

POJAVA PROSTORNOG PLANA UPISANOG KRIŽA U KVADRATNU OSNOVU CRKVE SV. TRIPUNA U KOTORU NA POČETKU 9. STOLJEĆA*

THE APPEARANCE OF AN INSCRIBED CROSS IN THE SQUARE PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF ST TRYPHON, IN KOTOR, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 9TH CENTURY*

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Autor u radu razmatra pojavu crkve sv. Tripuna u Kotoru kao izuzetnu u ranosrednjovjekovnoj arhitekturi Dalmacije na početku 9. stoljeća. Centralnost njezina plana vidi podudarnu crkvi sv. Tome u susjednom Prčanju. Odbacuje mogućnost podrijetla ovoga arhitektonskog tipa s tla južnotalijanske Apulije. Arhitekturu bokokotorskih crkava sagledava kroz kreativne razrade umjetničkog izraza Bizanta. Ove, jednim dijelom, promatra u osloncu na kontinuitet rješenja kasnoantičkoga graditeljstva na istočnom Jadranu. S druge strane, uvažava i suvremene impulse ostvarene u bizantskim gradnjama 7. – 9. stoljeća, također obilježene razradama prethodnih kasnoantičkih ostvarenja.

The article considers the appearance of the church of St Tryphon in Kotor as an exceptional element in the early-medieval architecture of Dalmatia at the beginning of the 9th century. The central plan has parallels in the church of St Thomas in nearby Prčanj. The possibility of the origins of this architectural type coming from southern-Italian Apulia is rejected. The architecture of churches of the Bay of Kotor is viewed through the creative development of Byzantine artistic expression. This is concluded, to a certain extent, on the basis of the continuity of architectural solutions in Late Antiquity in the eastern Adriatic. On the other hand, the contemporary impulses generated in Byzantine structures of the 7th–9th centuries are also recognized, but also marked by elaborations of the previous achievements of Late Antiquity.

Ključne riječi:

Sv. Tripun u Kotoru, sv. Toma u Prčanju, centralni plan, bizantska arhitektura 7. – 9. stoljeća, crkve upisanog križa, apulijske crkve, kasnoantička morfologija

Key words:

St Tryphon in Kotor, St Thomas in Prčanj, central plan, Byzantine architecture of the 7th–9th centuries, cross-in-square plan churches, Apulian churches, Late Antiquity morphology

Crkva sv. Tripuna u Kotoru od iznimnog je značaja za sagledavanje suvremenih arhitektonskih rješenja na širem pojasu ovog dijela Mediterana. Potpunom centralnošću svoje gradnje, kvadratičnoga perimetralnog obrisa (dužina 13,75 m x 10,5 m s osnovnim kvadratom vel. 10,5 m x 10,5 m), stvorena je pravilna konstrukcija

The church of St Tryphon, in Kotor, is of exceptional importance for an overview of the contemporary architectural solutions in a broad belt in this part of the Mediterranean. Through the complete central plan of its construction, with a square layout of its perimeter (length 13.75 m x 10.5 m, with a central square of 10.5

* Ovaj je tekst bio predan za zbornik simpozija *Hrvatska arheologija i Aachenski mir 812. – 2012.*, održanog u Zadru 2012. godine. Kako do danas nije tiskan, raduje me što se s manjim dopunama u pogledu novije literature objavljuje u ovome svesku *Vjesnika* posvećenom kolegi Željku Demij, inicijatoru zadarskog skupa.

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s devet travejnih polja, s time da se iznad središnjeg uzdizala kupola (T. 1:1).¹ Ostvareni tip govori i u prilog iznimno rane pojave, imajući u vidu datiranje crkve sv. Tripuna u početak 9. stoljeća, svakako u njegovo prvo desetljeće.² Posve je razumljivo da su u pogledu podrijetla arhitektonskog tipa kotorskog sv. Tripuna iznesene primjedbe i zapažanja, uvažavanjem onodobnih sličnih pojava Zapada i Istoka.³ Pojedina razmišljanja ovdje će se ponovno razmotriti, uz neka novija, pristigla iz kasnijih objava, dijelom što je u njima došlo i do posve samovoljnih konkluzija, protivnih argumentiranim tvrdnjama.

U objavi rezultata istraživanja, nedugo po otkriću ostataka sv. Tripuna, uopćeno se upozorilo na podrijetlo ovog tipa u bizantskoj arhitekturi 7. – 9. stoljeća iako se nije ukazivalo na analogije.⁴ Pritom su uvažena i slična rješenja Zapada, ali naznačila se i mogućnost prijenosa tipa utjecajem iz Apulije. Svakako, primjedba kako "nije u dovoljnoj mjeri" istican utjecaj Apulije na graditeljstvo srednjovjekovnog Kotora, podrobnije se razmotrila kao sugestija u prilog njezina, ionako pre naglašavanog značaja za arhitekturu južnih dijelova istočne obale Jadrana.⁵

Stoga, ovdje će se u osnovnim crtama podsjetiti na stanja arhitektonskih rješenja s tla juga Italije, osobito što je, od strane J. Martinovića, ostalo nedefinirano polazište o njihovu izglednom posredništvu za pojavu kotorskog sv. Tripuna na samom početku 9. stoljeća. Upozoreno je na crkve S. Pietro u Otrantu (T. 1:4) i S. Andrea u Traniju (T. 1:5), na obalnom dijelu Apulije, kao i S. Marco u Rossanu (T. 1:6) i La Cattolica u Stilo u Calabrijii (T. 1:7), na krajnjem jugu Apeninskog poluotoka.⁶ Primjeri su uzeti i kao

m x 10.5 m), a regular structure was created with nine bays, and a cupola above the central bay (Pl. 1: 1).¹ Such a type would speak in favour of an exceptionally early appearance, considering the dating of the church of St Tryphon to the beginning of the 9th century, certainly its first decade.² It is entirely understandable that, in terms of the origin of the architectural type of St Tryphon's in Kotor, various comments and observations have been made, taking into account similar appearances in both the West and the East.³ Individual opinions will be discussed again here, along with some new ones from more recent publications, in part because they have sometimes led to entirely arbitrary conclusions, contrary to any substantiated claims.

The publication of the research results, not long after the discovery of the remains of St Tryphon's, generally noted the origin of this type of Byzantine architecture of the 7th–9th centuries, although no specific analogies were cited.⁴ Similar plans from the West were noted, but so was the possibility of the transmission of such architectural influences from Apulia. Certainly, the remark that the influence of Apulia on the architecture of medieval Kotor had not been emphasized "to a sufficient extent" was considered in detail as a suggestion in support of its otherwise overestimated significance for the architecture of the southern parts of the eastern Adriatic coast.⁵

1 Do arheoloških istraživanja 1985. – 1986. o Sv. Tripunu najčešće se pisalo kao o rotundi, dakle, ne u smislu centralne osnove ili zasvođenosti, već izričito kao kružne gradnje, kako se dugo tumačio usputni, a ispostavilo se i dvosmislen navod Konstantina Porfirogeneta o crkvi (*νάος εἰληματικὸς*) (cf.: Martinović 1990, 13–20), iako izostankom napomena kako su još neki autori zastupali stav o kružnoj gradnji, upravo pozivanjem na Porfirogenetov navod (cf.: Ковачевић 1967, 374–375), premda u stanovitaj dvojbi pri njegovu tumačenju (Кораћ, Ковачевић 1970, 112; Кораћ 1987, 23), kao što je i sam pledirao za takvo mišljenje (Martinović 1966, 9, 12–13). O pojmovima „rotonda – zasvođena crkva“ u slučaju Sv. Tripuna vidi Jurković (2001b, 123–124). Razradu Porfirogenetovog navoda, i u prilog smisla o zasvođenosti crkava, osobito daje Lončar (1999, 238).

2 Jakšić (1999–2000, 146–147), posvetu crkve 13. siječnja 809. godine temelji čitanjem, odnosno datiranjem natpisa biskupa Ivana u tu godinu. Lončar (2006, 189), godinu s natpisa čita kao 805., a koju uzima i za izradu kamenog namještaja crkve sv. Tripuna. Martinović (1990, 25–26), ne sugerira godinu gradnje Sv. Tripuna. Iznosi sumnju u uvriježenu dataciju posvete 809. godine, navodeći kao razlog još neuspostavljenu političku konsolidaciju. Upućuje posredno na prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća kao vremena gradnje, opet u pogledu povijesnih datosti, sada tvrdnjom kako je crkva preživjela obje saracenske navale iz sredine stoljeća (približno 841. – 886. godine). Zanimljivo, prethodno je s više argumentacije prihvatio 13. siječnja 809. godine kao datum posvete, odnosno njezine gradnje Martinović (1966, 10–11). Nejasno je na temelju čega Ž. Peković (2010, 231) pogrešno uzima 806. kao godinu podizanja Sv. Tripuna.

3 Vrlo kritički stav o prijenosu arhitektonskih modela, odnosno utjecaja iz južne Italije na istočnu Jadransku obalu tijekom srednjeg vijeka, nedavno je iznio Tomasović (2006, 127–163), pri čemu nakratko elaborira i problem podrijetla rješenja ranosrednjovjekovnog Sv. Tripuna u Kotoru.

4 Martinović 1990, 13, gdje su uopćeno spomenute bizantske centralne gradnje s tlocrtnom osnovom upisanoga grčkog križa.

5 Tomasović 2006, 135. Na neutemeljenosti utjecaja u apulijskom graditeljstvu prethodno se ukazivalo i na primjeru razmatranja kotorske romaničke Katedrale sv. Tripuna iz 12. stoljeća.

6 Tomasović 2006, 135–136, T. III:3–6.

1 Up to the archaeological excavations in 1985–1986, St Tryphon's was usually described as a rotunda, hence not in the sense of a central plan or vaulting, but specifically as a circular building, as was the long-held interpretation of the casual and, as it turned out, ambiguous remark by Constantine Porphyrogenitus about the church (*νάος εἰληματικὸς*) (cf.: Martinović 1990, 13–20), although lacking a note that some authors had supported the existence of a circular structure, calling on the quotation from Porphyrogenitus (cf.: Ковачевић 1967, 374–375), although with certain doubts about the interpretation (Кораћ, Ковачевић 1970, 112; Кораћ 1987, 23), who supported such an interpretation (Martinović 1966, 9, 12–13). On the concept of 'rotunda – vaulted church' in the case of St Tryphon's, also see Jurković (2001b, 123–124). An elaboration of Porphyrogenitus's remark, in the context of vaulting in churches, is particularly offered by Lončar (1999, 238).

2 Jakšić (1999–2000, 146–147), based the dedication of the church to the 13th of January, 809, on the reading and dating of the inscription of Bishop Ivan. Lončar (2006, 189), read the year on the inscription as 805, which was also taken as the date for the manufacture of the stone furnishings of the church of St Tryphon. Martinović (1990, 25–26), offered no suggestion for the date of construction of St Tryphon's. Doubt was expressed about the accustomed dating of the dedication to 809, the reason cited being the as-yet un-established political consolidation. The first half of the 9th century was indirectly indicated as the period of construction, again in terms of the historical circumstances, now with a claim that the church had survived both Saracen attacks in the middle of the century (approximately 841–886). Interestingly, the date of the 13th January 809 had previously been accepted with several arguments as the date of the dedication and construction Martinović (1966, 10–11). It is unclear on what basis Ž. Peković (2010, 231) incorrectly cited 806 as the year of the construction of St Tryphon's.

3 A highly critical stance about the transfer of architectural models or influences from southern Italy to the eastern Adriatic coast during the medieval period was recently set forth by Tomasović (2006, 127–163), where he briefly elaborated the problem of the origin of the plan of the early-medieval church of St Tryphon, in Kotor.

4 Martinović 1990, 13, where Byzantine central buildings with a plan of an inscribed Greek cross.

5 Tomasović 2006, 135. The issue of unfounded influence in Apulian architecture was previously suggested in the example of the Romanesque cathedral of St Tryphon in Kotor of the 12th century.

pokazatelji uniformnosti tipa o kojem se govori, kojima načelne sličnosti pokazuju sa sv. Tripunom. To se, prije svega, odnosi na činjenicu kako ove gradnje predstavljaju tip tzv. upisanog križa u kvadratnu osnovu,⁷ odnosno primjerima *quincunxa*.⁸ Pridoda li se tome i podudarnost u izostajanju lateralnih istočnih prostori-ja u svojstvu pastoforija, koje su prijestolničkim i ostalim crkva-ma Bizanta davale nešto izduženiji oblik, tada se uistinu smije govoriti o bliskosti rješenja kotorske crkve i južnotalijanskih gradnji. Međutim, istaknute su i osjetne razlike u njihovu obliko-vanju, uočljive i među južnotalijanskim crkvama.⁹

Premda je izgled svodne konstrukcije kotorskog sv. Tripuna detaljnije nepoznat,¹⁰ dominantnim središnjim kupolnim poljem iskazuje podudarnost s apulijskim gradnjama, kojima ugaona polja ne kruni kupola. Kod kalabrijskih crkava, pak, podiže se iznad podjednake traveja pet ravnomjernih kupola, čime je na prostornom planu postignuto podjednako akcentuiranje, izraženo i trima izbačenim polukružnim apsidama. Kod dvije apulijske crkve, susljedno dominantni centralni kupolni polja, središnja je apsida znatno veća od postranih, polukružnih iznutra i izvana, čime su također bliske kotorskoj gradnji. Međutim, kod sv. Tripuna polukružne apside usječene su u zidu začelja, dok je pravokutni istak središnje tek u svojstvu njezine izvanjske naznake. Ponajprije zbog takvog rješenja začelnog dijela, kotorsku crkvu treba izuzeti od predloženog utjecaja apulijskog, i općenito, južnotalijanskoga graditeljstva kod stvaranja njezine idejne zamisli.¹¹ Mogućnost za takvo posredništvo u prijenosu bizantskog tipa na istočnojadransku obalu isključuje i sama datacija, imajući u vidu kako gradnje sa susjednoga apeninskog poluo-toka nipošto nisu starije od 10. stoljeća, štoviše, njihovo postanje uključuje i razdoblje 11. – 13. stoljeća.¹² I samim vremenom podizanja navedene crkve u Južnoj Italiji potvrđuju kako više predstavljaju gotove posljedice oblikovnih prelamanja s užeg tla Bizanta pa i njegovih perifernih dijelova te više očituju stanja iz “uvoza”, gotovo lišena bitnijih dorada u svome prostornom planu.

Hence, the basic situation in terms of architectural solutions in the south of Italy will be discussed here, particularly since, on the part of J. Martinović, the starting point was left undefined about their apparent mediatory role in terms of the appearance of the Kotor church of St Tryphon at the very beginning of the 9th century. Attention is drawn to the churches of S. Pietro (St Peter) in Otranto (Pl. 1: 4) and S. Andrea (St Andrew) in Trani (Pl. 1: 5) in the coastal part of Apulia, as well as S. Marco (St Mark) in Rossano (Pl. 1: 6), and La Cattolica di Stilo, in Calabria (Pl. 1: 7), in the far south of the Apennine peninsula.⁶ The examples were taken as indicators of the uniformity of the type under discussion, which in principle shows similarities to St Tryphon's. This primarily refers to the fact that these structures represent the church type called a cross-in-square plan,⁷ or examples of ‘quincunx’ or five-domed churches.⁸ If one adds the similarities in the lack of a side room to the east (sacristy) used as a pastophorion, which gave the metropolitan and other Byzantine churches a slightly elongated shape, then it is truly possible to speak of close similarities between the Kotor churches and the southern-Italian structures. However, considerable differences have been noted in their formation, which are also apparent among the southern-Italian churches.⁹

Although the appearance of the vaulted structure of the church of St Tryphon in Kotor remains unknown,¹⁰ the dominant central cupola field exhibits similarities with the Apulian structures, where the corner fields were not crowned by cupolas. The Calabrian churches, however, have five equally-sized cupolas above identical bays, hence achieving equal accentuation, expressed by the three protruding semicircular apses. For the two Apulian churches, given the dominant central cupola field, the central apse was considerably larger than the lateral apses, semicircular both inside and out, also making them close to the Kotor architecture. However, at St Tryphon's the semicircular apses are set into the wall of the back, while the rectangular projection of the central apse was merely a reflection of its external characteristics. Particularly because of such a design of the rear part, the Kotor church should be excluded from the suggested influences of Apulian and southern-Italian architecture in general in the creation of its conceptual ideas.¹¹ The possibility of such a

7 Za crteže tlocrta i presjeka ovih crkava: S. Pietro u Otrantu (Mongiello 1988, 58); S. Andrea u Traniju (Bertaux 1904, 379); S. Marco u Rossanu (Diehl 1894, 191; Garzya Romano 1988, 190); La Cattolica u Stilo (Bertaux 1904, 119; Garzya Romano 1988, 182). Ovim se može pribrojiti, promatrajući osnovu središnjeg korpusa, i trokupolni S. Pietro de “Octava” kod Fasana u Apuliji (Mongiello 1988, 317–323).

8 Kako je za La Cattolica u Stilo ustvrdio i Marasović (1990, 218).

9 Tomasović 2006, 136.

10 J. Martinović (1990, 9, 12) dopušta bačvasto nadsvođivanje traveja koji čine upisani križ, s kupolom u središtu, i križnog u kutovima građevine. Rekonstrukciju crkve s kvadratičnim tamburom piramidalnog krova te dvoslivnim krovom iznad prostora upisanog križa, a jednoslivnim iznad preostalih dijelova.

11 Стевовић (2017, 44), uočava razliku između apsidalnih dijelova kotorske i Crkve sv. Petra u Otrantu. Iako ističe kako pritom rudimentarnost gradnje Sv. Tripuna ne mora odražavati nedovoljnu vještinu njezinih graditelja, tek usputnije sagledava moguće pozivanje na širu tradiciju sličnog oblikovanja u Dalmaciji.

12 Datacijom u 10. stoljeće ponajprije je određiva crkva S. Pietro u Otrantu, dok se kalabrijskim crkvama predlaže gradnja i u 11. stoljeću (Lavermicocca 1978, 304–312), uvidom u problem datiranja, koje ostaje otvoreno, napomenom da razmatranje ovih gradnji ionako ne ide ranije od 10. stoljeća. Cf. Krautheimer, Čurčić (1986, 402–403, 511, bilj. 70), s navodom radova koji i samu crkvu u Otrantu opredjeljuju za kasnije razdoblje 11. stoljeća, uključujući 12. stoljeće. Tranijski S. Andrea, s romaničkim stilskim oznakama, datiran je i do samog 13. stoljeća (Alba Morrone, Calò Mariani 1978, 603). S. Pietro „de Octava” kod Fasana pouzdano je datiran 1180. godinom (Mongiello 1988, 317).

6 Tomasović 2006, 135–136, Pl. III: 3–6.

7 For drawings of the plan and cross-section of these churches: S. Pietro in Otranto (Mongiello 1988, 58); S. Andrea in Trani (Bertaux 1904, 379); S. Marco in Rossano (Diehl 1894, 191; Garzya Romano 1988, 190); La Cattolica in Stilo (Bertaux 1904, 119; Garzya Romano 1988, 182). To these can be added, considering the central corpus, the three-cupola church of S. Pietro de ‘Octava’ near Fasano, in Apulia (Mongiello 1988, 317–323).

8 As determined for La Cattolica in Stilo by Marasović (1990, 218).

9 Tomasović 2006, 136.

10 J. Martinović (1990, 9, 12) would allow for a barrel vaulting of the bays, creating an inscribed cross, with a cupola in the center, and groin-vaults in the corners of the structure. For the reconstruction of the church with a square dome with a pyramidal roof, and a gabled roof over the area of the inscribed cross, with a simple roof over the remaining sections.

11 Стевовић (2017, 44) notices a difference between the apsidal parts of the church in Kotor and the church of St Peter in Otranto. Although he points out that the rudimentary construction of St Tryphon's does not have to reflect the insufficient skill of its builders, he only casually considers a possible reference to the wider tradition of similar design in Dalmatia.

Dosljedno provedenom centralizacijom sv. Tripun u Kotoru vezu je za sv. Tomu u susjednom Prčanju (T. 1:2), datiranom u prijelaz 8. – 9. stoljeća iako razlikom u broju i postavi apsida, odnosno konha. U okviru samog pitanja nastanka i pojave tipa, sv. Toma se uzeo kao izrazito sličan oratoriju u Germigny-des-Prés (T. 1:3), točnom primjedbom kako je crkva Teodulfa, biskupa Karla Velikog, vezivana za arhitektonske pojave Istoka.¹³ Odmah potom trezveno se konstatalo: *“Ne čini nam se da otkriće crkve sv. Tome u Prčanju može predstavljati nov, bitan dokaz istočnjačkim, u suštini neizvesnim, izvorima opisane šeme plana i prostora. Proizvoljno bi bilo tražiti u njoj pojavi podatak o putu kojim se jedna graditeljska ideja kretala od Istoka na Zapad. Ostavićemo pitanje otvorenim. Nema ni danas dovoljno elemenata da se iskaže ubedljiv odgovor na postavljeno pitanje. Sličnost međusobno veoma udaljenih spomenika, nastalih u istom vremenu, kao što su ovi o kojima je reč, zaista se može objasniti jedino postojanjem zajedničkog uzora, ali, valja ustanoviti ne samo uzor već isto tako izvor snage koja ga je učinila privlačnim za prostrana područja evropske arhitekture u jednom značajnom razdoblju.”*¹⁴ Sv. Tripun i sv. Toma naknadno su sagledani kao idejno i vremenski srodne gradnje te i uzeti kao primjeri istoga arhitektonskog tipa.¹⁵ Stoga, pojava dvije bokokotorske crkve uzela se kao rezultat *“promicanja zamisli unutar bizantskih gradova okrenutih njegovom centru. Međutim, rana datacija u IX. st. za dvije istočnojadranske gradnje upućuje više na pojave perifernih dijelova Carstva predmakedonskog dinastičkog razdoblja, u kojima su uključene prethodne razrade u posve neujednačenoj tipologiji.”*¹⁶ U okviru takvog zauzimanja, ukazivanje na izvorište za pojavu centralne osnove sv. Tripuna ne bi trebalo zastati tek u iznalaženju potpunih analogija, nekih od prethodnih ili suvremenih gradnji koje bi se oponašale.¹⁷ Pritom je nužno uzeti u

mediation in the transferral of the Byzantine type to the eastern Adriatic coast is excluded by the dating itself, considering that the construction activity on the neighbouring Apennine peninsula was certainly no earlier than the 10th century; in fact, the genesis of such churches also includes the period of the 11th–13th centuries.¹² The very period of the erection of the cited churches in southern Italy confirms that they more likely to represent the results of formal refraction from the territory of Byzantium proper, and also its peripheral sections, and better reflect the situation in terms of ‘importation’, almost devoid of any significant modifications in terms of the spatial plan.

The consistently-undertaken centralization of St Tryphon’s in Kotor relates to the church of St Thomas, in neighbouring Prčanj (Pl. 1: 2), dated to the turn from the 8th to the 9th century, although there are differences in the number and placement of the apses, or conches. In the framework of the question of the origin and appearance of this type, St Thomas’s is considered exceptionally similar to the oratory of Germigny-des-Prés (Pl. 1: 3), with an accurate observation that the church of Theodulf, the bishop of Charlemagne, was tied to architectural features from the East.¹³ Immediately afterwards it was noted: *“It does not seem that the discovery of the church of St Thomas can represent a new, essential proof of the eastern, in fact uncertain, origin of the plan and spatial scheme. It would be arbitrary to seek, in its appearance, information about the route along which an architectural idea moved from the East to the West. For now, the question must remain open. Even today there are not enough elements to present a convincing answer to this question. The similarity of very distant monuments created at the same time, such as these under consideration, can truly be explained only through the existence of a common source; not merely the model, but also the source of the strength should be established that made it attractive to a broad area of European architecture in one significant period.”*¹⁴

St Tryphon’s and St Thomas’s were later considered as conceptually and temporally related buildings, and were taken as examples of the same architectural type.¹⁵ Hence, the appearance of

13 Kopaň, Kovachevič 1970, 111; Kopaň 1987, 25–27. O takvom izvoru francuske karolinške gradnje cf. Conant (1979, 51–52).

14 Kopaň, Kovachevič 1970, 111–112.

15 Tomasović 2006, 136. Za isti arhitektonski tip uzimaju ih i Martinović (1990, 12–13), Marasović (1990, 222), gdje govori o istom „križno-četvrtastom tipu” kotorske i prčanjske crkve. Potom za tip *quincunx* veli kako je na istočnom Jadranu zastupljen ovim dvjema bokokotorskim crkvama, odnosno o Crkvi sv. Tome koja je „*tipski vrlo srodna*” Sv. Tripunu (Marasović 2008, 192, 273, 383; 2013, 389–390). Kao tipološki i vremenski slične, također ih sagledavaju Jurković (2000a, 180; 2000b, 124), Čubrović (2009, 62–63), te Kopaň, Шунрт (2010, 113), koji također govore o njihovoj velikoj sličnosti. Stoga, postaje vrlo indikativno zbog čega je Ž. Pekoviću (2010, 231, bilj. 313) „*nejasno*” tipološko vezivanje dviju bokokotorskih crkava, odnosno sagledavanje prčanjskog Sv. Tome, kada je bilo govora o primjerima crkava s osnovom upisanog križa. Osim površnog iščitavanja literature, ovdje bi se moglo podsjetiti i na Pekovićeve neuverljive analogije i zaključke, kada je govorio o drugim primjerima srednjovjekovnih gradnji našega južnog priobalja, o čemu je bilo riječi u Tomasović (2006, 132–134; 2010, 182–183).

16 Tomasović 2006, 136. U pogledu citiranih rečenica uistinu začuđuje tendenciozna konstatacija Ž. Pekovića (2010, 218, bilj. 284) kako njihov autor iznosi mišljenje da kotorski Sv. Tripun (uz još neke crkve našeg južnojadranskog priobalja) „*ne očituje nikakve bizantske utjecaje tj. da predstavljaju nezavisan razvoj u crkvenom graditeljstvu na istočnoj obali Jadrana.*”

17 Kako se u pogledu skupine manjih crkava centralne osnove s kupolom u maloazijskoj Bitiniji, gdje je Sv. Tripun i doživio mučeništvo, zalažu Kopaň, Шунрт (2010, 112–115). Autori smatraju kako je ovaj tip crkve, nastao krajem 8. stoljeća, nesumnjivo koncipiran u prijestolnici. Dovodeći tako u vezu kotorskog Sv. Tripuna i prčanjskog Sv. Tomu s arhitekturom suvremenih bitinijskih crkava, koje su prema autorima služile kao neposredni uzor, upućuje se na mogućnost važne uloge kotorskog biskupa Johanesa u promicanju idejne zamisli bokokotorskih gradnji, samom činjenicom njegova sudjelovanja 787. godine na Drugom

12 A date in the 10th century is primarily determinable for the church of S. Pietro in Otranto, while construction of the Calabrian churches was also suggested for the 11th century (Lavermicocca 1978, 304–312), examining the problem of dating, which remains open, noted that such construction certainly is not earlier than the 10th century. Cf. Krautheimer, Curčić (1986, 402–403, 511, n. 70), with citations of texts that classify the church at Otranto to the later period of the 11th century, also including the 12th century. The church of S. Andrea in Trani, with Romanesque stylistic characteristics, is dated to the 13th century (Alba Morrone, Calò Mariani 1978, 603). The church of S. Pietro ‘de Octava’ near Fasano is reliably dated to the year 1180 (Mongiello 1988, 317).

13 Kopaň, Kovachevič 1970, 111; Kopaň 1987, 25–27. For such a source for French Carolingian structures, cf. Conant (1979, 51–52).

14 Kopaň, Kovachevič 1970, 111–112.

15 Tomasović 2006, 136. They are considered the same architectural type by Martinović (1990, 12–13), Marasović (1990, 222), where he speaks of the same “*cross-in-square*” type of the churches in Kotor and Prčanj. Subsequently, he stated for the ‘quincunx’ type that it was represented in the eastern Adriatic by these two churches in the Bay of Kotor, or in the church of St Thomas, which is “*very close in type*” to St Tryphon (Marasović 2008, 192, 273, 383; 2013, 389–390). They are also seen as typologically and chronologically similar by Jurković (2000a, 180; 2000b, 124), Čubrović (2009, 62–63), and Kopaň, Шунрт (2010, 113), who also speak of their great similarity. Hence it becomes very indicative why Ž.

obzir oblikovna previranja u bizantskoj arhitekturi 7. – 9. stoljeća, a koja rezultiraju i tipom manjih gradnji s kupolom u središtu.¹⁸ Zajednička ishodišta za ovaj arhitektonski tip Bizanta nalaze se u kasnoantičkoj arhitekturi.¹⁹ Dobar primjer očituje se u sirijskoj palatinskoj kapeli u Resafi iz druge polovine 6. stoljeća, na kojoj je ostvarena posve identična centralnost osnove upisanog križa (T. 2:1).²⁰ Uostalom, svaka razmatranja o učestalosti crkava upisanog križa u kvadratnu osnovu, osobito od kraja 9. stoljeća, upućuju na podrijetlo tipa u prethodnim stoljećima. U tom pogledu korisne su napomene o rješenju upisanog križa na tlu Armenije, još tijekom 7. stoljeća, sagledanog snažnim bizantskim udjelom u njegovu razvoju.²¹ Možda do stanovitih nedoumica dolazi u tumačenju puteva njihove pojave, osobito u pogledu kotorskog sv. Tripuna ili sv. Tome u Prčanju, pri čemu se jasno iščitavaju i zauzimanja u pogledu kulturne pripadnosti.

Nešto je ranije poznat izgled prčanske crkve naveo pisce da u njemu vide primjer zapadnoeuropske centralne građevine. Pritom se pozivalo na analogije, spomenuti oratorij u Germigny-des-Prés kod Orleansa iz 806. godine te kasnijeg milanskog S. Satiro iz 876. godine,²² odnosno izravnom konstatacijom o kotorskoj i prčanskoj crkvi kao izrazitim primjerima karolinških centralnih građevina.²³ Primjedba je prihvatljiva ako se pođe od većega središnjeg kupolnog polja karolinške gradnje, a kakvog imaju obje bokokotorske crkve. Iako, teže je prihvatiti mišljenje kako je u slučaju sv. Tome u Prčanju riječ o izrazitom primjeru karolinške centralne građevine. Tomu se suprotstavlja kvadratično oblikovanje vanjštine apsida crkve u Prčanju, koje je u duhu promicanja graditeljskog naslijeđa već zatečenih, najranijih bizantskih crkava u Dalmaciji. Ponajbolji je pokazatelj za to crkva u Gatima iz prve polovine 6. stoljeća, čiju sličnost s prčanskim sv. Tomom posve predočava identična bizantska morfologija polukružnog nacrtu konhi, zatvorenih ravnim zidom (T. 2:2).²⁴ Iako se u slučaju ovih dviju crkava ne radi o nacrtu identičnoj tipologiji, uostalom kao i na sv. Tomi suvremenoj gradnji trolisnog, ili trikonhalnog, sv. Ivana u Zatonu na Limu, presnažno je akcen-

the two Bay of Kotor churches was considered to be a result of the “*promotions of ideas within Byzantine towns oriented towards the imperial centre. However, the early dating, to the 9th century, for the two eastern-Adriatic buildings indicates more the appearance of peripheral sections of the Empire in the pre-Macedonian dynastic period, in which previous development was included in a quite imbalanced typology.*”²⁶ In the framework of such a stance, pointing out the source for the appearance of the central plan of St Tryphon’s should not merely end in finding complete analogies in some of the previous or contemporary buildings that it would copy.²⁷ In reference to this, it is necessary to take into consideration the turmoil, in terms of form, in Byzantine architecture of the 7th–9th centuries, which resulted in the type of smaller buildings with a cupola in the centre.²⁸ The common feature for this Byzantine architectural type can be found in the architecture of Late Antiquity.²⁹ A good example can be found in the palatine chapel in Resafa, in Syria, of the second half of the 6th century, where a completely identical central plan with an inscribed cross was created (Pl. II, 1).²⁰ In any case, any consideration of the frequency of cross-in-square churches, particularly of the end of the 9th century, would indicate an origin

Peković (2010, 231, n. 313) considered the typological connections of the two Bay of Kotor churches “*unclear*”, in reference to examples of churches with an inscribed cross plan. Apart from his cursory reading of the relevant literature, mention should be made of Peković’s unconvincing analogies and conclusions in discussing other examples of medieval architecture along the southern Croatian coast in Tomasović (2006, 132–134; 2010, 182–183).

16 Tomasović 2006, 136. In terms of the sentences cited, the tendentious statement by Ž. Peković (2010, 218, n. 284) is truly strange that the author of the above sentences claims that St Tryphon’s in Kotor (and certain other churches on the southern Adriatic coast) “*does not show any Byzantine influence whatsoever, i.e. that it represents an independent development in the ecclesiastical architecture of the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea*”.

17 As suggested in terms of the group of small churches with a central plan and cupola in Bithynia, in Asia Minor, where St Tryphon was martyred: Kopañ, Шпунт (2010, 112–115). The authors consider that this type of church, which originated at the end of the 8th century, was undoubtedly conceived in the capital. Connecting, in this manner, the churches of St Tryphon in Kotor and St Thomas in Prčanj with the architecture of the contemporary Bithynian churches, which according to the authors would have served as a direct model, consideration is given to the possibility of some major role for the Bishop of Kotor, Johannes, in promoting the conceptual ideas of the Bay of Kotor’s architecture, through the simple fact of his participation in 787 at the Second Council of Nicaea. The suggestion is generally acceptable of a ‘Bithynian’ origin for the design concept of the two eastern-Adriatic churches, which is unreservedly accepted by Čubrović (2009, 63), and Čanak Medić (2009, 50), although the latter offers no support for such a claim. In terms of the possible role of Johannes, Bishop of Kotor, in transferring the concept for the churches in the Bay of Kotor, it should be remembered that a bishop of the same name (*Iohannis episcopi*) can be read on an inscription of 805 in Kotor, but also on a fragment from nearby Bijela (Jakšić 2009, 87; Lončar 2006, 190–192), and there is no need to doubt the probable identity of this individual. Nonetheless, a different attitude should be taken in terms of proving, or re-evaluating, his role as a possible “*bearer of architectural ideas*” from the churches of Asia Minor, not merely in view of the chronological gap between his participation in the Council in 787 and the construction of St Tryphon’s in 805 (809?), but also given the fact that, at that point, although only in part, central-plan churches with an inscribed cross (cross-in-square) had already been created, not merely in Bithynia, but also elsewhere in the central territory of Byzantium (Mango 1989, 96–97).

18 Mango 1989, 87–105.

19 This was established in terms of court chapels of Late Antiquity by Jurković (2000a, 180; 2000b, 124), who hence considered irrelevant the viewpoint about the debate about Carolingian versus Byzantine architectural influence on the appearance of St Tryphon’s in Kotor.

20 Mango 1989, 54.

nicejskom saboru. Okvirno je prihvatljivo zauzimanje o „bitinijskom“ podrijetlu idejne zamisli dviju istočnojadranskih crkava, što je bezrezervno prihvateno kod Čubrović (2009, 63), te Čanak Medić (2009, 50), iako se potonja ničim ne poziva kao oslonac za takvu tvrdnju. U pogledu moguće uloge kotorskog biskupa Johanesa u prijenosu idejne zamisli bokokotorskih crkava treba podsjetiti kako se biskup istog imena (*Iohannis episcopi*) iščitava i na natpisu iz 805. godine u Kotoru, ali i na ulomku iz nedaleke Bijele (Jakšić 2009, 87; Lončar 2006, 190–192) te ne treba sumnjati u vjerojatnu istovjetnost osobe. Ipak, valja zauzeti drukčiji stav u smislu dokazivanja, ili relativiziranja njegove uloge kao mogućeg „*prenositelja graditeljske ideje*“ maloazijskih crkava, ne toliko u pogledu vremenskog razmaka od njegova sudjelovanja na saboru, 787. godine, do gradnje Sv. Tripuna 805. (809?) godine, koliko u činjenici tada, iako tek dijelom već ostvarenoga centralnog plana crkava s upisanim križem, ne samo u Bitiniji već i drugdje na užem teritoriju Bizanta (Mango 1989, 96–97).

18 Mango 1989, 87–105.

19 Kako to u pogledu kasnoantičkih dvorskih kapela konstatira Jurković (2000a, 180; 2000b, 124), uzevši stoga kao irelevantna polazišta o utjecaju karolinške ili, s druge strane, bizantske arhitekture na pojavu Sv. Tripuna u Kotoru.

20 Mango 1989, 54.

21 Mango 1989, 105; Marasović 1990, 215–216.

22 Ковачевич (1967, 376), gdje francusku gradnju datira 813. godinom. Za nje nu dataciju u 806. godinu vidi Conant (1979, 51).

23 Marasović 1990, 221–222.

24 Jeličić-Radonić 1994, 41–70.

tuirano htijenje za ostvarivanjem njihove centralnosti. Stoga i naknadno, načelno istaknuto podrijetlo, arhitektonskog tipa sv. Tripuna i sv. Tome u krugu bizantskog graditeljstva 7. – 9. stoljeća nije moglo jasnije razlučiti puteve njegova dolaska u Dalmaciju²⁵ te je pitanje „posredništva” ostalo otvorenim, karolinškog i bizantskog kruga, tako i apulijskog, o čemu je bilo riječi.

Razrade oblikovanja unutar graditeljstva Dalmacije upućuju na to kako se početkom 9. stoljeća sv. Tripun u Kotoru i sv. Toma u Prčanju djelomično u njih uklapaju. U pogledu iznutra polukružnih i izvana pravokutnih apsida i konhi, neovisno što je kotorskoj gradnji istaknuta dijelom začelnog ziđa u koji je uklopljena, analogija se vidjela na primjeru križne crkve sv. Marije u Duklji (ant. Doclea, T. 2:3) i Gurdiću kod Kotora.²⁶ Riječ je o suvremenim crkvama kojima se može pribrojiti i sv. Petar na Šuranju u Kotoru s identičnim nacrtom srednje apsida, podignutim najkasnije do sredine 9. stoljeća.²⁷ Bilo bi odveć duhovito vidjeti u njima isključivo tek početni odraz izravnih utjecaja „importiranih” rješenja sv. Tripuna i sv. Tome. Isto vrijedi i u pogledu blago trapezoidne apsida crkve u Malim Rosama, na ulazu u bokokotorski zaljev, datirane u 10. – 11. stoljeće,²⁸ odnosno sv. Tomi gotovo identičnog nacrtu apsida sv. Pavla u selu Muo kod Prčanja, opredijeljenog u 11. stoljeće.²⁹

Uostalom, izvana pravokutne ili trapezoidne oblikovane apsida, uopće, učestale su u predromaničkoj arhitekturi istočnog Jadrana, stoga i nisu posebnost njegovih najjužnijih dijelova. Samom oblikovanju tročlanog začelja sv. Tripuna, s pravokutnim istakom kao raščlambom ziđa, analogija se nazire u kasnije datiranom sv. Mihailu u Stonu. Međutim, ovdje se radi o idejnom odnosu s ranosrednjovjekovnom adaptacijom crkve sv. Petra u njegovu podnožju.³⁰ Izlišno je, dakako, navoditi sve primjere predromaničkih i ranoromaničkih crkava s istočne obale Jadrana, kojima se začelje oblikuje na sličan način, jer su morfološki neujednačeni.³¹ Sveukupno upućuju na oblikovne zamisli ostvarene unutar širega područnog naslijeđa kasnoantičke crkvene arhitekture. Ravno apsidalno začelje unutar kojega je, učahuren u masivnom zidu, polukrug apsida, nalazi se na otočiću Šćedru,³² kao i Braču, na crkvi sv. Jadre iznad Splitske.³³ Gospinoj crkvi na

of the type in previous centuries. In this regard, notes about the use of the cross-in-square plan in Armenia as early as the 7th century are useful, considered from the point of view of the strong Byzantine influence on their development.²¹ Perhaps a certain confusion arises in interpreting the routes of their appearance, particularly in reference to St Tryphon's in Kotor or St Thomas's in Prčanj, where issues relating to cultural affiliation can be clearly perceived.

The somewhat earlier-known appearance of the church in Prčanj has led some writers to see it as an example of a Western European central-plan church. Analogies have been cited, such as the previously-mentioned oratory at Germigny-des-Prés near Orleans of 806, and the later church of S. Satiro in Milan of 876,²² or even a direct claim made about the Kotor and Prčanj churches representing distinct examples of Carolingian central-plan churches.²³ This would be acceptable inasmuch as it is related to the larger central cupola field of Carolingian architecture, which is present at both churches in the Bay of Kotor. Nonetheless, it is difficult to accept the idea that, in the case of St Thomas's in Prčanj, this was a distinct example of a Carolingian central-plan building. This is opposed by the square form of the outside of the apses at the church in Prčanj, which is in the spirit of the architectural heritage of the previously-built, earliest Byzantine churches in Dalmatia. The best indicator for this is the church at Gata, of the first half of the 6th century, whose similarities with St Thomas's at Prčanj demonstrate a quite identical Byzantine morphology of semicircular-plan conches closed off by a straight wall (Pl. 2: 2).²⁴ Although, in the case of these two churches, there is no identical typology in plan, just as with the trefoil or three-conch St John's, in Zaton, on Lim, contemporaneous with St Thomas's, the desire to achieve centrality was too strongly accentuated. Therefore, the subsequently generally emphasized origin of the architectural type of the churches of St Tryphon and St Thomas in the circle of Byzantine architecture of the 7th–9th centuries could not distinguish more clearly the routes of its arrival in Dalmatia,²⁵ and the question of the 'mediation' from Carolingian and Byzantine circles, as well as Apulia, remains open, as noted.

The development of design within the architecture of Dalmatia indicates how, at the beginning of the 9th century, the churches of St Tryphon in Kotor and St Thomas in Prčanj partially fit into this. In terms of the interior semicircular and exterior square apses and conches, independent of the fact that, in the buildings in the Bay of Kotor, part of the rear wall into which they were incorporated was prominent, analogies have been seen in the example of the cross-plan churches of St Mary in Duklja (Rom. Doclea, Pl. 2: 3) and Gurdić, near Kotor.²⁶ These were contempora-

25 Martinović 1990, 13.

26 Кораћ, Ковачевић 1970, 110. Za Crkvu sv. Marije podudarnosti se prepoznaju u središnjim kupolnim dijelovima crkava u Niceji i Solunu (Mango 1989, 89–90).

27 Ковачевић 1967, 374–378.

28 Милинковић 1997, 173, sl. 2., 176.

29 Ковачевић 1967, 431, sl. 66, 432.

30 Za ranosrednjovjekovnu adaptaciju stonskog Sv. Petra, okvirno u 9. stoljeću, i odnos sa Sv. Mihajlom vidi Fisković (1985, 145–148; 1988, 194–197, 207, bilj. 34.; 2001, 428, T. 6), gdje su doneseni, vremenski nešto širi primjeri takvih gradnji s dubrovačkog područja. Izgled apsidalnih dijelova stonskih crkvi sagledan je, vremenski i teritorijalno, u nešto širem kontekstu, i kod Tomasović (2010, 190–192; 2011, 159–162), s prethodnom literaturom.

31 Marasović 2008.

32 Fisković 1980, 220–221, 225, sl. 14.

33 Fisković 1982, 180, 183. Za iskazano oblikovanje začelja naglašava se učestalost pojave na sredozemnom Istoku tijekom kasne antike. Ipak, dovode se u sumnju izravni utjecaji sirijske arhitekture pri oblikovanju ovih bračkih crkava te se, ne oduzimajući im svojstva lokalnog razvoja, ukazuje na jedinstvenost sredozemnog prostora u smislu razrade i predaje otprije definiranih rješenja.

21 Mango 1989, 105; Marasović 1990, 215–216.

22 Ковачевић (1967, 376), where the French structure was dated to 813. For a dating to 806, see Conant (1979, 51).

23 Marasović 1990, 221–222.

24 Jeličić-Radonić 1994, 41–70.

25 Martinović 1990, 13.

26 Кораћ, Ковачевић 1970, 110. Similarities to the church of St Mary can be recognized in the central cupola sections of churches in Nicaea and Thessalonica (Mango 1989, 89–90).

otoku Sušcu apsida je, unatoč razlikama u zaobljenosti, u nacrtu oblikovana poput prčanskog sv. Tome (T. 2:4).³⁴ Istovjetno upisivanje polukruga apsida, ali u trapezoidni okvir začelja, uočljivo je i kod dvije ranosrednjovjekovne dogradnje s južne strane ranokršćanske crkve u Polačama na Mljetu, datirane okvirno u 6. – 8/9. stoljeće (T. 2:5).³⁵ Takav istak, unutar kojega je polukružna apsida, prepoznaje se i u trapezoidnim obrisima trikonhalne crkve sv. Pavla (T. 2:6), podignute u 12. stoljeću uz benediktinsku crkvu sv. Petra in Campo kod Trebinja.³⁶ Neovisno što se ova gradnja tipološki možda preslobodno pribraja manjoj skupini crkava križolike osnove, među kojima je spomenuta sv. Marija u Duklji i sv. Toma u Prčanju,³⁷ istorodan im je i nacrt upisanog polukruga apsida u kvadratičan ili trapezoidan obris. Indikativno je kako i u slučaju benediktinskog sv. Pavla pozivanja nisu zastala bez analogija ranobizantske arhitekture 5. – 6. stoljeća u dubljem zaleđu.³⁸ Svakako, nije bezrazložno primijetiti kako ove trikonhalne kasnoantičke crkve, unatoč formalne sličnosti, kombiniraju polukružne i trapezoidne istake, na što se nije jasno upozorilo.³⁹ Činjenica kako obalne gradnje ne poznaju kombinaciju odvojenih polukružnih i pravokutnih, odnosno trapezoidnih istaka na jednom tijelu, dokazivala bi veći značaj regionalnih karakteristika prilikom vezivanja gradnji od kasnoantičkog do romaničkog razdoblja. Pogotovo to vrijedi u smislu graditeljskog sloja 9. stoljeća, kojemu pripada sv. Tripun u Kotoru i sv. Toma u Prčanju, a odražava se i u trobrodnom sv. Petru na Šuranju kod Kotora, i ovoj najvjerojatnije u vlasništvu benediktinaca.⁴⁰ Na njoj je, u suprotnosti s prethodnim primjerima, naglasak dodan središnjoj apsidi s jasno ukomponiranim polukrugom u kvadratičnom obrisu.

Na svim ovim primjerima nije teško pronaći nacрте koji pojavom stoje u daljnjem prosljeđivanju ideja nastalih u dodiru s najranijim prisustvom Bizanta u Dalmaciji,⁴¹ a kasnije primijenjenih kod oblikovanja apsidalnog dijela većine crkava jednobrodnog kupolnog tipa. Navedeni primjeri bjelodano ukazuju na oblikovanje začelja polukružnom apsidom unutar njenog kvadratičnog ili trapezoidnog istaka vidljivog izvana, zasigurno kao općenitoj pojavi unutar rano ocrtanog kruga osobitosti bizantskog gradi-

neous churches, to which can be added the church of St Peter at Šuranj in Kotor, with an identical plan of the central apse, which was built in the middle of the 9th century, at the latest.²⁷ It would be too absurd to see in them exclusively only the beginning reflection of the 'imported' plans of St Tryphon's and St Thomas's. The same is true for the slightly trapezoidal apses of the church in Male Rose at the southern entrance to the Bay of Kotor, dated to the 10th–11th centuries,²⁸ or the plan of apses, almost identical to that of St Thomas's, in the church of St Paul in the village of Muo, near Prčanj, assigned to the 11th century.²⁹

In any case, apses that are rectangular or trapezoidal on the outside are quite common in the pre-Romanesque architecture of the eastern Adriatic, and hence are not some special feature of its southernmost sections. Analogies to the formation of the tripartite rear section of St Tryphon's, with a rectangular projection as a dividing wall, can be found in the later-dated church of St Michael, in Ston. However, there is a conceptual relation with the early-medieval adaptation of the church of St Peter at its foot.³⁰ It is unnecessary, of course, to cite all examples of pre-Romanesque and early-Romanesque churches on the eastern coast of the Adriatic whose rear sections are formed in a similar manner, as they are not uniform morphologically.³¹ Altogether this indicates formal conceptions created within a broader region of the inheritance of the religious architecture of Late Antiquity. Straight apsidal rears with semicircular apses encapsulated inside a massive wall are located on the islet of Šćedro,³² as well as on the island of Brač, at the church of St Jadro, above Splitska.³³ The apse of the church of Our Lady on the island of Sušac, despite differences in roundness, had a plan like that of St Thomas in Prčanj (Pl. 2: 4).³⁴ An identical inscribing of a semicircular apse, but within a trapezoidal framework of the rear, is apparent at the two early-medieval extensions to the south side of the early-Christian church at Polače on the island of Mljet, dated approximately to the 6th–8th/9th centuries (Pl. 2: 5).³⁵ Such a projection, with a semicircular apse within, can also be recognized in the trapezoidal outlines of the triconchal church of St Paul (Pl. 2: 6), built in the 12th century next to the Benedictine church of

34 Fisković 1985, 141, sl. 5.

35 Fisković 1988, 197, 201, sl. 6.

36 Popović 1973, 323–329, sl. 3–6.

37 Kopač 1987, 26, sl. 2.

38 Popović 1973, 329.

39 Trikonhosi u Caričinom gradu i Sv. Bogorodica kod Kuršumlje, na koje se poziva M. Popović, imaju trapezoidnu vanjštinu tek glavne apsida (Bošković, Vučević 1956–1957, 173, sl. 1; 175, sl. 4).

40 Kopač 1987, 29, sl. 4/1; Kovacević 1967, 377.

41 Od raspršenih grobnih memorija, kao segmenata grobljanskog kompleksa 4. stoljeća u Saloni (Dyggve 1996, IV, 14–15), do jednobrodnih crkvenih gradnji 6. stoljeća na srednjodalmatinskoj obali i bližem zaleđu (Docci kod Ljubuškog i Mokro, obje s učahurenom apsidom) (cf. Cambi 1985, 39, sl. 7; 40, sl. 8). Posebno je zanimljiva Sv. Barbara iz 6. stoljeća na otočiću Sutvari u pelješkom kanalu, protumačena kao „inačica poligonalne-heksagonalne apsida, koja je u jasnijem obliku tipična za bizantsko graditeljstvo VI–VII stoljeća osobito u Maloj Aziji” (Fisković 1963–1965, 146, sl. 2), s nizom analogija na istočnojadranskoj obali. Izlišno je razmatrati puteve razvoja koji je vodio prema razlici nacрте s izbačenom apsidom od one upisane jer je u biti riječ o istorodnoj pojavi s izvorom unutar istočno-helenističkog kruga.

27 Kovacević 1967, 374–378.

28 Милинковић 1997, 173, Fig. 2, 176.

29 Kovacević 1967, 431, Fig. 66, 432.

30 For the early-medieval adaptation of the church of St Peter in Ston, in the framework of the 9th century, and the relation to St Michael's, see Fisković (1985, 145–148; 1988, 194–197, 207, n. 34; 2001, 428, Pl. 6), where examples of such architecture, from a somewhat broader chronological framework, are cited from the Dubrovnik region. The appearance of the apsidal sections of the Ston churches is viewed in a somewhat broader context, both chronologically and territorially, by Tomasović (2010, 190–192; 2011, 159–162), with recent literature.

31 Marasović 2008.

32 Fisković 1980, 220–221, 225, Fig. 14.

33 Fisković 1982, 180, 183. The frequency of appearance of the stated formation of the rear in the Mediterranean East during Late Antiquity is emphasized. Nonetheless, doubt is expressed about the direct influence of Syrian architecture in the formation of these churches on the island of Brač, and while not depriving them of the characteristic of local development, a uniformity of the Mediterranean region is indicated, in the sense of the elaboration and spread of previously-defined plans.

34 Fisković 1985, 141, Fig. 5.

35 Fisković 1988, 197, 201, Fig. 6.

teljstva. Ustaljenosti takvog nacrtu najkarakterističnije se očituje na apsidi crkve sv. Martina u Čepikućama, čiji je potkovasti nacrt zatvoren vanjskim trapezoidnim (T. 2:7). Ovaj je zadan još u kasnoantičkom razdoblju, a čija se izrazita bizantska morfologija zadržava i tijekom predromaničke pregradnje crkve.⁴²

Centralni plan crkve sv. Tripuna u Kotoru, ali i sv. Tome u Prčanju, svojom ranom pojavom na početku 9. stoljeća izuzetan je u ogledu sa srodnim, suvremenim bizantskim arhitektonskim rješenjima, izraslim u predmakedonskom razdoblju. Okolnost što su bokotorske gradnje, barem kada je riječ o sv. Tripunu, podignute netom uoči ponovne konsolidacije vlasti Bizanta 809. godine, ne bi posebno proturječila promicanju ideja s Istoka, jer je riječ o području Dalmacije ionako stoljetno okrenutom Bizantu. Ipak, sagledavanje takvih suvremenih doticaja trebalo bi podrazumijevati i uvažavanje činjenice o općem arhitektonskom rješenju sa stanovitim „arhaičnošću” tipa gradnje, posebno jer se radi o memorijalnoj gradnji koju je kotorski građanin Andreaci namijenio za čuvanje i štovanje relikvija sv. Tripuna.

St Peter in the Field, near Trebinje.³⁶ Regardless of whether this building, typologically, was perhaps too freely added to the small group of churches with a cross-shaped plan, including the noted St Mary's in Duklja and St Thomas's in Prčanj,³⁷ the plan is homogenous, with an inscribed semicircular apse in a square or trapezoidal outline. It is indicative that, also in the case of the Benedictine church of St Paul, the references were not complete without analogies to the early Byzantine architecture of the 5th–6th centuries in the distant hinterland.³⁸ Certainly, it is not unreasonable to state that these triconchal churches of Late Antiquity, despite formal similarities, combine semicircular and trapezoidal projections, which was not clearly noted in the text.³⁹ The fact that the coastal buildings do not have combinations of separate semicircular and rectangular or trapezoidal projections on a single structure would prove the greater significance of regional characteristics in comparing buildings from Late Antiquity to the Romanesque period. This certainly is valid in terms of the architectural stratum of the 9th century, to which St Tryphon's in Kotor and St Thomas's in Prčanj belong, and is reflected in the three-naved church of St Peter at Šuranj, near Kotor, most probably owned by the Benedictines.⁴⁰ In contrast to the previous examples, on it the emphasis is placed on the central apse in a clearly-composed semicircle in a square outline.

In all these examples it is not difficult to find designs whose appearance contributed to further generating ideas created in contact with the earliest presence of the Byzantine Empire in Dalmatia,⁴¹ which were later applied in the formation of the apsidal section of the majority of churches of the single-nave cupola type. The examples cited clearly indicate the formation of the rear with a semicircular apse within its square or trapezoidal projection visible from the outside, certainly as a general phenomenon within the early outlined characteristics of Byzantine architecture. The continuity of such a plan can most characteristically be seen in the apse of the church of St Martin in Čepikuće, whose horseshoe-shaped plan is closed off with an exterior trap-

42 Fisković 1995, 20, 23; 2001, 408, bilj. 33; Tomasović 2011, 176–177, s uvidom u kompleksnost datiranja. Takve apside na tlu juga Italije nalaze se na dvokupolnim crkvama, neovisno je li polukrug uklopljen u masivno zide, kao kod Crkve S. Salvatore na Monte Sant' Angelo s područja Gargana iz druge polovine 8. stoljeća (Falla Castelfranchi 1982, 389, fig. 6–7), ili u izvana kvadratični nacrt apside, kao kod apulijske gradnje u Seppannibale iz 10. stoljeća (Belli D'Elia, Belli D'Elia 1987, 222–225, 281). Iskazanim osobitostima datiranje S. Salvatorea postavljeno je u odnosu na analogne teritorijalne pojave tadašnjeg langobardskog kraljevstva, datirane u kraj 7. stoljeća (Falla Castelfranchi 1982, 378), paralela je i Crkva S. Ilario a Porta Aurea kod Beneventa te ostali primjeri za koje vidi navedenu literaturu. Spomenute dvokupolne ranosrednjovjekovne crkve razmještene su uz granično područje sukobljenih političkih strana, Langobarda i Bizanta, odnosno njihovih jedinica uprave. Iskazano oblikovanje začelja crkve S. Salvatore kao rješenje, podrazumijeva se, poznato je i na brojnim drugim primjerima crkvenih gradnji na područjima duže vremena izloženim utjecajima Bizanta.

36 Popović 1973, 323–329, Figs 3–6.

37 Korañ 1987, 26, Fig. 2.

38 Popović 1973, 329.

39 The triconchal churches at Caričin Grad and of the Holy Madonna at Kuršumlija, referred to by M. Popović, have a trapezoid exterior only for the main apse (Бошковић, Вуловић 1956–1957, 173, Fig. 1; 175, Fig. 4).

40 Korañ 1987, 29, Fig. 4/1; Ковачевић 1967, 377.

41 From the scattered funerary memoriae as segments of the cemetery complex of the 4th century at Salona (Dyggve 1996, IV, 14–15), to single-naved ecclesiastical buildings of the 6th century on the central Dalmatian coast and nearby hinterland (Docci near Ljubuški, and Mokro, both with encapsulated apses) (cf. Cambi 1985, 39, Fig. 7; 40, Fig. 8). Of particular interest is the 6th-century church of St Barbara on the islet of Sutvara in the Pelješac channel, interpreted as a “variant of a polygonal-hexagonal apse, which in a clearer form is typical of Byzantine architecture of the 6th–8th centuries, particular in Asia Minor” (Fisković 1963–1965, 146, Fig. 2), with a series of analogies on the eastern Adriatic coast. It is useless to consider the routes of the development that led to variants of the plan with a projecting apse from the inscribed ones, as this is essentially an equivalent phenomenon with a source within the eastern-Hellenistic circle.

O njenoj općoj raširenosti, kojoj ishodište na kasnoantičkom Istoku nije upitno, podsjetilo se i u gornjim redovima. Neće se pogriješiti ako se konstatira kako dvije istočnojadranske crkve u ranom srednjem vijeku kreativnije razrađuju umjetnički izraz Bizanta, neovisno promatra li se u okviru svježijih poticaja. Sv. Tripun u Kotoru i sv. Toma u susjednom Prčanju vjerojatnije i ne očituju toliko izravne posljedice, a pogotovo ne importirana rješenja iz većih bizantskih središta. Nastali su barem jednim dijelom u okviru kontinuiteta rješenja kasnoantičkoga graditeljstva u Dalmaciji, u kojem je bizantska morfologija očito bila dominantna. Trikonhalna crkva u Gatima iz 6. stoljeća, kojoj je istaknuta sličnost s kasnijim prčanskim sv. Tomom, najjasnije ukazuje o kakvim je pozivanjima riječ. Od takvih najranijih doticaja bizantskih kulturnih sadržaja u njegovoj višestoljetnoj prisutnosti na Jadranu, a svakako dijelom i impulsa u Carstvu 7. – 9. stoljeća, obilježenih prelamanjima u razradama prethodnih kasnoantičkih ostvarenja, i potječu idejni poticaji za pojavu kotorskog sv. Tripuna.

ezoid (Pl. 2: 7). This was created in the period of Late Antiquity, and its distinct Byzantine morphology was retained even during the pre-Romanesque remodelling of the church.⁴²

The central plan of the church of St Tryphon in Kotor, as well as of St Thomas in Prčanj, is exceptional in its early appearance at the beginning of the 9th century in comparison with similar, contemporary Byzantine architectural plans that evolved in the pre-Macedonian period. The circumstances that the Bay of Kotor churches, at least in terms of St Tryphon's, were built just before the re-consolidation of Byzantine power in 809 would not particularly contradict the promotion of ideas from the East, as this was an area of Dalmatia that had already been turned towards Byzantium for centuries. Nonetheless, the consideration of such contemporary contacts should also imply the importance of the general architectural scheme with a certain 'archaism' to the type of architecture, particularly since it is a memorial structure intended by Andreaci, a citizen of Kotor, for the preservation and veneration of the relics of St Tryphon. Its general prevalence, whose origin in the East in Late Antiquity is unquestionable, has been referred to in the above lines. It would not be wrong to conclude that the two eastern-Adriatic churches in the early Middle Ages creatively elaborated the artistic expression of Byzantium, whether or not it is considered in the framework of more recent influences. St Tryphon's in Kotor and St Thomas's in neighbouring Prčanj probably do not manifest such direct consequences, and especially not imported solutions, from major Byzantine centres. They were created, at least in part, within the framework of continuity in the designs of Late Antique architecture in Dalmatia, in which Byzantine morphology was evidently dominant. The triconchal church in Gata of the 6th century, with an emphasized similarity to the later church of St Thomas in Prčanj, most clearly indicates what kind of influences these were. From such earliest contacts of cultural content during the centuries-long presence of Byzantium in the Adriatic, and certainly during impulses in the Empire in the 7th–9th centuries marked by refraction in the elaboration of the previous achievements of Late Antiquity, came the conceptual stimuli for the appearance of the church of St Tryphon in the Bay of Kotor.

Translated by Barbara Smith-Demo

42 Fisković 1995, 20, 23; 2001, 408, n. 33; Tomasović 2011, 176–177, with an overview of the complexity of the dating. Such apses in the south of Italy are located in double-cupola churches, whether or not the semicircular apse is incorporated into the massive walls, such as at the church of S. Salvatore at Monte Sant'Angelo, in the Gargano region, of the second half of the 8th century (Falla Castelfranchi 1982, 389, Fig. 6–7), or in the exterior square plan of the apse, as in the Apulian structure in Seppannibale of the 10th century (Belli D'Elia, Belli D'Elia 1987, 222–225, 281). The noted peculiarities of dating S. Salvatore were based in relation to analogous territorial appearances in the then Lombard Kingdom, dated to the end of the 7th century (Falla Castelfranchi 1982, 378), a parallel is the church of Sant'Ilario a Port'Aurea near Benevento, and other examples, listed in the literature cited. The two-cupola early-medieval churches mentioned are located along the border area of the conflicting political sides, the Lombards and Byzantium, or rather their administrative units. The noted design of the rear part of the church of S. Salvatore as a plan is also known from numerous other examples of church structures in regions exposed to Byzantine influence for a lengthy period.

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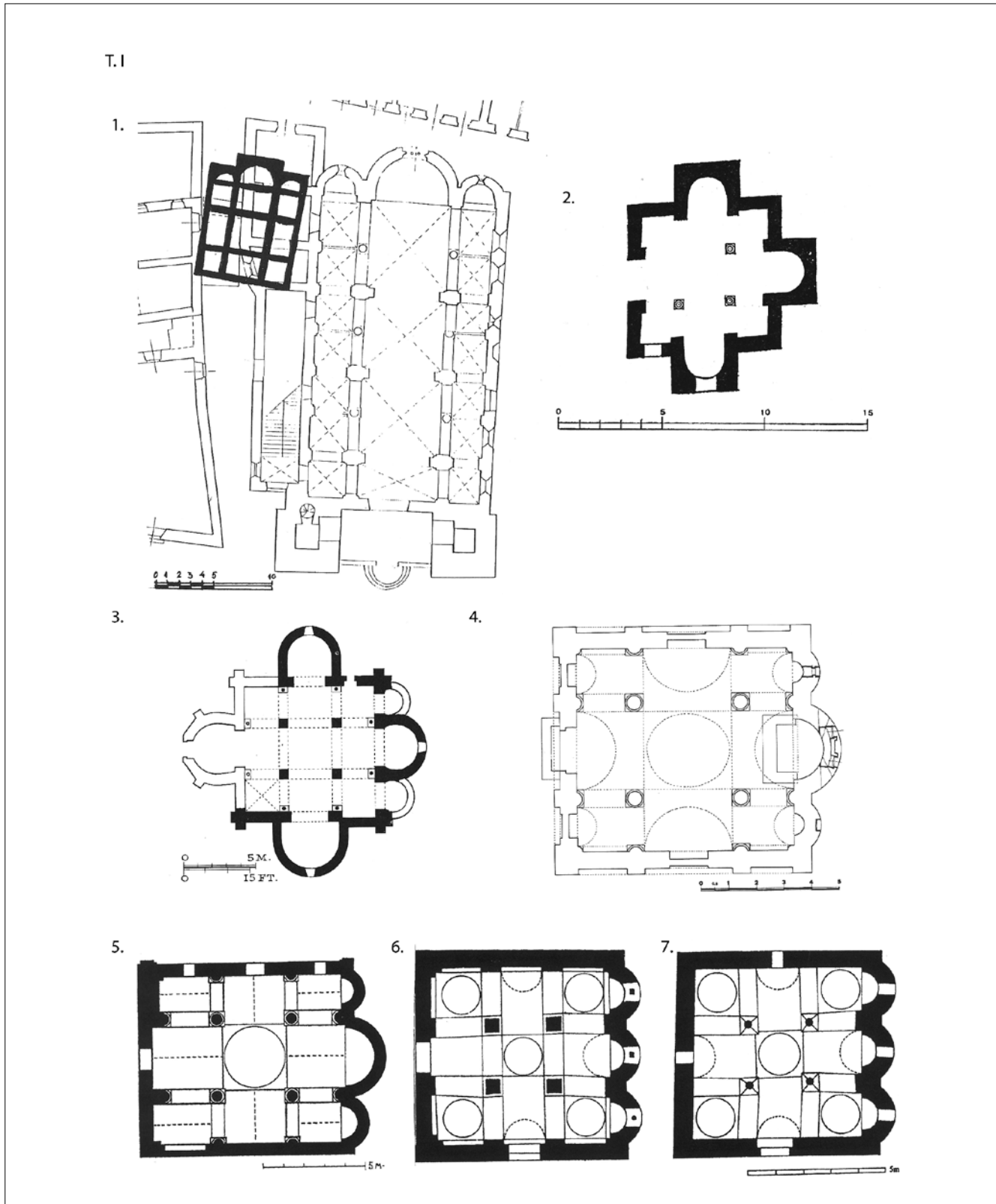


TABLA 1.

Osnove ranosrednjovjekovnih, romaničkih i bizantskih centralnih crkava upisanog križa:

1. Sv. Tripun u Kotoru (Martinović 1990, 7);
2. Sv. Toma u Prčanju (Kopač 1987, 26);
3. Oratorij u Germigny-des-Prés (Conant 1979, 51);
4. S. Pietro u Otrantu (Mongiello 1988, 58);
5. S. Andrea u Traniju (Bertaux 1904, 379);
6. S. Marco u Rossanu (Garzya Romano 1988, 190);
7. La Cattolica u Stilo (Garzya Romano 1988, 182).

PLATE 1.

Plans of early-medieval, Romanesque and Byzantine central-plan cross-in-square churches:

1. St Tryphon's in Kotor (Martinović 1990, 7);
2. St Thomas's in Prčanj (Kopač 1987, 26);
3. The oratory at Germigny-des-Prés (Conant 1979, 51);
4. St Peter's in Otranto (Mongiello 1988, 58);
5. St Andrew's in Trani (Bertaux 1904, 379);
6. St Mark's in Rossano (Garzya Romano 1988, 190);
7. La Cattolica in Stilo (Garzya Romano 1988, 182).

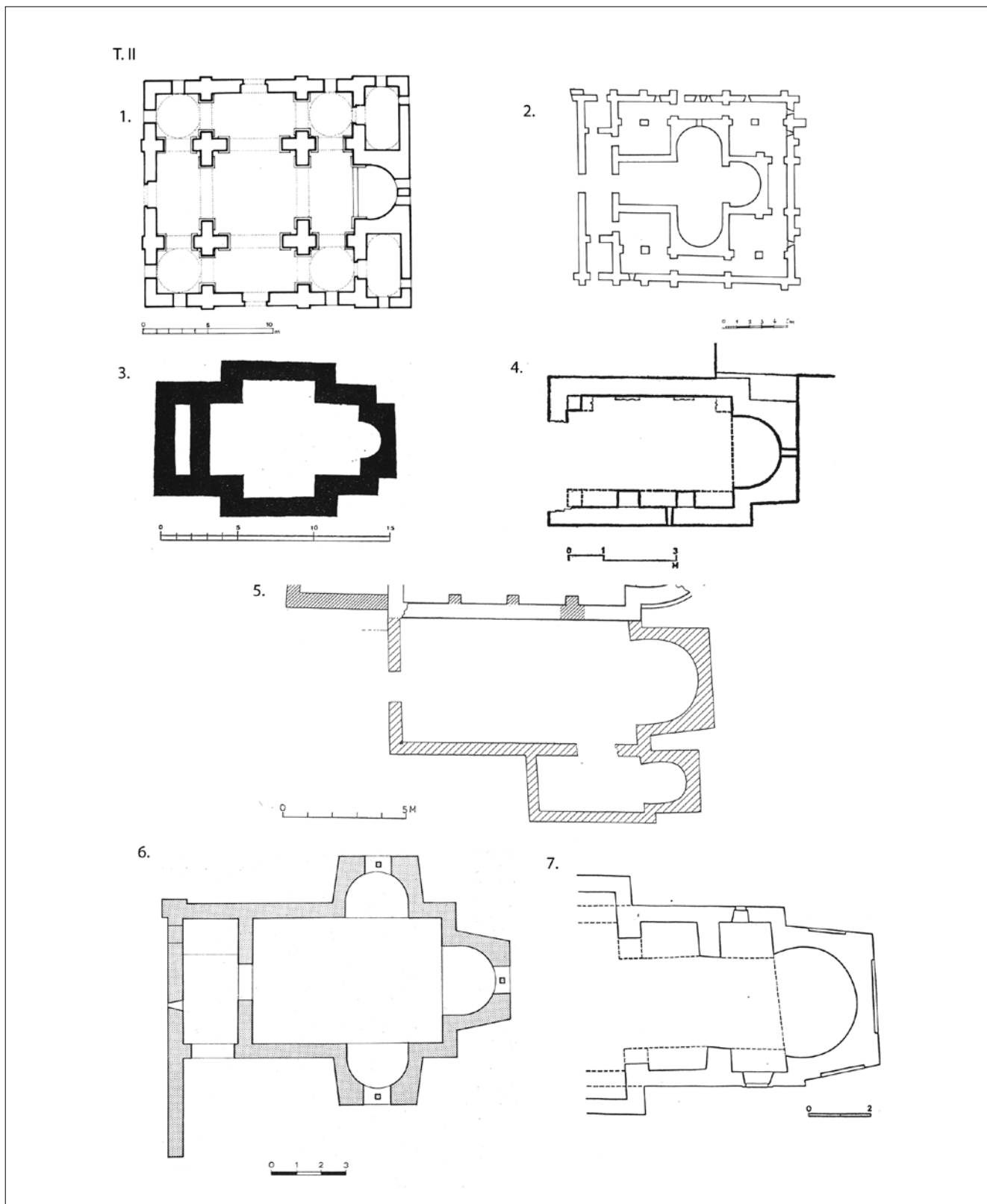


TABLA 2.

Osnove kasnoantičkih, centralnih i longitudinalnih te srednjovjekovnih crkava:

1. Palatinska kapela u Resafi (Mango 1989, 54);
2. Crkva u Gatima (Jeličić-Radonić 1994, 61);
3. Sv. Marija u Doclea (Kopač 1987, 26);
4. Gospina crkva na otoku Sušcu (Fisković 1985, 140);
5. Polače na Mljetu (Fisković 1988, 201);
6. Sv. Pavao u benediktinskom sklopu in Campo (Popović 1973, 324);
7. Sv. Martin u Čepikućama (Fisković 1995, 20).

PLATE 2.

Plans of central-plan and longitudinal Late Antiquity and medieval churches:

1. The palatine chapel in Resafa, Syria (Mango 1989, 54);
2. The church at Gata (Jeličić-Radonić 1994, 61);
3. St Mary's in Doclea (Kopač 1987, 26);
4. The church of Our Lady on the island of Sušac (Fisković 1985, 140);
5. Polače on the island of Mljet (Fisković 1988, 201);
6. St Paul's in the Benedictine complex 'in Campo' near Trebinje (Popović 1973, 324);
7. St Martin's in Čepikuće (Fisković 1995, 20).