tectonics depend on the closing stone and the architectural decomposition elements, engaged columns and consoles that support the ribs. The vaulting with sections and in particular the central oval section, is aimed at creating an aesthetic and artistic effect through the frescoes, however, they have not been preserved (Demonja 2016, 228-229). The dominant three-sided apse with a playful dynamically shaped star-ribbed nave and walls opened with large and wide windows with pointed arches has new values that leave the tectonic orientation taken over from the Cistercian architecture and goes towards the development of "true", open Gothic architecture. From the outside the apse is supported by three buttresses, one in the middle of



Međutim, uz prihvaćanje spomenutih utjecaja, zadržana je osnovna, otprije usvojena ideja franjevačkog prostora. Crkva Pohoda Blažene Djevice Marije u Pazinu, po mome mišljenju, pokazuje spajanje talijanskog prostornog ideala i dugačke apside dematerijaliziranog prostora, koja je izvedena u razvijenijem obliku s obzirom na poligonalnost, odnosno trostranost i upotrebu zvjezdastog svoda (Demonja 2013, 346).

U pazinskoj franjevačkoj crkvi, više nego u ostalima, uočljiva je dvojnost u artikulaciji prostora lađe i apside. Ta dvojnost, koja će svoj cjelovitiji izraz ostvariti u sakralnom graditeljstvu toga područja, povezana je s funkcionalnim ulogama dviju sastavnih jedinica crkve: apsida je Božje mjesto pa mora biti oblikovana reprezentativnije, odnosno bolje, kvalitetnije i monumentalnije, a lađa je "laička" te stoga i manje kvalitetno oblikovana. Neraščlanjeni zidovi lađa franjevačkih crkava posve su u sukladnosti s talijanskim podrijetlom tih crkava, kompaktno definiranog prostora, jednostavne strukture i plastičkog izraza. Svetište oblikovano izrazito gotički, s poligonalnom, trostranom apsidom, nema uzora u srednjotalijanskim franjevačkim crkvama, koje imaju trodijelne apside, usvojene u franjevačkim crkvama na istočnoj obali Jadrana. Stoga je, dakle, tlocrtni i prostorni oblik crkve Pohoda Blažene Djevice Marije u Pazinu sastavnica talijanskog prostornog ideala lađe i dugačkog trostranog svetišta kao posve samostalne jedinice, koji je posredovan utjecajima srednjoeuropskog kulturnog kruga, a oni su preko Slovenije došli i do Istre, što je, s obzirom na njezine povijesno-geografske osobitosti, razumljivo i prihvatljivo (Budinis 1910, 131; isti 1928, 25; Stele 1938, 22; isti 1960; Ivančević 1964, 10 i 127-133).

Poznato je da su franjevci, uz ostale propovjedničke redove, bili zaslužni za udomaćivanje gotičkog stilskog izraza (Karaman 1958, 14-15, 47-48, 95, 113-117; Korać 1965, 120; Gotika, EHU 1995, 293-294). U pazinskoj franjevačkoj crkvi to je postignuto u visokom stupnju upravo usvajanjem trostranog svetišta, izvana opasanog vijencem kontrafora i upotrebom zvjezdastog svoda. Možda se ta crkva može smatrati oglednim primjerom koji pokazuje kako sredina utječe na izgradnju. Riječ je o 15. stoljeću, kada je dominantna uloga plemstva, koje je poveznica s vanjskim svijetom, a to rezultira izrazitijim i izravnijim kulturnim importom. Budući da je na razvoj umjetnosti u Istri utjecala i njezina "povijesna" podijeljenost (Gruber 1924, 119-204, 205 i dalje; Demonja 2013, 24), sigurno je i ta činjenica razlogom usvajanja i izvedbe trostranog svetišta i izrazitijeg gotičkog sloga. Crkva Pohoda Blažene Djevice Marije u Pazinu pokazuje usvajanje gotičke morfologije u većoj mjeri i

the northern facade and one on each edge of the north eastern side (Demonja 2016, 206-207).

The church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pazin is important because of its differently shaped ground plan and apse and because of the cultural and constructional influences of the region and neighbouring area that were crucial in the acceptance of the polygonal sanctuary. The difference between other Franciscan churches and the one in Pazin is particularly noticeable in its adaptation of the stylistic and morphological elements of Gothic architecture, whose conceptual and formational origins most certainly go beyond narrow local frameworks and locally coloured variants. This church is an example of the acceptance of international architectural forces that denoted the central European constructional circle. They came to Istria via Slovenia and manifested in the Istrian sacral construction of the time, and, as such in one Franciscan church. However, despite the acceptance of the aforementioned influences, the basic, fundamental ideals of Franciscan space are kept. The church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pazin, in the opinion of the author, illustrates the melding of the Italian spatial ideal and the long apse of the dematerialized space, which was executed in a more elaborate form considering its polygonal or trilateral shape, and the use of the star vault. (Demonja 2013, 346).

In the Franciscan church in Pazin, more than in other churches, the duality in the articulation of space in the nave and the apse is more prominent. This duality which will achieve its complete expression in the sacral construction of the region, is connected with the functional role of the two integral units of the church: the apse is the place of God and as such must be grander, or better and more monumental, while the nave is "secular" and as such is formed in a lower quality way. The full-surface walls of the nave of the Franciscan church are compatible with the Italian origin of these churches, a compact defined space, simple structure and plastic expression. The sanctuary is formed in a particularly Gothic way, with its polygonal, three-sided apse, but is not modelled on the central Italian Franciscan churches which have a three-sided apse and were adopted by Franciscan churches on the eastern Adriatic coast. As such the ground plan and spatial form of the church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pazin is a constituent of the Italian spatial ideal in the nave while the long three-part sanctuary as a completely autonomous unit was influenced by the Central European cultural circle. They reached Istria via Slovenia, which is, given its historical and geographical features, understandable and acceptable (Budinis 1910,



primjer je prihvaćanja monumentalnog formata gotičkog stila. Ona je jedinstvena i osobita tipološka inačica u korpusu franjevačke sakralne arhitekture koja se gradi unutar temom zadanog prostora i vremena.

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U sklopu proučavanja franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, građenih do kraja 16. stoljeća, pozornost treba svratiti i na značenje propovjedaonice. Propovjedaonica, povišeno mjesto s kojega se svećenik obraća vjernicima, važan je i u obradama franjevačkih crkava nepravedno zanemaren samostalan arhitektonski element pa joj je nužno posvetiti stanovitu pozornost (Kniewald 1937, 82–83; Righetti 1964, 469–471; Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva 1985, 489–490). Propovjedaonice su osobito učestalo podizane od 13. stoljeća zahvaljujući aktivnostima propovjedničkih redova, dakle i franjevačkog. Propovjedaonice u franjevačkim crkvama opravdane su i nužne s obzirom na određenje tih crkava propovjedničkim. Za razliku od oltarnog prostora, odnosno svetišta u kojem se obavlja Božja služba, propovjedaonice služe za jedan drugi oblik crkvenog naučavanja – propovijedanje, kojemu je obilježje počesto retoričko i svjetovno, nadahnuto zbiljskim životom. Ne poklapajući se smještajem s oltarom, propovjedaonice predstavljaju drugu točku usredotočenosti u lađi: nalaze se na granici kora i lađe te su na stanovit način znak njihovog spajanja, povezivanja. Za razliku od pregradnih zidova koji fizički dijele lađu na dva dijela, propovjedaonice svojim smještajem označavaju mjesto zamišljene podjele lađe na dva dijela, na dva prostora namijenjena različitim korisnicima i različitim načinima crkvenog naučavanja.

U franjevačkim crkvama u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, sagrađenima do kraja 16. stoljeća, izvorne propovjedaonice sačuvane su u rijetkim primjerima, ali njihovo izvorno mjesto na uzdužnom zidu lađe potvrđuju povišena vrata, kako je to, primjerice, u crkvi sv. Franje u Krku. Propovjedaonice se razlikuju po arhitektonskim oblicima (mogu biti četverokutne, kružne ili višekutne), dekoraciji i smještaju. Crkva sv. Franje u Puli ima sačuvane dvije propovjedaonice – unutrašnju, po sredini južnog bočnog zida lađe, i vanjsku, također na južnom zidu, što je vrlo neuobičajena pojava. O tim propovjedaonicama nije puno pisano, pozornost na njih svratio je Radovan Ivančević, ali nije se upustio u njihovu detaljnu analizu i razradu problema. Ivančević se ukratko osvrnuo na obje propovjedaonice pulske franjevačke crkve, ispravno uočivši da je njihovo

131; *idem* 1928, 25; Stele 1938, 22; *idem* 1960; Ivančević 1964, 10 i 127–133).

It is well known that the Franciscans, as well as the other preaching orders, were responsible for bringing the Gothic style to Croatia (Karaman 1958, 14–15, 47–48, 95, 113–117; Korać 1965, 120; Gotika, EHU 1995, 293–294). In the Franciscan church in Pazin, this is seen to a high degree in the adoption of a three-sided sanctuary, the external surrounding cornice of the buttresses and the use of star vaulting. Perhaps this church can be considered a perfect example of how the area can influence construction. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the dominant role of the aristocracy, which served as their connection to the outside world, resulted in a more pronounced and direct cultural import. As the development of art in Istria influenced its “historical” disparity (Gruber 1924, 119–204, 205 and further; Demonja 2013, 24), it is certain that this fact is the reason for the adoption and construction of a three-sided sanctuary and a more pronounced Gothic connection. The church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pazin illustrates the adoption of Gothic morphology to a greater scale and is an example of the acceptance of the monumental format of the Gothic style. It is a unique and special typological version from the corpus of Franciscan sacral architecture which was built in the framework of the researched region and time.

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As part of the research of Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, attention must also be drawn to the significance of the pulpit. The pulpit, a raised area from which the priest addresses the congregation, is important in the liturgical rites of Franciscan churches and as it is an independent architectural element that has been unfairly neglected, it is necessary to devote some attention to it (Kniewald 1937, 82–83; Righetti 1964, 469–471; Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva 1985, 489–490). Pulpits were generally erected from the 13<sup>th</sup> century due to the activities of the preaching orders, that is, the Franciscans. Pulpits in Franciscan churches were justifiable and necessary with regards to the mission of these preaching churches. As opposed to the altar or the sanctuary in which God's service is undertaken, the purpose of the pulpit is another form of liturgical teaching – preaching, whose characteristics are often rhetorical and sacred, inspired by real life. Not fitting with the position of the altar, the pulpit is another point of focus for the nave: it is located on the edge of the choir and the nave and they are connected in a distinctive way. Unlike the

postojanje uzrokovano praktičnim razlozima te da je strogo funkcionalno (Ivančević 1964, 39). Osobito je zanimljiva vanjska propovjedaonica (Demonja 2014, 131). Istaknutog volumena, ugrađena u južni uzdužni zid, ta propovjedaonica četverokutnog oblika ima izgled ograđenog balkona. Zatvorena je ograndom od glatkih kamenih ploča umetnutih u glatke ugaone stubove i ima vrlo ograničenu dekoraciju, svedenu na jednostavnu konkavnu profilaciju naslona. Do propovjedaonice pristupa se kamenim stepeništem prislonjenim na bočni zid u unutrašnjosti lađe. Premda bi se moglo pretpostaviti da se vanjske propovjedaonice redovito izvode na franjevačkim crkvama, s obzirom na zadaću propovijedanja koja se u tim crkvama obavlja, istraživanje franjevačkih crkava u području njihovog najranijeg javljanja, u Umbriji i Toskani, kao i na hrvatskoj obali do



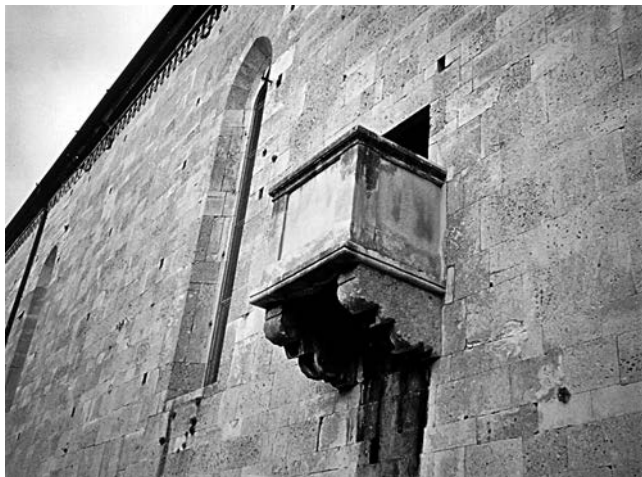
Sl. 29 Pula, crkva sv. Franje, vanjština - južni zid lađe s jugoistoka (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 29: Pula, the church of St. Francis, the exterior - the southern wall of the nave from the southeast (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

partition walls that physically divide the nave into two parts, the position of the pulpit indicates the place of the conceived division of the nave into two parts, two spaces intended for different users and for different methods of liturgical teaching.

In Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay which were constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it is only in rare examples that the original pulpits have been preserved, but their original place on the longitudinal wall of the nave is verified by an elevated door, as is the case in the church of St. Francis in Krk. Pulpits differ in terms of architectural shapes (they can be quadrangular, circular or multi-sided), decorations and location. The church of St. Francis in Pula has two preserved pulpits - an internal one, in the middle of the southern side wall of the nave, and an external one, also on the southern wall, which is quite peculiar. Not much has been written about these pulpits: Radovan Ivančević briefly discussed them but did not go into an in depth analysis and further discussion of the issue. Ivančević briefly examined both pulpits of the church in Pula, rightfully noting that their existence was due to practical reasons and that they were strictly functional (Ivančević 1964, 39). The external pulpit is particularly interesting (Demonja 2014, 131). Of a notable mass, constructed on the southern longitudinal wall, this quadrangular pulpit looks like an enclosed balcony. It is closed with a fence made of smooth stone tiles placed in smooth cornered stairs and has very little decoration, reduced to a simple concave profile of the support. The pulpit is accessed by a stone staircase leaning on the side wall in the interior of the nave. Even though it could be assumed that external pulpits were regularly built in Franciscan churches, as the mission of these churches which was to preach, research shows that in Franciscan churches in the region where they first appeared, in Umbria and Tuscany, as well as the Croatian coast up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, this is not the case. As such, the external pulpit in the church of St. Francis in Pula is an exception among Franciscan churches erected up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay, as well the Croatian coast in general.

Although some researchers assumed that the church of St. Francis in Poreč had an external pulpit on the southern side wall of the nave (Ivančević 1963-1964, 9-10; *idem* 1987, 107-108; Šonje 1982, 178), it was not in fact a pulpit as there were no traces of a console or stairs, rather, a southern entrance into the church. In studying literature regarding comparable examples of Franciscan



Sl. 30 Pula, crkva sv. Franje, vanjšina - propovjedaonica na južnom zidu lađe (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja).

Fig. 30 Pula, the church of St. Francis, the exterior - the pulpit on the southern wall of the nave (photo by: Damir Demonja PhD).

kraja 16. stoljeća, pokazalo je da to nije slučaj. Stoga je vanjska propovjedaonica crkve sv. Franje u Puli izuzetak među franjevačkim crkvama podignutima do kraja 16. stoljeća na prostoru Istre i otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, kao i na hrvatskoj obali.

Premda su neki istraživači pretpostavili da je i crkva sv. Franje u Poreču imala vanjsku propovjedaonicu na južnom bočnom zidu lađe (Ivančević 1963-1964, 9-10; isti 1987, 107-108; Šonje 1982, 178), nije riječ o vanjskoj propovjedaonici, jer nema tragova konzola ni stuba, već o južnom ulazu u crkvu. Proučavanjem literature o usporednim primjerima franjevačkih crkava u Umbriji i Toskani nije uočeno postojanje vanjskih propovjedaonica (Biebrach 1908; Krönig 1938; isti 1965; isti 1971; Francesco d'Assisi: *Chiese e Conventi* 1982). Međutim, Giuseppe Caprin analizirajući crkvu sv. Franje u Puli navodi da su katedralne crkve u Perugi i Pratu imale vanjske propovjedaonice nalik na onu pulsku (Caprin 1905, 275). Dakle, mogućnost postojanja vanjskih propovjedaonica na crkvama drugih namjena ne treba isključiti. Kako je u primjeru pulske franjevačke crkve riječ o jedinog izvorno sačuvanoj vanjskoj propovjedaonici, njezina važnost time je veća ne samo u korpusu franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, sagrađenih do kraja 16. stoljeća, nego i u širem području javljanja franjevačkih, ali i ostalih crkava.

## ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

U razdoblju od 13. do 16. stoljeća Istra i otoci Kvarnerskog zaljeva, kao i ostali dio hrvatske obale, bili su izloženi različitim utjecajima kulturnih i umjetničkih

churches in Umbria and Tuscany, the existence of external pulpits was not noted (Biebrach 1908; Krönig 1938; *idem* 1965; *idem* 1971; Francesco d'Assisi: *Chiese e Conventi* 1982). However, in analysing the church of St. Francis in Pula, Giuseppe Caprin stated that the cathedral churches in Perugia and Prato had external pulpits similar to the one in Pula (Caprin 1905, 275). As such, the possibility of the existence of an external pulpit in churches with other purposes should not be ruled out. As the Franciscan church in Pula is the only one with a preserved external pulpit, its importance is thus greater, not only for the corpus of Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay that were constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but also in the wider area among Franciscan, as well as other churches.

## FINAL DISCUSSION

In the period from the 13<sup>th</sup> up until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Istria and islands of the Kvarner Bay, as well as the rest of the Croatian coast, were under the influence of cultural and artistic circles from neighbouring Italy. Besides strong external influences, this region was marked by strong regional traditions of previous eras, as witnessed in numerous architectural and other artistic creations. Particularly significant is the appearance of the Franciscan Order, as one of the most incisive preaching orders in the first decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Franciscan sacral architecture left a decided mark on construction during that and following periods. The oldest Franciscan churches are monumental architectural structures that implement the typological role models originally from regions of central Italy, Umbria and Tuscany, from where the expansion of the Franciscan Order began.

Although the period from the last decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> to the late 16<sup>th</sup> century was marked by the dominant Gothic and Renaissance styles, there are still late variants of the previous stylistic period. Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay that were constructed during the studied period, have a simple ground plan design made up of two spatial units, the nave and apse, and demonstrate constructional clarity and a symbiosis of stylistic morphology. Research has proven the value of these churches and they hold an important position in the overall development of architecture and artistic output in the entire eastern Adriatic coast. In highlighting the architectural and artistic reach of these churches, their significance transgresses general socio-cultural definitions and contributes to a more comprehensive definition of the specific eastern Mediterranean region from the mid-13<sup>th</sup> up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.



krugova susjedne Italije. Osim izrazitih vanjskih utjecaja, taj je prostor obilježila snažna regionalna tradicija prijašnjih razdoblja, osvjedočena u brojnim arhitektonskim i drugim umjetničkim ostvarenjima. Osobito je značajna pojava franjevačkog crkvenog reda, kao jednog od najprodornijih propovjedničkih redova u prvim desetljećima 13. stoljeća. Franjevačka sakralna arhitektura bitno je označila graditeljstvo toga i idućih razdoblja. Najstarije franjevačke crkve monumentalna su arhitektonska ostvarenja koja primjenjuju tipološke uzore nastale u regijama srednje Italije, Umbriji i Toskani, odakle je započelo širenje franjevačkog reda.

Premda je razdoblje od posljednjih desetljeća 13. do kraja 16. stoljeća određeno dominirajućim slogovima gotike i renesanse, još uvijek su nazočne okašnjele varijante prijašnjih stilskih razdoblja. Franjevačke crkve u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, u sklopu proučavanog razdoblja, imaju jednostavnu prostornu shemu izraženu s dvije prostorne jedinice, lađom i apsidom, i pokazuju konstrukcijsku čitkost i simbiozu stilske morfologije. Istraživanja su pokazala vrijednosti tih crkava, koje zauzimaju značajno mjesto u općem razvoju arhitektonske i umjetničke produkcije čitave istočnojadranske obale. Isticanjem arhitektonskih i umjetničkih dosegâ tih crkava, njihovo značenje prelazi opća sociokulturna određenja i pridonosi cjelovitijem definiranju specifične istočnojadranske sredine od polovice 13. do kraja 16. stoljeća.

Održavanje jednostavnog tlocrta franjevačkih crkava zakonitost je u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, određenim provincijskom sredinom, gdje je nazočna i veća učestalost zadržavanja jednom usvojenih oblika te stilskih okašnjelosti izvedbenih, konstrukcijskih i arhitektonsko-plastičkih detalja. Premda taj pojam, u stanovitoj mjeri, nedovoljno ističe stvaralački doprinos Istre i otoka Kvarnerskog zaljeva, riječ je o prostoru na kojem se grade franjevačke crkve obilježene osobitostima svojstvenima upravo tome prostoru – osobitostima koje je taj prostor osmislio i imao snage provesti u djelo. Ovom problematikom bavio se Ljubo Karaman, razlikujući pojmove provincijske umjetnosti te granične i periferne sredine (Karaman 1963). Pod provincijskom umjetnošću Karaman je prvenstveno određivao umjetnost ladanjskog kraja i manjih mjesta, koja pobude uvijek dobivaju iz istog kulturnog središta, što je pak odraz skromnih ekonomskih i socijalnih mogućnosti te sredine (Karaman 1963, 6). Karaman ističe da se primjeri te umjetnosti mogu pronaći i u većim kulturnim ili ekonomskim središtima. Perifernu sredinu Karaman je protumačio kao kraj koji pobude prima s više strana, usvaja ih i modificira

Maintaining a simple ground plan in Franciscan churches is a custom in Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay, determined by their provincial centre, where they retain one adopted design and are belated in stylistic, construction and architectural-plastic details. Although this concept, to a certain extent, insufficiently emphasises the creative contribution of Istria and the islands of the Kvarner Bay, this is the area in which the Franciscan churches are built, marked by characteristics inherent to that area – the characteristics which originated from that area that had the perseverance needed for their realization. Ljubo Karaman dealt with this issue, making a differentiation between the concepts of provincial art of the boundary and peripheral area (Karaman 1963). Karaman ascertained that provincial art was art from the countryside and smaller places, which always got its incentives from the same cultural centre, which is a reflection of the economic and social means of this area (Karaman 1963, 6). Karaman emphasises that examples of this art can also be found in larger cultural or economic areas. Karaman interpreted that a peripheral area was one that received incentives through various means, which it then adopted and modified in order to develop an independent artistic expression in their own land (Karaman 1963, 7). Karaman felt that a boundary area is one that is on the border of two different artistic circles and is under the influence of both (Karaman 1963, 7). The region of Istria and islands of the Kvarner Bay, as well as the Croatian coast in general, show all three characteristics. As such, the Istrian peninsula simultaneously has the characteristics of a provincial, or peripheral, area, most especially inland where the influences of Mediterranean, Italian and central European cultural circles intersect. This gives the whole peninsula the characteristics of the boundary area. The way Franciscan churches were built is connected to the developmental course of European architectural heritage, which we inherit from, but also contribute to and enrich, and ultimately, are an integral and indispensable part of.

One of the oldest Franciscan churches on the Croatian coast, the church of St. Francis in Pula, shows a ground plan shape that was adopted from the church of St. Francis in Asciano in Tuscany. The Franciscan church in Pula has an enormous rectangular nave ground plan, bare walls perforated with a small number of high, narrow windows, a high and open wooden truss and a sanctuary with three apses, a larger central one and on the side, smaller quadrangular ones covered with cross-ribbed vaulting. The developed shape of its quite large three part sanctuary is specific, where the side apses extend out of the perimeter of the nave. This type of sanctuary did not influence

te razvija samostalan umjetnički izraz na vlastitom tlu (Karaman 1963, 7). Pod graničnom sredinom Karaman misli na kraj koji se nalazi na granici dva bitno drukčija umjetnička kruga te stoji pod utjecajem jednog i drugog (Karaman 1963, 7). Prostor Istre i otoka Kvarnerskog zaljeva te općenito hrvatske obale pokazuje istovremeno sva tri obilježja. Tako su primjerice na Istarskom poluotoku istovremeno nazočna obilježja provincijske, odnosno periferne sredine, osobito u unutrašnjosti, gdje su se susretali utjecaji mediteranskog, talijanskog i srednjoeuropskog kulturnog kruga, što cijelom poluotoku kao mjestu njihova dodira daje i značajke granične sredine. Načinom gradnje franjevačkih crkava priključujemo se razvojnem tijeku europske arhitektonske baštine, od koje nasljeđujemo, ali kojoj i pridonosimo i obogaćujemo je, i čiji smo, naposljetku, sastavni i neizostavni dio.

Jedna od najstarijih franjevačkih crkava na hrvatskoj obali, crkva sv. Franje u Puli, pokazuje usvajanje tlocrtnog oblika kojemu je uzor u crkvi S. Francesca u Ascianu, u Toskani. Pulska franjevačka crkva ima golemu lađu pravokutnog tlocrta, golih zidova perforiranih malobrojnim, uskim i visokim prozorima, visokog otvorenog drvenog krovišta te svetišta s tri apside, srednje veće i bočnih manjih, četverokutnih tlocrta i natkrivenih križno-rebrastim svodovima. Svojestven joj je razvijeni oblik uvećanog trodijelnog svetišta, u kojem bočne apside izlaze iz perimetra lađe. Takvo svetište ostalo je bez odjeka u franjevačkoj sakralnoj arhitekturi drugdje u Istri, na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva kao i na hrvatskoj obali. Na proučavanom prostoru najveći broj franjevačkih crkava građenih do kraja 16. stoljeća pokazuje redukciju svetišta na samo jednu svedenu četverokutnu apsidu. Svetišta takva oblika predstavljaju najveće odstupanje od najstarijeg tipa franjevačke crkve s trodijelnim svetištem, oblikovanog u srednjoj Italiji, u Umbriji i Toskani, i potvrđuje skromnost sredine u kojoj se gradi.

Najveći broj franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva sastoji se od dvije arhitektonske, odnosno prostorne jedinice – lađe i apside. Osobita pozornost, kada je riječ o veličini prostora, posvećena je lađi, građenoj u obliku prostrane pravokutne dvorane s otvorenim krovom, dok je apsida, uglavnom uža od lađe, četverokutna i redovito svedena.

Najstarije franjevačke crkve na proučavanom prostoru odlikuju se romaničko-gotičkim stilom, vidljivim u krajnjoj jednostavnosti konstrukcije i nepostojanju unutrašnje prostorne dinamike. Skladan raspored osnovnih prostornih jedinica uravnoteženih vertikalnim

Franciscan sacral architecture elsewhere in Istria, on the islands of the Kvarner Bay, nor the Croatian coast. Most of the Franciscan churches built up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the researched area show a reductionist sanctuary with one vaulted quadrangular apse. Sanctuaries of this type represent the greatest departure from the oldest type of Franciscan church with a three-part sanctuary, formed in central Italy, in Umbria and Tuscany, and verify the modest area in which it was built.

The majority of Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay are made up of two architectural, or spatial, units – the nave and the apse. Particular attention, in regard to the size of the space, is dedicated to the nave, built in the shape of a large rectangular hall with an open truss, while the apse, usually narrower than nave, is quadrangular and usually vaulted.

The oldest Franciscan churches in the researched area are characterised by a Romanesque-Gothic style, evident in the extremely simple construction and the lack of an internal spatial dynamic. A harmonious layout of the basic spatial units, balanced both in terms of vertical and horizontal forces, as well as their prismatic volume, was a model founded in Franciscan churches from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and remained in force in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. This is demonstrated in the monumental churches with balanced proportions and without the articulation of plating, emphasised longitudinal orientation in the interior, as seen in the churches in Krk and Cres.

From the 14<sup>th</sup> century, a reduced ground plan shape in Franciscan churches continues, where there is only one apse, usually vaulted with a cross-ribbed vault. In later periods the use of pointed and barrel vaults in the apse surges. The majority of Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay have these characteristics, while variations among them are visible in different proportions and details of the reduced use of architectural plastic.

There are versions of Franciscan churches from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century that follow the same spatial construction principles, with an ever present dominantly strict functionality, without one unnecessary architectural or sculptural enhancement.

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The previously set ground plan design of Franciscan churches in its most simple shape, created through the precise fundamental principles of the Franciscan order,

i horizontalnim silnicama, kao i njihovih prizmatičnih volumena, model ustanovljen u franjevačkim crkvama iz druge polovice 13. stoljeća, zadržao se i na onima nastalim u 14. stoljeću. To potvrđuju monumentalne crkve odmjerenih proporcija i bez artikulacije oplata, naglašene longitudinalne usmjerenosti u unutrašnjosti, poput onih u Krku i Cresu.

Od 14. stoljeća traje reducirani tlocrtni oblik franjevačkih crkava, koje imaju samo jednu apsidu, redovito svedenu križno-rebrastim svodom. U kasnijim razdobljima javlja se povećana primjena šiljastih i bačvastih svodova u apsidi. Najveći broj franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva pokazuje ta obilježja, a odstupanja među njima vidljiva su u različitim omjerima i pojedinostima reducirane upotrebe arhitektonske plastike.

Franjevačke crkve od druge polovice 15. stoljeća pokazuju inačice koje slijede ista načela konstrukcije prostora, s još uvijek dominantnom strogom funkcionalnošću, bez ijednog suvišnog arhitektonskog ili skulpturalnog dodatka.

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Otprije zadana tlocrtna shema franjevačke crkve u njezinu najjednostavnijem obliku, nastala na precizno utemeljenim pravilima franjevačkog reda, pokazuje strogo pridržavanje na prostoru Istre i otoka Kvarnerskog zaljeva od sredine 13. do kraja 16. stoljeća. Premda je blizina izvora tipova franjevačkih crkava zasigurno mogla utjecati na širenje onih razvedenijih, to se nije dogodilo. Domaća sredina usvojila je tip franjevačke crkve koji je bilo najjednostavnije realizirati, bez ikakvih većih zahtjeva u materijalnom i konstrukcijskom smislu. Na taj je način potvrđena bitna uloga sredine u usvajanju, oblikovanju i širenju određenog arhitektonskog tipa. U Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva prihvaćen je tip crkve u najjednostavnijoj i najčišćoj varijanti te je upravo stoga teško razlučiti međusobne razlike i osobitosti franjevačkih crkava i uspostaviti primjeren klasifikacijski sustav. Usvajanje jednostavnog tipa jednobrodne crkve otvorenoga krovništva i s jednom apsidom posve je razumljivo s obzirom na potrebu ispunjavanja osnovne zadaće prodornog franjevačkog reda – propovijedanja, za što je bio potreban odgovarajući prostor. U tlocrtima svih tipova franjevačkih crkava sagrađenih do kraja 16. stoljeća na proučavanom prostoru uočava se usvajanje i prilagođavanje tlocrta što su ga donijeli franjevci iz Italije i tradicionalnih rješenja otprije udomaćenih u regionalnim okvirima, a to je, prije svega, četverokutna svedena apside. Dakle, osnovne prostorne jedinice svih tipova franjevačkih

shows how Istria and the islands of the Kvarner Bay strictly adhered to them from the 13<sup>th</sup> up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Even though their proximity to the original types of Franciscan churches most certainly could have influenced the expansion of indented ones, it did not. The region adopted the type of Franciscan church that was the easiest to construct, without any major financial or constructional demands. In this way, the important role that the region had on the adoption, shaping and expansion of a particular architectural type is corroborated. In Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay, the simplest and purest variant is accepted and as a result, it is difficult to differentiate between the differences and characteristics of Franciscan churches and establish a suitable classification system. The adoption of a simple type of church with one nave, an open truss and one apse is completely understandable given the need for fulfilling the primary mission of the Franciscan order – preaching, which needed an adequate space to do so. On ground plans of all the types of Franciscan churches constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the researched area, the adoption and adaptation of ground plans brought by the Franciscans from Italy and the traditional designs previously used in the region is apparent, in particular, in the quadrangular, vaulted apse. Therefore, the primary spatial units of all types of Franciscan churches are the nave, shaped as a simple, clear rectangular space, usually with an open truss, and the small quadrangular vaulted apse which is connected to the nave. The nave and apse differ in significance, as well as in terms of their ground plan and space, as the nave is intended for the believers, while the apse is the place of God and intended solely for the clergy.

One type which was adapted and strictly adheres to the role models of the first central Italian Franciscan churches, is the church with one nave with an open truss with three quadrangular apses. There is only one example of this: the church of St. Francis in Pula, which is located on the Istrian peninsula. Even though this Franciscan church was one of the first harbingers of the new, Gothic style, as is the opinion of Ljubo Karaman (Karaman 1949, 122), Radovan Ivančević (Ivančević 1964, 38–43, 66, 71), Branko Marušić (Marušić 1974, 4), Marin Oreb (Oreb 1983, 104) and others, it is moderate and simplified in terms of the whole construction, as well as details: the unique nave, designed to be extremely functional, simple and bare, an open truss in line with Gothic constructional logic, pointed triumphant arches and the simple profiling of the cross-ribbed vaulting of the apse, elongated and pointed windows and the plastic decorations of the portal and rosettes.



crkava jesu lađa oblikovana kao jednostavna, pregledna prostorija pravokutnog oblika, redovito otvorenoga krovišta, i mala četverokutna svedena apsida koja se nadovezuje na lađu. Lađa i apsida, osim u tlocrtnom i prostornom smislu, razlikuju se i u značenjskom, jer je lađa prostor namijenjen vjernicima, a apsida Božje mjesto i namijenjena je isključivo redovnicima.

Jedan tip pokazuje usvajanje i strogo pridržavanje uzora srednjotijalskog modela prvih franjevačkih crkava – jednobrodna crkva otvorenoga krovišta s tri četverokutne apside. Primjer je samo jedan: crkva sv. Franje u Puli, koja se nalazi na Istarskom poluotoku. Premda je ta franjevačka crkva jedna od prvih vjesnica novog, gotičkog stila, kako misle primjerice Ljubo Karaman (Karaman 1949, 122), Radovan Ivančević (Ivančević 1964, 38–43, 66, 71), Branko Marušić (Marušić 1974, 4), Marin Oreb (Oreb 1983, 104) i drugi, on je umjeren i pojednostavljen, kako u cjelini, tako i u detaljima: u jedinstvenom prostoru lađe oblikovane krajnje funkcionalno, jednostavno i ogoljelo, otvorenom krovištu sukladnom gotičkoj konstrukcijskoj logici, šiljastim trijumfalnim lukovima i jednostavnoj profilaciji križno-rebrastih svodova apsida uskim, izduljenim i šiljastim prozorima te plastičkoj dekoraciji portala i rozete.

Drugi, najbrojniji tip franjevačkih crkava sagrađenih do kraja 16. stoljeća u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, koji broji osam primjera, jesu jednobrodne crkve otvorenoga krovišta s jednom četverokutnom apsidom križno-rebrastog ili šiljasto-bačvastog svoda. Različiti načini svodenja apsida mogu se smatrati promjenom stilske koncepcije. Čini se posve opravdanim smatrati da je uzor tom arhitektonskom tipu na proučavanom prostoru onaj srednjotijalski. Utemeljitelji prvih franjevačkih crkava na hrvatskoj obali uzimaju kao uzor crkve u matičnom području reda, što je posve razumljivo s obzirom na to da naši gradovi stoljećima održavaju trgovačke, kulturne i umjetničke veze s Italijom. Uzorna rješenja toga tipa su kronološki najstarije crkve, a njima u većoj ili manjoj mjeri, ovisno o uvjetima nastajanja, nalikuju druge. Riječ je o crkvi sv. Franje u Poreču, crkvi sv. Franje u Krku i crkvi sv. Franje u Cresu. Tipologija svetišta tih crkava sukladna je općim načelima oblikovanja franjevačkih crkava, a razlike su vidljive u različitim načinima njihova svodenja. Franjevačka crkva iz 13. stoljeća, ona u Poreču, izrazitijih je gotičkih obilježja, razvidnih, primjerice, u apsidi križno-rebrastog svoda s tankim rebrima skromnih profilacija i dimenzija. Ostale franjevačke crkve toga tipa, uravnoteženih proporcija savršeno pravilnog kubusa lađe, jest crkva sv. Frane u Pagu, crkva sv. Marije Magdalene u Poratu (Krk) i crkva sv. Marije u Glavotoku (Krk).

The second most common type of Franciscan church constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay, of which there are eight examples, is the church with one nave with an open truss with one quadrangular apse with cross-ribbed or pointed-barrel vaulting. The various methods of vaulting the apse can be considered a change in stylistic concepts. It is completely justifiable to deem that the role model for this architectural type in the researched area was central Italian. The founders of the first Franciscan churches on the Croatian coast were influenced by churches from the centre of their order, which is completely understandable considering that our cities for centuries had trade, cultural and artistic ties to Italy. Exemplary solutions of this type are chronologically the oldest churches, and, depending on the situation regarding their construction, are more or less similar to each other. For example, the churches of St. Francis in Poreč, St. Francis in Krk and St. Francis in Cres. The typology of the sanctuaries of these churches is in line with the general construction principles of Franciscan churches and the differences are evident in the various ways that they are vaulted. The Franciscan church from Poreč, which dates from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, has decidedly Gothic features evident, for example, in the apse which has cross-ribbed vaulting with thin ribs of a modest profile and size. Other Franciscan churches of this type, with balanced proportions of the perfectly shaped cube of the nave, are the church of St. Francis in Pag, the church of St. Mary Magdalene in Porat (Krk) and the church of St. Mary in Glavotok (Krk).

Among churches with a single nave with an open truss and one vaulted, quadrangular apse, are the churches of St. Francis in Cres and St. Bernardino in Kapor on Rab which have a chapel next to their side walls. As such, their ground plan becomes more “developed”, “complex” and tends to reduce the impression of simplicity and transparency, that is, the tendency to focus on space, but gives the church a new layout and spatial values. It is important to emphasise that the chapel/chapels erected in these churches were constructed later and their benefactors were then buried in them. However, despite the construction of the chapels they managed to preserve the unique idea of the interior and subordination to the main altar.

Church types with one vaulted nave and one quadrangular apse with pointed-barrel vaulting have a particular constructional physiognomy. There is only one example of this type, the church of St. Francis in Komrčar on Rab. The use of vaulting in the nave can be considered an alteration in the stylistic concept and in

Među jednobrodnim crkvama otvorenoga krovišta s jednom svedenom četverokutnom apsidom, crkva sv. Franje u Cresu i crkva sv. Bernardina u Kamporu na Rabu imaju prigradene kapele uz bočne zidove. Njihov tlocrt tako postaje “razvedeniji”, “složeniji” i teži smanjivanju dojma jednostavnosti i preglednosti, odnosno težnje za usredotočivanjem prostora, ali crkvi daje nove tlocrtne i prostorne vrijednosti. Važno je istaknuti da su u tim crkvama kapela/kapele uz bočne zidove naknadno izgrađene, a njihovi su se donatori u njima pokapali. Međutim, usprkos izgradnji kapela uspjele su sačuvati jedinstvenu zamisao unutrašnjosti i podređenost glavnom oltaru.

Posebnu konstrukcijsku fizionomiju pokazuje tip jednobrodne crkve svedene lađe s jednom četverokutnom apsidom šiljasto-bačvastog svoda. Zastupljen je s jednim primjerom, crkvom sv. Franje na Komrčaru na Rabu. Primjena svoda u lađi može se smatrati promjenom stilske koncepcije pa se na taj način crkva toga tipa prilagođuje renesansnim nastojanjima. U primjeru komrčarske franjevačke crkve apsida nije u opreci sa svedenom lađom, jer je način njezina svođenja sukladan svođenju lađe. Tip franjevačke crkve svedene lađe sa svedenom četverokutnom apsidom, za razliku od prethodnog tipa, nazočnog u svakom stoljeću u rasponu od sredine 13. do kraja 16. stoljeća, moguće je smjestiti u vremenski određenije, ograničenije okvire jer se javlja tek od 15. stoljeća, u vrijeme pojave renesanse.

Naposljetku, izvantipska crkva Pohodjenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Pazinu ima trostranu apsidu svedenu zvjezdastim svodom. Gradnja takve apside, ojačane kontraforima, u jednoj franjevačkoj crkvi ukazuje na svjesnu primjenu izrazitih gotičkih tipoloških i morfoloških oblika koji prostoru daju nove vrijednosti. Upravo zbog tipičnih gotičkih komponenti ostvarenih u tlocrtu i prostoru, izraženijih nego u drugim primjerima, ta crkva pokazuje srednjoeuropske utjecaje.

U kontekstu periferne umjetničke sredine može se većim dijelom razumjeti i opravdati ustrajnost upotrebe određenih modela franjevačkih crkava i arhitektonsko-plastičkih ukrasa. Ti ukrasi prožeti su određenim estetskim htijenjem, dominantnim ukusom i tada važećim slogovnim sustavom, odnosno aktivnim principima regionalnih graditeljsko-kiparskih škola koje su prenosile svoja iskustva. U razradama plastičkih detalja portala i prozorskih ruža moguće je slijediti svjesno izbjegavanje zahtjevnijih motiva. Međutim, neki portali pokazuju doradeniju kompoziciju, potvrđujući dobro razvijenu kamenarsku djelatnost sredine. Izdvaja se portal crkve sv. Franje u Puli, koji je po bogatstvu ornamenata, likovnoj kakvoći

this way, churches of this type adapt to the Renaissance style. In the example of the Franciscan church in Komrčar, the apse is not in contradiction with the vaulted nave, as the vaulting conforms to the vaulting of the nave. The Franciscan church type with a vaulted nave and vaulted quadrangular apse, as opposed to the former type which can be found in each century in the period from the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, is easier to place in a specific and limited timeframe since it only appears from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, at the beginning of the Renaissance.

Finally, the atypical church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pazin has a three-sided apse vaulted with star shaped vaulting. The construction of such an apse in a Franciscan church, strengthened with buttresses, indicates the conscious application of distinctive Gothic typological and morphological forms that give new values to space. It is precisely because of the typical Gothic components used in the layout and the space, more pronounced than in other examples, that this church shows Central European influences.

In the context of peripheral artistic regions, the use of certain models of Franciscan churches and architectural-plastic decorations can be on the whole understood and justified. These decorations are permeated by aesthetic desires, dominant tastes and the then valid stylistic system, that is, the active principles of regional architectural and sculptural schools that conveyed their experiences. It is possible to detect the avoidance of complex motifs in the creation of the plastic details of the portals and window roses. However, some portals have a more complete composition, due to the developed stonemasonry in the area. Attention needs to be drawn to the portal of the church of St. Francis in Pula which is, in terms of the opulence of the ornaments, the artistic attention to detail and the balanced composition, one of the most valuable portals without figurative sculptures among Franciscan churches of the researched time period. The portal has a large number of motifs: “dog jumps”, shells, ribbons, teeth, leafy volutes coming out of an amphora, and these motifs, as well as their elaborate construction, are unusual for the taste of time (Ivančević 1964, 86–87, 192–195; *idem* 1996, 59–60; Demonja 2014, 133; *idem* 2015, 164; *idem* 2016, 214).

In conclusion, the construction of Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay also needs to be viewed from a socio-political context. Besides being a spiritual and cultural centre, Franciscan churches are important places for balancing the life of the inhabitants of a certain area. Their construction was prompted by

detalja i uravnoteženoj kompoziciji najvrjedniji portal bez figuralne skulpture među franjevačkim crkvama obrađivanog razdoblja. Portal pokazuje raskoš motiva: “pasji skok”, školjke, vrpce, zupce, lisnate volute koje izlaze iz amfora, a ti su motivi, kao i njihova dotjerana obrada, neobični za ukus vremena (Ivančević 1964, 86–87, 192–195; isti 1996, 59–60; Demonja 2014, 133; isti 2015, 164; isti 2016, 214).

U zaključku treba podvući da se izgradnja franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva sagledava i u društveno-političkom kontekstu. Osim što su središta duhovnosti i kulture, franjevačke crkve važna su mjesta uravnoteženja slojevitog života stanovnika određenog podneblja. Njihovu izgradnju poticali su plemići, puk i državna vlast. Plemići su bili zaslužni za podizanje stanovitog broja franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva (primjerice crkve sv. Marije u Glavotoku (Krk), crkve Navještenja Blažene Djevice Marije na Košljunu, i druge), a franjevcima su poklanjali zemljišta, davali sredstva za izgradnju crkava ili njihovo dovršavanje. Državna, odnosno politička uprava dodjeljivala je zemljišta za gradnju franjevačkih crkava u najjačim naseljima i u blizini sjedišta vlasti, a zauzvrat je očekivala pomoć u čuvanju i održavanju reda u teritorijalnim granicama.

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Ovaj rad pokazuje da je franjevačke crkve u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, sagrađene do kraja 16. stoljeća, usprkos njihovoj prividnoj sličnosti, moguće tipološki razlikovati. Slijedom analiza i interpretacija uspostavljena je njihova tipološka klasifikacija pa se razlikuju: 1. jednobrodna crkva otvorenoga krovništva s tri svedene četverokutne apside, 2. jednobrodne crkve otvorenoga krovništva s jednom četverokutnom apsidom: a) križno-rebrastog i b) šiljasto-bačvastog svoda, i 3. jednobrodna crkva svedene lađe s jednom četverokutnom apsidom šiljasto-bačvastog svoda. Ta tipološka klasifikacija pokazuje da se razlike koje postoje među ovim franjevačkim crkvama očituju u primjeni svoda i načinu zidanja apsida te da je osnovni tip oblikovan prihvaćanjem tipa tlocrta koji donose franjevci iz srednje Italije i upotrebom tradicionalnih rješenja koja su otprije udomaćena, kao što je primjerice četverokutna apsida, redovito svedena. Obradene crkve pokazale su da nema razvoja, evolucije osnovnog tipa do tlocrtno razvedenijeg, čemu je uzrokom i sredina u kojoj se crkve grade.

Samo jedna, crkva sv. Franje u Puli, pokazuje izravno preuzimanje tlocrtnog tipa iz izvorišta franjevačkog reda, srednje Italije, poglavito Umbrije i Toskane. Izvantipska crkva Pohoda Blažene Djevice Marije u Pazinu,

the aristocracy, common people and government. The aristocracy was responsible for erecting a number of Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay (for example, the church of St. Mary in Glavotok (Krk), the church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Košljun and others) and gave the Franciscans land, as well as funds for the construction or completion of their churches. The government, that is, the political administration, gave land for the construction of Franciscan churches in the most powerful suburbs and near the centres of political power, and in return expected assistance in guarding and upholding order within its territorial borders.

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This paper shows that despite their apparent similarities, Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands in the Kvarner Bay, constructed up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century can be typologically differentiated. Upon analysis and interpretation, their typological classification has been established and they differ in: 1. church with a single nave with an open truss and three vaulted quadrangular apses, 2. churches with a single nave with an open truss and one quadrangular apse with: a) cross-ribbed and b) pointed-barrel vaulting, and 3. church with a single vaulted nave with one quadrangular apse with pointed-barrel vaulting. This typological classification shows that the differences that exist between Franciscan churches can be seen in the type of vaulting used and the construction of the apse, and that the basic type is shaped by the acceptance of the type of ground plan brought by the Franciscans from central Italy and using traditional designs that had been previously adopted, such as the quadrangular apse, which is usually vaulted. The researched churches showed that there was no development or evolution of the basic type to a more developed ground plan, the reason being the area in which these churches were constructed.

Only one, the church of St. Francis in Pula, has a ground plan that was taken directly from those of the original Franciscan Order, mainly from Umbria and Tuscany. The atypical church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pazin, with a unique three-sided sanctuary with star vaulting, is testimony to the acceptance of different role models and the presence of Gothic stylistic elements common for the time period and the area in which they were present. Other churches show a regional character by adopting the quadrangular apse. In the extreme rationalisation of the architectural principles and forms, the churches in the studied region left an indelible mark on sacral construction from the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century up until



jedinstvenog trostranog svetišta svedenog zvjezdastim svodom, svjedoči o prihvaćanju drukčijih uzora i većoj nazočnosti gotičkih stilskih elemenata uobičajenih za to doba i podneblje javljanja. Ostale crkve pokazuju regionalno obilježje upravo usvajanjem četverokutne apside. Krajnjom racionalizacijom graditeljskih načela i oblika te su crkve na proučavanom prostoru bitno označile sakralno graditeljstvo razdoblja od sredine 13. do kraja 16. stoljeća. Tipološki uzor preuzele su iz Umbrije i Toskane, a jednostavan slog unutrašnje oplata tih crkava u suglasju je s vanjštinom skromne i ograničene dekoracije, ipak omogućujući vrednovanje općih umjetničkih nazora i stvaralačkih mjerila sredine.

Promotri li se učestalost javljanja arhitektonskih tipova franjevačkih crkava i njihovih inačica u pojedinim stoljećima na proučavanom prostoru i vremenu, uočava se sljedeće: tip jednobrodne crkve otvorenoga krovišta s tri svedene četverokutne apside javlja se krajem 13. i početkom 14. stoljeća; najrasprostranjeniji tip jednobrodne crkve otvorenoga krovišta s jednom svedenom četverokutnom apsidom gradi se u svim stoljećima, dakle od sredine 13. do kraja 16. stoljeća, dok se jednobrodna crkva svedene lađe sa svedenom četverokutnom apsidom podiže tek od 15. stoljeća. Izvantipska, jednobrodna crkva otvorenoga krovišta s poligonalnom apsidom svedenom zvjezdastim svodom podignuta je u 15. stoljeću.

Analizama i interpretacijama jedanaest franjevačkih crkava u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, izgrađenih do kraja 16. stoljeća, pokazana su njihova zajednička obilježja i regionalne odlike, što je omogućilo razumijevanje njihove uloge i značenja u prostoru. Važno je istaknuti da su franjevci u Istri i na otocima Kvarnerskog zaljeva, kao i na hrvatskoj obali, bili ne samo nositelji gotike i zaslužni za njezino prvo širenje na tom prostoru već je njihova uloga bila i veća: oni su bili predstavnici tog stila u kasnom 13. i 14. stoljeću pa sve do sredine 15. stoljeća. Taj gotički izraz bio je umjeren, još uvijek se oslanjao na romaničku tradiciju i očitovao se, prije svega, u elementima konstrukcije i motivima ukrasa. Franjevačke crkve, ispunjavajući zadaću kao duhovna središta, mjesta propovijedanja, srasle s okruženjem u kojem su izgrađene, važna su sakralna arhitektonska baština. Njihovo značenje u umjetničkom kontekstu, a s obzirom na to da su u vezi sa sklopom istovremeno podizanih samostana i u gospodarskom i političkom kontekstu, opravdava predloženi protumačeni klasifikacijski ustroj tih crkava. U tom smislu predstavljene franjevačke crkve, kao vrijedan segment naše kulturne baštine i njezin integralni dio, imaju značajno mjesto u nacionalnoj povijesti umjetnosti.

the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The typological role model came from Umbria and Tuscany, and the simple style of the internal plating of these churches is in harmony with their modest and limited external decorations, still allowing for an appreciation of the general artistic perceptions and creativity of the region.

In observing the frequency of the appearance of architectural types of Franciscan churches and their variants in certain centuries in the studied region and timeframe, the following can be observed: the type of church with a single nave with an open truss and three vaulted quadrangular apses appears at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> and early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries; the most widespread type of church with a single nave and an open quadrangular apse is built in all centuries, from the mid 13<sup>th</sup> to the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, while a church with a single nave and a vaulted, quadrangular apse appeared only from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. An atypical church with a single nave with an open truss and a polygonal apse with star vaulting was erected in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Analyses and interpretations of eleven Franciscan churches in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay, built up until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, through showing their common features and characteristics, enable an understanding of their role and their significance in the area in which they were built. It is important to emphasise that the Franciscans in Istria and on the islands of the Kvarner Bay, as well as on the Croatia coast, were not merely the exponents of the Gothic style and responsible for its first expansion in this region. Their role was far larger: they were the representatives of this style in the late 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, up until the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century. This Gothic expression was moderate and still had its leanings in the Romanesque tradition. It was most apparent, above all, in the constructional elements and decorative motifs. Franciscan churches in fulfilling the task of being spiritual centres and places for preaching, blended with the surroundings in which they were built and are important sacral architectural heritage. Their significance in an artistic context, and given that they are connected to the monasteries that were erected at the same time, both in an economic and political context, justifies the proposed interpreted classification structure of these churches. In this sense, the presented Franciscan churches, as a valuable segment of our cultural heritage and an integral part of it, hold a significant place in the national history of art.

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