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Sacralization of the Vertical

Key Words: Pre-Romanesque Art, Palatine Chapel at Aachen, Early Slavic Art, Westwork, CarolingianArchitecture, Cultural Landscape.

The objective of this paper is to explore the background of the fascinating Carolingian architecture motif, the westwork – *turris* – which dramatically changed the cultural landscape of the European West. Its bold vertical had apparently few if any antecedents in religious architectures of previous periods, and its appearance may be seen as a mark of reassertion of a new and more confident Carolingian Europe. Thereby the vertical was truly "sacralized" as an inalienable element of a religious structure and it at the same time sacralized the surrounding landscape. Instead of a low-lying Early Christian basilica with an emphasis on the interior, the representative sacred buildings of the Mature Middle Ages sport an exciting silhouette boldly announcing their presence within the landscape.
What had happened to the "vertical" on the way from Prehistory and Antiquity, what was the role if any of the Indo-European "barbarians" and their formal repertoire? What was the role of elements of the landscape – mountains, trees, mounds – seats of Gods, seats of terrestrial power, eternal resting places? What do we

learn from such sharp-eyed and sharp-minded persons as Pausanias, or the acts of promoters of Christianity such as St. Boniface or St. Willibrod? At least three models seem to emerge – sacralization through identification and naming, through addition, and by manufacturing, the latest becoming dominant by the Carolingian period.
In particular, we will pay attention to the sacred landscapes in our area as defined by Croatian and Slovene cultural anthropologists and archaeologists, bearing in mind that next to the central lands of Carolingian Empire it was exactly the Croatian Kingdom that in its Pre-Romanesque architecture opened doors to the *turris,* a new and revolutionary architectural form. Sakralizacija vertikale.
Ključne riječi: Predromanika, Palatinska kapela u Aachenu, Staroslavenska umjetnost, Vestverk, Karolinška arhitektura, Kulturni pjesaž.

Ova studija istražuje pozadinu fascinantnog motiva karolinške arhitekture – westwerka, koji je dramatično promijenio kulturni pejsaž Zapadne Europe. Njegova odvažna vertikala je bez presedana u religioznoj arhitekturi ranijih razdoblja, i njegova pojava se može tumačiti kao izraz nove samosvijesti Karolinške Europe. Vertikala je stvarno „sakralizirana“ kao neodvojivi dio religiozne strukture, a samim je time sakralizirala i okolni pejsaž. Umjesto niske i razvučene bazilike s naglaskom na unutrašnjosti, sakralne zgrade zrelog srednjeg vijeka diče se upečatljivom siluetom koja se hrabro nameće okolišu.
Što se dešavalo s vertikalom na putu kroz prapovijest i antiku? Kakvu su ulogu pri tome imali indoeuropski „barbari“ i njihov formalni repertoar? Kakva je uloga elemenata pejsaža – brda, drveća, humaka – sjedišta bogova, svjetovnih moćnika i pokojnika? Što možemo doznati od oštroumnih ljudi poput Pauzanije ili djela promicatelja kršćanstva kao što su Sv. Bonifacije ili Sv. Willibrod? Naziru se tri modela – sakralizacija kroz identifikaciju i imenovanje, sakralizacija dodavanjem i

sakralizacija stvaranjem novih oblika, što postaje dominantna pojava u karolinškom razdoblju.
Posebno ćemo se osvrnuti na sveti krajolik našeg okruženja kako ga prepoznaju hrvatski i slovenski arheolozi, lingvisti i kulturni antropolozi imajući na umu da je uz središnje zemlje Karolinškog carstva, upravo Hrvatsko kraljevstvo otvorilo vrata novom, revolucionarnom arhitektonskom obliku – turrisu.

A large billboard advertising the Imex Bank at the Pyramid at Sušak claims: "'Vrh planine je mjesto gdje čovjek može dotaknuti nebo', Stipe Božić, alpinist and travel writer." (The mountain-top is the place where man can touch the sky, Fig. 1). Today, as well as a million years ago, mountains simply could not be missed. They must have been among the first elements of the landscape to attract human attention and artistic elaboration – by pointing, seeing, naming, and by making them points of mythical landscapes (Fig. 2).

How did Art come into being? Here is the model which I use as my habitual answer. On a bright summer morning the seer climbed the hill above the huts, still deep in the sunrise sleep. He raised a big stick, and yelled summoning his flock. He had seen IT, and it was now his holy task to pass it on. The villagers crept up to where the augur stood. He screamed turning toward the neat pyramidal peak shimmering in the morning mist (Fig. 2). "See that Mountain!? This is where your Gods live. We will call it Olympus (or Pirin, or Kailash…)." The villagers, panting from the rushed climb, rubbed their eyes. They crowded toward the seer, following his hand as by pointing he had created an image centered on the peak, a cut out from the surrounding world sanctified by the medicine man's vision and choice. Today he would have taken a snapshot, and made a record of the view, then shared it with his followers. The

Pre-Historic eye acted exactly as a contemporary camera. Only, the image was temporary, but also unlimited and changing, merging into eternity (Goss 2013; 2014: 159).

The arts of image were created. Then, by naming the peak and by clasping his hands the Artist created the arts of sound – literature and music, by hopping rhythmically, the arts motion – dance. Mother Nature added Her Own: the wind rubbed the naked skin, brought in the smell of wild strawberries, which made the mouth water. All that created an experience of space linking the group and the peak in an enveloping foil of light, air, the warmth of the sun, the sound of the wind, the shuffling of the feet… The Gods, up on the peak, were gratified by the seer's performance.

The seer had created Art. I am sure this is not the only model, but in essence it all boils down to the same – recognizing a pattern of special spiritual quality impressing itself upon the receiver's own spirit, and then presenting it to the less sensitive public. The artist's act captured and conveyed the Spirit. So Art is incorporation of Spirit in inert matter. It makes the intangible tangible, available for scrutiny by our senses – of sight, hearing, touch, smell, taste, and the sense of motion and space. There is no art without form, i.e., solid matter. There is no art without the act of creativity endowing the Matter with the Spirit (Goss 2013; 2014: 160-161).

What did lead the seer to specify a spot within the landscape, in particular one embodying the vertical? As Andrej Pleterski has written, a tree fell across a creek and people crossed it "into the World." To go, and to come back (if ever) one needed to orient oneself in the space. The human spirit started to sort out to environment (Pleterski 2014: 64). So you were told: "Follow this clear river toward that pointed peak until you find yourself in front of a wide mountain with a flat top. Turn right up a winding creek…", etc. We have created *names*, place names. Our procedure of *naming* was essentially descriptive. In fact, we acted like Adam

in Genesis 2-18, and we may take this biblical fragment as evidence that naming is as old as language communication itself. We intervened into the environment, we have changed it, endowed it with Spirit.

After a while we may have changed our statement by saying "Clearwater," instead of clear creek, "Needle", instead of sharp peak, "Table (Mountain)," instead of "wide mountain," "Snake", instead of "winding creek." By doing so we have created an image, not just any, but a metaphor, the most intense figure of speech, an abbreviated comparison in which one side of the comparison is omitted. E. g., when we say" You are my sunshine" we mean "You are warm, shiny, etc., like sunshine to me". It takes some intellect to take a metaphor in. We have fully individualized the named spots, and as fully recognizable individuals they could be joined together in landscape structures. And in our case here, we are primarily interested in places involving the vertical (Goss, 2016, p. 12).

Anything vertical is usually seen as standing for power, aggression, penetration, male principle (Fig. 3).; the horizontal for submission, yielding, reception, female principle (Fig. 4). In the light of the above the objective of this paper is to explore the background of the fascinating architectural motif, the Carolingian westwork which dramatically changed the cultural landscape of the European West and sacralized the vertical in Christian European art and culture (Fig. 5).

A few words about the history of my involvement with the westwork. Following upon the only earlier study on the matter by Tomislav Marasović (Marasović 1958: 117-121) I dealt with the westwork in my dissertation "The Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque Architecture in Croatia," Cornell University, 1972, noting the presence of the westwork within a body of larger buildings on the territory of the Early Croatian state, a group which

I entitled the “Royal Pre-Romanesque Group,” as they were identified as belonging to the higher strata of the society including the ruler himself (Gvozdanović 1972). Since then I have written on the issue, directly or indirectly, some 20 times, and in my most recent studies I also reviewed it within what I call the “Pre-Romanesque Art of the Pagan Slavs.”(Goss 1982, 1987; 1996; 2006; 2010a; 2010b; Gvozdanović 1976; 1978) This theme plays a considerable role in this paper.

The sacred architecture of Classical Antiquity (Fig. 6) shows no vertical to speak of which does not mean that it was absent from the cultural landscape. In his wonderful book Puasanias mentions 62 mountains plus a number of rocks and other excrescences in Greece, almost without exception topped by a shrine, a tomb, a fort, or at least an oral memory of a sacred person or event (Pauzanija 2008, index, *sub voce*: mountain, hill, peak). Where mountains were not available, as in Egypt or Mesopotamia, they were constructed (Fig. 7). Late Roman and Early Christian art, especially in the East, followed suit in constructing artificial sacred mountains or domes of heaven. Western Early Christian and medieval centralized buildings, the latter particularly popular in Central and Eastern Central Europe, belong to the same category (Figs. 8).

In the European West, the core of the Roman Empire, the legalization of Christianity has placed in front of the architect a heavy task of creating a shrine worthy of the new favorite God of the Imperial house. The solution was a longitudinally oriented basilica, focusing the attention of the public, the practicing faithful, on the apse surrounding the altar (Figs. 4). A horizontal relationship between a stage and an auditorium was created, to stay in use until the present day in any function involving the stage-auditorium relationship. The building was splendidly adorned inside, a special recognition being accorded to the sanctuary framed by the apsidal conch, which also acted as the center of

figured representations bringing forward the key beliefs of the new faith. The exterior of this low lying structure was, on the contrary, very simple, creating thus an image of duality between this world and the sacred world to come (*Civitas Dei*), between body and soul. It took this basilican structure almost a millennium to redo also its exterior and to enter into a dialogue with the environment (Demus 1971:14-24).

Not in the Christian East, though. There the pace was set by the first Christian nation at all, Armenia, which adopted Christianity in 301, and although it did use both aisleless and aisled forms of the basilica, it started using centralized solutions already during its first Christian century, to develop, by ca. 600, a wealth of totally new, centralized forms such as domed basilicas or domed basilicas combined with polyconchs; culminating in a rich variety of highly original combinations of cruciform, polygonal and polyconchal forms (Hasratian 2010) (Fig. 9) The Armenian church reflects the holiness of a mountain, and, Lord knows, these are plentiful in the Caucasus, one of them, Ararat, being of the first class importance for the entire Christendom (Goss 1982: 35-40).

Needless to say, there are centralized buildings in the West too (Fig. 8), but the form is primarily reserved for smaller buildings of special use, such as baptisteries and martyria, although larger scale buildings were constructed too (e.g., the palatine church of San Lorenzo in Milan, ca. 400). In the Eastern Roman Empire this trend toward "sacred mountain" centralized shrine has been brought to its peak in the last great period of imperial power, under Justinian (527-565), to finally triumph in the ultimate attempt at combining a basilica with a domed holy mountain, of Roman engineering and Hellenistic charm, in Hagia Sophia (532-537) (Demus and Hutter 1971: 72-84) (Fig. 10). A simpler model, an inscribed cross with one to five domes has been universally accepted since the 9th century (Macedonian Renascence) in the world of Orthodoxy (Demus 1971: 102-103). That this model is

not too different from the Caucasian models has been already noted by Gabriel Millet in his path finding book *L'école Grecque dans l'architecture Byzantine* (Millet 1916) (Fig. 11).

Sanctity of a mountain (the Holy Mountain/Dome of Heaven model) is confirmed also by its name. I will limit myself to the area of Southern Slavic languages: Sveto Brdo, Sveta Gora, Svetac, Visoki Oltar (general sanctity), Perun, Perunić, Perunčić, Perunski, Vidova Gora, Triglav (Fig. 2), Troglav, Rog, Lipa (Slavic holy figures), Plešivica, Isce (witches and demons), to list just a few (Goss 2009: 42-43).

What, however, has been done over last two decade, and here the Southern Slavic area is in the forefront of research, is to relate individual place names within a system. This in itself was made possible by the research of the Russian scholars, Ivanov and Toporov, who, some forty years ago, recognized structural relationships between the elements, and thus enabled researchers to establish the importance of certain points in the landscape, and read into it the essentials of early Slavic mythology. One is referred to the ever growing body of linguist, cultural anthropology and archeology literature on the topic in Slovenia and Croatia. (Belaj, V. 2007: 422 – 426; Belaj. V., and Belaj, J. 2014: IX-XXIV). The conclusion, by V. Belaj, is as follows: "These are not just points in the landscape any more... Mythically interpreted landscape transforms itself into an ideogram, read by those who within the culture were trained to do so. As ideogram is in fact script, the structured points in the landscape represent a written source about the early Slavic paganism." The pattern that has emerged is that of a sacred triangle the characteristics of which have also been amply described by the above authors. (Belaj, V. 2007: 423-424, 452-453; Belaj, V., and Belaj, J., 2014: 413; Fig. 15).

A somewhat different model of a holy vertical, a tree, as in the World Tree, Tree ouf Life, *Axis mundi,* is another source of inspiration for manufactured verticals such as obelisks, menhirs, totem poles, and commemorative columns. St. Willibald has described how such a giant *donnereiche* was cut down in Fritzlar (Giesmar) by St. Boniface on his campaign to convert the Germans (Hinz 2002: 1-2). It is often present in literary texts believed to reflect the early Slavic traditions as beautifully demonstrated by Professor Katičić in his analysis of old White Russian folk poems This tree is often the seat of Perun's court (Katičić 2008: 90-96).

Whereas a Holy Mountain, basically a triangular lump growing toward a single central peak, fits the image of a church in a number of schools of Christian art, the skinnier model of a tree is relatable to what we are about to explore in some detail – the tower. The Holy Mountain can be improved by a work of human hands or mouth, i.e., we may have either a real, material addition, or a verbal one – a shrine, a tomb, a fort, or a story. The three models are the Holy Mountain and/or World Tree, a Holy Mountain improved by human hands, and a Holy Mountain and World Tree manufactured by the humans. One cannot but notice that in fact the "Holy Mountain" and the "Tree of Life" models have much in common. Every mountain has its peak, and a vertical axis that passes through it. In my research it has become quite clear that to qualify for holiness the mountain should have a very clear pyramidal shape with a prominent peak (Olympus, Pirin, Kailash; in Croatia, Sveto Brdo on the Velebit, Pogani Vrh on the Papuk (Fig. 12; the peak on the right), Sveti Jakob on the Medvednica; Triglav (Fig. 2) and Storžič in Slovenia, etc.) (Goss and Mikić 2010). So also a domed church, or, in fact, any church, has a sacred axis, be it longitudinal in case of basilican structures (Fig, 4) be it vertical, in case of centralized buildings (Figs. 8, 9, 10). The more prominent is the growth toward the center and the steeper the dome and the roof, the central axis of the body is more powerful (Fig. 9). Anybody familiar with the medieval architecture would quickly

come to conclusion that, for example, an orthodox church is primarily a holy mountain (Fig. 11), whereas in the West the idea of a Holy Tree is brought forward by various towers, belfries and steeples, incorporated within a building or standing alone (rounded towers of Ravenna and the Northern Adriatic, Romanesque *campanilli*, Irish rounded towers (Fig. 13), *Laternes des Morts* of Western France. The integration of the two as it occurs in the high medieval culture of the West (Fig. 16), in the so-called Romanesque and the Gothic, is a very important chapter of any architectural study of the period. Its first stage is what interests us here, that is, the appearance of the *turris*, the westwork.

There is plentiful literature on that fascinating architectural feature which made its appearance within the central lands of Carolingian Empire toward 800. In a brief but brilliant statement, Uwe Lobbeday has most correctly pointed out that we really do not know the source of the Carolingian *turris*, that marvelous invention which turned the boring, low-lying Early Christian basilica into an exciting asset to the landscape, profoundly changing its expressive content in the process (Fig. 17). By proposing a very useful distinction between a westwork proper and a "westbau," Lobbeday has reminded us that western annexes existed along the facades of Christian churches from a much earlier period. Only, they mostly complied with the simple silhouette of the building's body. Many western burial chambers of Pre-Romanesque churches, from Asturias to Croatia, follow that principle (E.g., San Salvador de Valdedios in Asturias). Once a "turris" rises over that "crypt," we have a westwork (Lobbeday 2002; Gvozdanović 1976). In what is still in my opinion the most thorough discussion of the western massif issue, Carol Heitz has explained the full westwork, dealing with St. Riquier at Centula (799, Fig. 17), as a place reserved for the liturgy of the Savior (Christmas and Easter), topping a "crypt" with an altar (Heitz 1963). As the westwork does not seem to have any precedents in Classical architecture of the Mediterranean, one could speculate about potential pre-historic or "barbarian" sources,

such as menhirs, stelae on top of burial tumuli, some forms of Celtic religious architecture, postulated wooden forms, early medieval tower like structures containing a tomb or an altar allegedly existing in the Eastern Alps, and, of course, natural elevations, but there is, at this point, as far as I can see no single convincing source (Ginhart 1937: 48)..

Heitz's analysis does not rule out different paradigms, e. g., the imperial iconography, proposed in various studies by Alois Fuchs, or westworks which could be tied to the iconography of a single, identifiable person such as the westwork of the Palatine Chapel at Aachen ruled by the iconography of Charlemagne, as explained by Braunfels (Fuchs 1950; Brunfels 1991). Let us not forget, either, that the westwork is in principle a centralized structure. Thus, putting together a westwork and a rotunda would seem to be a tautology (Figs. 18, 19).

Yet it did occur at the Palatine Chapel at Aachen. As opposed to the exactly contemporary St. Riquier at Centula (Heitz 1963, Fig. 17), where a centralized western annex was attached to a longitudinal nave, the sequence in Aachen is (atrium=nave – western *turris* – centralized (polygonal) "nave" – rectangular sanctuary. That sequence – tower, rotunda, sanctuary – is well-known from Eastern Europe, where, no doubt, the Aachen model was applied on local level (Fig. 8). What we indeed have, one might say, is a "World Tree" attached to a "Holy Mountain." This is not without consequences for the profusion of Central and East European centralized structures, primarily rotundas, indeed to such an extent that Veronica Gervers Molnar said that rotunda should be seen as a regular, not exceptional feature of Central and East Central European cultural landscape (Goss 2009b; 2010b: 16-17).

The turris at Aachen is relatively simple compared to St. Riquier at Centula, or the magnificent westwork at Corvey, yet more assertive than other chronologically close achievements such as at

Inden or Steinbach (Figs. 17, 18). In a careful analysis Braunfels has distinguished the functions of the several areas of the Chapel. The "Palatine Chapel" is the octagonal space in the middle (Fig. 20), the upper story is reserved for the ruler and his retinue, with a throne of the Emperor at its western side, next to the tower which contained another Emperor's throne, facing the atrium, and above, on the upper story, there was the chamber storing the relics (Fig. 19) (Goss 2010b: 17).

The throne that faced the atrium was placed so the Ruler could receive the *laudes* of the public. It was above the tomb of Charlemagne which was so well hidden that the Normans missed it when sacking Aachen in 881 and Otto III barely managed to find it in 1000. The central area, surmounted by a dome showing Christ and the Elders of the Apocalypse was the earliest preserved "sacred space" to the north of the Alps, a Holy Mountain containing a Dome of Heaven (Fig. 19). What is, according to Braunfels, absolutely new, is the appearance of the tribune with the throne (although one may have stood at the westbau of St. Denis) (Goss 2010b: 16-17). What is also worth noting is the *separation* of the sacred (central space) and the *turris* zone. Or, as the *turris* as an *Axis Mundi* is also sacralized (and so also its denizen, the Holy Roman Emperor), the two sacred zones are separated and clearly defined. One belongs to the Supreme God, the other to the Executive God, the Supreme Deity's delegate, an important insight which needs to be borne in mind (Fig. 19). This does not seem to have been the case at St. Riquier, another argument for the role of local and individual factors in the creation of individual westworks.

The early history of the site of the Palatine Chapel is not without interest. Aachen, Aquae Grani, is a place dedicated to a Celtic deity of water. It continued to be a popular spa, and a pilgrimage spot. St. Mary duly inherited the place, and in the 5th century her sanctuary was built over Grano's springs. The place is for the first

time mentioned in written sources when Pepin restored the chapel in 761-766. It was apparently a rotunda with rectangular annexes, something like a hall plus a sanctuary? (Goss 2010b: 17).

We repeat that westwork (Fig. 5) did not have precursors in the sacred architecture of Antiquity. The vertical, as copiously witnessed by Pausanias, did. If the westwork had not been passed to the Carolingians from "Rome," the only other source would have been the "barbarians." In our case it could mean Celts, Germans and/or Slavs. The Geeks were initially also Northern barbarians who had immigrated to the South, and whose lore has been duly recorded by Pausanias (Pauzanija 2008). We have demonstrated that the concept of the Holy Mountain is common to many people around the world, including the Indo-Europeans. Belorussian folk poetry and the *Donar-Eiche* of Giesmar tell us the same for the "World Tree" sacred to Thor and Perun alike. The westwork of Aachen comes very close to that image: ground floor – tomb, netherworld, the domain of Veles; first floor – ruler's gallery, Perun's court; top – relics, divine power, protection (Goss 2010b: 21). Additionally, as the peak dedicated to Perun is not always the highest peak of a ridge, the relation between the westwork and the domed area with the Triumphant Christ is the same as, for example that of the Perun peak and Suhi Vrh on Učka, or of Sveti Jakob's peak and Sljeme on the Medvednica – that of the executive God (Perun, Thor, etc., lower peak) and God the Creator (higher peak). Charles is thus, architecturally, fully identified as the Vicar of the Lord! Moreover, the outside gallery throne of the Chapel communicates with the atrium wherefrom Charles received the *laudes* of the people. This is the third point of a tripartite sacred chain. As we watch Perun at Perun or St. Jacob from Zaglav or Medvedgrad, so the people watch and praise Charles, the Holy Emperor on the outdoors throne, whereas, by turning and moving a few meters inside, Charles, himself seated on the inner throne confronts Christ at the Dome of Heaven! (Goss and Gudek 2009: 14-15) (Fig.19). Is it not also interesting that the

Chapel in fact bore a triple dedication: To the Virgin, the Savior, and St. Peter (Lemonde 2009: 5-6). This trinity is not structurally unlike the triad of barbarian, concretely Slavic Gods – Mokoš, Veles and Perun, bearing in mind that in Croatia (Veleševec, Petrov vrh, Marija Bistrica) the Prince of Apostles took over the place held by Veles! (Goss and Gudek, 2009: 18)

Could one at least make an intelligent guess as to possible "Germano-Slavic" sources of the westwork? As the linguists invoke non-existing but presumed verbal forms (marked *) referring to Indo and Pre-Indo European past, it would be equally legitimate to do so in the area of visual *forms (Goss 2010b: 20). If you visit the Spiš (Zips) region in eastern Slovakia you will discover as one of the greatest assets of an anyhow delightful landscape a medieval village church, aisleless and with a rectangular sanctuary, and a sturdy tower at the entrance (Fig. 14). Just like in Polish, the tower is called "veža," somewhat confusing for a speaker of Croatian who associates the same word with a "porch," or "entrance hall." The word appears to derive from the Indo-European root *_aug_ indicating "light," in pre-Slavic _weg-_ which with a suffix –_ja_ gives wegja, i.e. veža. We know that the early Slavs made a big use of "zemunicas," half-buried dwellings – a rectangular area dug into the ground, covered by some kind of a gable roof. We have a description of such a building from the White Croatia beyond the Carpathians by the Arab traveler Ahmed ibn Omar ibn Rosteh (early 10th ct.): "In the Slavic land of Gurab the winters are very cold, so they dig holes which they cover with pointed roofs such as one can see in Christian churches upon which they put clay..." Thus the "zemunicas" (at least some) bore a certain not negligible superstructure which recalled "pointed" church roofs (gable or pyramid?) (Belaj 2007: 138-139). The Czech scholar, Šimun Ondruš, has suggested that one type of Slavic home was a half-buried building with an added entrance structure constructed from logs. The hole is the Veles's world of "down there," darkness and winter, the superstructure is the

"*wegja*," Perun's world of "up there," summer and light. It would be nice to have an exact reconstruction of an early Slavic *veža,* but even this may suffice to raise a very intriguing question: do we have in the *wegja,* or its possible Germanic equivalents, the source of one of the most fascinating and revolutionary inventions of Pre-Romanesque architecture, the westwork (Goss 2010b: 20)?

A view of Perun's court "on a mountain," or the tree, the pine on the dry top of which Perun sits, while Veles hides among the wet roots, is easily applicable as an image to the westwork, having a place of distinction at the top (Savior, Emperor, nobleman, relics, St. Michael…) and a tomb/altar at the ground floor. Also please note that in Slovene "vežica" means a mortuary chapel (Goss 2010b: 20-21). One should note that within the core of the Early Medieval Croatian state, Central Dalmatia and the Dalmatian Highlands around Knin, in the ninth and the tenth centuries, there stood a group of buildings displaying characteristics of the contemporary Carolingian architecture, including the westwork. The buildings could be related to the highest officials of the state – this is why I named it the Royal Pre-Romanesque group – and the best preserved example, the church at the source of the Cetina, even bore a dedication to the Savior (Fig. 5). In Croatia there are 12 churches (one is in Hungary) with a western massif as a common feature datable to the ninth or early 10th ct.

Croatian and Lower Pannonian dukes (Borna in 818, Braslav, Pribina, Kocil) and their envoys (Borna, Ljudevit) visiting throughout the 9th ct. Carolingian state gatherings learned by autopsy what was "right" for a ruler's church. They would have seen the westwork of the Palatine Chapel at Aachen, constructed for and by Charlemagne and ruled by the imperial iconography. Could the appearance and precocity of this key motif of Carolingian architecture at the southeastern border of the Empire be also accounted for because the Croats knew, or kept the memory, of the *veža* they used in the old country, and so they

readily accepted the suggestion that the prince's church should be prefaced by a tower? There is no evidence I could offer to substantiate this suggestion, but I think that this is a way of investigation worth pursuing (Goss 2010b: 21).

Charlemagne's empire was the *Imperium Romanum* – resurrected, Aachen was a new, little, Roma, Charlemagne a new Constantine. But neither the Empire nor its art were Roman. Even among the bronze masters of the Chapel, along with almost impeccable classicism of some pieces, there are works which look into the future, toward the art of High Middle Ages (McClendon 2005: 112-113). The same is true of the figured arts of the Court School, as the step from the Coronations Gospels to the Centula or Ada Gospels eloquently testifies. In that, the Palatine Chapel, we submit, plays an enormous creative role. It seems to bring together practically all themes available at the times (Goss 2010b: 21).

I. e., while not denying the classical sources of the Palatine chapel (McClendon 2005: 105-127), each of its parts could, and we believe should be seen as anchored within another, native, northern European memory. We have a *veža*, (*Turris*, World Tree) a centralized "sacred space" based on the number eight (Holy Mountain, Dome of Heaven), and the rectangular sanctuary of the northern architecture in wood (Goss 2010b: 21). Recently, Andrej Pleterski has in a masterful article on the Slavic sanctuaries at Pohansko reinforced my ideas expressed above (Pleterski 2011, 108).

The material we just reviewed even given that there are several loose ends, speaks eloquently for the need to seriously open up the studies of the Early Middle Ages to include the "barbarian" contribution. The dilemma of Western Culture has not been *Oreint oder Rom* or *North versus South* or *Classical versus Barbarian* (Strzygowski 1901, Goss 2015: 519-520). Whereas I firmly stand by an inclusivist position, i.e., *both* Rome *and* the "Barbarians",

and seriously challenge any exclusivist "either/or" theory, I do maintain that there has always been a key dichotomy of complements, rather than opposites – *Urbs and Rus* – as ingenuously captured by Pausanias, sensed by Strzygowski and masterfully outlined by Louis Mumford (Mumford 1961; Pauzanija 2008, Goss 2015: 52). The Christian countryside culture as it evolved throughout the European early middle ages had an ample store of living models of the eternal *rus*, and it was by its own nature most happy to use them. A Holy Mount or a World Tree in a form of a powerful artificial vertical structure carried on that old tradition of the vertical into the orbit of Christian faith to fully blossom out in the two-tower facades of the High Middle Ages (Fig. 16). The *turris* has always been an image of strength, an image of power, and in the case of the Carolingians, a beacon of a New Europe asserting itself after an interregnum of several centuries paving the way for yet another New Europe of the High Middle Ages. An image which creates a new landscape in which there is no more place for a low, boxlike Christian temple. In that, the westwork is a shining example of that "metamorphosis in progress, where principal vector was still art," invoked by Francois Pinault in his introductory words to the Catalogue of the exhibition *Rome and Barbarians* in the Palazzo Grassi (Aillagon 2008: 31). In as much as we do not yet know the exact mechanisms of that metamorphosis, I hope to have demonstrated that we can outline some basic steps in the sacralization of the vertical as a part of European Culture.

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Illustrations

1. Sušak, A Billboard at the Pyramid. Photo V. Goss

2. Triglav in Slovenia. Photo V. Goss

3. Treskavac near Baška, Ljubo de Karina, Glagolitic letter "A." Photo V. Goss

4. Poreč, Basilica Euphrasiana, 6th ct. Photo IPU.

5. Cetina, Savior's Church, late 9th ct. Photo V. Goss

6. Athens, The Parthenon. 447-432. http://c1038.r38.cf3.rackcdn.com/group1/building9161/media/xldx_o_partenon_de_atenas.jpg

7. The Pyramid. https://dncache-mauganscorp.netdna-ssl.com/thumbseg/17/17325-bigthumbnail.jpg

8, Skalica in Slovakia, St. George, 11th ct. and later. Photo V. Jukić

9. Zvarthnots, Cathedral, 543-552, reconstruction. https://borderlessblogger.files.wordpress.com/2014/09/gagkashen-2.png

10. Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, 532-537. http://traveldigg.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Hagia-Sophia_04.jpg

11. Nerezi, St. Panteleimon, 1164. Photo V. Goss

12. Pogano St. Peter, view. Photo V. Goss.

13. Timahoe, Rounded Tower, mid 12th ct. http://gotireland.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Timahoe-Round-Tower-Co.-Laois.jpg

14. Žehra, Holy Ghost, second half of the 13th ct. Photo V. Jukić.

15. Pogano St. Peter, sacred triangle after V. and J. Belaj.

16. Chartres, Cathedral, west façade, 12th ct. and later. Photo V. Goss.

17. Centula, St. Riquier, 799, drawing by Karina Sladović

18. Aachen, Palatine Chapel, 793-805, reconstruction. https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/03/18/f6/0318f661402bb8e96b8b3d9e74501ac6.jpg

19. Aachen, Palatine Chapel, 793-805, section. https://classconnection.s3.amazonaws.com/252/flashcards/1192252/jpg/113748l-1427BBDD2F9775A1DF9.jpg

20. Aachen, Palatine Chapel, 793-805, ground plan. https://cluster71-files.instructure.com/courses/200544/files/2586135/course%20files/15-Carolingian/palatine-plan.jpg


NA VRHU ZAJEDNO!
„Vrh planine je mjesto gdje čovjek može dotaknuti nebo.“
Stipe Božić, alpinist i putopisac
Imex banka
Banka koja Vas sluša

Fig. 1

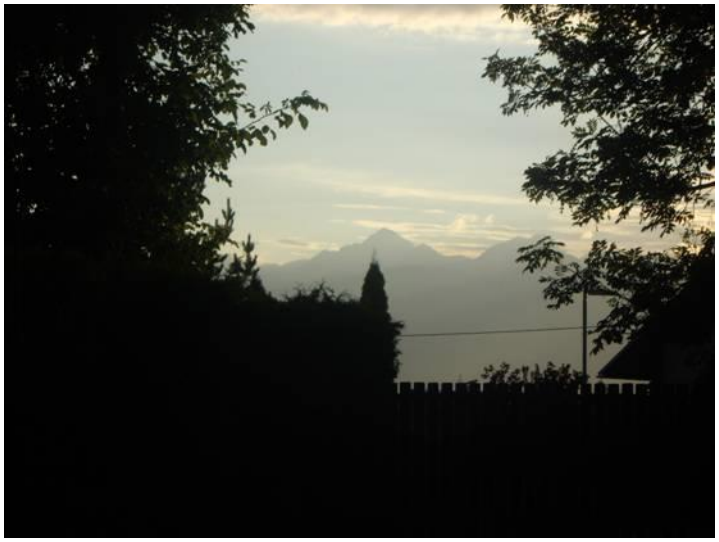

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

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Fig. 8

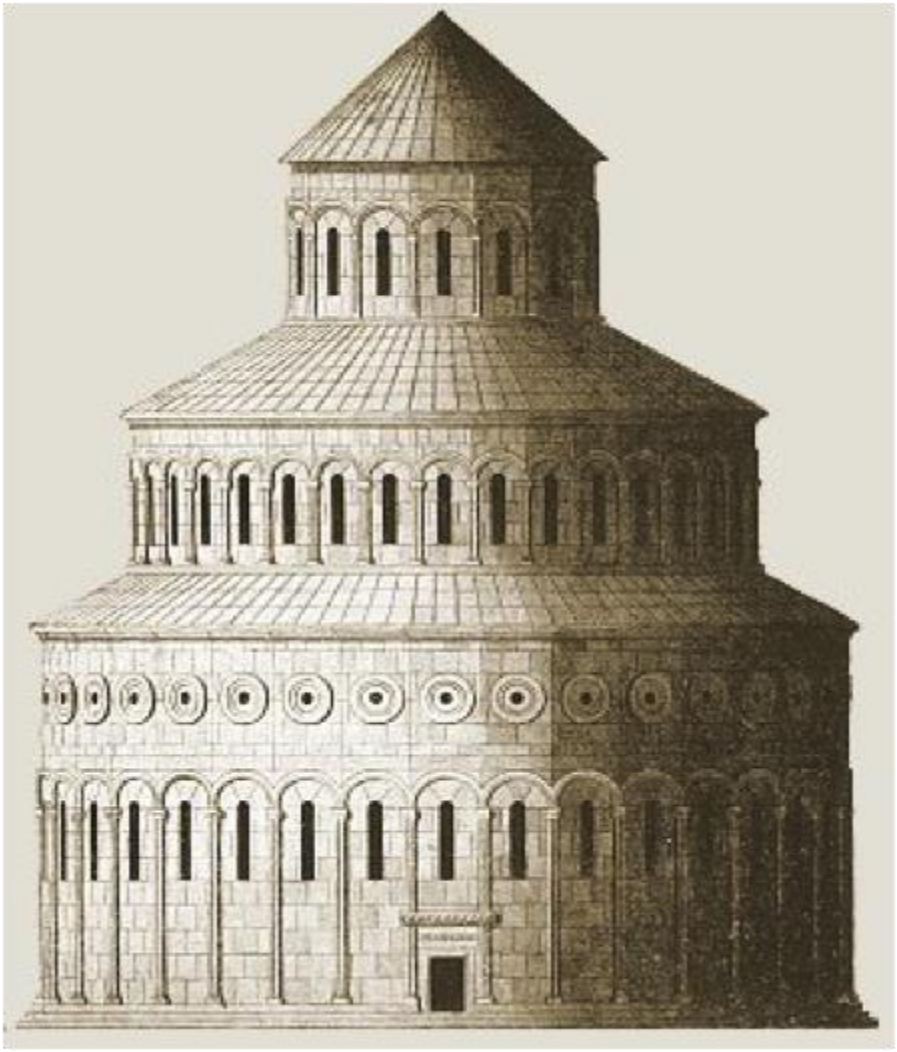


Fig. 9

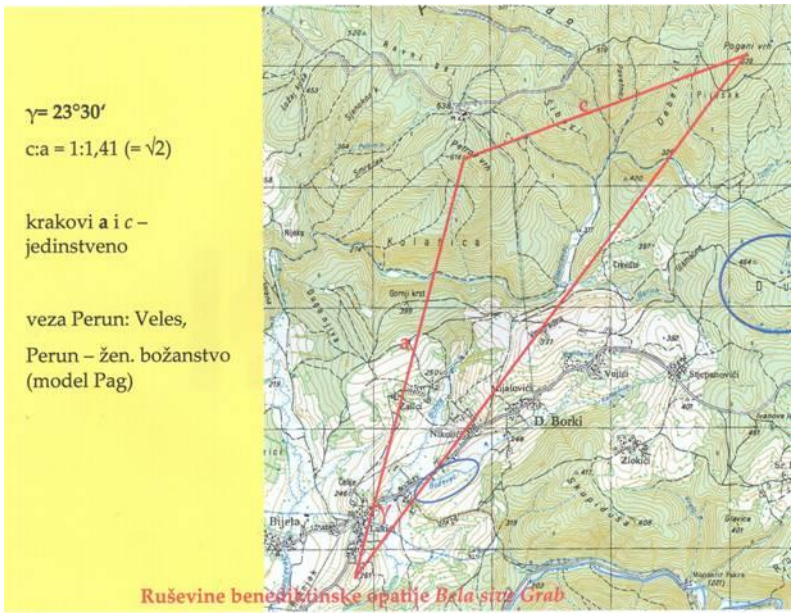
Fig. 10

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

Fig. 13

Fig. 14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D. Borki
Ruševine benediktinske opatije Bela sirč Grab

Fig. 15

Fig. 16

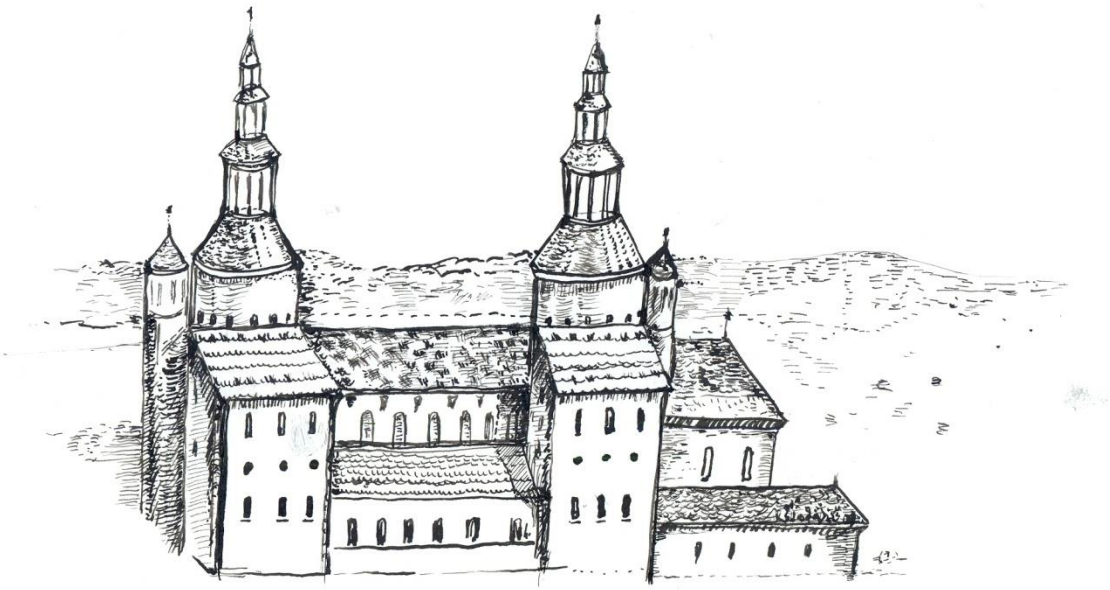

Fig. 17

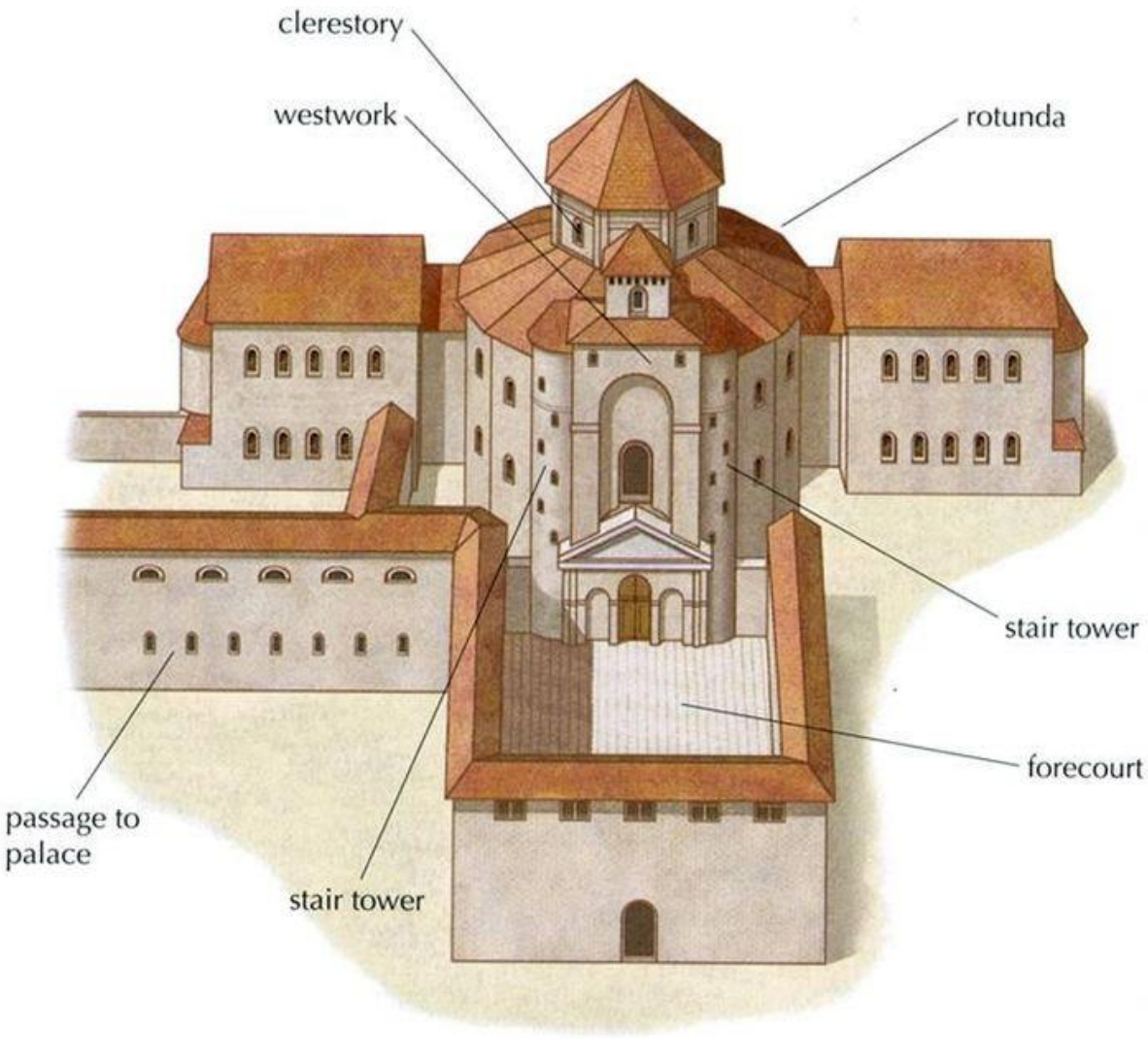
clerestory
westwork
rotunda
stair tower
forecourt
passage to palace
stair tower

Fig. 18

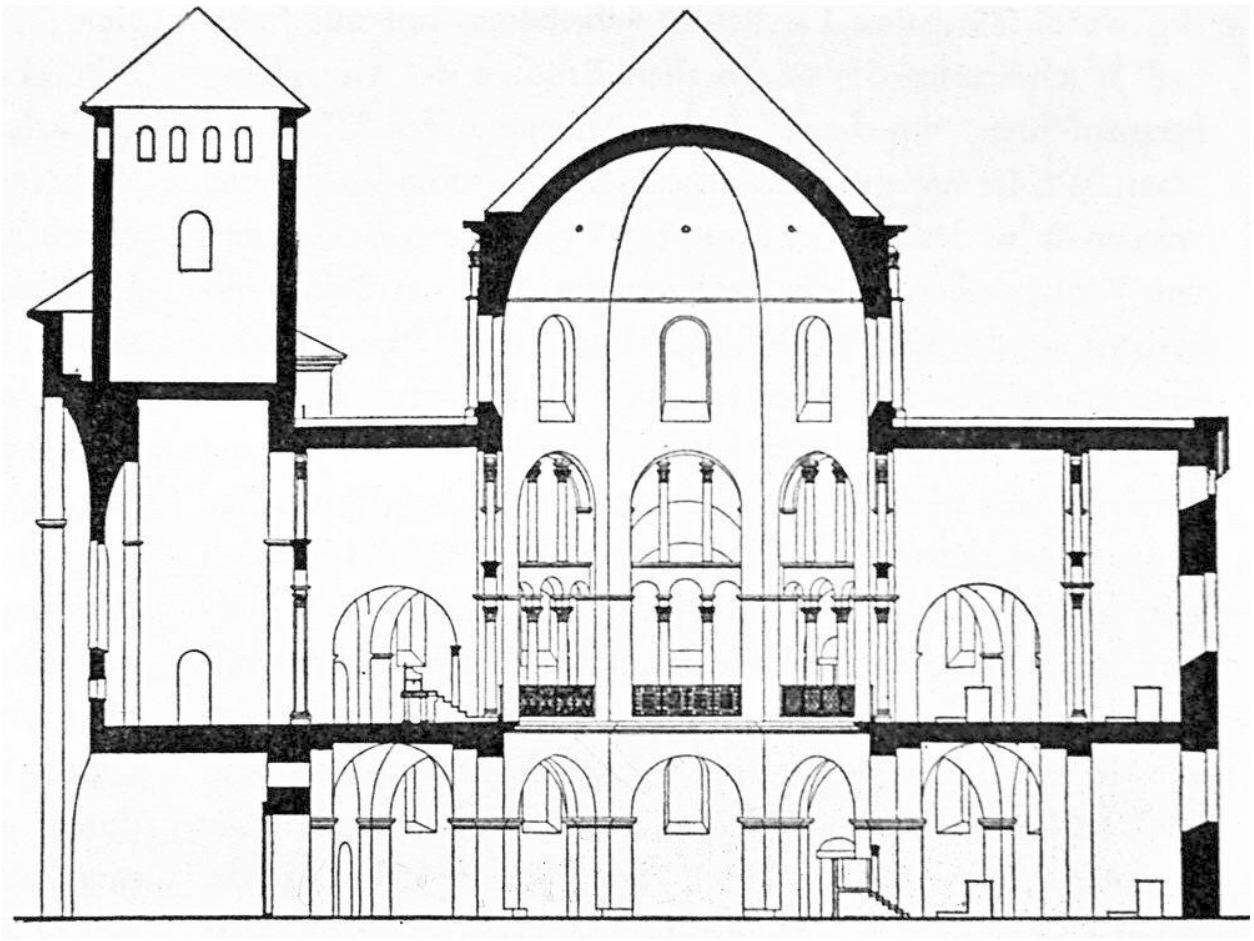

Fig. 19

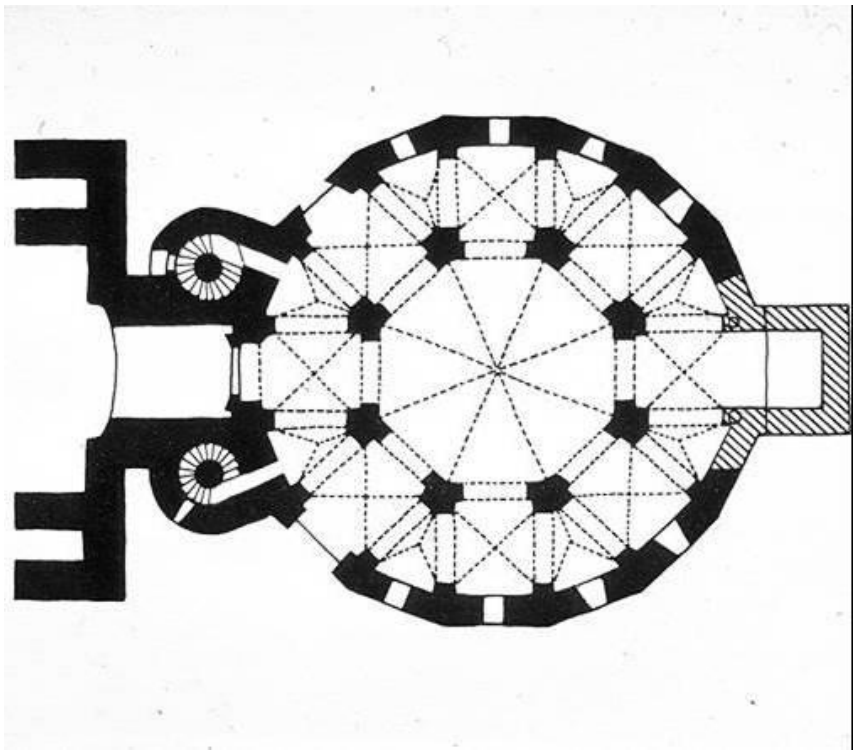

Fig. 20