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Gospodarsko-stambene zgrade na benediktinskim posjedima u trogirskom i splitskom distriktu*

Autor u ovom radu obrađuje gospodarsko-stambene zgrade čije je postojanje u razvijenom srednjem vijeku potvrđeno na benediktinskim posjedima u distriktima Trogira i Splita, bilo u arheološkim ostatcima ili u pisanim izvorima. Za sada se mogu pobliže obraditi tri primjera, od kojih dva pripadaju benediktincima trogirskoga samostana sv. Ivana Krstitelja (Oriovica – Vinišća, 1272., srednjovjekovna Orihovica; Miri – Kaštel Novi, 13. – 14. st., srednjovjekovni Špiljan*), a treći benediktinkama samostana sv. Arnira (ex Sv. Benedikta) u Splitu (Sv. Kuzma i Damjan – Kaštel Gomilica, sredina 12. st., srednjovjekovne Kozice). Riječ je o većim zgradama zidanima od pravilno uslojenih klesanaca povezanih žbukom, koje su imale i kat. U prizemlju su vjerojatno bile prostorije za smještaj ljetine prije odvoženja u grad i za čuvanje alata, a na katu sobe i kuhinje koje su redovnici ili redovnice koristili tijekom sezonskih radova na imanjima. Za dva od tri ovdje analizirana objekta u pisanim izvorima koristi se izraz* ***domus*** *(Orihovica, Kozice). U sva tri slučaja te su zgrade podignute nad ostatcima kasnoantičke i antičke arhitekture, dijelom koristeći i starije ziđe pri izgradnji novih objekata. Također se ukazuje na vjerojatnost postojanja profanih zgrada na još dva posjeda trogirskih benediktinaca (Japlenica – Aranđel, Sv. Mihovil i otok Fumija, Sv. Eufemija).*

Ključne riječi: *benediktinci, distrikt Split, distrikt Trogir, gospodarsko-stambene zgrade, razvijeni srednji vijek.*

* Rad posvećujem preminuloj kolegici Vedrani Delonga s kojom sam ostvario dugu i plodnu stručnu i znanstvenu suradnju, a s kojom me ujedno veže i nezaboravno prijateljevanje, koje smo prenijeli i na naše obitelji. / *I dedicate this paper to my late colleague Vedrana Delonga, with whom I enjoyed a long and fruitful professional and scholarly collaboration, and with whom I also shared an unforgettable friendship that extended to our families.*

Economic and Residential Buildings on Benedictine Estates in the Districts of Trogir and Split

In this paper, the author examines economic and residential buildings whose existence in the High Middle Ages has been confirmed on Benedictine estates in the districts of Trogir and Split, either through archaeological remains or written sources. For the time being, three examples can be discussed in greater detail: two belonging to the Benedictines of the Trogir monastery of St. John the Baptist (Oriovica – Vinišća, 1272, medieval Orihovica; Miri – Kaštel Novi, 13th–14th century, medieval Špiljan), and the third to the Benedictine nuns of the monastery of St. Arnir (formerly St. Benedict) in Split (Sts. Cosmas and Damian – Kaštel Gomilica, mid-12th century, medieval Kozice). These were larger buildings constructed of regularly coursed dressed stone bonded with mortar, and they also had an upper floor. The ground floor probably contained rooms for storing crops before their transport to the city and for keeping tools, while the upper floor contained rooms and kitchens used by monks or nuns during seasonal work on the estates. For two of the three buildings analyzed here, written sources use the term ***domus*** *(Orihovica, Kozice). In all three cases, the buildings were erected over the remains of Late Antique and Antique architecture, partly incorporating older masonry into the new structures. The paper also points to the probable existence of secular buildings on two further estates of the Trogir Benedictines (Japlenica – Aranđel, St. Michael, and the island of Fumija, St. Euphemia).*

Keywords: *Benedictines, district of Split, district of Trogir, economic and residential buildings, High Middle Ages.*



Benediktinski posjedi u trogirskom i splitskom distriktu u srednjem vijeku na kojima su otkriveni i potvrđeni stambeno-gospodarski objekti.

Benedictine estates in the Trogir and Split districts during the Middle Ages, where residential and economic structures have been archaeologically documented.

Uvod

Pišući nedavno o romaničkoj sakralnoj arhitekturi u Kaštelima,[1] uočio sam mogućnost obrade istodobnih profanih zdanja u trogirskom i splitskom distriktu, koja su sagrađena na posjedima benediktinskih samostana tijekom 12. i 13. st. Taj novouočeni segment romaničkoga graditeljstva još je jednom potvrdio već poznatu činjenicu o gospodarskom usponu gradskih komuna tijekom razvijenoga srednjeg vijeka, usponu utemeljenom na razvoju robno-novčane privrede u epohi zrelog feudalizma.[2] Profana zdanja na srednjovjekovnim samostanskim posjedima na našoj obali i otocima nisu do danas pobudila veći interes istraživača, za razliku od crkava koje su redovnici i redovnice podizali na njima. Tek su u iskopavanjima oko crkve sv. Kuzme i Damjana u Kaštel Gomilici (1975. – 1978.), koja je proveo Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Splitu, i u iskopavanjima oko crkve Gospe od Zdravlja (*ex* Sv. Jurja) u Vinišćama u predjelu Oriovica (1996., 2000.) izašli na vidjelo arhitektonski ostatci samostanskih zgrada oko tih crkava, koje možemo s velikom dozom sigurnosti pripisati gos-

1 Burić 2023.

2 Burić 2004, Burić 2020, str. 102-103/bilj. 378. Za razvoj robnonovčane privrede u razvijenom srednjem vijeku u Italiji i Europi *cf.* Luzzatto 1960 (pogl. 4. – 8.); Le Goff 1974, str. 291-300; Lopez 1978, str. 182.

Introduction

While recently writing about Romanesque sacral architecture in Kaštela,[1] I noticed the possibility of examining contemporary secular buildings in the districts of Trogir and Split that were constructed on the estates of Benedictine monasteries during the 12th and 13th centuries. This newly observed segment of Romanesque building once again confirmed the already known fact of the economic rise of urban communes during the High Middle Ages, a rise based on the development of a commodity-money economy in the era of mature feudalism.[2] Secular buildings on medieval monastic estates along our coast and islands have not, until now, attracted much scholarly interest, unlike the churches that monks and nuns erected on them. Only during excavations around the church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian in Kaštel Gomilica (1975–1978), carried out by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Split, and around the church of Our Lady of Health (formerly St. George) in Vinišća in the Oriovica area (1996, 2000), did architectural re-

1 Burić 2023.

2 Burić 2004, Burić 2020, pp. 102-103/n. 378. On the development of the commodity-money economy in the High Middle Ages in Italy and Europe *cf.* Luzzatto 1960 (chs. 4. – 8.); Le Goff 1974, pp. 291-300.; Lopez 1978, p. 182.

podarsko-stambenoj namjeni. U ovom radu naglasak će biti na obradi ta dva primjera profanih zgrada na samostanskim posjedima, koje su podignute neposredno uz crkve na istim posjedima, uz osvrt na još neke moguće primjere takvih zgrada na drugim samostanskim imanjima, na koje upućuju arheološki i pisani izvori.

Analiza

Profana arhitektura, stambena i gospodarska, u ruralnim naseljima distrikata dalmatinskih gradova u srednjem vijeku u cijelosti je veoma slabo istražena. Arheološka istraživanja takvih objekata i naseobinskih položaja općenito su još uvijek u začetku i ne pružaju osnovu za sveobuhvatnije studije. Slična je situacija i na širem prostoru srednjovjekovne Hrvatske. Pionirski radovi koje je započeo Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika sustavnim iskopavanjima naseobinskih zona na Bribiru, sijelu hrvatskih dinasta Šubića, te rekognosciranjima naselja na otoku Braču, nisu, nažalost, nastavljeni u kontinuitetu.[3]

Pažnja je do sada uglavnom bila posvećivana sakralnim zdanjima i fortifikacijama, a tek je u posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća objavljen niz radova koji prikazuju rezultate arheoloških istraživanja i rekognosciranja kojima su obuhvaćeni i objekti profanoga graditeljstva, uz paralelno korištenje etnografskih analiza i pisanih izvora.[4] Osamljeni primjer upotrebe rezultata rekognosciranja u obradi seoske stambene i gospodarske arhitekture te prostorne artikulacije naselja predstavlja analiza tih elemenata u Vinišćama i Orihovici, srednjovjekovnim selima u trogirskom priobalju (sl. 1.), danas objedinjenima pod imenom Vinišća, te na otocima Drveniku i Ploči u trogirskom arhipelagu.[5]

Iskopavanja naseobinskih objekata za sada su još skromnija. Istražena je samo jedna stambeno-gospodarska suhozidna poluzemunica u srednjovjekovnom selu Babe na zapadnom rubu Kaštelanskog polja (sl. 2. – 3.).[6]

[3] Gunjača 1968,str. 239; Zekan 1987, str. 20-21; Burić 1987, str. 27-28; Vrsalović 1968, str. 106-115, sl. 35-39.

[4] Ovdje ću se ograničiti na prostor trogirskoga i splitskog distrikta u skladu s naslovom rada.

[5] Burić 2000, str. 431-439; Burić 2003a, str. 46-52; Burić 2003b, str. 502-508; Burić 2003c, str. 62-65; Burić 2008a, str. 108-164, 170-172, 175-176 (Karta III - IV).

[6] Burić 2012.

mains of monastic buildings around these churches come to light, which can with a high degree of certainty be attributed to an economic and residential function. This paper focuses on the analysis of these two examples of secular buildings on monastic estates, erected immediately beside churches on the same estates, with reference to several other possible examples of such buildings on other monastic holdings, as suggested by archaeological and written sources.

Analysis

Secular architecture, both residential and economic, in the rural settlements of the districts of Dalmatian cities in the Middle Ages remains very poorly researched overall. Archaeological investigations of such buildings and settlement sites in general are still in their infancy and do not provide a basis for more comprehensive studies. A similar situation exists across the wider territory of medieval Croatia. The pioneering work begun by the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments through systematic excavations of settlement zones at Bribir, the seat of the Croatian Šubić dynasty, and through surveys of settlements on the island of Brač, unfortunately did not continue without interruption.[3]

Until now, attention has mostly been devoted to sacral buildings and fortifications, while only in the last few decades has a series of works been published presenting the results of archaeological excavations and surveys that also included examples of secular architecture, together with the use of ethnographic analyses and written sources.[4] A rare example of using survey results in the study of rural residential and economic architecture and the spatial organization of settlements is the analysis of these elements in Vinišća and Orihovica, medieval villages on the Trogir coast (fig. 1), today united under the name Vinišća, as well as on the islands of Drvenik and Ploča in the Trogir archipelago.[5]

[3] Gunjača 1968,p. 239; Zekan 1987, pp. 20-21; Burić 1987, pp. 27-28; Vrsalović 1968, pp. 106-115., fig. 35-39.

[4] Here I shall limit the discussion to the territories of the Trogir and Split districts, in keeping with the title of the paper.

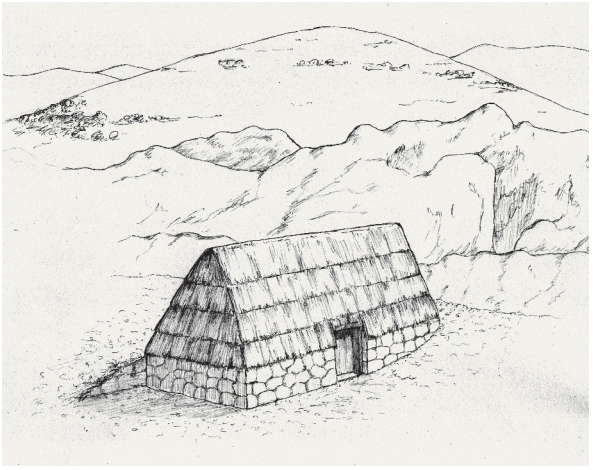
[5] Burić 2000, pp. 431-439; Burić 2003a, pp. 46-52; Burić 2003b, pp. 502-508; Burić 2003c, pp. 62-65 ; Burić 2008a, pp. 108-164, 170-172, 175-176 (map III - IV)



Sl. 1. - Primjer jednoćelijne, suhozidne stambene nastambe iz Orihovice (14. – 17. st.) – lokalitet Juranovića dvori (foto: T. Burić)
Fig. 1 - Example of a single-cell dry-stone dwelling from Orihovica (14th–17th c.), Juranovića dvori site (photo: T. Burić)



Sl. 2 - Ukopana poluzemunica (14. – 17. st.) iz srednjovjekovnog sela Babe (foto. T. Burić)
Fig. 2 - Sunken semi-dugout structure from the medieval village of Babe (14th–17th c.) (photo: T. Burić)



Sl. 3 - Idejna rekonstrukcija poluzemunice s Baba lokve (izradio M. Palčok)
Fig. 3 - Hypothetical reconstruction of the semi-dugout structure at Baba lokva (drawing: M. Palčok)

Excavations of settlement buildings have so far been even more modest. Only one residential-economic dry-stone semi-subterranean dwelling has been excavated, in the medieval village of Babe on the western edge of the Kaštela field (figs. 2–3).[6]

From the examples presented, it is evident that rural dwellings were generally single-storey dry-stone structures, mostly single-roomed and without windows, and that masonry buildings and those with an upper-floor construction were not—primarily from a material standpoint—available to the rural population. It is therefore unsurprising that examples of such buildings are extremely rare and could have been erected only by the upper strata of medieval society: feudal lords, church prelates and institutions, and the urban patriciate. In the districts of Trogir and Split, three such examples have so far been identified, all on estates of the Benedictine order. These are masonry stone houses on the estates of the Trogir monastery of St. John the Baptist in Oriovica in Vinišća and at Miri in Kaštel Novi, and the house of the Split Benedictine nuns in medieval Kozice in Kaštel Gomilica. A probable economic and residential building can also be inferred from the foundation remains of a building on the island of Aranđel beside the church of St. Michael and within the complex of the church of St. Euphemia on the islet of Fumija near Čiovo, also on the estates of the Trogir Benedictines (Map I, 1–5).

6 Burić, 2012.

Iz predočenih primjera razvidno je da su seoske nastambe u pravilu bile suhozidni prizemni objekti, uglavnom jednoćelijni i bez prozora, te da zidane zgrade i one s katnom konstrukcijom nisu bile – prvenstveno s materijalnog aspekta – dostupne seoskom stanovništvu. Stoga ne začuđuje da su primjeri takvih zdanja iznimno rijetki i da su ih mogli podizati samo viši slojevi srednjovjekovnoga društva: feudalci, crkveni prelati i ustanove, kao i gradski patricijat. S prostora distrikata Trogira i Splita do sada su prepoznata tri takva primjera, i to svi na posjedima benediktinskog reda. Riječ je o zidanim kamenim kućama na imanjima trogirskoga samostana sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Oriovici u Vinišćama i na Mirima u Kaštel Novom te o kući splitskih benediktinki u srednjovjekovnim Kozicama u Kaštel Gomilici. Vjerojatni gospodarsko-stambeni objekt naslućuje se i u temeljnim ostatcima zgrade na otoku Aranđelu do crkve sv. Mihovila te u sklopu kompleksa crkve sv. Eufemije na otočiću Fumiji kod Čiova, također na posjedima trogirskih benediktinaca (Karta I., 1. – 5.).

Posjede benediktinaca u našoj zemlji sažeto je opisao Ivan Ostojić, ugledni hrvatski povjesničar, koji je i sam bio pripadnik toga crkvenog reda. On je 60-ih godina 20. st. objavio monumentalnu trosvešćanu studiju *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj*, koja je do danas – unatoč novim saznanjima – ostala nenadmašena. U drugom svesku te sinteze osvrnuo se i na samostanske posjede na hrvatskim otocima i priobalju, istaknuvši da se oni veličinom i kompaktnošću ne mogu mjeriti s bogatim opatijama u zapadnoj Europi. Temelj gospodarske moći tih samostana bila je poljoprivreda, bazirana na uzgoju tradicionalnih sredozemnih kultura, vinove loze i masline.[7] U 9. i 10. poglavlju II. sveska pobliže se osvrnuo i na posjede koji su predmet interesa u ovom radu. Koristeći dokumente iz arhiva Nadbiskupskog sjemeništa u Splitu (fasc. XX A), pokazao je da je samostan sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Trogiru imao posjede na više mjesta u trogirskom distriktu: u Malom i Velom polju, Orihovici (danas Oriovica u Vinišćama), te po otocima trogirskoga arhipelaga: Čiovu, Drveniku, Aranđelu, Fumiji i nekim manjim otočićima. Na tim posjedima monasi su dali podići i nekoliko crkava, a uz pojedine od njih bile su cele i hospiciji u kojima je povremeno ili stalno boravio poneki monah. Svi trogirski benediktinski samostani (muški i ženski) imali su brojna stada ovaca i krupne stoke.[8]

[7] Ostojić 1964, str. 19, 21.

[8] Ostojić 1964, str. 268, 275-276.

The estates of the Benedictines in our country were concisely described by Ivan Ostojić, a distinguished Croatian historian who himself belonged to that religious order. In the 1960s he published the monumental three-volume study *The Benedictines in Croatia*, which, despite new findings, has remained unsurpassed to this day. In the second volume of that synthesis, he also discussed monastic estates on the Croatian islands and coast, emphasizing that in size and compactness they could not compare with the wealthy abbeys of Western Europe. The basis of the economic power of these monasteries was agriculture, founded on the cultivation of traditional Mediterranean crops, vines and olives.[7] In chapters 9 and 10 of volume II, he also examined more closely the estates that are the subject of this paper. Using documents from the archive of the Archiepiscopal Seminary in Split (fasc. XX A), he showed that the monastery of St. John the Baptist in Trogir held estates in several places in the Trogir district: in Malo and Velo Polje, Orihovica (today Oriovica in Vinišća), and on the islands of the Trogir archipelago: Čiovo, Drvenik, Aranđel, Fumija and several smaller islets. On these estates the monks had several churches built, and next to some of them were cells and hospices in which individual monks stayed either occasionally or permanently. All Trogir Benedictine monasteries, both male and female, owned numerous flocks of sheep and herds of large livestock.[8]

Ostojić devoted somewhat more attention to the estate in Orihovica and cites information from a document of 1272 that mentions the completion of the construction of the church of St. George and a **stone house** beside it.[9] Ostojić states that on the estate in Orihovica the Trogir Benedictines had their flocks of sheep, and that they stayed in the said **house** during sheep shearing and cheese making, not only during the harvest.[10] Evidence of the widespread practice of sheep breeding and cheese making in medieval Orihovica is preserved in the remains of a Late Medieval dry-stone house in the hamlet at the location Za Ljubiško selo/Pod Gruh, near the church of St. George on its northern side.

[7] Ostojić 1964, pp. 19, 21.

[8] Ostojić 1964, pp. 268, 275-276.

[9] Barada 1948, pp. 438-439.

[10] The wider area is still called Opatija today, preserving the memory of the former estate of the Trogir Abbey of St John.



Sl. 4 - Kalup za sirenje uklesan u živcu unutar suhozidne kuće zvane „Glavareva kuća“ (14. – 17. st.) na predjelu Ljubiško selo/Pod Gruh sjeverno od crkve sv. Jurja (foto: T. Burić)

Fig. 4 - Cheese mould carved into the bedrock inside the dry-stone house known as "Glavareva kuća" (14th–17th c.), in the area of Ljubiško selo/Pod Gruh, north of the church of St. George (photo: T. Burić)

Nešto više pažnje Ostojić je posvetio posjedu u Orihovici te donosi podatak iz dokumenta iz 1272. u kojemu se spominje dovršetak izgradnje crkve sv. Jurja i **kamene kuće** do nje.[9] Ostojić navodi da su na posjedu u Orihovici trogirski benediktinci imali svoja stada ovaca, pa su u navedenoj **kući** boravili i za vrijeme striženja ovaca i pravljenja sira, a ne samo tijekom žetve.[10] Dokaz o raširenosti ovčarstva i pravljenja sira u srednjovjekovnoj Orihovici očuvan je u ostatku jedne kasnosrednjovjekovne suhozidne kuće u zaseoku na položaju Za Ljubiško selo/Pod Gruh, u blizini crkve sv. Jurja sa sjeverne strane. Na zapadnom rubu tog zaseoka nalazi se spomenuta kuća pravokutnog tlocrta, čiji su zidovi očuvani do visine od oko 1 m. Mještani je zovu „Glavareva kuća“, a njezin istočni zid u sredini je položen na živac koji je dijelom očuvan i u unutraš-

On the western edge of that hamlet stands the mentioned rectangular house, whose walls are preserved to a height of about 1 m. The local inhabitants call it "Glavar's house," and its eastern wall is set in the middle upon bedrock that is partly preserved inside the building above floor level. In that bedrock inside the house, a round cheese-making mould with a groove for draining whey was carved, together with a round basin into which it collected (fig. 4).[11]

After the estate in Orihovica, Ostojić also very briefly referred to other estates of the monastery of St. John in the Trogir district, among which he identifies as certain the one on the islet of Fumija near Čiovo, with the church of St. Euphemia, and another on the island of Aranđel before the bay of Stari Trogir, with the church of St. Michael, beside which there was also an "**economic building**."[12] I myself have written on several occasions about the Benedictine complex on Aranđel after repeated field surveys of the island.[13] The church and the secular complex beside it were erected on the edge of a small fertile field at the site of Japlenica. The surveys did not identify a Late Antique layer, so it may be concluded that the entire complex was created under the organization of the monks of St. John from Trogir. The church itself can, by its appearance, be attributed to the early Romanesque period of the 12th century, and the secular building around the church should therefore be dated to the same period. For now, it can be said that beside the church there was also an economic and residential building, which will be possible to analyze in greater detail only after future archaeological investigations. If this probable assumption proves correct, this would be the only example of an economic and residential house on Benedictine estates that was originally medieval and was not built onto Roman-period or Late Antique walls.

9 Barada 1948, str. 438-439.

10 Širi predio se i danas naziva Opatija, čuvajući spomen na nekadašnji posjed trogirske opatije Sv. Ivana.

11 Burić 2020, pp. 167-168, fig. 56.

12 Ostojić 1964, p. 276. The church itself was still well preserved at the end of the 1970s, as were the remains of that agricultural building, as I personally observed while visiting the island. Today the entire site is overgrown with maquis, and the church walls have visibly collapsed, while the building beside the church is almost unrecogn

13 Burić 2008a, pp. 114-115; Burić 2020, pp. 101-102. There I analysed the relationship between that estate, with its church on the island, and the estates of the same monastery on the mainland at Vinišća.

njosti zdanja iznad razine poda. U tom živcu unutar kuće uklesan je okrugli kalup za sirenje sa žlijebom za otjecanje sirutke te okrugli bazen u koji se ona skupljala (sl. 4.).[11]

Nakon posjeda u Orihovici Ostojić se vrlo kratko osvrće i na druge posjede samostana sv. Ivana u trogirskom distriktu, od kojih kao sigurne navodi onaj na otočiću Fumiji kod Čiova s crkvom sv. Eufemije i drugi na otoku Aranđelu pred uvalom Stari Trogir s crkvom sv. Mihovila, uz koju je bila i „**gospodarska zgrada**".[12] O benediktinskom kompleksu na Aranđelu i sam sam pisao u više navrata nakon višekratnih rekognosciranja otoka.[13] Crkva i profani sklop do nje podignuti su na rubu jednoga manjeg plodnog polja na položaju Japlenica. Rekognosciranjima nije utvrđen kasnoantički sloj, pa se može zaključiti da je cijeli kompleks nastao u organizaciji monaha Sv. Ivana iz Trogira. Sama crkva može se izgledom pripisati ranoj romanici 12. st., pa u isto vrijeme treba datirati i profani objekt oko crkve. Za sada možemo kazati da je tu pored crkve bila i gospodarsko-stambena zgrada, koju će se moći detaljnije analizirati tek nakon nekih budućih arheoloških istraživanja. Ako se ta vjerojatna pretpostavka pokaže točnom, tu bismo imali jedini primjer gospodarsko-stambene kuće na benediktinskim posjedima koja je izvorno srednjovjekovna i ne nadograđuje se na rimskodobne ili kasnoantičke zidove.

Na otočiću Fumiji, smještenom uz jugozapadnu obalu otoka Čiova, i danas stoje dosta dobro očuvani ostatci crkve sv. Eufemije (sl. 5), po kojoj je Fumija i dobila ime. Ostojić taj lokalitet, koristeći dokumente iz arhiva Nadbiskupskog sjemeništa u Splitu, opisuje u nekoliko rečenica kao jedan od posjeda trogirskih benediktinaca, na kojemu su oni boravili u vrijeme korizme, kada im je riba bila glavno jelo.[14] Položaj je rekognoscirao Igor Fisko-

On the islet of Fumija, situated along the southwestern coast of the island of Čiovo, the fairly well-preserved remains of the church of St. Euphemia, from which Fumija takes its name, still stand today. Using documents from the archive of the Archiepiscopal Seminary in Split, Ostojić describes this site in a few sentences as one of the estates of the Trogir Benedictines, where they stayed during Lent, when fish was their main food.[14] The site was surveyed by Igor Fisković, who published the find of a fragment of an Early Christian pilaster and dated the remains of the church to the Early Christian period.[15] Ivo Babić also briefly referred to the site on Fumija, where, according to him, the "ruins of the Early Christian church of St. Euphemia" are visible.[16] Branka Migotti likewise argues for the Early Christian origin of the church on Fumija, noting—since archaeological investigations have not yet been carried out—that "the question of precise dating and interpretation of the finds remains open."[17] In the works cited, the church has been dated to the 5th century, and its attribution to the Early Christian period—alongside the find of the mentioned pilaster and Fisković's analysis of the church architecture—is based by other authors on the widespread practice of attributing churches with titulary saints from Late Antiquity to the Early Christian layer.

The most comprehensive account to date of St. Euphemia and Fumija was provided by Danka Radić. She too dates the church to the Early Christian period, relying on the opinions of Fisković, Migotti and Babić. She also provided a description of the movable finds, as well as the first plan of the entire architectural complex (fig. 5), on which, in addition to the church, a cistern and a smaller room are shown; she interprets the latter as a monastic cell (fig. 6), which is also in accordance with Ostojić's view.[18]

Regarding this cell, she puts forward the hypothesis that it is older than the church and served as accommodation for monks on the islet. This possible assumption should certainly be strengthened by systematic investigation of the site. According to the dimensions given by Radić for the presumed

[11] Burić 2020, str. 167-168, sl. 56.

[12] Ostojić 1964, p. 276. Crkva je krajem 70-tih godina još uvijek bila dobro očuvana kao i **gospodarske zgrade**, u što sam se osobno uvjerio pri obilasku otoka. Danas je cijeli lokalitet obrastao u makiju, a zidovi crkve su vidljivo urušeni, dok je zgrada do crkve gotovo neprepoznatljiva. Zidovi **gospodarske zgrade** na Aranđelu bili su vidljivi još 80-ih godina 20. st. (*cf*. Burić 2008a, sl. na str. 96/gore).

[13] Burić 2008a, str. 114-115; Burić 2020, str. 101-102. Tu sam analizirao odnos toga posjeda s crkvom na otoku prema posjedima istoga samostana na kopnu u Viniščama.

[14] Ostojić 1964, str. 272, 276.

[14] Ostojić 1964, pp. 272, 276.

[15] Fisković 1981, p. 108.

[16] Babić 1984, p. 59.

[17] Migotti 1990, pp. 10-11, 63, 67-68.

[18] Radić 2009, pp. 130-133, 136-140., p. 131, fig. 4.



Sl. 5 - Današnji izgled kompleksa crkve sv. Eufemije i pomoćnih objekata (foto: m. Katić)
Fig. 5 - Present-day view of the complex comprising the Church of St Euphemia and ancillary buildings (photo: M. Katić)

vić i objavio nalaz ulomka starokršćanskog pilastra, datiravši ostatke crkve u starokršćansko razdoblje.[15] I Ivo Babić usputno se osvrće na lokalitet na Fumiji, na kojemu su, prema njemu, vidljive „ruševine ranokršćanske crkve sv. Eufemije".[16] Također i Branka Migotti pledira za starokršćansko podrijetlo crkve na Fumiji, uz napomenu – budući da arheološka istraživanja još nisu provedena – da „pitanje precizne datacije i tumačenja nalaza ostaje otvorenim".[17] Crkva je u navedenim radovima datirana u 5. st., a njezinu atribuciju starokršćanskom razdoblju – uz nalaz spomenutog pilastra i Fiskovićevu analizu crkvene arhitekture – ostali autori baziraju na raširenoj pojavi atribucije crkava s titularima iz kasne antike u starokršćanski sloj.

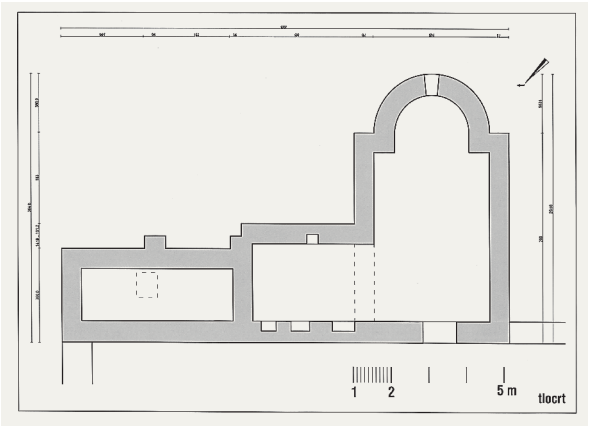
Do sada je najcjelovitiji prikaz Sv. Eufemije i Fumije dala Danka Radić. I ona datira crkvu u starokršćansko razdoblje, oslanjajući se na mišljenja Fiskovića, Migotti i Babića. Ujedno je donijela i opis pokretnih nalaza, kao i prvi plan cijeloga arhitektonskog sklopa (sl. 6.) na kojemu su, uz crkvu, prikazane i gusterna te jedna manja prostorija koju ona tumači kao monašku celu, što je u skladu i s Ostojićevim mišljenjem.[18]

cell, its area is only slightly larger than 9 m^2,[19] which is many times smaller than the Benedictine houses in Orihovica (about 70 m^2) and Kozice (about 33 m^2), which I analyze further below. This appears to correspond in every respect to the size of the islet of Fumija itself, as well as to the economic function of the estate.

I myself have referred to St. Euphemia on Fumija[20] on two occasions, accepting its general dating to the Early Christian period of Late Antiquity, but also pointing out the unreliability of dating solely on the basis of titulary saints. I also emphasized the need for systematic investigation of the site in order to establish more precisely the alterations and restorations carried out in the High and Late Middle Ages, which were added onto the Early Christian spatial concept. Recent surveys of Fumija, both on land and underwater, have confirmed a longer continuity extending from the last two centuries BC to the Early Modern period.[21]

Archaeological investigations have opened new possibilities for the treatment and analysis of economic and residential buildings on Benedictine estates in the Middle Ages. Thus, in Vinišća, beside

15 Fisković 1981, str. 108.
16 Babić 1984, str. 59.
17 Migotti 1990, str. 10-11, 63, 67-68.
18 Radić 2009, str. 130-133, 136-140., str. 131, sl. 4.
19 Radić 2009, p. 137.
20 Burić 2020, pp. 88, 198, 200, fig. 72.; Burić 2022b, pp. 225, 227.
21 Parica, Paraman 2024.



Sl. 6 - Fumija, plan kompleksa crkve, cele i gusterne (preuzeto iz Radić 2009, 131, sl. 4.)
Fig. 6 - Fumija: plan of the complex comprising the church, cell, and cistern (after Radić 2009, 131, fig. 4)

Za tu celu iznosi pretpostavku da je starija od crkve i da je služila za boravak redovnika na otočiću. Tu moguću pretpostavku svakako bi trebalo osnažiti sustavnim istraživanjem lokaliteta. Prema dimenzijama koje donosi Radić za pretpostavljenu celu, njezina je površina samo malo veća od 9 m^2,[19] što je u odnosu na benediktinske kuće u Orihovici (oko 70 m^2) i Kozicama (oko 33 m^2), koje analiziram u daljnjem tekstu, višestruko manje. To je po svemu sudeći u skladu s površinom samoga otočića Fumije, kao i gospodarskom namjenom posjeda.

I sam sam se u dva navrata osvrnuo na Sv. Eufemiju na Fumiji,[20] prihvativši njezinu okvirnu dataciju u starokršćansko razdoblje kasne antike, ali i ukazavši na nepouzdanost datiranja isključivo pomoću titulara. Također sam ukazao na potrebu sustavnog istraživanja lokaliteta kako bi se preciznije utvrdile preinake i obnove u razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku, koje su nadograđene na starokršćanski prostorni koncept. Recentna rekognosciranja Fumije (kopnena i podmorska) potvrdila su duži kontinuitet, koji seže od posljednja dva stoljeća prije Krista do ranoga novog vijeka.[21]

Nove mogućnosti u obradi i analizi gospodarskih i stambenih zgrada na benediktinskim posjedima u srednjem vijeku pružila su arheološka istraživanja. Tako su u Vinišćama, pored dobro očuvane romaničke crkve Gospe od Zdravlja (izvorno Sv. Jurja) u Oriovici (srednjovjekovno selo Orihovica), sačuvani i dijelom istraženi ostatci pravokutne

[19] Radić 2009, str. 137.

[20] Burić 2020, str. 88, 198, 200, sl. 72.; Burić 2022b, str. 225, 227.

[21] Parica, Paraman 2024.

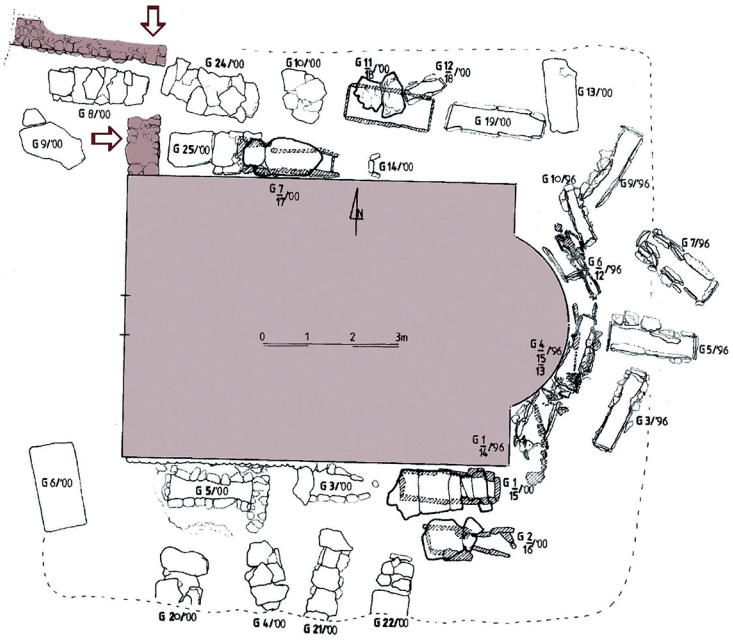
the well-preserved Romanesque church of Our Lady of Health, originally St. George, in Oriovica, the medieval village of Orihovica, the remains of a rectangular building have been preserved and partly investigated. A written source from 1272, which gives us the precise year of completion of the Romanesque church of St. George in Orihovica (…*ecclesiam sancti Georgii de Orecouiçça*…), also notes the construction of a stone house in the courtyard of the same church (…*in curtile ipsius ecclesie iuxta dictam ecclesiam sancti Georgii* ***unam domum lapideam*** …).[22] Here attention should be drawn to the expression "**stone house**" (***domus lapideus***), which indicates the exceptional character of such buildings in rural settings in the Middle Ages, and even later. This valuable information from the written source has been confirmed by archaeological excavations, since that "**stone house**" is not difficult to recognize in the structure discovered during archaeological investigations, which I personally directed under the organization of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments.[23]

That "**stone house**" in Orihovica (fig. 7) is a building constructed of elongated, regularly dressed stone blocks bonded with mortar, located at the northwestern corner of today's cemetery of St. Mark in Oriovica, and originally in the courtyard (*in curtile*) of the church of St. George, as attested by the document of 1272 quoted above. The northern wall of this building was preserved to a height of 1.5 m and was built onto the remains of an early Roman wall preserved in places to a height of about 1 m, extending for about 40 m in an east–west direction, parallel to the church (fig. 8).[24]

[22] Burić 2008a, pp. 115-117; Burić 2020, pp. 102-103, n. 378, fig. 21; pp. 181-183, n. 636-637, 639; Gamulin 2008, pp. 230, 232. – this paper discusses the church and the course of its conservation and restoration in detail; Barada 1948, pp. 438-439. The commune of Trogir contributed to the construction of the house and church in exchange for land in Trogir that the Benedictines ceded beside their monastery and on which the communal palace was built.

[23] The investigations were conducted in two campaigns: 1996 (5–21 June) and 2000 (8 April–3 May). For further details on the course of the excavations, see Burić 2003d, pp. 17-21; Burić 2008a, pp. 115-117; Burić 2020, pp. 181-182.

[24] That Early Roman wall forms part of a larger complex belonging to a Roman *villae rusticae* on which, during the Middle Ages, the Trogir Benedictines established the centre of their Orihovica estate and built the



Sl. 7 - Tlocrt otkrivenih temelja kuće (*domus*) u Oriovici kod crkve Gospe od zdravlja (preuzeto iz Burić 2020, 103, sl. 21.)

Fig. 7 - Ground plan of the uncovered foundations of a house (domus) in Orihovica, near the Church of Our Lady of Health (after Burić 2020, 103, fig. 21)



Sl. 8 - Zid ranorimske *villae rusticae*, na kojemu je nadograđen sjeverni zid benediktinske kuće (*domus*), nakon konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova koncem 90-ih godina prošlog stoljeća (foto: T. Burić).

Fig. 8 - Wall of an early Roman villa rustica onto which the northern wall of the Benedictine house (domus) was built, following conservation and restoration works carried out in the late 1990s (photo: T. Burić)

zgrade. Pisani izvor iz 1272., koji nam daje preciznu godinu dovršetka izgradnje romaničke crkve sv. Jurja u Orihovici (…*ecclesiam sancti Georgii de Orecouiçça*…), ujedno navodi i izgradnju jedne kamene kuće u dvorištu iste crkve (…*in curtile ipsius ecclesie iuxta dictam ecclesiam sancti Georgii* ***unam domum lapideam*** …).[22] Ovdje treba upozoriti na izričaj „**kamena kuća**“ (***domus lapideus***), koji ukazuje na iznimnost takvih zgrada u ruralnim ambijentima u srednjem vijeku, pa i kasnije. Ovaj vrijedan podatak pisanog vrela potvrđen je arheološkim iskopavanjima, jer tu „**kamenu kuću**“ nije teško prepoznati u objektu koji je otkriven tijekom arheoloških istraživanja, kojima sam osobno rukovodio, u organizaciji Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika.[23]

At the western end, the northern wall of the Benedictine “**stone house**” was built onto this wall; before the modern landscaping around the church and cemetery, traces of window sills were still visible on it, indicating that the house also had an upper floor. In the middle of the Roman wall, a more recent mortuary chapel was built onto its remains (removed during the landscaping of the cemetery area around the church), while in the eastern part the Roman wall was completely destroyed by the construction of modern concrete graves. The Roman wall described above, in addition to serving as the basis for the extension of the Benedictine house and later mortuary chapel, also functioned as the enclosure wall of the church courtyard formed in the 13th century; consequently, the Benedictine house was built on its southern side, within the church courtyard. Its approximate ground plan was determined by means of two parallel walls laid perpendicular to the Roman wall in a north–south direction. These

[22] Burić 2008a, str. 115-117; Burić 2020, str. 102-103, bilj. 378, sl. 21; str. 181-183, bilj. 636-637, 639; Gamulin 2008, str. 230, 232. – u ovom radu je detaljno obrađena crkva i tijek njene konzervacije i restauracije; Barada 1948, str. 438-439. Izgradnju kuće i crkve pripomogla je trogirska komuna u zamjenu za teren u Trogiru kojega su im benediktinci ustupili do svojega samostana, a na kojem je sagrađena komunalna plača.

[23] Istraživanja su provedena u dvije kampanje: 1996. (5. – 21. lipnja) i 2000. (8. travnja – 3. svibnja). Detaljnije

Church of St George and the house described here (*domus*). For the Roman rural villa in the precinct of the Romanesque Church of St George, cf. Burić 2003d, pp. 16-17; Burić 2008a, pp. 92-94.



Sl. 9 - Ostatci kuće (*domus*) u Oriovici kod crkve Gospe od zdravlja otkriveni u iskopavanjima 1996. (foto: Lj. Gudelj)

Fig. 9 - Remains of a house (domus) in Orihovica, near the Church of Our Lady of Health, uncovered during the 1996 excavations (photo: Lj. Gudelj)

Ta „**kamena kuća**" u Orihovici (sl. 7.) zdanje je zidano od izduženih pravilnih klesanaca povezanih mortom, smješteno na sjeverozapadnom uglu današnjega groblja sv. Marka u Oriovici, a izvorno u dvorištu (*in curtile*) crkve sv. Jurja, kako nam svjedoči i netom citirani dokument iz 1272. Sjeverni zid te zgrade bio je očuvan do visine od 1,5 m i dograđen je na ostatke ranorimskog zida očuvanog mjestimice do visine od oko 1 m, koji se pružao u dužini od oko 40 m pravcem istok – zapad, paralelno s crkvom (sl. 8.).[24]

Na zapadnom kraju na taj je zid dograđen sjeverni zid benediktinske „**kamene kuće**", na kojem su se prije suvremenog uređenja okoliša crkve i groblja još nazirali ostatci pragova prozora, koji ukazuju na to da je ta kuća imala i kat. Po sredini rimskoga zida

o tijeku iskopavanja u Burić 2003d, str. 17-21; Burić 2008a, str. 115-117; Burić 2020, str. 181-182.

[24] Taj ranorimski zid dio je šireg sklopa rimske *villae rusticae* na kojemu su u srednjem vijeku trogirski benediktinci organizirali sjedište svojega veleposjeda Orihovice i tu sagradili crkvu sv. Jurja i ovdje opisanu kuću (*domus*). Za rimsku rustičnu vilu u arealu romaničke crkve sv. Jurja cf. Burić 2003d, str. 16-17; Burić 2008a, str. 92-94.



Sl. 10 - Temelj kuće (*domus*) u Kaštel Gomilici sjeverno od Sv. Kuzme i Damjana (foto: D. Brajnov Botić)

Fig. 10 - Foundations of a house (domus) in Kaštel Gomilica, north of the Church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian (photo: D. Brajnov Botić)

were discovered during excavation in trench 2 (S-2), in the very foundation footings, 55–60 cm wide, partly laid directly on bedrock. The stone blocks of these foundations were bonded with a thicker layer of white mortar, and the foundations were dug into a layer of light-brown earth containing stones and fragments of tegulae. The western foundation forms a right angle with the western end of the Roman wall (fig. 9), while the eastern one was found immediately beside the mortuary chapel. Owing to limited funds, it was not possible to investigate this Benedictine ***domus*** completely, but it can nevertheless be said that it was a structure measuring 14 x 5 m, with an approximate area of 70 m^2.[25]

The second example of such a building stood immediately beside the church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian in Kaštel Gomilica, the medieval village of Kozice,[26] parallel to the church. Its southern wall (fig. 10) was uncovered in excavations carried out during conservation works on the church by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Split from 1975 to 1978.[27]

The works were led on behalf of the Institute by Duško Marasović, Franko Oreb and Mario Sumić.

[25] Burić 2003d, pp. 19-21; Burić 2008a, pp. 115-117; Burić 2020, pp. 181-183.

[26] For Kozice, *cf*. Omašić 1978, pp. 48-50; Omašić 2001, pp. 51-55.

[27] In 1997, that Institute and the Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Split were merged into the Conservation Department of the Ministry of Culture in Split.

na njegov ostatak dozidana je mrtvačnica novijega datuma (uklonjena tijekom uređenja grobljanskog areala oko crkve), a na istočnom dijelu rimski je zid u potpunosti uništen izgradnjom suvremenih betonskih grobnica. Opisani rimski zid, osim što je poslužio za dogradnju benediktinske kuće i kasnije mrtvačnice, ujedno je bio i ogradni zid crkvenoga dvorišta oblikovanog u 13. st., pa je i kuća benediktinaca bila sazidana s njegove južne strane, unutar crkvenoga dvorišta. Njezin približan tlocrt određen je pomoću dvaju paralelnih zidova položenih okomito na rimski zid pravcem sjever – jug. Oni su, u samim temeljnim stopama širokim 55 – 60 cm, dijelom položenima izravno na živac, otkriveni tijekom iskopavanja u sondi 2 (S-2). Kameni blokovi tih temelja zidani su s debljim slojem bijele žbuke, a temelji su ukopani u sloj svijetlosmeđe zemlje u kojemu je bilo kamenja i ulomaka tegula. Zapadni temelj zatvara pravi kut sa zapadnim krajem rimskoga zida (sl. 9.), a istočni je pronađen tik do mrtvačnice. Zbog ograničenih sredstava taj benediktinski ***domus*** nije bilo moguće istražiti do kraja, ali se ipak može kazati da je riječ o objektu dimenzija 14 x 5 m, približne površine 70 m^2.[25]

Drugi primjer takve zgrade bio je neposredno uz crkvu sv. Kuzme i Damjana u Kaštel Gomilici (srednjovjekovno selo Kozice)[26], i to paralelno s crkvom. Njezin južni zid (sl. 10.) otkriven je u iskopavanjima tijekom konzervatorskih radova na crkvi koje je provodio Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Splitu od 1975. do 1978.[27]

Radove su u ime Zavoda vodili Duško Marasović, Franko Oreb i Mario Sumić. Potom su Marasović i Sumić objavili vrlo kratak izvještaj o njima,[28] a nedugo zatim Marasović i Oreb sa suradnicima još su jednom donijeli sažeti prikaz tih istraživanja.[29] U tim skicoznim prikazima definirane su glavne razvojne faze kompleksa i donesen tlocrt, iz kojega je razvidno da je objekt sjeverno od romaničke crkve položen paralelno s njom smjerom istok – zapad i da ima neznatno veće dimenzije, približno 7 x 4,70 m (sl. 11.).

Marasović and Sumić later published a very brief report on them,[28] and soon afterwards Marasović and Oreb, with collaborators, once again provided a concise account of these investigations.[29] In these sketch-like accounts, the main developmental phases of the complex were defined and a ground plan was published, from which it is clear that the building north of the Romanesque church was laid parallel to it in an east–west direction and that it had slightly larger dimensions, approximately 7 x 4.70 m (fig. 11).

It was therefore half the size of the one in Oriovica. Since the results of these investigations have still not been published in monographic form, and since the authors do not comment in the published texts on this building and its function, we must rely on the old text by Ljubo Karaman from 1930, published in his well-known synthesis of early medieval art and archaeology, *From the Cradle of the Croatian Past*.[30] Karaman analyzed the church there in detail, also presenting written sources relevant to its construction, as well as to the house beside the church.[31] The church was commissioned by the Benedictine nuns of the monastery of St. Benedict, later St. Arnir, in Split on their estate, which King Zvonimir had granted them in 1078, and it was built in the mid-12th century during the episcopate of the Split archbishop Gaudius (1138–1158). The consecration of the church itself was performed by Archbishop Absalon in 1160. Karaman cites information from the *Chronicon Pontificale Salonitanum et Spalatense*, published by Farlati. It states: "*Hic archiepiscopus* (i.e. Gaudius, 1138–58) *concessit monialibus S. Benedicti construere ecclesiam SS. Cosmae et Damiani* ***cum domo*** *ad dilatandum Monasterium in qua ipse Moniales tempore messis ac vindemiae pie habitarent;* …". Thus, the Benedictine nuns had a house (***domus***) built beside the church, in which they would stay during the harvest and grape harvest. From the archive of the Archdiocese of Split, Farlati provided another piece of information about the same building, quoted by Karaman: *Ante depositionem concesserat Monialibus S. Benedicti aedificationem Ecclesiae SS.*

25 Burić 2003d, str. 19-21; Burić 2008a, str. 115-117; Burić 2020, str. 181-183.

26 Za Kozice *cf*. Omašić 1978, str. 48-50; Omašić 2001, str. 51-55.

27 Taj Zavod je 1997., zajedno s Regionalnim zavodom za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Splitu objedinjen u Konzervatorski odjel Ministarstva kulture u Splitu.

28 Marasović, Sumić 1993.

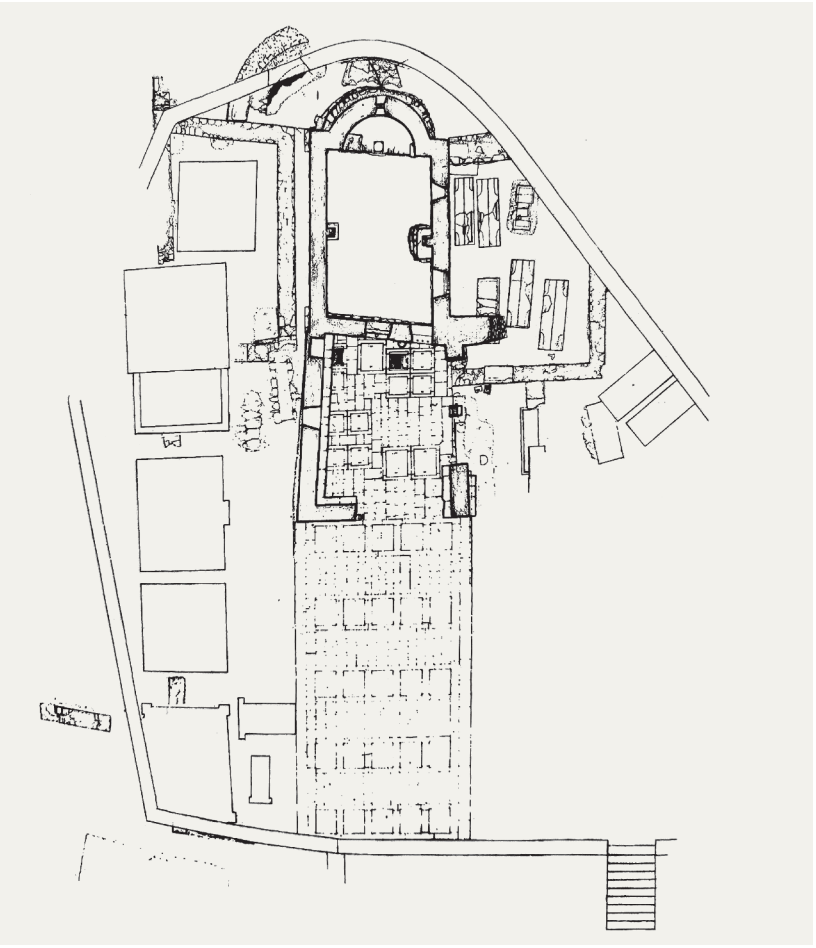
29 Marasović *et alii* 1995.

28 Marasović, Sumić 1993.

29 Marasović *et alii* 1995.

30 Karaman 1930, pp. 205-216.

31 For the church, cf. Bego 1991, pp. 706-710; Belamarić 1991; Burić 2023.



Sl. 11 - Plan kompleksa Sv. Kuzme i Damjana u Kaštel Gomilici na kojem se vidi tlocrt kuće (*domus*) sjeverno od crkve, a koju su preslojile suvremene grobnice (preuzeto iz Marasović *et alii* 1995, 113.)
Fig. 11 - Plan of the Sts. Cosmas and Damian complex in Kaštel Gomilica, showing the ground plan of the house (domus) north of the church, subsequently overlaid by modern graves (taken from: Marasović et alii 1995, 113)

Dakle, upola je manji od onoga u Oriovici. Kako rezultati tih istraživanja nisu ni do danas monografski objavljeni, a autori se u objavljenim tekstovima ne izjašnjavaju o toj zgradi i njezinoj namjeni, preostaje nam da se oslonimo na davni tekst Ljube Karamana iz 1930., objavljen u njegovoj znamenitoj sintezi ranosrednjovjekovne umjetnosti i arheologije *Iz kolijevke hrvatske prošlosti*.[30] Karaman je ondje detaljno analizirao crkvu, donijevši i pisane izvore relevantne za njezinu izgradnju, kao i za kuću pored crkve.[31] Crkvu su dale podići benediktinke samostana sv. Benedikta (kasnije sv. Arnira) u Splitu na *Cosmae et Damiani una* ***cum domo*** *ad Dilatum*.[32] The information about the existence of a secular building beside the church, presented by Karaman, was later used by Don Frane Bego, Vjeko Omašić and Josip Belamarić,[33] although they did not analyze it in greater detail, except that Bego correctly observed that the discovered building has "an undoubtedly rhomboid ground plan, like the church, which points to the mutual dependence in the construction of both buildings," thereby confirming the notice from the *Chronicon Pontificale*.

A third building of the same type and function may very probably be assumed at the site of Miri in Kaštel Novi, within the territory of the medieval village of Špiljan. The only information about it was provided by the distinguished 17th-century Trogir historian Pavao Andreis in his synthesis *History of the City of Trogir* (*Storia della citta di Trau*). In the eighth book of his work, while describing the churches of the city of Trogir and its district, he also records the chapel of St. Gregory, which—according to the context of the entire chapter—should be located in Trogir's Velo Polje (*Campus magnus traguriensis*), that is, present-day Donja Kaštela. Andreis's text about this chapel reads: "The chapel of St. Gregory, **built within a house** that belonged to the Benedictine monks of St. John the Baptist, was formerly vaulted, but because of age it has recently been demolished. The monks had earlier built it for the convenience of performing the service."[34] Thus, his mention of the chapel of St. Gregory has preserved important information about "**a house**" owned by the Trogir Benedictines in Velo Polje. The identification of this house with the site of Miri is strengthened by documents confirming the existence of several plots of land belonging to the monastery of St. John the Baptist within the boundaries of Špiljan; Miri therefore naturally suggests itself as the location of the centre from which

30 Karaman 1930, str. 205-216.

31 Za crkvu *cf*.; Bego 1991, str. 706-710; Belamarić 1991; Burić 2023.

32 *Dilatum (Dilat) is a historical medieval regional name that encompassed the area of present-day Gornja Kaštela*, which belonged to the communal district of Split. Conflicting views on Dilat persisted for a long time in Croatian historiography. The issue was finally resolved by Vjeko Omašić, an outstanding authority on the historical topography of Kaštela (Omašić 1978, pp. 35-42; Omašić 2021, pp. 38-42). *Cf. also Burić* 2021, p. 122.

33 Bego 1991, pp. 706, 708-709; Belamarić 1991, p. 42; Omašić 1978, p. 65; Omašić 2001, p. 62, n. 126.

34 Andreis 1977, p. 352.

svojem posjedu, koji im je dodijelio kralj Zvonimir 1078., a sagrađena je sredinom 12. st. za stolovanja splitskoga nadbiskupa Gaudija (1138. – 1158.). Samu posvetu crkve obavio je nadbiskup Absalon 1160. Karaman donosi podatke iz spisa *Chronicon Pontificale Salonitanum et Spalatense*, koji je objavio Farlati. Tu stoji: „*Hic archiepiscopus* (t. j. Gaudius g. 1138 – 58.) *concessit monialibus S. Benedicti construere ecclesiam SS. Cosmae et Damiani* ***cum domo*** *ad dilatandum Monasterium in qua ipse Moniales tempore messis ac vindemiae pie habitarent;* …". Dakle, benediktinke su uz crkvu dale podići i kuću (***domus***) u kojoj će boraviti za vrijeme žetve i berbe. Iz arhiva Splitske nadbiskupije Farlati je donio još jedan podatak o istom objektu, koji prenosi Karaman: *Ante depositionem concesserat Monialibus S. Benedicti aedificationem Ecclesiae SS. Cosmae et Damiani una* ***cum domo*** *ad Dilatum*.[32] Podatak o postojanju profane zgrade pored crkve, koji je donio Karaman, koristili su kasnije i don Frane Bego, Vjeko Omašić i Josip Belamarić,[33] ali ne ulaze pobliže u analizu tog podatka, osim što je Bego dobro uočio da otkrivena zgrada ima „nesumnjivo romboidni tlocrt kao i crkva, što upućuje na međusobnu ovisnost u gradnji obiju građevina", čime je potvrdio vijest iz *Chronicon Pontificale*.

Treći objekt iste vrste i namjene moguće je s velikom vjerojatnošću pretpostaviti na lokalitetu Miri u Kaštel Novom, na teritoriju srednjovjekovnoga sela Špiljan. Jedini podatak o njemu donio je ugledni trogirski povjesničar 17. st. Pavao Andreis u svojoj sintezi *Povijest grada Trogira* (*Storia della citta di Trau*). Opisujući u osmoj knjizi svojega djela crkve grada Trogira i njegova distrikta, donosi i vijest o kapeli sv. Grgura, koju – prema kontekstu cijeloga poglavlja – treba smjestiti u trogirsko Velo polje (*Campus magnus traguriensis*), tj. današnja Donja Kaštela. Andreisov tekst o toj kapeli glasi: „Kapela Sv. Grgura, **sazidana unutar jedne kuće**, koja je bila monaha benediktinaca Sv. Ivana Krstitelja, bila je ranije građena na svod, ali je zbog starosti

[32] *Dilatum* (Dilat) je povijesni srednjovjekovni regionim kojim je bio obuhvaćen prostor današnjih Gornjih Kaštela, koja su bila u sklopu splitskoga komunalnog distrikta. O Dilatu su dogo postojala proturječna mišljenja u hrvatskoj historiografiji. Problem je konačno riješio Vjeko Omašić, vrsni znalac historijske topografije Kaštela (Omašić 1978, str. 35-42; Omašić 2021, str. 38-42). *Cf.* i Burić 2021, str. 122.

[33] Bego 1991, str. 706, 708-709; Belamarić 1991, str. 42; Omašić 1978, str. 65; Omašić 2001, str. 62, bilj. 126.

the monks administered their lands in that village. I have written about this on several occasions,[35] arguing that this **house** with the chapel was located at Miri within the framework of a large *villa rustica*, investigated by the Bihać Society at the end of the 19th century.[36]

As on their principal estate in Orihovica, the economic and residential building into which the chapel described above was incorporated was erected on the ruins of Roman-period and Late Antique secular architecture belonging to a larger *villa rustica*, whose remains were partly investigated at Miri (fig. 12).[37] It may be assumed that this building, like the previous two, had an upper floor. Material traces of the building and chapel described here can be confirmed only by new excavations, and this circumstance—alongside many others—is a strong argument for revisiting the excavations at this significant site in Kaštela. Such work would definitively confirm the third Benedictine *domus*, alongside those of Orihovica and Kozice, within the districts of Trogir and Split.

On the basis of the archaeological discoveries mentioned above and the written sources cited, it may be concluded that in the cases described (Oriovica – St. George, Kozice – Sts. Cosmas and Damian, Špiljan – Miri, and perhaps also Aranđel) these were buildings of the same type and function, a view further strengthened by the term ***domus***, used in the sources that mention such houses in Orihovica and Kozice. These were masonry houses with an upper floor: the one in Orihovica had an area of 70 m^2, while the one in Kozice was considerably smaller, with an area of about 33 m^2. The area of the presumed house at Miri in Kaštel Novi may eventually be established through future investigations. The houses in Oriovica and Kozice were erected on the principal monastic estates as central buildings for collecting the harvest, which was stored on the ground floor before being transported to the monastery. The same can also be said of the house at Miri. Various tools were also kept on the ground floor, while the upper floor contained rooms for the accommodation of monks and/or nuns during

[35] Burić 2004, p. 162, n. 21.; Burić 2020, pp. 182-183.; Burić 2022a, pp. 553-554.

[36] Izvještaj četvrte glavne skupštine „Bihaća", VHAD N. S. III, pp. 218-229.

[37] For Mire, cf. also Omašić 1978, pp. 144-152; Omašić 2001, pp. 122-125; Babić 1984, p. 86.

nedavno razorena. Ovu su ranije monasi sazidali za udobnost obavljanja službe".[34] Tako nam je njegov spomen kapele sv. Grgura očuvao važan podatak o „**jednoj kući**" koju su posjedovali trogirski benediktinci u Velom polju. Ubikaciju te kuće na lokalitet Miri osnažuju i dokumenti koji potvrđuju postojanje više zemalja samostana sv. Ivana Krstitelja u granicama Špiljana, pa se Miri spontano nameću kao položaj gdje je bilo središte iz kojega su monasi upravljali svojim zemljama u tom selu. O tome sam u više navrata pisao[35] dokazujući tezu da je ta **kuća** s kapelom bila na položaju Miri u okvirima velike *villae rusticae*, koju je društvo Bihać istraživalo koncem 19. st.[36]

Kao i na njihovu glavnom feudu u Orihovici, gospodarsko-stambena zgrada u koju je inkorporirana opisana kapela podignuta je na ruševinama rimskodobne i kasnoantičke profane arhitekture jedne veće *villae rusticae*, čiji su ostatci dijelom istraženi na Mirima (sl. 12.).[37] Može se pretpostaviti da je ta zgrada, kao i prethodne dvije, bila na kat. Materijalni trag opisane zgrade i kapele mogu potvrditi samo nova iskopavanja, pa je i taj moment – uz brojne druge – snažan argument za reviziju iskopavanja na tom značajnom lokalitetu u Kaštelima. Time bi definitivno bio potvrđen i treći benediktinski *domus*, uz orihovički i kozički, u opsegu distrikata Trogira i Splita.

Na temelju navedenih arheoloških otkrića i citiranih pisanih izvora spontano se nameće zaključak da je u opisanim slučajevima (Oriovica – Sv. Juraj, Kozice – Sv. Kuzma i Damjan, Špiljan – Miri, a možda i Aranđel) riječ o objektima istovrsne namjene, što dodatno osnažuje i izraz ***domus***, koji koriste izvori u kojima se spominju takve kuće u Orihovici i Kozicama. To su zidane kuće na kat, s tim da ona u Orihovici ima površinu od 70 m^2, dok je ona u Kozicama znatno manja i kvadratura joj iznosi oko 33 m^2. Za pretpostavljenu kuću na Mirima u Kaštel Novom površinu ćemo eventualno doznati nakon budućih istraživanja. Kuće u Oriovici i u Kozicama podignute su na glavnim samostanskim posjedima kao središnji objekti za prikupljanje ljetine, koja se skladištila u prizemlju prije prijenosa u samostan.

[34] Andreis 1977, str. 352.

[35] Burić 2004, str. 162, bilj. 21.; Burić 2020, str. 182-183.; Burić 2022a, str. 553-554.

[36] Izvještaj četvrte glavne skupštine „Bihaća", VHAD N. S. III, str. 218-229.

[37] Za Mire *cf.* još Omašić 1978, str. 144-152; Omašić 2001, str. 122-125; Babić 1984, str. 86.



Sl. 12 - Pogled na ostatke arhitekture u Mirima – mogući ostatak benediktinske kuće s kapelom sv. Grgura; slika iz ostavštine Luke Jelića (preuzeto iz Ostojić 1964, 280, sl. 374.).

Fig. 12 - View of the architectural remains at Miri, possibly belonging to a Benedictine house with the chapel of St. Gregory; photograph from the legacy of Luka Jelić (after Ostojić 1964, 280, fig. 374).

their stay on the estate, probably including kitchens and, in the case of the building at Miri, the chapel of St. Gregory. Such buildings were generally exceptional on estates and in villages throughout the districts, and in that context the term ***domus*** may be understood as a synonym for a masonry house, usually also two-storeyed. The size of the buildings described sets them apart from the great majority of village houses discovered, for example, in the district of the Trogir commune (fig. 1), which were built in dry-stone technique. This applies especially to the house in Oriovica, whose area was 70 m^2. In terms of area, the house of the Split Benedictine nuns in Kozice, measuring about 33 m^2, can be compared with certain larger rural dry-stone houses. The dry-stone semi-subterranean dwelling in the medieval village of Baba on the northwestern edge of the Kaštela field (figs. 2–3) had approximately the same area. Its dimensions are 3.5 x 9 m, giving the dwelling an area of 31.5 m^2.[38] This structure was investigated in 2007 and 2008 in rescue excavations that I carried out within the intervention program of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments.[39] It remains the only medieval dwelling, likewise of residential and economic function like

[38] Burić 2012, p. 400.

[39] Burić 2008b, pp. 439-441; Burić 2009, pp. 527-529.

Isto se može kazati i za kuću na Mirima. U prizemlju su čuvani i razni alati, dok su na katu bile prostorije za smještaj monaha i/ili monahinja tijekom boravka na imanju i vjerojatno kuhinje, a u slučaju zgrade na Mirima i kapela sv. Grgura. Takva su zdanja u pravilu iznimka na posjedima i u selima po distriktima, pa u tom kontekstu i izraz ***domus*** možemo uzeti kao sinonim za zidanu kuću, koja je u pravilu i katnica. Veličina opisanih zdanja odskače od one velike većine seoskih kuća kakve su otkrivene, primjerice, u distriktu trogirske komune (sl. 1.), a rađene su u suhozidu. Posebice se to odnosi na kuću u Oriovici, čija je površina iznosila 70 m^2. S pojedinim većim seoskim suhozidnim kućama površinom je usporediva kuća splitskih benediktinki u Kozicama, koja je imala oko 33 m^2. Približno istu površinu imala je i suhozidna poluzemunica u srednjovjekovnom selu Baba na sjeverozapadnom rubu Kaštelanskog polja (sl. 2. – 3.). Dimenzije su joj 3,5 x 9 m, pa površina nastambe iznosi 31,5 m^2.[38] Taj je objekt istražen 2007. i 2008. godine u zaštitnim istraživanjima koja sam proveo u okviru interventnog programa Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika.[39] To je još uvijek jedina srednjovjekovna nastamba, također stambeno-gospodarske namjene kao i ***domus*** benediktinki u Kaštel Gomilici, koja je do sada u cijelosti istražena u arealu distrikata Trogira i Splita. Stoga je mogućnost otkrića više seoskih suhozidnih kuća takve ili slične površine više nego vjerojatna.

Na postojanje istovrsnih objekata i izvan trogirskog i splitskog distrikta ukazuju i podatci iz zadarskog distrikta i Sidraške županije u sjevernoj Dalmaciji, premda ondje još nisu vršena arheološka istraživanja. Ivo Petricioli je pri obradi crkve sv. Martina u Diklu, u srednjovjekovnoj zadarskoj astareji, naveo da je bila uklopljena u „arhitektonski blok bivšeg dvora obitelji Strmić, koji je nastao vjerojatno na mjestu **stana** (majura) samostana sv. Krševana".[40] Terminologija koju je koristio Petricioli nije izvorna, pa ne znamo kako se taj objekt nazivao u srednjem vijeku, no najvjerojatnije je riječ o gospodarsko-stambenoj zgradi kakve su i one u trogirskom i splitskom distriktu o kojima je u ovom radu riječ. Dakle, to bi bio ***domus*** koji je služio redovnicima zadarskoga samostana sv. Krševana.

[38] Burić 2012, str. 400.
[39] Burić 2008b, str. 439-441; Burić 2009, str. 527-529.
[40] Petricioli 1955, str. 174; Petricioli 1996, str. 93.

the ***domus*** of the Benedictine nuns in Kaštel Gomilica, that has so far been completely investigated in the districts of Trogir and Split. The discovery of additional rural dry-stone houses of the same or similar area is therefore more than likely.

The existence of buildings of the same kind outside the districts of Trogir and Split is also indicated by evidence from the district of Zadar and Sidraga County in northern Dalmatia, although archaeological investigations have not yet been carried out there. In his treatment of the church of St. Martin in Diklo, in the medieval Zadar *astarea*, Ivo Petricioli stated that it was incorporated into the "architectural block of the former court of the Strmić family, which probably arose on the site of the **stan** (majorat) of the monastery of St. Chrysogonus."[40] The terminology used by Petricioli is not original, so we do not know how this structure was called in the Middle Ages, but it was most probably an economic and residential building like those in the districts of Trogir and Split discussed in this paper. Thus, it would have been a ***domus*** serving the monks of the Zadar monastery of St. Chrysogonus.

The second example comes from Sidraga County, neighboring Zadar, on Croatian territory, and I present it according to Franjo Smiljanić's interpretation.[41] The Sidraga župan Jurajna sold to the monastery of St. John in Biograd an estate in Sidraga extending from a well to a **stone house** (*palacium*), perhaps the curia of the bishop of Skradin in Tinj. The information dates from the 1070s. Smiljanić emphasizes that here ***palacium*** appears in the sense of a "**stone house**," which is also comparable with the ***domus*** buildings on the communal territory of Trogir and Split in the 12th and 13th centuries, except that the Sidraga example would be chronologically even earlier. We thus see that the established term ***domus*** may be supplemented by ***palacium***, confirming the diversity of terminology for masonry economic and residential buildings on the estates of Benedictines, as well as of Croatian feudal officials.

Conclusion

The analysis carried out on the basis of archaeological research results and their comparison with previously known written sources and literature

[40] Petricioli 1955, p. 174; Petricioli 1996, p. 93.
[41] Smiljanić 2007, p. 48, n. 123.

Drugi je primjer iz Zadru susjedne Sidraške županije na hrvatskom teritoriju, koji donosim u tumačenju Franje Smiljanića.[41] Sidraški župan Jurajna prodao je samostanu sv. Ivana u Biogradu posjed u Sidrazi, koji se proteže od zdenca do jedne **kamene kuće** (*palacium*), možda kurije skradinskoga biskupa u Tinju. Podatak je iz 70-ih godina 11. st. Smiljanić naglašava da tu ***palacium*** dolazi u značenju „**kamene kuće**", što je također usporedivo s ***domusima*** na trogirskom i splitskom komunalnom teritoriju u 12. i 13. st., s tim što bi sidraški primjer bio kronološki još stariji. Vidimo, dakle, da utvrđenom terminu ***domus*** možemo pridodati i ***palacium***, što potvrđuje raznolikost nazivlja za zidane gospodarsko-stambene zgrade na posjedima benediktinaca, kao i hrvatskih feudalnih dužnosnika.

Zaključak

Analiza provedena na temelju rezultata arheoloških istraživanja i njihove komparacije s već poznatim pisanim izvorima i literaturom pružila je prvi cjelovitiji uvid u izgled, veličinu i tehniku zidanja gospodarsko-stambenih zgrada na posjedima samostana benediktinskog reda u komunalnim distriktima Trogira i Splita. Sigurno su utvrđena tri takva objekta, dva na posjedima trogirskog samostana Sv. Ivana Krstitelja (Oriovica – Vinišća i Miri – Kaštel Novi) i jedan u Kaštel Gomilici na posjedu splitskih benediktinki Sv. Arnira (ex Sv. Benedikta) kod crkve sv. Kuzme i Damjana (Karta I., 1. – 3.). Komparirajući navedene primjere s još nekim pisanim i arheološkim izvorima, moguće je pretpostaviti postojanje istovrsnih zgrada na još dva lokaliteta na posjedima trogirskih benediktinaca. To su Japlenica – Aranđel/Sv. Mihovil i Fumija/Sv. Eufemija (Karta I., 4. – 5.). Također bi trebalo istražiti i posjede samostana sv. Stjepana pod borovima u Splitu.

U srednjovjekovnim dokumentima ovdje opisane zgrade u dva se slučaja navode pod nazivom ***domus*** (Orihovica – 1272. i Kozice – sredina 12. st.), a Ostojić ih naziva celama. Tako za ***domus*** benediktinki kod Sv. Kuzme i Damjana u Kozicama izričito rabi termin cela, kojim se označava samostanski objekt koji služi za boravak i rad redovnika, a isti izraz koristi i Radić u opisu prostorije do crkve sv. Eufemije na Fumiji.

I premda su ovdje opisani objekti općenito rijetki u srednjovjekovnom agrarnom pejzažu Hrvatas provided the first more comprehensive insight into the appearance, size and masonry technique of economic and residential buildings on the estates of Benedictine monasteries in the communal districts of Trogir and Split. Three such buildings have been securely identified: two on the estates of the Trogir monastery of St. John the Baptist (Oriovica – Vinišća and Miri – Kaštel Novi) and one in Kaštel Gomilica on the estate of the Split Benedictine nuns of St. Arnir, formerly St. Benedict, beside the church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian (Map I, 1–3). By comparing these examples with several other written and archaeological sources, it is possible to assume the existence of buildings of the same type at two further sites on the estates of the Trogir Benedictines: Japlenica – Aranđel/St. Michael and Fumija/St. Euphemia (Map I, 4–5). The estates of the monastery of St. Stephen beneath the Pines in Split should also be investigated.

In medieval documents, the buildings described here are referred to in two cases by the term ***domus*** (Orihovica – 1272, and Kozice – mid-12th century), while Ostojić calls them cells. Thus, for the ***domus*** of the Benedictine nuns near Sts. Cosmas and Damian in Kozice he explicitly uses the term cell, denoting a monastic building used for the residence and work of monks, and the same expression is also used by Radić in her description of the room beside the church of St. Euphemia on Fumija.

Although the buildings described here are generally rare in the medieval agrarian landscape of Croatia and Dalmatia, the possibility of discovering further examples in future research, both through surveys and excavations, cannot be excluded—not only on monastic estates, but also on those of Dalmatian prelates and urban patricians, if we remain within the framework of the communal districts. The examples from Zadar documents presented here show that such buildings were not erected only on the estates of the Benedictine monasteries of Trogir and Split; research should therefore be expanded to the districts of other eastern Adriatic communes, as well as to the Croatian feudal hinterland. In general, greater attention should in future be devoted to the investigation of settlement sites and, accordingly, to the architecture of those settlements, which were overwhelmingly rural in character.

[41] Smiljanić 2007, str. 48, bilj. 123.

ske i Dalmacije, ne može se isključiti mogućnost otkrića još ponekog u budućim istraživanjima (rekognosciranja i iskopavanja), ne samo na redovničkim posjedima, već i na onima dalmatinskih prelata i gradskih patricija, ako se zadržimo u okvirima komunalnih distrikata. Ovdje doneseni primjeri iz zadarskih dokumenata pokazuju da takva zdanja nisu podizana samo na posjedima trogirskih i splitskih benediktinskih samostana, pa bi istraživanja trebalo proširiti i na distrikte ostalih istočnojadranskih komuna, kao i na feudalno hrvatsko zaleđe. Općenito bi u budućnosti više pažnje bilo dobro posvetiti istraživanju naseobinskih lokaliteta te, u skladu s tim, i arhitekture u tim naseljima, koja su u velikoj većini ruralnoga karaktera.

Skraćenice / *Abbreviations*

AA = *Archaeologia Adriatica*, Zadar
ARR = Arheološki radovi i rasprave, Zagreb.
HAG = Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak, Zagreb
HAnt = *Histria Antiqua*, Pula
PP = Povijesni prilozi, Zagreb
PPUD = Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, Split
SHP = Starohrvatska prosvjeta, Zagreb
VAHD = Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split
VHAD = Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva, Zagreb

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