

PREDROMANIKA U KAŠTELIMA – ODNOS ARHITEKTURE I SKULPTURE

THE PRE-ROMANESQUE IN KAŠTELA – THE RELATIONSHIP OF ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

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Autor raščlanjuje pitanje stilskog vrednovanja ranosrednjovjekovne sakralne arhitekture na prostoru Kaštela i njezin odnos prema istodobnoj skulpturi, mahom kamenom crkvenom namještaju, u kontekstu predromaničkoga stila od 9. do 11. stoljeća. Na temelju analize arhitektonskih oblika dokazuje da u Kaštelima postoje u tom razdoblju dvije skupine crkava. Jedna, koju tvore adaptirane starokršćanske građevine, i druga, kojoj pripadaju izvorno novi predromanički oblici. Prva je skupina zastupljena na vladarskim posjedima (Bijaći – Sv. Marta, Sv. Vital, Putalj – Sv. Juraj i Sv. Nikola od Raduna) i nastala je u 9. stoljeću u završnoj fazi kristijanizacije, a druga pripada još jednoj obnovi tih istih crkava (Sv. Marta, Sv. Nikola) i jedinoj izvorno predromaničkoj crkvi u Kaštelima (Sv. Juraj od Raduna), koju je dala podići poblize nepoznata rodovska zajednica, a koja je podignuta na samom kraju predromaničke epohe, anticipirajući i pojedine ranoromaničke elemente. Crkve na vladarskim posjedima su bez iznimke opremljene predromaničkim kamenim namještajem, za razliku od Sv. Jurja od Raduna, koja nema skulpture – bilo arhitektonske ili crkvenog namještaja u interijeru. Na osnovu iznesenih primjera, osvrće se i na društveni položaj i ulogu donatora tih crkava.

Ključne riječi:

Kaštela, predromanika, arhitektura, skulptura, Bijaći, Putalj, Radun

The author analyzes the stylistic evaluation of early medieval sacral architecture in the Kaštela area and its relationship to the contemporary sculpture, mostly stone ecclesiastic furnishings, in the context of the pre-Romanesque style from the 9th to the 11th centuries. On the basis of the analysis of the architectural forms, it is shown that two groups of churches existed in that period. One consisted of adapted Early Christian buildings and the other featured original new pre-Romanesque forms. The first group was represented at estates of rulers (Bijaći – Sv. Marta/St. Martha, Sv. Vital/St. Vitalis, Putalj – Sv. Juraj/St. George, and Sv. Nikola od Raduna /St. Nicholas of Radun) and was created in the 9th century in the final phase of Christianization, while the other was represented by yet another renovation of these same churches (St. Martha, St. Nicholas), along with the only originally pre-Romanesque church in Kaštela (St. George of Radun), which was erected by an unknown clan/family unit at the very end of the pre-Romanesque epoch, anticipating individual Early Romanesque elements. The churches on the rulers' estates were all without exception outfitted with pre-Romanesque stone furnishings, in contrast to St. George of Radun, which had no sculpture – either architectural or ecclesiastic furnishings in the interior. On the basis of the cited examples, reference is made to the social position and role of the donators of these churches.

Key words:

Kaštela, pre-Romanesque, architecture, sculpture, Bijaći, Putalj, Radun



KARTA 1. Raspored ranosrednjovjekovnih crkava u Kaštelima (izradio A. Šundov).
1. Sv. Vital; 2. Sv. Marta; 3. Sv. Nikola; 4. Sv. Juraj od Raduna; 5. Sv. Juraj od Putalja

MAP 1. The early medieval churches in Kaštela (made by A. Šundov).
1. St. Vitalis; 2. St. Martha; 3. St. Nicholas; 4. St. George of Radun; 5. St. George at Putalj

Kaštela obuhvaćaju glavninu prostora zapadnog dijela salonitanskog agera, a ujedno – zajedno sa Solinskim poljem – i središnji dio starohrvatske Kliške županije, na kojemu su bili i najvažniji veleposjedi hrvatskih vladara u ranom srednjem vijeku od 9. do 11. stoljeća.¹ Stoga, ne čudi da je većina crkava iz ranoga srednjeg vijeka na tom teritoriju vezana uz vladarske donacije. Na temelju pisanih i arheoloških izvora do sada znamo za pet sakralnih zdanja u Kaštelima koja su bila u funkciji u ranome srednjem vijeku. Te su crkve bile raspoređene od Divulja na zapadu do Kaštel Sućurca na istoku u okvirima triju vladarskih posjeda (Karta 1). Četiri od njih vezane su neposredno uz aktivnosti hrvatskih kneževa iz 9. stoljeća i djelatnost franačkih misionara, a jedna je zadužbina poblizje nepoznate rodovske zajednice u srednjovjekovnom Radunu. Dvije su crkve bile u sastavu vladarskog veleposjeda (*curtis*) Bijaći, a to su Sv. Marta i Sv. Vital. U okviru vladarskih posjeda (*territorium regale*) bila je i Crkva sv. Nikole u Radunu u Kaštel Starom i općepoznata Crkva sv. Jurja od Putalja u Kaštel Sućurcu. Na prostoru srednjovjekovnog Raduna je i Crkva sv. Jurja, jedna

Kaštela encompasses most of the area of the western part of the Salonitan ager, and also – together with the Solin plain – the central part of the Early Croatian Klis county/parish, the site of the most important estates of the Croatian rulers in the Early Middle Ages from the 9th to the 11th centuries.¹ Hence it is not strange that most of the churches from the Early Middle Ages in this territory were tied to donations from the rulers. On the basis of written and archaeological sources, five sacral structures are known in Kaštela that were in function in the early medieval period. These churches were arranged from Divulje in the west to Kaštel Sućurac in the east in the framework of three estates of the rulers (Map 1). Four of them were directly related to activities of the Croatian princes from the 9th century and the work of the Frankish missionaries, while one was an endowment of an unknown family clan in medieval Radun. Two churches were in the complex of the ruling estate (*curtis*) of Bijaći, i.e. St. Martha and St. Vitalis. The framework of estates of rulers (*territorium regale*) also encompassed the Church of St. Nicholas of Radun and

¹ Ovdje se donosi izbor najvažnijih monografija i sinteza u kojima je prikazan povijesni slijed zbivanja na tom prostoru u ranome srednjem vijeku, kao i u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj općenito. Popisi literature u tim knjigama sadrže glavninu već brojnih radova na tu temu pa se ovdje posebno ne navode. Osnovne bibliografske jedinice su: Omašić 2001, 21–25; Babić 1984/1991², 71–103; Klaić 1971, 191–208; Budak 1994; Goldstein 1995; Burić 2020, 112–140.

¹ A selection follows of the most important monographs and syntheses that cover the historical sequence of events in this area in the early medieval period, as well as in early medieval Croatia as a whole. The bibliographies in these books contain the majority of the already numerous works on this theme, so it is not necessary to cite them here. The fundamental bibliographic units are: Omašić 2001, 21–25; Babić 1984/1991, 71–103; Klaić 1971, 191–208; Budak 1994; Goldstein 1995; Burić 2020, 112–140.



SLIKA 1. Sv. Vital - Tarce – ulomak arhitrava s liturgijskim tekstom Sanctusa (snimio J. Dukić).

FIGURE 1. St. Vitalis - Tarce – fragment of an architrave with a liturgical Sanctus text (photo by J. Dukić).

od najbolje očuvanih predromaničkih crkava u Hrvatskoj općenito, i jedina koju nisu dali podići hrvatski vladari, već jedna od rodovskih zajednica u tom kraju. Taj je omjer sasvim razumljiv ako se uzme u obzir površina koju je zauzimao vladarski posjed pa je i rana datacija tih crkava u skladu s organiziranjem vladarskih imanja i usko je vezana uz završnu fazu pokrštavanja koja se odvijala paralelno s osnivanjem države, njezinih institucija i teritorijalno-političkih jedinica – županija.

Među vladarskim imanjima posebno se ističe veleposjed Bijaći, oblikovan na zapadnom kraju Kaštelanskog polja.² Nedavno sam se i sam opširnije pozabavio tom problematikom i pokazao da su na bijačkom veleposjedu bile dvije crkve u 9. stoljeću, obje opremljene predromaničkim kamenim namještajem.³ Jedna je Crkva sv. Marte na lokalitetu Stombrate, koja se oduvijek dovođila u usku vezu s bijačkom *curtis*, a druga je ona Sv. Vitala na predjelu Tarce u Divuljama, za koju sam u jednom prethodnome radu predočio sve raspoložive podatke na temelju kojih se može govoriti o mogućoj izvornoj starokršćanskoj fazi te sigurnoj predromaničkoj i kasnijoj srednjovjekovnoj. Pritom sam ukazao na važnost podatka iz darovnice ugarsko-hrvatskog kralja Andrije II. iz 1207., kojom splitskoj Crkvi daruje i „*totum territorium sancti Vitalis*“, i ukazao na zanemarenu činjenicu iz tog dokumenta da je Crkva sv. Vitala bila u sklopu bijačkoga veleposjeda.⁴ U tom je kontekstu posebice važan epigrafički segment na arhitravu iz Sv. Vitala (sl. 1), na kojemu je uklesan liturgijski tekst *Sanctusa*, ključnog elementa obredne prakse karolinškog vremena, kakav je pronađen i na trabeaciji iz Crkve sv. Marte na Stombratama na istom veleposjedu, a kojeg karolinški misionari uvode u hrvatsku kneževinu Trpimirovića.⁵ Iz iznesenoga je jasno da prva faza Sv.

the widely known Church of St George of Putalj in Kaštel Sućurac. The Church of St. George was also located in the area of medieval Radun, one of the best preserved pre-Romanesque churches in Croatia in general, and the only one that was not erected by Croatian rulers, but rather one of the prominent families in the area. This ratio is quite understandable if one takes into consideration the area that was occupied by the rulers' estates, and hence the early dating of these churches is aligned with the organization of the ruler's estates and is closely related to the final phase of baptism that took place parallel to the foundation of the state, its institutions, and its territorial and political units – the *županija*, more or less equal to counties.

Standing out particularly among the rulers' estates was the large estate of Bijaći, formed in the western part of the Kaštela plain.² Recently I dealt in a thorough manner with this theme and proved that there were two churches on the Bijaći estate in the 9th century, both outfitted with pre-Romanesque stone furnishings.³ One was the Church of St. Martha at the site called Stombrate, which had always been considered to be in close relation to the Bijaći *curtis*, while the other is St. Vitalis at the site called Tarce in Divulje, for which in a previous text I had presented all available data on the basis of which it is possible to speak about a possible original Early Christian phase, along with the certain pre-Romanesque and later medieval phases. The importance was then cited of the data from the grant-of-deed of the Hungarian-Croatian King Andrew II from 1207, who gifted to the church in Split “*totum territorium sancti Vitalis*” and the ignored fact from this document that the Church of St. Vitalis was a part of the complex of the Bijaći estate was pointed out.⁴ In this con-

2 Literatura o veleposjedu Bijaći sadrži veći broj radova. Ovdje se navode samo oni najznačajniji: Karaman 1930, 147–178; Omašić 2001, 113–120; Ančić 2004; Marasović 2004.

3 Burić 2020, 120–121, 127–128, 201–202. Cf. i Kazalo zemljopisnih naziva s. v. Bijaći, vladarski posjed (*curtis, predium*) u Kaštelima.

4 Burić 2010a, 246–253.

5 O tome cf. Delonga 1996, 308–310; Delonga 2000, 226–234.

2 The literature about the Bijaći estate consists of a large number of works. Only the most important are cited here: Karaman 1930, 147–178; Omašić 2001, 113–120; Ančić 2004; Marasović 2004.

3 Burić 2020, 120–121, 127–128, 201–202. Cf. The index of geographical names s. v. Bijaći, royal estate (*curtis, predium*) in Kaštela.

4 Burić 2010a, 246–253.

SLIKA 2. Sv. Marta – Stombrate – plan arhitektonskih ostataka (Jelovina 2004, 106, sl. 12).

FIGURE 2. St. Martha - Stombrate – plan of the architectural remains (Jelovina 2004, 106, Fig. 12).



Vitala nije utvrđena i da nije poznat arhitektonski tip crkve. Jedino je utvrđena njezina točna lokacija i potvrđena predromanička faza.

Crkva sv. Marte je, za razliku od Sv. Vitala, temeljito istražena i poznate su njezine faze i titulari od kasne antike do danas.⁶ Sakralni kompleks Sv. Marte imao je nekoliko faza u rasponu od kasne antike do ranoga novog vijeka (sl. 2).⁷ Nukleus je nastao tijekom 5. stoljeća, kao jednobrodno zdanje s oblom apsidom u okviru adaptacije ranijega profanoga antičkog objekta. Taj je objekt dodatno proširen u 6. stoljeću i do njega je podignuta oktogonala krstionica. Nakon starokršćanske, slijedi predromanička faza. Sve donedavno toj je fazi pripisivana trobrodna crkva s četvrtastom apsidom koja je preslojila starokršćansku crkvu s oblom apsidom. Pritom valja naglasiti da je obla apside iz starokršćanskog razdoblja otkrivena tek u istraživanjima iz druge polovice 20. stoljeća pa je i to doprinijelo takvoj interpretaciji koja je bila općeprihvaćena.⁸ Na temelju svih iznesenih mišljenja može se zaključiti da je Crkva sv. Marte obnovljena starokršćanska građevina, koja je i u kasnoj antici bila adaptirani objekt, tako da crkvu s pravokutnom apsidom možemo najvjerojatnije pripisati samom kraju ranoga srednjeg vijeka u 11. stoljeću i govoriti o njoj kao o arhitekturi protoromanike. Drugim riječima, u Bijaćima nije bila sagrađena nova crkva u 9. stoljeću koja bi bila izvorno predromaničko stilsko zdanje, već je u obnovljenu starokršćansku crkvu instaliran predromanički kameni namještaj.

text, the epigraphic segment is particularly important on the architrave from St. Vitalis (Fig. 1), where the liturgical text *Sanctus* was carved, that key element of the ritual practice from the Carolingian period, such as was also found on the trabeation from the Church of St. Martha at Stombrate on the same estate, which was introduced by Carolingian missionaries to the Croatian principedom of the Trpimirović dynasty.⁵ From the above it is clear that the first phase of St. Vitalis has not been established and the architectural type of the church remains unknown. All that is known is the exact location and its pre-Romanesque phase.

In contrast to the Church of St. Vitalis, the Church of St. Martha has been systematically investigated, and all its phases and titles from Late Antiquity to the present are known.⁶ The sacral complex of St. Martha had several phases ranging from Late Antiquity to the early Modern Period. The nucleus was created during the 5th century as a single-aisled building with a round apse in the framework of the adaptation of an earlier secular Roman structure (Fig. 2).⁷ This structure was additionally expanded during the 6th century and an octagonal baptistery was built next to it. After the Early Christian phase came the pre-Romanesque. Until just recently the three-aisled church with a square apse was attributed to the latter phase, which overlay the Early Christian church with the rounded apse. It should be emphasized that the rounded apse from the Early Christian period was discovered only in excavations in the second half of the 20th century, and

6 Gjurašin 2004; Jelovina 1987; Jelovina 2004.

7 Detaljnije o tim fazama u Uglešić 2012.

8 Karaman 1930, 152–155; Tab. II C8; Jurković 1987, 73–79; Jelovina 1987; Jelovina 2004, 98–101; Marasović 2011, 157–172.

5 On this, cf. Delonga 1996, 308–310; Delonga 2000, 226–234.

6 Gjurašin 2004; Jelovina 1987; Jelovina 2004.

7 More details on these phases in Uglešić 2012.

Sljedeća crkva, koja je bila u funkciji tijekom ranoga srednjeg vijeka na prostoru Kaštela, ona je čiji su ostatci otkriveni ispod današnje grobljanske Crkve sv. Nikole u Kaštel Starom. Ni tu ne možemo kazati ništa određeno o tipologiji sakralnoga objekta, niti preciznije odrediti pojedine faze, premda su na lokalitetu obavljena parcijalna zaštitna istraživanja.⁹ Današnja crkva iz 19. stoljeća te gusto raspoređene suvremene grobnice uokolo nje, znatno su devastirali ranije slojeve i arhitektonske ostatke, što uz mali opseg istražene površine ne pruža mogućnost jasnijega uvida u pojedine faze i tipologiju objekata. U istraženim je sondama potvrđen kronološki raspon od kasne antike do novoga vijeka. Pokretni kasnoantički nalazi, uglavnom keramika, ostavljaju otvorenim mogućnost postojanja još neutvrđenoga starokršćanskog zdanja. Prvi siguran trag sakralnoga objekta u nalazima je predromaničke skulpture, ali bez sigurnije definiranog tipa crkve. Tu fazu, na temelju stilske analize otkrivene skulpture, moguće je datirati u 9. stoljeće. Sljedeća bi bila faza s kraja 11. stoljeća koju nam dokumentira posvetni natpis uzidan u današnju crkvu. Na njemu se, uz crkvene titulare, spominje i donator Ljubimir tepčica, dvorski dostojanstvenik iz vremena kraljeva Zvonimira i Stjepana II. (sl. 3).¹⁰ Ljubimir je, po svemu sudeći, obnovio i preuredio predromaničku crkvu iz 9. stoljeća. Sljedeća sigurno potvrđena faza je iz 19. stoljeća, kada je 1860. sagrađena današnja crkva na mjestu ranije, vjerojatno Ljubimirove. Pronađeni ostatci zidova starije crkve dostatni su tek da se može govoriti o jednobrodnom objektu zidanom predromaničkom tehnikom lomljenaca s dosta žbuke, dok je apsida u potpunosti uništena, kao i pročelje.¹¹ Nalazi u grobovima istraženim oko crkve pokazuju da groblje nastaje u 12. stoljeću. Je li pokapanje vršeno u starohrvatskom razdoblju (9. – 11. stoljeće) možda će pokazati nova istraživanja, a ako ne bude starohrvatskih grobova, možemo po tom slijedu ukapanja komparirati groblje oko Sv. Nikole s onim oko Sv. Jurja od Putalja, gdje također nije utvrđena starohrvatska faza pokapanja, već samo kasnija od 12. do 16. stoljeća.¹²

Od sakralnih zdanja na vladarskim posjedima u Kaštelima preostaje još Crkva sv. Jurja od Putalja, jedan od najpoznatijih toposa hrvatskoga ranoga srednjeg vijeka. O njoj su napisani mnogobrojni redci u našoj arheološkoj i povijesnoj literaturi još od 19. stoljeća, a nakon višegodišnjih arheoloških i konzervatorskih radova na crkvi i lokalitetu Putalj krajem prošloga stoljeća, objavljena je i monografija o tim istraživanjima.¹³ Ona su pokazala da je putaljska crkva iz ranoga srednjeg vijeka također obnovljena i preuređena starokršćanski objekt (sl. 4) u koji je instaliran predromanički kameni namještaj. I opet imamo zdanje koje nije tipsko, arhitektonsko rješenje predromaničkog doba, već obnovljena i preuređena starokršćanska crkva, potvrđena i starokršćanskim kamenim namještajem.

this contributed to such an interpretation, which was widely accepted.⁸ On the basis of all the cited opinions, it can be concluded that the Church of St. Martha was a renovated Early Christian building that had been an adapted structure from the Late Roman period, so that the church with the square apse can most probably be attributed to the very end of the early medieval period in the 11th century, classifying it to the architecture of the proto-Romanesque. In other words, a new church was not constructed in Bijaći in the 9th century that would represent an original pre-Romanesque stylistic edifice, rather pre-Romanesque stone furnishings were installed into a renovated Early Christian church.

The next church that was in function during the early medieval period in the Kaštela area was represented by the remains discovered below the present-day graveyard Church of St. Nicholas in Kaštel Stari. Here as well, nothing can be noted about the typology of the sacral structure, nor can individual phases be more precisely determined, even though partial rescue excavation has been carried out at the site.⁹ The present-day church from the 19th century, and the densely arranged modern cemetery around it considerably damaged the earlier layers and architectural remains, which along with the small extent of the excavated area does not offer the possibility of a clearer insight into the individual phases and typology of the structure. A chronological span from Late Antiquity to the Modern Period was confirmed in the excavated trenches. The mobile finds from Late Antiquity, primarily pottery, leave open the possibility of the existence of an as yet undiscovered Early Christian edifice. The first certain trace of a sacral structure consists of finds of pre-Romanesque sculpture, but without a certainly defined type of church. This phase, on the basis of the stylistic analysis of the discovered sculpture can be dated to the 9th century. The following phase would be from the end of the 11th century, as is documented by the dedicatory inscription immured in the present-day church. On it, in addition to the church titularies, the donor is mentioned, Ljubimir, a Royal court administrator, active during the reigns of King Zvonimir and Stjepan II (Fig. 3).¹⁰ Ljubimir evidently renovated and redecored the pre-Romanesque church from the 9th century. The next certainly confirmed phase is from the 19th century, when the present-day church was built in 1860 on the site of an earlier one, probably that of Ljubimir. The discovered remains of the walls of the older church were sufficient merely to identify a single-aisled structure walled using the pre-Romanesque technique of irregular stones arranged with abundant mortar, while the apse was totally destroyed, as was the façade.¹¹ The finds in the graves excavated around the church show that the cemetery began to be used in the 12th century. Perhaps new excavations may show whether burials took place in the Early Croatian period (9th–11th cent.), and if not it may be possible to make a comparison of the cemetery around St. Nicholas with that around

9 O tim istraživanjima za sada postoje samo kraći izvještaji (Kamenjarin 2007; Šuta 2013) i jedan manji članak (Babin 2012).

10 Delonga 1996, 92–93.

11 Babin 2012, 108–110, sl. 1–7.

12 Burić 2001, 197–200.

13 Burić 1983; Burić 2001, 158–168, gdje je navedena i šira povijesna literatura vezana uz problematiku te crkve (bilj. 48, 49); Marasović 2011, 185–189.

8 Karaman 1930, 152–155; Pl. II C8; Jurković 1987, 73–79; Jelovina 1987; Jelovina 2004, 98–101; Marasović 2011, 157–172.

9 So far, about these investigations there are only brief reports (Kamenjarin 2007; Šuta 2013) and one small article (Babin 2012).

10 Delonga 1996, 92–93.

11 Babin 2012, 108–110, fig. 1–7.



SLIKA 3. Sv. Nikola u Radunu – donatorski natpis tepčice Ljubimira s konca 11. stoljeća (snimio T. Bartulović).

FIGURE 3. St. Nikola in Radun – the donor inscription of tepčice (royal administrator) Ljubimir from the end of the 11th century (photo T. Bartulović).

Na kraju niza ranosrednjovjekovnih crkava u Kaštelima stoji još Sv. Juraj od Raduna. To je jedina predromanička crkva u Kaštelima sagrađena u ranome srednjem vijeku na intaktnom terenu bez kontinuiteta, a koja je uz to i očuvana u svom izvornom obliku. Zidana je od klesanaca s obilnom upotrebom maltera, što je uobičajena građevna tehnika u predromanici i pripada jednobrodnom tipu s bačvastim svodom bez kupole i s pravokutnom apsidom, koji je raščlanjen plitkim nišama na vanjskim i unutrašnjim površinama zidnog plašta (sl. 5).¹⁴ Ona pripada jednom definiranom tipu crkve koji je zastupljen u srednjoj Dalmaciji s dva primjerka; ovim radunskim i Crkvom Gospe kraj mora na otoku Čiovo. Obje crkve razlikuju se tek u neznatnim detaljima. Svojim tipološko-morfološkim odlikama poslužile su Dyggveu za postavljanje teze o posebnom arhitektonskom tipu projektiranom po uzoru na starokršćanski Mauzolej sv. Anastazija na lokalitetu Marusinac, sjeverno od antičke *Salonae*.¹⁵ On je ukazao na izraziti kontinuitet iz kasnoantičkog razdoblja u rani srednji vijek, u kojemu su starokršćanski sakralni objekti u Saloni poslužili kao direktni predlošci za gradnju predromaničkih crkava u srednjoj Dalmaciji. Na važnost tog kontinuiteta u analizi ranosrednjovjekovnoga sakralnog graditeljstva ukazao je i Rapanić.¹⁶ Unatoč neospornom tipološkom kontinuitetu, činjenica je da je Sv. Juraj od Raduna jedina crkva iz ranoga srednjeg vijeka u Kaštelima koja je izvorno predromaničko zdanje, štoviše sagrađena je na samom kraju predromaničke epohe (11. stoljeće), na što upućuju i pojedini protoromanički elementi na njoj. Ovdje bih još ukazao na prostorni raspored opisanih dviju crkava koji nam sugerira da

St. George of Putalj, where no Early Croatian phase of burial was established, rather only a later one from the 12th to the 16th centuries.¹²

Of the sacral edifices on rulers' estates in Kaštela, the Church of St. George of Putalj remains, one of the most well-known topos of the Croatian early medieval period. Numerous texts have been written about it in Croatian archaeological and historical literature from the 19th century onwards, and after multiyear archaeological and conservation work on the church and the site of Putalj at the end of the last century, a monograph was published about these investigations.¹³ It showed that the Putalj church from the Early Middle Ages was also a renovated and redecored Early Christian structure (Fig. 4), into which pre-Romanesque stone furnishings were installed. Once again, this is a building that is not a typical architectural solution of the pre-Romanesque period, but rather a renovated and redesigned Early Christian church, as confirmed by Early Christian stone furnishings.

At the end of this line of early medieval churches in Kaštela stands St. George of Radun. This is the only pre-Romanesque church in Kaštela built in the early medieval period on an intact terrain without continuity, and that additionally has been preserved in its original form. It was built of carved stone blocks with abundant use of mortar, which is the usual construction technique in the pre-Romanesque, and belonged to the single-aisle type with a barrel vault without a cupola, and with a rectangular apse, which is divided by shallow niches or pilaster strips on the outer and inner surfaces of the walls (Fig. 5).¹⁴ It belongs to one defined type of church represented in central Dalmatia by two examples: this one from Radun and the Church of Our Lady by the Sea on the island of Čiovo. Both churches differ only in insignificant details. Their typological-morphological characteristics served Dyggve for advancing a thesis about a special architectural type projected according to the model of the Early Christian mausoleum of St. Anastasius at the site of Marusinac to the north of Roman *Salonae*.¹⁵ He pointed out the distinct continuity from the period of Late Antiquity to the early medieval period in which the Early Christian sacral structures in Salona served as direct models for the construction of pre-Romanesque churches in central Dalmatia. Rapanić also pointed out the importance of this continuity in an analysis of early medieval sacral architecture.¹⁶ Despite the undeniable typological continuity, the fact is that St. George of Radun is the only church from the early medieval period in Kaštela that is an original pre-Romanesque structure, moreover built at the very end of the pre-Romanesque epoch (11th cent.), as is also indicated by individual proto-Romanesque elements on it. It is necessary here to point out the spatial arrangement of the two described churches that suggests that both were located on the territory under the jurisdiction of the

14 Marasović 2011, 175–178; Burić 2010b, 6–13.

15 Dyggve 1989, 111–114; Tab. VI, 23–26.

16 Rapanić 1987, 167–169.

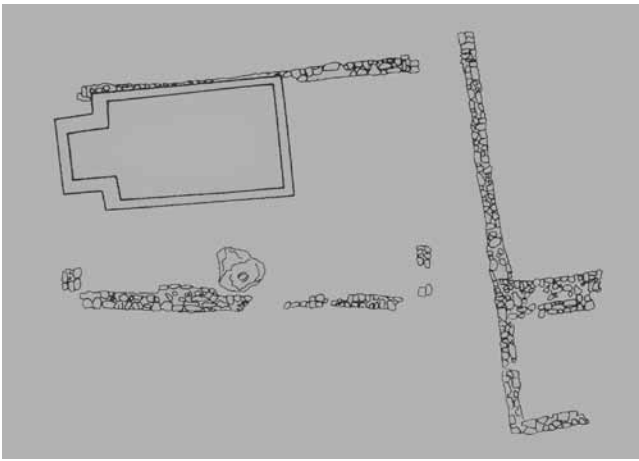
12 Burić 2001, 197–200.

13 Burić 1983; Burić 2001, 158–168, where more extensive historical literature is cited related to the theme of this church (n. 48, 49); Marasović 2011, 185–189.

14 Marasović 2011, 175–178; Burić 2010b, 6–13.

15 Dyggve 1989, 111–114; Pl. VI, 23–26.

16 Rapanić 1987, 167–169.



SLIKA 4. Sv. Juraj od Putalja – plan ranosrednjovjekovnih arhitektonskih ostataka iz 9. stoljeća (Burić 2001, 159).

FIGURE 4. St. George at Putalj – plan of the early medieval architectural remains from the 9th century (Burić 2001, 159).



SLIKA 5. Sv. Juraj od Raduna, predromanička crkva iz 11. stoljeća (snimio I. Šuta).

FIGURE 5. St. George of Radun, the pre-Romanesque church from the 11th century (photo by I. Šuta).

se obje nalaze na teritoriju pod jurisdikcijom trogirskog premeta premda je jedna na otoku Čiovu, teritoriju pod ingerencijom trogirске *civitas*, dakle, u sklopu bizantske teme Dalmacije, a druga u Kaštelima u središnjem dijelu Kliške županije i u hrvatskom kraljevstvu. I ta okolnost posredno ukazuje na pojačani utjecaj dalmatinskih biskupija na crkvene prilike u Hrvatskoj.

Sve su ostale crkve bile u funkciji još od 9. stoljeća i u njima je instaliran kameni namještaj ukrašen predromaničkim likovnim izrazom, ali ni za jednu od njih ne možemo kazati da su izvorno arhitektonsko rješenje predromanike. Istraživanja su to definitivno potvrdila u Stombratama za Sv. Martu i na Putalju za Sv. Jurja, a u Sv. Nikoli od Raduna i u Sv. Vitalu u Divuljama imamo predromaničku skulpturu i moguću starokršćansku fazu koju trebaju potvrditi buduća iskopavanja. Ukratko, rezimiravši sve prethodno, možemo kazati kako se crkve ranoga predromaničkog razdoblja 9. stoljeća na prostoru Kaštela odreda nalaze na posjedima hrvatskih kneževa i kako se, po svemu sudeći, u pravilu radi o obnovljenim i preuređenim starokršćanskim objektima. Klesarska vrsnoća predromaničke skulpture, kojom su te crkve bile opremljene, također ukazuje na donaciju iz vladarskoga kruga. I pojedini elementi namještaja, poput dijelova oltarnih antependija, koji su potvrđeni u Sv. Vitalu i u Sv. Jurju od Putalja, ukazuju na donatore iz vrhova ranofeudalnog društva u Hrvatskoj. Ne smije se zanemariti ni uloga franačkih misionara, čije je središte bilo u Bijaćima uz Crkvu sv. Marte, koji su svakako morali sudjelovati u opremanju tih crkava, kako u liturgijskom segmentu tako i u izboru predložaka za kompozicije i motive koji će biti isklesani na kamenom namještaju. Na važnost uloge misionara u pokrštavanju Hrvata te njihova odnosa prema starokršćanskoj arhitektonskoj baštini već je otprije ukazano u literaturi.¹⁷

Trogir prelate, even though one is on the island of Čiovo, a territory under the jurisdiction of the Trogir *civitas*, hence within the Byzantine *theme* of Dalmatia, while the other was in Kaštela in the central part of the county of Klis and within the Croatian kingdom. These circumstances also indicate the increased influence of the Dalmatian dioceses on the ecclesiastic conditions in Croatia.

All the other churches were in function from the 9th century and in them were installed stone furnishings decorated in the pre-Romanesque artistic style, but not a single one can be considered to represent an original architectural pre-Romanesque solution. Investigations definitely confirmed this at Stombrata for St. Martha and at Putalj for St. George, and at St. Nicholas of Radun and at St. Vitalis in Divulje there are pre-Romanesque sculptural elements and a possible Early Christian phase that needs to be confirmed by future excavations. In short, summarizing the above, it can be noted that the churches of the early pre-Romanesque period of the 9th century in the Kaštela area were all located on the estates of Croatian princes, and as a rule they were renovated and refurbished Early Christian structures. The masonry excellence of the pre-Romanesque sculptural elements with which these churches were outfitted would also indicate donations from the ruling circle. Individual elements of the furnishings, such as parts of the altar antependia, which were confirmed at St. Vitalis and at St. George of Putalj, also indicate donors from the highest ranks of early feudal society in Croatia. The role of the Frankish missionaries also cannot be ignored, whose center was at Bijaći by the Church of St. Martha, who certainly must have participated in the outfitting of these churches, both in the liturgical segment as well as the choice of models for the composition and motifs that would be carved on the stone furnishings. The importance of the role of the missionaries in the Christianization of the Croats and their attitude towards the Early Christian architectural heritage has already been discussed

17 Dyggve 1989, 113–114; Rapanić 1987, 167, koji akcentira primjer Sv. Marte.

Navedeni su autori ukazali na značaj liturgijskog momenta u obnovi i izgradnji ranosrednjovjekovnih crkava, što je tema kojoj će ubuduće trebati posvetiti veću pozornost. Ovdje bih samo ukazao na poticajnu Dyggveovu postavku o obnavljanju i podražavanju starokršćanskih oblika u kontekstu liturgijske prakse, koju su misionari latinskoga ritusa, poput franačkog prezbitera Gumpertusa u Bijaćima, suprotstavljali bizantskoj liturgiji, a što je usko vezano i uz arhitektonske tipove crkava. Naime, nameće se pitanje krije li se baš u tome ključ objašnjenja zbog čega su crkve na vladarskim posjedima u pravilu obnovljeni starokršćanski objekti – često i sami adaptacije profanih rimskih zdanja, a ne novopodignuti tipski oblici. Time dolazimo na kraju i na pitanje o ulozi donatora tih crkava i njihove materijalne moći, odnosno – u pojedinim primjerima iz Kaštela – možemo se zapitati koliku je ulogu u cjelokupnom procesu pokrštavanja igrala nužnost istodobnog podizanja većeg broja crkava.

Prema predočenim arheološkim i pisanim izvorima, razvidno je da su na vladarskim posjedima na prostoru Kaštela u relativno kratkom razdoblju tijekom 9. stoljeća privedene bogoslužju četiri crkve. Za dvije je (Sv. Marta i Sv. Juraj od Putalja) istraživanjima potvrđeno da se radi o obnovljenim starokršćanskim objektima, a lako je moguće da je isti slučaj i s druge dvije (Sv. Vital i Sv. Nikola), samo ga treba potvrditi iskopavanjima. Za razliku od arhitekture, sve su četiri crkve opremljene kvalitetnim predromaničkim namještajem različitih elemenata interijera (oltarna pregrada, ciboriji, antependiji oltara, arhitektonska skulptura) pa se o njima često piše kao o predromaničkim zdanjima premda one ne pripadaju korpusu predromaničke arhitekture u Hrvatskoj. Ta intenzivna izgradnja može se okvirno datirati pomoću stilsko-kronološke analize skulpture i pisanih izvora u vrijeme kneževanja Mislava i Trpimira na hrvatskom vladarskom tronu, dakle u drugu četvrtinu i sredinu 9. stoljeća. Nakon toga nije poznata neka nova crkva na ovome prostoru sve do 11. stoljeća, kada se gradi Sv. Juraj od Raduna, i to na intaktnom terenu kao grobljanska crkva, a unutar Sv. Marte podiže se nova crkva s četvrtastom apsidom, dok se određena obnova može sagledati i u slučaju Sv. Nikole u Radunu krajem 11. stoljeća, zahvaljujući donatorskom natpisu Ljubimira tepčice. Dakle, predromaničko vrijeme u Kaštelima obilježeno je intenzivnom izgradnjom i obnovom sakralnih objekata u 9., te ponovo u 11. stoljeću. Te dvije faze kaštelanske predromanike razlikuju se u jednom važnom faktoru. Crkve 9. stoljeća u pravilu su preadaptirani starokršćanski objekti na vladarskim imanjima i plod su vladarskih donacija. Kako su u tome sudjelovali i franački misionari, na ovom stupnju istraženosti nije moguće pružiti zadovoljavajući odgovor. Njihov utjecaj prije svega očitava se iz epigrafičkih spomenika na ciboriju iz bijačke krstionice i na posvetnim natpisima s trabeacija iz Sv. Marte i Sv. Vitala.¹⁸ Jesu li i koliko sudjelovali u materijalnom segmentu donacije ostaje do daljnjega u sferi hipoteza premda natpisi svećenika *Gumpertusa* u kompleksu Sv. Marte ukazuju na tu mogućnost.¹⁹

in the literature.¹⁷ The cited authors pointed out the significance of the liturgical moment in the renovation and construction of the early medieval churches, which is a subject that requires additional attention in the future. Here I would just point out the stimulating hypothesis of Dyggve about the renovation and imitation of Early Christian forms in the context of liturgical practice, with which the missionaries of the Latin rites, such as the Frankish presbyter *Gumpertus* at Bijaći, opposed the Byzantine liturgy, which was also closely related to the architectural types of churches. The question in fact arises as to whether this conceals the key to explaining the reason the churches on the rulers' estates as a rule were renovated Early Christian structures – often themselves also adaptations of profane Roman buildings, and not newly erected standardized forms. Finally, we come to the end and the question of the role of donors to these churches and their material power, or rather – in individual examples from Kaštela – we can ask how much of a role in the total process of Christianization was played by the necessity for a simultaneous construction of a large number of churches.

According to the presented archaeological and written sources, it is apparent that on the rulers' estates in the Kaštela region in a relatively brief period during the 9th century, four churches began active worship. For two (St. Martha and St. George of Putalj), investigations have confirmed that they were renovated Early Christian structures, and it is easily possible that the same is true of the other two (St. Vitalis and St. Nicholas), it just needs to be confirmed by excavations. In contrast to the architecture, all four churches are outfitted with high quality pre-Romanesque furnishings consisting of various internal elements (altar screens, ciboria, altar antependia, architectural sculpture), so that they are often written about as pre-Romanesque buildings, although they do not belong to the corpus of pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia. This intensive construction can be approximately dated thanks to a stylistic-chronological of the sculptural elements and written sources during the reigns of Princes Mislav and Trpimir on the Croatian throne, hence in the second quarter and middle of the 9th century. After that, no new church is known in the area under discussion all the way to the 11th century, when St. George of Radun was constructed, on intact terrain as a cemetery church, while inside the Church of St. Martha a new church was built with a square apse, and some kind of renovation can be seen in the case of St. Nicholas in Radun at the end of the 11th century, thanks to the donative inscription of Ljubimir the royal administrator (*tepčica*). Thus, the pre-Romanesque period in Kaštela was marked by intensive construction and renovation of sacral structures in the 9th century, and again in the 11th century. These two phases of the Kaštela pre-Romanesque differ in one important factor. The 9th century churches were as a rule pre-adapted Early Christian structures on royal estates and the result of royal donations. As Frankish missionaries also participated in this, at this stage of research it

18 Delonga 2004; Delonga 2012; Burić 2010a, 231–232, sl. 2, 241–245, sl. 10.

19 Delonga 1996, 44–47, 303, 307.

17 Dyggve 1989, 113–114; Rapanić 1987, 167, who accents the example of St. Martha.

Kako je to ujedno i vrijeme završne faze kristijanizacije hrvatsko-ga etnosa, možda i u toj činjenici leži dio odgovora na pitanje zašto nema novosagrađenih crkava predromaničkih stilskih odlika. Proces je pokrštavanja bio, ne samo vjerski nego i politički čin *par excellence*, a da bi se brzo i sveobuhvatno ostvarilo, trebalo je što prije sagraditi crkve iz kojih će se vršiti krstijanizacija. U tom kontekstu obnova i preuređenje postojećeg zdanja je daleko brži i jeftiniji zahvat negoli izgradnja potpuno nove crkve. Čini se da su te crkve iz 9. stoljeća zadovoljavale liturgijske potrebe i u 10. stoljeću. Ponovnu izgradnju novih i radikalno preuređenje postojećih sakralnih objekata u 11. stoljeću treba sagledavati u kontekstu promijenjenih društvenih, a posebice vjerskih odnosa u hrvatskom društvu i zapadnom dijelu kršćanske ekumene. To je općepoznato razdoblje reformnoga pokreta u zapadnoj Crkvi, oličenoga kroz ulogu pape Grgura VII. te nadbiskupa Lovre u Splitu i Ivana Orsinija u Trogiru, na teritoriju čijih dijeceza su i sagrađene kaštelanske crkve 11. stoljeća.²⁰

Ranosrednjovjekovne su crkve građene donacijama pripadnika vodećih slojeva feudalnog društva, bilo onih svjetovnih ili crkvenih.²¹ Tako su sagrađene i ranosrednjovjekovne crkve u Kaštelima, o čemu posebno svjedoče natpisi iz Sv. Marte u Bijaćima i donatorski natpis tepčice Ljubimira s Crkve sv. Nikole u Radunu.²² Nakon vladara i crkvenih dostojanstvenika u 9. stoljeću, krug donatora se u 11. stoljeću širi i na druge osobe iz gornjih slojeva feudalne društvene piramide. To je, s kaštelanskog prostora, jedan visoki kraljevski dužnosnik, tepčica Ljubimir te poblize nepoznata rodovska zajednica u Radunu koja je dala podići Crkvu sv. Jurja, dok nam donator obnovljene Crkve sv. Marte u 11. stoljeću za sada nije poznat. Sv. Juraj od Raduna rječiti je primjer gospodarskog uspona rodovskih ranosrednjovjekovnih struktura, koje će do punog izraza doći tek u razvijenom srednjem vijeku kroz 12. i 13. stoljeće, što je tema koja prerasta okvire ovoga kratkog priloga.

is not possible to offer a satisfactory answer. Their influence can primarily be perceived from the epigraphic monuments on the ciborium from the baptistery at Bijaći and on the dedicatory inscriptions from the trabeations from St. Martha and St. Vitalis.²⁸ Whether they participated and to what extent in the material segment of donating remains further in the realm of hypothesis, although the inscription of the priest *Gumpertus* in the complex of St. Martha does indicate this possibility.²⁹

As this was also the period of the final phase of Christianization of the Croatian ethnos, perhaps in this fact lies part of an answer as to why there are no newly built churches of the pre-Romanesque style. The process of Christianization was not merely a religious, but also a political act *par excellence*, and to achieve it quickly and comprehensively it was necessary to build churches as soon as possible from which the Christianization would be carried out. In that context, the renovation and refurbishing of an existing building would be far quicker and cheaper than constructing a new church. It seems that these churches from the 9th centuries also satisfied the liturgical requirements in the 10th century. The renewed building of new churches and radical renovation of existing sacral structures in the 11th century should be viewed in the context of changed social and particularly religious relations in Croatian society and the western part of Christian ecumenism. This was a well-known period of a reform movement in the Western Church, as embodied through the role of Pope Gregory VII, and the archbishops Lovro in Split and Ivan Orsini in Trogir, on the territory of whose dioceses the Kaštela churches of the 11th century were built.²⁰

Early medieval churches were built with donations by members of the highest strata of feudal society, whether secular or ecclesiastic.²¹ In this manner, the early medieval churches in Kaštela were constructed, as is particularly evidenced by the inscriptions from St. Martha in Bijaći and the donative inscription of *tepčica* (court administrator) Ljubimir from the church of St. Nicholas in Radun.²² After the rulers and church dignitaries in the 9th century, the circle of donors widened in the 11th century to other individuals from the upper strata of the feudal social pyramid. This consisted, in the Kaštela area, of a high royal official, and an unknown clan community in Radun that had the Church of St. George erected, while the donor of the renovated Church of St. Martha from the 11th century is not known at present. St. George of Radun is an eloquent example of the economic rise of the early medieval clan structures, which would come to full expression only in the High Middle Ages through the 12th and 13th centuries, which is a topic that goes well beyond the framework of this small contribution.

20 Za reformni pokret u Crkvi 11. st. cf. Jedin 1971, 393–451. Za odjeke grugorovske reforme u Hrvatskoj cf. Šanjek 1988, 132–142.

21 Delonga 1996, 295–308.

22 Delonga 2012, 40–41; Delonga 1996, 92–93.

18 Delonga 2004; Delonga 2012; Burić 2010a, 231–232, fig. 2, 241–245, fig. 10.

19 Delonga 1996, 44–47, 303, 307.

20 For the reform movement in the Church in the 11th century, cf. Jedin 1971, 393–451. For the effect of the Gregorian reforms in Croatia, cf. Šanjek 1988, 132–142.

21 Delonga 1996, 295–308.

22 Delonga 2012, 40–41; Delonga 1996, 92–93.

Zaključak

Inicijalna i intenzivna faza izgradnje i obnove crkava u Hrvatskoj u 9. stoljeću usko je vezana uz završne epizode pokrštavanja po osnutku kneževine. Ona je ujedno odraz i materijalnog jačanja ranosrednjovjekovnoga hrvatskog društva, potaknutog uključivanjem novostvorene države u franačku interesnu sferu i uspostavom feudalnih društvenih odnosa. Crkve 11. stoljeća također su materijalni odraz gospodarskoga rasta već zrelog feudalnog društva stasalog više na unutrašnjoj gospodarsko-socijalnoj evoluciji negoli poticajem vanjskih čimbenika.²³ Predočeni primjeri jasno oslikavaju glavne faze u izgradnji sakralnih objekata, ne samo u Kaštelima već i u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj općenito, gdje je broj novih ili obnovljenih crkava iz 10. stoljeća vidno manji od onih iz 9. ili 11. stoljeća. Ujedno, pokazuju da u Kaštelima, za razliku od drugih dijelova Hrvatske, nema izvorno novih crkvenih objekata predromaničkog stila sve do 11. stoljeća, već su isključivo zastupljene obnovljene starokršćanske crkve.

Ove retke posvećujem kolegi i prijatelju Željku Demi s kojim me vežu duga desetljeća druženja i suradnje još od studentskih dana početkom 70-ih godina prošlog stoljeća.

Conclusion

The initial and intensive phase of the construction and renovation of churches in Croatia in the 9th century is closely related to the final episode of Christianization after the founding of the principality. At the same time it is also a reflection of the material strengthening of early medieval Croatian society, encouraged by the inclusion of the newly created state in the Frankish sphere of interest and the establishment of feudal social relations. The churches of the 11th century are also a material reflection of the economic growth of the already mature feudal society, based more on an interior economic-social evolution than the stimulus of external factors.²³ The examples present clearly illustrate the main phases in the construction of sacral structures not merely in the Kaštela area, but also in early medieval Croatia in general, where the number of new or renovated churches from the 10th century is visibly less than in the 9th or 11th centuries. At the same time, this also shows that in Kaštela, in contrast to other parts of Croatia, there were no original new church structures of the pre-Romanesque style all the way up to the 11th century, rather only renovated Early Christian churches can be found.

I would like to dedicate these few lines to my colleague and friend Željko Demo, with whom I have shared lengthy decades of fellowship and cooperation from as long ago as our student days at the beginning of the 1970s.

23 Ta razdoblja gospodarskog uspona, koja korespondiraju s pojačanom izgradnjom sakralnih objekata, nazvana su u novijoj hrvatskoj historiografiji „razdobljima konjunktura“. Cf. Goldstein 1995, 139 *et pass.*, 187–194, 336–339.

23 This period of economic advances that corresponds to the increased construction of sacral buildings has been called the “period of conjuncture” in recent Croatian historiography. Cf. Goldstein 1995, 139 *et pass.*, 187–194, 336–339.

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