

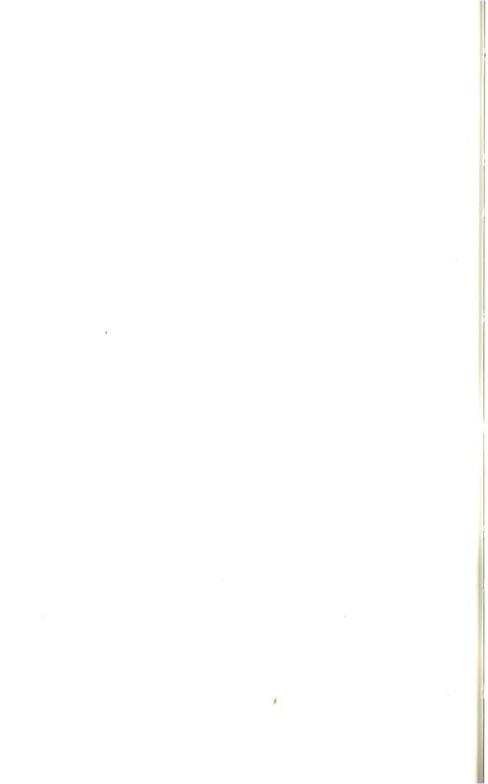


The churches of the early medieval kingdom of Croatia form one of the largest and most interesting groups of buildings in the formative period leading up to the flowering of Romanesque architecture. This book offers the first overall survey and analysis of these buildings, distinguishing a Pre-Romanesque style which can be appreciated in its own right apart from later developments of the Romanesque.

Bringing between one set of covers for the first time over 100 buildings of the period, this scholarly book provides the information necessary for a proper understanding of a little-known but important chapter of early medieval art.

Vladimir Goss took his BA and MA at the University of Zagreb and his PhD at Cornell. He is Director of the Ridgeway Arts Center in Hillsborough, North Carolina, USA.

EARLY CROATIAN ARCHITECTURE



EARLY CROATIAN ARCHITECTURE

a study of the Pre-Romanesque

Vladimir P. Goss



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Preface

While I am fully aware that this book is only a step towards a clearer picture of an important and still inadequately known chapter of early medieval art, I hope that it will be found a useful introduction to the fascinating subject of Early Croatian architecture, and that the catalogue and illustrations, bringing between one set of covers for the first time over a hundred Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque buildings, will serve to provide essential information on every building and so prove a handy tool for scholars working in the field.

Since the text was completed new ideas have been generated and new discoveries made – both by my colleagues and by me – but upon the most recent review I am convinced that no substantial changes are needed. Thus the latest research has raised doubts about the form, indeed the very existence, of the Baptistery at Nin (Catalogue No. 7) and St. Peter in Muć (No. 10); and the question which church on the island in Solin is St. Mary and which St. Stephen (Nos. 33 and 35) has been discussed yet again, the latest suggestion being that the larger northern church (No. 35) was indeed St. Stephen while the smaller southern church did not exist before the seventeenth century. But as there seems to be no clear consensus on these issues, I have left my Catalogue entries 7, 10, 33 and 35 unchanged.

It remains for me to pay tribute to the many institutions and individuals who have helped and encouraged me. A Cornell University graduate fellowship gave me the opportunity to continue my graduate studies. Without this generous support my doctoral thesis and, consequently, this book would never have been written. I am deeply grateful to Cornell University, the Cornell Graduate School, the Departments of History of Art and History and their Faculties, my advisor Professor Robert G. Calkins, and Professors Albert S. Roe, Brian Tierney, Esther G. Dotson and James J. John, whose intelligence, guidance and patience contributed enormously to my completion of the work.

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I have benefited at many points from the instruction, encouragement and advice of scholars whose knowledge and understanding of the subject have been immensely stimulating and who, in many cases, have kindly given me permission to use the illustrative material in their possession. I am particularly indebted for these courtesies to Dr Grgo Gamulin, Professor of Art History at the School of Arts and Sciences and the former Head of the Art History Institute of the Croatian University of Zagreb: Dr Milan Prelog, Professor of Art History of the School of Arts and Sciences and Head of the Art History Institute; Dr Ivo Petricioli, Professor of Art History of Zadar University: Dr Andre Mohorovičić, Member of the Academy, Professor of Art History at the School of Architecture of the Croatian University of Zagreb: Dr Stipe Guniača, Member of the Academy, Director of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments and the Institute of National Archaeology of Split; members and staff of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments and the Institute of National Archaeology of Split, particularly Mr Duje Jelovina: Dr Zdenko Vinski and Dr Ksenija Vinski-Gasparini, Senior Custodians of the Archaeological Museum of Zagreb; Rev. Dr Marijan Grgić, Head Custodian of the Museum of Croatian Sacred Art at Zadar: to Dr Miroslav Brandt, Professor of History at the School of Arts and Sciences of the Croatian University of Zagreb: Ms Melita Viličić, Assistant Professor of Architectural History at the School of Architecture of the Croatian University of Zagreb; Dr Cvito Fisković, Director of the Regional Institute for the Preservation of Monuments at Split, and Mr Davor Domančić and Mr Ivo Babić, Members of the Institute; Dr Tomislav Marasović, Member of the Urban Planning Institute of Dalmatia at Split; Dr Dubravka Beritić, Director of the Dubrovnik Institute for the Preservation of Monuments, and her father and former Director of the Institute, the late Captain Lukša Beritić; Dr Angjela Horvat, former Senior Research Member at the Zagreb Institute for the Preservation of Monuments of the Republic of Croatia; Ms Ksenija Radulić, Director of the Preservation of Monuments Institute of Zadar; Rev. Ante Dračevac of Ston: the Directors and the Staff of the

Archaeological Museum of Zadar, Archaeological Museum of Osor, the City Museum of Nin, the Museum of the City of Biograd, the Museum of the City of Šibenik, the City Museum of

Trogir, and the University Library of Zagreb.

Finally, special thanks are due to my dear friends. Mr Vladimir Bedenko, Assistant Professor of Architectural History at the School of Architecture of the Croatian University of Zagreb, and Mr Dražen Smaić, with whom I had the pleasure of sharing many an agreeable moment on our research trips all over Croatia: to my mother, Dr Sena Gvozdanović-Sekulić, Professor of Architectural History at the School of Architecture of the Croatian University of Zagreb, who has been endlessly helpful in supplying drawings and photographs and who has assisted me in ways both innumerable and indispensable; to Ms Višnja Gyozdanović, B. Arch., who shared many of my research trips and, with rare patience, copied many of the drawings and supplied the maps: to Professors Jean O'Meara and Christopher C. Dahl of the English Faculty of the Department of Humanities. University of Michigan-Dearborn; and to Ms Frances C. Locher, who kindly undertook the difficult task of improving the linguistic aspects of the manuscript.

A final word of appreciation I owe to all those people whom I have had the pleasure of meeting during my work and who extended to me their friendly advice, encouragement or

hospitality.

September 1986

V.G.

Croatian names and their English or Latin equivalents

Sv. stands for Sveti (masculine) or Sveta (feminine) meaning Saint.

Croatian English or Latin

Andrew Andrija Anthony Ante Barbara Barbara Damian Damjan Daniel Danijel Dimitri Dimitrije Donat Donatus Euphemia Eufemija Philip Filip Elias Ilija John Ivan Jakov James Jurai George Kliment Clement Križ Cross

Krševan Chrysogonus Cosmas Kuzma Lovro Lawrence Lucija Lucy Luka Luke Maksim Maxim Mary Marija Marta Martha Martin Martin Michael Mihailo Michael Mihovil Moisije Moses Nedeljica Domenica

Victor

Croatian English or Latin

Nikola Nicholas
Pelegrin Peregrine
Petar Peter
Platon Plato

Sigurata Transfiguration

Silvestar Silvester Spas Saviour Srđ Sergius Stjepan Stephen Stošija Anastasia Teodor or Tudor Theodore Toma Thomas Trifun Triphon Trojica Trinity Vid Vitalis

Viktor



Illustrations

Unless noted otherwise, the photographs were taken by the author or belong to the collection jointly owned by the author and Professor Sena Gvozdanović-Sekulić of the Croatian University of Zagreb, who is the author of all the drawings.

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Introduction

It may be thought that I should first offer a definition of 'Pre-Romanesque' and 'Romanesque'. Yet, to begin with a definition, which is likely to be a result of the study itself, seems awkward. I would prefer to present my argument and show the reader how my concept of the two styles developed logically through the study of the monuments. To avoid stating the conclusion before the argument, while still giving the reader some idea of how I define the terms, I will say a few words about the 'history' of my research. The first question I had to resolve for myself was: 'What is Romanesque?' The position I accepted drawing heavily. I hasten to add, on the work of numerous distinguished scholars in the field - is that the Romanesque is a style characterized by clarity and rational organization of structure: a style in which the exterior of a building reflects the interior. The spatial organization is clearly projected on both the interior and exterior wall surfaces and can be grasped through an investigation of the architectural mass. In terms of engineering. the external supports logically correspond to the interior supports. This structural clarity can also be seen as a clarity of exposition - the way the architect 'speaks' to his public about his most intimate artistic principles.

If we accept this as a starting point, we may as a second step postulate that Pre-Romanesque architecture will not display the logic and clarity we have attributed to the Romanesque as its essential characteristic. By insisting upon this basic stylistic difference we hope to move towards a definition of the Pre-Romanesque as a style, a result of a specific artistic concept

¹ See, for example, Baum (1928), pp. 23-4; Beckwith (1964), p. 153; Bréhier (1941), p. 40; Conant (1959), pp. 11, 28-9, 30, 42-5, 57-9, 67; Clapham (1936), p. 23; Dyggve (1951), pp. 136-7; Enlart (1902), vol. 1, p. 199; Focillion (1963), vol. 1, pp. 66ff.; Francastel (1942), pp. 104ff.; Frankl (1963), pp. 11, 13; Kubach (1975), pp. 11, 15; Pevsner (1963), pp. 56-7; Puig i Cadafalch (1928); Saalman (1962), p. 30.

or vision, and not just a clutch of buildings not vet perfectly 'Romanesque' or, very crudely, chronologically 'before the Romanesque'. Considering the Pre-Romanesque as a style, rather than as a group of monuments built by architects no doubt suffering from an inferiority complex because they never attained the Romanesque 'perfection', proved of considerable importance for our project. The bulk of the existing literature on the group of buildings we wished to examine, traditionally known as 'early Croatian', tended to see it as one solid block of 'Pre-Romanesque' works chronologically preceding the advent of the Romanesque which, in Croatia, can be dated firmly to around 1100. Thus the 109 buildings now on record, constructed between c. 800 - the date of the conversion of the Croats to Christianity - and 1100, were most frequently seen as 'Pre-Romanesque'. If terms such as 'early' or 'incipient' Romanesque were used, the examples selected were rather arbitrary and the selection was made on the basis of the size or secondary element traditionally 'Romanesque', for example the arched corbel tables.

However, the research of the most prominent scholars in the field after the Second World War, such as the typological studies made by Tomislav Marasović, and the excavations and discoveries of Stipe Gunjača and Ivo Petricioli, indicates that the material cannot be regarded any longer as a solid block. It is a complex body of various currents and undercurrents coexistent in time and often present within the same micro-region or town.

By applying our criterion that the Pre-Romanesque does not display the logic and clarity of the Romanesque, we have succeeded in identifying within our material two distinct families: a large, Pre-Romanesque family and a much smaller family showing the characteristics of the incipient Romanesque, which, as we shall show, constitutes the local variant of the 'First Romanesque Art'.

Furthermore, within the Pre-Romanesque group itself we have distinguished between those buildings reflecting the earlier, pre-Slavic, local traditions, and the buildings related to contemporary Pre-Romanesque architecture, more precisely, Carolingian architecture. Thus we have systematized the material into three groups, partly or completely coeval:

1. The Traditional Pre-Romanesque, consisting of numerous

buildings of various shapes and sizes, inspired, in general, by the local tradition - Late Roman, Early Christian or Early Byzantine. The monuments of this group are scattered all over the territory of the early medieval kingdom of Croatia (as we shall define it shortly) and appear during the whole period between the end of the eighth and the beginning of the twelfth century.

2. The Royal Pre-Romanesque, formed by a restricted number of larger and more representative buildings, such as cathedrals. important monastery churches and royal foundations. Relatively simple longitudinal plans were enriched in most cases by the introduction of the westwork. The monuments of this group are concentrated in Central Dalmatia, the heart of the early medieval kingdom of Croatia, but they also spread to the peripheral zones. The earliest are datable to the ninth century, and they continued to be built well into the eleventh.

3. The Early Romanesque, consisting again of a limited number of buildings showing the earliest indications of the development of a new, Romanesque, style. The monuments of this group are centered on the northern and central coastland

and date from the second half of the eleventh century.

A detailed discussion of these three groups is the main task of the first part of this book. A few words will be said about the scanty remains of the architecture of the seventh and eighth centuries, and a few about the legacy of early Croatian architecture for later periods and styles. By discussing the three groups as well as the individual monuments, we hope to substantiate our initial hypothesis about the stylistic differences between the Pre-Romanesque and the Romanesque, and so create a better understanding of the Pre-Romanesque as a style.

The goal can therefore be defined as twofold: first, a synthetic study of a group of early medieval architectural monuments on the territory of an early medieval political unit; second, an examination of the stylistic properties of Pre-Romanesque architecture in the light of the material under consideration.

A few technical remarks follow:

We shall rely as much as possible on the evidence of firmly dated monuments. We shall accept as firmly dated buildings mentioned by the bona fide historical sources, or authenticated by inscriptions or datable archaeological objects (such as coins).

It would be methodologically unsound to base the dates of the architecture on the forms of the accompanying sculpture alone, though this source of evidence should not be entirely disregarded. Interlace sculpture was used in Croatia throughout the period under consideration. It became obsolete toward the end of the eleventh century, as shown by the sculpture of dated monuments such as Sv. Marija in Zadar (around 1105). In general, the appearance of interlace reliefs in a building indicates a date before 1100. Certain types of relief displaying more naturalistic vegetal and zoomorphic elements, or even introducing the human figure, point towards a late-eleventh-century date.

It seems equally unsound to base dates on the palaeographic characteristics of the inscriptions. The development of Latin scripts on the eastern Adriatic coast is not established and the problems are far from resolved. The palaeographic evidence

should still be treated with the utmost caution.

The second part of the book contains a catalogue organized as far as possible according to the three groups outlined above and the types within the groups themselves. The monuments of each group or type are listed more or less in hypothetical chronological order. A group of 'problem buildings' which may or may not date from the Early Croatian period is added at the end. To make the first part of the book less cumbersome detailed discussion of the dates of the individual buildings is presented in the catalogue. Each catalogue entry therefore consists of a brief description of the building, an outline of its archaeological history and the evidence for its dating. Needless to say, all the monuments listed in the catalogue are churches. Very little is known about fortifications, palaces or homes, or about architecture in perishable materials.

In describing architecture one ought to avoid vague terms. We have tried to avoid them as much as possible. Words such as 'left' and 'right' refer to the spectator's view as he faces the presbytery or the façade. The elements are counted from the entrance towards the altar which, if not specifically mentioned, occupies the eastern end of the church. All the measurements are expressed in metric units. Where not cited, they are unavailable. The scale of the measured drawings, unless stated otherwise, is 1:400.

The territory under consideration coincides more or less with the present-day State of Croatia, one of the six republics of the Federation of Southern Slavs – Yugoslavia. The few exceptions occur only where present political borders do not correspond with

the political and ethnic borders of the Middle Ages.

In the Early Middle Ages the territory in question formed more than one political unit. Besides the Duchy – later Kingdom – of Croatia, there were the Byzantine province of Dalmatia and the small principalities of Neretva, Hum and Travunia which formed a buffer zone between Croatia and another early southern Slavic state of consequence, the Kingdom of Doclea, on the territory of the present-day Yugoslav republic of Montenegro. The coastal part of these principalities is today within the boundaries of Croatia.

The Croats are not the original population of the country they inhabit today (Map 1). They seem to be of Iranian, non-Slavic stock and can be traced back to the northern slopes of the Caucasian mountains, whence they gradually migrated westwards until they reached Silesia and Galicia, where they formed

the powerful state of White Croatia.

The chronology of the migration is obscure, but White Croatia was certainly founded before the seventh century.² A number of Croats, as recorded both by a native legend and Byzantine sources, moved southward in about 625, at a time when the Byzantine Empire was involved in a struggle with the Avars who, together with their Slavic allies, had reduced the imperial possessions on the Balkans two decades earlier and were actually besieging Constantinople itself. The Croats fought their way into the former Roman province of Dalmatia, stirred up a rebellion of the Salvic tributaries under the Avar yoke, defeated the Avars and expelled them into the central and eastern parts of the

² Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio, I, pp. 142-5, 152-3; II, pp. 94-8, 114-6, 118. The edition used throughout this book is that of Gyula Moravcsik, English translation by R.J.H. Jenkins, (Budapest; Pazmany Peter Tudomany Egyeteni Gorog Filiologiai Intezet, 1949 – hereafter cited as De administrando, I); commentary by F. Dvornik, R.J.H. Jenkins, B. Lewis. G. Moravcsik, D. Obolensky, S. Runciman (London: Athlone Press, 1962 – hereafter cited as De administrando, II). Dvornik (1948), pp. 268-97. The native name Hrvat, signifying Croat, is of an uncertain origin but is definitely not Slavic. Having been for centuries in a constant contact with the Slavs, the Croats had undergone an almost complete Slavicization by the time they reached the Balkans. See Šišić (1962), pp. 83-4; Klaić (1971), pp. 62-3.

Pannonic Plain, where their power was finally destroyed two

centuries later by Charlemagne.8

Little is known about the history of the Croats during their first two centuries in the new country. When they settled in the Balkans, they were pagans but not savages. Their material culture was comparable to that of the other peoples who appeared on the European scene during the Migration period. For example, the earrings from a chieftain's tomb at Cadavica on the Drava, dating from the early seventh century, show analogies with the Martinovka culture in Ukraine, one of the regions through which the Croats passed during their westward migration and with which White Croatia had a common border.4 More information becomes available after 800, when the Croats were Christianized by Frankish missionaries. At this point there were two Croatian duchies: Coastal Croatia, stretching from the Raša River in Istria to the Neretva and comprising both Dalmatian and Croatian Highlands, as well as parts of Western Bosnia but not including the cities and islands of the Byzantine province of Dalmatia; and Continental Croatia in the south-western corner of the Pannonic Plain (Map 2). Both duchies recognized the Frankish overlordship. After an unsuccessful rebellion against the Franks led by Duke Ljudevit of Continental Croatia (c. 810-823), leadership passed to the coastal duchy. The Franks were expelled in about 870 by Duke Domagoi (864-876), while Duke Branimir (879-892), one of his immediate successors, obtained the Pope's recognition of independence.5

The two duchies were united under Tomislav (c. 910-c. 928), the first Croatian ruler to assume the title of king. Tomislav put an end to the Hungarian incursions into Continental Croatia and towards the end of his life defeated the Bulgarian army of the Emperor Simeon, who died from a stroke on learning the outcome of the battle (927). The first Croatian king seems to have been the first Croatian ruler to administer, with the consent of Constantinople, the Byzantine possessions in Dalmatia. Once a Roman province, Dalmatia was reduced, by the Avaro-Slavic invasions of the early seventh century and subsequently by

³ Šišić (1962), pp. 86-7. Einhard (1967), pp. 37-9.

⁴ Vinski (1952).

Klaić (1971), pp. 250-9.
 Šišić (1962), pp. 119-24.

Croatian settlement, to a number of fortified towns in the coastal zone and a couple of islands inhabited by Romanized Illyrians. Dalmatian Romans or Latins, or simply Dalmatians.7 The province consisted of the city of Osor (Absarum) on the island of Cres, Krk (Vecla or Currictum) on Krk, Rab (Arbe) on Rab, Zadar (Iadera), Trogir (Tragurion), Kotor (Dekatera), Roze, Budva, Bar, Ulcini, the island of Vrgada, possibly some other islands of the Zadar archipelago, the island of Solta in front of Split, and the Dubrovnik islands.8 Two new urban centres were formed by the fugitives from the destroyed cities. Split (Asphalatos), in and around the Palace of Diocletian, mostly populated by the refugees from Salona, the former capital of Roman Dalmatia, and Dubrovnik (Ragusion), founded by the fugitives from the neighbouring city of Epidaurus.9 The centre of this reduced Dalmatia was Zadar. The cities were naturally important centres of dissemination of ancient culture among the Slavic newcomers, who soon began to infiltrate the cities. During the period under consideration, especially towards its second half, the Byzantine province had already become highly Slavicized. Statistical studies are unfortunately missing. but some preliminary evaluations have shown that the Slavic Croatian element amounted to about 80 per cent of the total population of Dalmatia.10

The relationship between the Dalmatian centres and Croatian rulers was officially defined for the first time in about 870, when the towns were obliged to start paying the Croatian rulers a yearly tributum pacis of 720 golden nomismata. Tomislav and some other tenth- and eleventh-century Croatian rulers styled themselves Kings of Croatia and Dalmatia, but it is difficult to establish how much control they really exercised over the Byzantine province. 2

⁷ Šišić (1962), pp. 47-9, 63-4, 80-3. Klaić (1971), pp. 112-9.

^a Whether the islands such as Pag, Ugljan, Pašman, Dugi and some others among the Zadar islands belonged to the Byzantine province is still an open question (Klaić (1971), p. 119).

De administrando, I, pp. 134-9. Thomas, Historia Salonitana, pp. 28-33. The edition used throughout this book is that of Franjo Rački (Zagreb: Jngoslavenska Akademija, 1894 – hereafter cited as Thomas, Historia). Novak (1957), vol. 1, pp. 42-6.

¹⁰ Klaić, (1971), pp. 338, 397, map 7.

¹¹ De administrando, II, pp. 146-7. Klaić (1971), pp. 242-4. Šišić (1962), p. 88.

¹² Klaić (1971), p. 323.

Tomislav's reign was followed by a period of civil wars, ending with the accession to the throne of Stjepan Držislav (969-997), who bore the title of the King of Croatia and Dalmatia and was recognized by Constantinople as a patricius imperii. He also had overlordship of the duchies of Neretva and Hum, and his power extended as far as the banks of the Danube. After Držislav's death, during the civil war of the year 1000, Doge Otto Orseolo submitted the cities of Byzantine Dalmatia, for the first time and for a very short period, to Venetian rule.¹⁸

The Kingdom experienced a new period of power and prosperity during the reign of Stjepan I (1030-1058), Petar Krešimir IV (1058-1075?) and especially Dimitri Zvonimir (1075?-1088). Aspiring to maintain an independent policy in spite of the threats from Byzantium, the Holy Roman Empire, Venice, Hungary and the South Italian Normans, Zvonimir recognized Pope Gregory VII as his liege lord. From a papal legate he received the crown of Croatia and Dalmatia, and his grip over the Byzantine province was far from formal.

Unfortunately his son died before him, so that after a period of interregnum the crown passed to the Hungarian kings (1102) related to the Croatian royal family. The change of dynasty did not mean an end of Croatian independence. The land retained its customs, assemblies, army and money, and the king was required to undergo a special coronation with the Croatian crown. From 1102 until 1918 Croatia shared the fate of Hungary as a separate kingdom within the Hungarian Commonwealth ruled by the Arpad dynasty (1102-1301), the dynasty of the Anjou of Naples in the fourteenth century, and the Luxemburg, Jagelonian, Hapsburg and Corvinian kings of the fifteenth and

¹⁴ Klaić, (1971), pp. 384-94. For similar decision on the part of some other contemporary rulers (King of Aragon in 1089, Count of Besalu, 1077, Count of Barcelona, 1090) see Southern (1959), p. 123.

¹⁸ The Venetian domination in medieval Dalmatia has been overemphasized. The only city Venice held for a considerable period of time was Zadar (1202-1358). In 1409, Venice bought the royal rights to Dalmatia from Ladislas of Naples, an unsuccessful pretender to the Croatian throne, and managed to impose its rule over all of the coastland except for a strip between Rijeka and Novigrad and the Dubrovnik Republic. Venetian rule ceased with the fall of the Republic in 1797. For the struggles between Venice and Croatia and, after 1102, Hungaro-Croatian Kings see Sišić (1962), pp. 168-70, 174, 180, 182, 205-6, 208, 210, 213, 221, 222-4; Klaić (1971), pp. 337-8, 340, 347, 381ff., 515, 517ff.

¹⁶ Klaić (1971), p. 378.

¹⁶ Klaić (1971), p. 537.

early sixteenth century. This special status was never forfeited, even when Croatia's independence was gradually infringed after the final instalment of the Hapsburgs on the Hungaro-Croatian throne in 1526. The present-day Socialist Republic of Croatia is heir to this historical-political unit.

Most of the Early Croatian sites are located inside the triangle whose points are represented by the cities of Zadar, Knin and Split.17 This area coincides with the core of the Croatian state and the territories of the most important Dalmatian centres: Zadar, the seat of Byzantine administration, and Split, the seat of the Archbishop of Croatia and Dalmatia. Within the same zone were the ancient Croatian capitals Nin, Biograd and Knin and important county seats such as Bribir and Klis. A number of royal estates, or curtes, were also located in this region; at Sumartin to the south of Split, at Rižinice near Klis and at Bijaći near Trogir. The whole county of Podmorje, between Trogir, Split and Klis, was the king's land. The fertile lowland region in the background of Zadar, Nin and Biograd was one of the most coveted parts of the country, which naturally accounts for the high concentration of monuments in and around these towns, and around Bribir in the hinterland. They abound near the fertile soils of Pridraga, Korlat and Kašić, Rarely close to the sea (as at Ravaniska, Bibinje, or Sukošan), they tend to be at a safe distance from the shore, which was often raided by pirates: for example, Rogovo and Vrsi near Zadar, or Sudanel, Bijaći, Žestini, Radun, Putali, Rižinice, Maidan, Žrnovnica further south.

Signs of Pre-Romanesque building activity are frequent on the Zadar islands, one of the best fishing areas in the Adriatic. Buildings or their traces have been recorded on Pašman, Ugljan, Iž, Dugi Otok and Vrgada. There are few Pre-Romanesque localities between the Zadar and the Split group. This part of the coastland is inhospitable, and arable land is scarce.

The diffusion of monuments in the Dalmatian Highlands is determined by a few stretches of fertile land, in the centre of which lies Knin, one of the early Croatian capitals, and by the valleys of the Krka and Cetina rivers (for example, Biskupija with its five Pre-Romanesque churches, Uzdolje, Cetina,

¹⁷ Here we are considering both those sites which have completely preserved or fragmentary monuments of architecture and those where there are fragments of sculpture only.

Koljani, Brnazi). Farther in the hinterland, traces of Pre-Romanesque building activity have been found in the valleys of Glamoč and Livno.

Besides the richest central area there are two secondary zones: the northern Adriatic or the Kvarner, and southern Dalmatia around Dubrovnik and the gulf of Kotor. In the gulf of Kvarner. most of the monuments are found on the island of Osor (consisting of the islands of Cres and Losini), Krk, Rab and Pag. On the adjacent coast they are rare. In the Podgorje region, between Senj and Ravaniska, not a single Pre-Romanesque fragment has so far been recorded. The slopes of the Velebit fall steeply to the sea, providing little opportunity for the development of settlements. Behind the mountain, however, lie the fertile valleys of the rivers Gacka, Lika and Krbava; and indeed fragments of interlace sculpture have been discovered in Mogorić on the Lika. This was probably not the only Pre-Romanesque locality of the Croatian Highlands, but we have to remember that the region was systematically raided during the Turkish wars from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. 18 The 'cultural' line between the northern coastland and Central Dalmatia seems to have run from Senj through the Highlands to Knin. A similar situation is found on the territory between the Cetina and the Neretva. No evidence of monuments has been demonstrated on the steep seaside slopes of the Biokovo, whereas a few fragments of interlace sculpture have been found behind the mountain, at Podlablie and Gorica.

The big central and southern Dalmatian islands, except for Brač, a typical agricultural island, are poor in Pre-Romanesque monuments. There is one, apparently very late, building on Vis and one on Lastovo, two localities on Korčula, and one on the neighbouring islet of Majsan. Fragments of interlace sculpture have been discovered on Mljet. The reason for this scarcity may be that these parts, belonging to the duchy of Neretva, resisted Christianization longer than any other section of the Croatian coastland, and were converted only in the tenth century.

The Pelješac peninsula again is richer, and the concentration of monuments grows as we approach Dubrovnik. Besides the city itself and its surroundings (Dubac, Rožat, Komolac and Slano) many monuments have been recorded on the Dubrovnik islands.

¹⁸ Horvat (1959).

A few have also recently been unearthed in the fertile Župa and

Konavli region between Dubrovnik and the Gulf of Kotor.

In the interior of the country fragments of interlace sculpture have been discovered in Sisak, ancient Siscia, the capital of continental Croatia in the ninth century. In Zagreb, where a bishopric was founded in 1094, a Pre-Romanesque capital was discovered within the foundation walls of the Romanesque cathedral. Another centre may have existed farther to the north west, in the fertile and well-protected area of Transmontane Croatia inhabited since prehistoric times. Fragments of interlace sculpture have been found at Lobor, and the churches of Sv. Križ at Budinšćina and Sv. Juraj at Belec may have been constructed on the ruins of earlier buildings. It is interesting to note that the only two Pre-Romanesque churches still existing in Slovenia are at Svete Gore, across the border of Transmontane Croatia.

The ruins of a chapel discovered at Vinkovci in Slavonia, datable to about 1100 on the basis of Arpadian coins, is the only monument of Pre-Romanesque architecture so far recorded in Continental Croatia. The recent discovery of a building underneath the Romanesque church of Sv. Luka in Slavonska Požega, once thoroughly examined, may contribute new information about early medieval architecture in the Croatian

part of the Pannonic plain,22

The interior of the country needs to be further explored and we may anticipate a few further discoveries; but the overall picture is hardly likely to change substantially. The diffusion of monuments seems to show that the politically most prominent coastal parts of early medieval Croatia were also its artistically most productive areas.

Finally, we should say something of the major scholarly contributions to the study of Pre-Romanesque art and

architecture in Croatia.

The growth of interest in native Pre-Romanesque art, usually referred to today as 'Early Croatian', was closely connected to the Romantic movement and the struggle for national independence in the second half of the nineteenth century. The

20 Stahuljak (1950).

²¹ Zadnikar (1959), pp. 43-6.

¹⁹ Horvat (1954). Deanović (1963).

²² Dimitrijević (1966), pp. 45-50. For the information on Sv. Luka I am indebted to Mrs Sena Gvozdanović-Sekulić. No details are yet available.

first amateur archaeologists were recruited from among nationally conscious village teachers and priests, small landowners and merchants. Outstanding among them is Luio Marun. Guardian of the Franciscan Friary of Knin, founder of the Croatian Archaeological Society (1887) who, through his excavations at Biskupija, Žažvić, Cetina and Bribir, laid the foundations of Croatian medieval archaeology, and by his discoveries supplied the first materials for the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments - an institution once in Knin and now in Split which since its opening in 1893 has grown into the richest early Slavic museum in the world. 28 However, the first comprehensive study of early Croatian art, Starohrvatska umjetnost (Early Croatian Art, Zagreb 1927) came from the pen of a foreigner, the Austrian Josef Strzygowski. Strzygowski believed that early Croatian art was a reflection of the barbarian. Germano-Slavic art of the north. He assumed that the early Croatian buildings were stone versions of the lost timber structures that the Croats apparently used to build in White Croatia. Strzygowski cited as comparative material the late medieval and post-medieval wooden churches of northern and north-eastern Europe which, he thought, reproduced the early medieval models.

Strzygowski's book stirred up discussion among native scholars, the result of which was Liubo Karaman's Iz kolijevke hrvatske prošlosti (The Cradle of Croatian History, Zagreb 1930), still the most systematic survey of Early Croatian art. Karaman raised doubts about the validity of Strzygowski's ideas. Strzygowski had relied heavily on late medieval materials from Scandinavia without submitting any evidence for the existence of similar forms in Poland and Ukraine, where the Croats came from. Karaman pointed out also that we know next to nothing about early Croatian architecture in wood, and that Strzygowski's thesis neglected entirely the tradition of the Dalmatian Romans.24 To Karaman, the early medieval art of Croatia was an independent phenomenon due to the specific, peripheral position of the country on the borderline between East and West. Since no great models were available, the masters developed their own structural and aesthetic solutions, so simple that they could appear within any cultural milieu under similar conditions.26 Later, in numerous

²³ For Marun's career see Gunjača (1958a).

Karaman (1930), pp. 33-51.
 Ibid. pp. 51-8.

books, articles and reviews, Karaman modified his thesis somewhat, allowing for the influence of local Antique art, but he continued to insist on the freedom of choice exercised by early Croatian artists in taking over and reworking the borrowed elements. He may have overstressed the modesty and non-monumentality of early Croatian architecture. He only touched on the problem of monumental structures, relegating them to the eleventh century and classifying them as early

Romanesque monuments influenced by Italy.27

The major critic of Karaman's ideas was the Danish architect and archaeologist Einar Dyggve, who devoted a chapter in Forschungen in Salona (1939) and The History of Salonitan Christianity (1950) to the problem of the rise of early Croatian architecture.28 For him the Pre-Romanesque monuments of Croatia are copies of local small-scale architecture of late Antiquity. As evidence he submitted a table comparing the plans of early Croatian and local, late Antique, buildings. As regards the ground plans there is indeed a striking similarity, but the ground plan is only one element of the building. In answer, Karaman noted that Dyggve relied heavily on the comparative material from Istria and northern Italy without demonstrating its relevance for the Dalmatian part of the east Adriatic coastland. Some of Dyggve's plans were incorrect and many of his dates have been proved wrong.29 Revised plans and more exact dates have shattered the validity of almost all his parallels. This does not mean, however, that the local Antique tradition played no part in the formation of early Croatian architecture, and Dyggve's ideas were soon revived by Milan Prelog, Professor of Medieval Art at the Croatian University of Zagreb, By stressing the importance of the tradition Prelog followed Dyggve, but by insisting on the modesty of early Croatian architecture he recalls Karaman. He explains the Pre-Romanesque artistic process as a kind of negative Kunstwollen; the old forms are debased and rusticized, and the Pre-Romanesque is therefore a 'passive negation' of the Antique. The 'active negation' sets in

29 Karaman (1940); (1956), esp. pp. 52ff.

Karaman (1940), (1952); (1963).
 Karaman (1930), pp. 62-72.

²⁸ Egger and Dyggve (1917-39), vol. 3, Althristliche Freidhof Marusinac, p. 119ff. Dyggve (1951), ch.6.

with the Romanesque, creatively transforming the ancient tradition. 90

Prelog, like Dyggve, relies heavily upon the Adrio-Byzantine sixth-century material of Istria, but there seems to be another objection to his reasoning. The monuments are not so rugged and crude as they appear today. Many were richly adorned by wall-paintings and almost all by interlace sculpture. They are mostly small but highly finished, even sophisticated works of art. Interlace sculpture, an almost 'international' west-European style, can hardly be considered a result of a negative Kunstwollen. It is an intricate and complex system requiring a powerful sense of abstraction and decorative imagination in the artist. In Croatia alone, due to the preservation of a mass of complete or fragmentary monuments of Pre-Romanesque sculpture, we can perceive all the wealth of transformation of the geometric motifs: we notice how the vegetal and zoomorphic elements, and eventually the human figure, appear among the interlaces, how they gradually become more and more important, and how, eventually, a 'Pre-Romanesque' expression turns into a 'Romanesque' one. The creative contribution of the Pre-Romanesque is not so negligible after all.31

While concentrating on the small-scale buildings, Prelog seeks to identify the Romanesque elements in both small-scale and monumental buildings. His enquiry, however, is limited to establishing the presence of typical Romanesque architectural motifs, rather than concentrating on the essential structural and

visual properties of the buildings.

Prelog's work of 1954 was the last attempt to present a systematic picture of early Croatian art and architecture. Since then many new monuments have been discovered. Old sites have been re-examined and re-excavated, numerous buildings re-discussed, and old problems reconsidered. The most important scholarly contributions have been made by Stipe Gunjača, Director of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments at Split, by Ivo Petricioli, Professor of Art History at the University of Zadar, and Tomislav Marasović, Member of the Urban Planning Institute at Split. Gunjača has excavated, re-excavated and re-examined a series of buildings in the

⁸⁰ Prelog (1954), Karaman (1956), pp. 54ff.

³¹ Gyozdanović (1968a).

Dalmatian Highlands around Knin, concentrating primarily on the large-scale structures with rounded buttresses. He was the first to stress the originality of these buildings and to point out their importance for the history of Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia.³² Petricioli has discovered and examined a number of churches in Zadar and its surroundings, while Marasović has produced fine typological studies which form an indispensable basis for future discussion.³³

All this newly acquired information needs to be sifted, and we hope that our attempt to write a comprehensive survey of the material may prove useful and encouraging for future more specialized research in specific problems and monuments.

³² Gunjača, (1952a), pp. 57-79, esp. pp. 72-8; (1958e).

³⁸ See the works by Petricioli and Marasović in the Bibliography.



Part One

General



1

Traditional Pre-Romanesque

The traditional Pre-Romanesque group consists of numerous monuments whose common characteristic is their dependence on local pre-Croatian tradition. To arrive at a better understanding of the forms of these Traditional Pre-Romanesque buildings we should briefly consider the most prominent features of the Early Christian and Early Byzantine architecture of Dalmatia, and the architectural attempts of the 'dark period' between the beginning of the seventh and the end of the eighth century.

Late Antique Christian architecture of Dalmatia is both well and poorly known. It is well known because monuments of its capital, Salona, have attracted archaeologists since the middle of the nineteenth century; it is poorly known because few other

sites have ever been systematically explored.

Typical Early Christian aisled basilicas with a single apse have been unearthed at Salona, such as the Cathedral (Basilica Urbana, fifth century) and the Basilica 'Iuxta Portum' (fifth century), or at other places such as Povlja on the island of Brač (Fig. 28), or at Krk on the island of Krk where an Early Christian building has been remodelled in the Romanesque period. The aisleless buildings are usually terminated by a rounded apse and are left unvaulted, such as the still well preserved churches of Sv. Andrija at Zadar and the Cemetery Church at Osor (both sixth century). As opposed to the simple Early Christian types, the 'Basilica Occidentalis' in Salona (sixth century) shows a tendency to a triple eastern end, its lateral apses being masked from the outside by a straight termination wall, while the 'Basilica Orientalis', with its projecting transept, belongs to the

² Mohorovičić (1957b), p.493,

¹ Dyggve (1951), pp. 26ff., 57. Ostojić (1968), pp. 14-18; Mohorovičić (1971).

tau basilica type. We also find baptisteries of polygonal form, such as the one at the Basilica Urbana in Salona, as well as of the 'Ambrosian type', an example of which still stands at Povlja on

Brač (sixth century).4

The early Christian typology was not discontinued after Justinian's reconquest in 537, but was accompanied by some typical Early Byzantine characteristics. The pilaster-strips on the walls of the basilicas at Manastirine and Kapljuč in Salona recall Ravennate practices; the 'Basilica Formae Crucis' in Salona (mid sixth century), originally a simple aisled basilica in the complex of the Basilica Urbana in Salona, recalls the churches of the cruciform apostoleion type. 5 Smaller centralized buildings were also popular. Sv. Martin at Pridraga to the north of Zadar, a remarkably well-preserved sixth-century church, is a triconch structure with an elongated rectangular nave (Figs. 29, 30). The facades of the building are decorated by pilaster-strips and blind arches. Ruins of a similar church have been discovered at Bilice near Šibenik.6 At Gradina in Salona, archeologists have discovered a square one-apse church, apparently covered by a dome supported by eight columns. On a more modest scale and in rustic, provincial technique, this building seems to echo the famous Constantinopolitan church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. The capitals, primitive renderings of typical sixth-century Byzantine low-relief works, confirm the sixth-century date.7 The baptistery of Zadar, also datable to the sixth century, was hexaconchal within and hexagonal without (unfortunately it was destroyed during the Second World War).8 The polygonal apse, one of the trademarks of Justinian's reconquest architecture in the Adriatic, occurs at the cathedral of Rab, thoroughly rebuilt in the Romanesque, and at Sv. Marija at Nin remodelled in the Pre-Romanesque, period.

The wave of invasions around 600 put an end to artistic and architectural activity. Some cities like Salona were devastated beyond repair; some like Trogir or Zadar survived, thanks to their better strategical positions. New cities, such as Split and

⁵ Dyggve (1951), pp. 57-60.

⁵ Dyggve (1951), pp. 25-6, 78ff.

7 Beritić (1962).

⁴ Dyggve (1951), pp. 30ff. Ostojić (1968), pp. 18-23. On the baptisteries of the 'Ambrosian type', De Angelis D'Ossat (1964).

Marasović (1958b), vol. 1, pp. 47-50. Gunjača (1963), pp. 21-8.

⁸ Marasović (1958b), vol. 1, pp. 66-7.

Dubrovnik, were founded by refugees. Our information on the art and architecture of the period between 600 and 800 is extremely meagre. In the cities the pre-invasion buildings seem to have continued to serve their purpose. There was little new building. In Split a church of St. Michael was allegedly constructed by the first, almost legendary Archbishop, John of Ravenna. in the seventh century. No traces of the building have survived, but the title has been preserved by a Gothic church, now in ruins. This same prelate is credited with the conversion of Diocletian's Mausoleum and the Asclepius Temple into the Cathedral and Baptistery of Split.9 The church of Sv. Stjepan is recorded in Dubrovnik in the tenth century, but tradition ascribes it to the period immediately after the foundation of the city in the first half of the seventh century. It contained the relics of St. Pancratius, the original patron saint of the city, which may be an indication of an early date. The poorly preserved ruins show an elongated aisle terminated by an apse, rounded within and rectangular without.10

Another, more important monument in Dubrovnik is a tiny crypt which may have belonged to the first Dubrovnik cathedral dedicated to St. Peter (Fig. 64). It is an aisled structure with extremely narrow and low aisles. The nave, terminated by a rounded apse embedded in the wall, is covered by groin vaults, while the aisles are barrel-vaulted. The forms are so simple that they defy any attempt at precise dating. The discovery of numerous excellently wrought interlace fragments within the walls of a baroque church constructed on the same site indicates that a church of considerable consequence used to stand there during the Pre-Romanesque period. Nevertheless fragments revealing the style of mature, fully-formed interlace sculpture found on the eastern Adriatic coast after 800 cannot substantiate the dating of the crypt to the seventh or eighth century.¹¹

At the opposite end of the Adriatic, in the city of Osor on the Island of Cres, traces of a small church have been discovered to the south of the ruins of the eleventh-century basilica of St. Peter. The chapel is inserted between two Late Antique walls

Thomas, Historia, p. 24; Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, p. 332.

¹⁰ De administrando, I, p. 135. Catalogue, No. 32.

¹¹ Catalogue, No. 61. For information about the progress of the excavations, I am indebted to Mrs Dubravka Beritić, Director of the Preservation of Monuments Institute of Dubrovnik.

and is provided with a tiny apse pointing southwards. The patchwork character of the building may indicate a seventh- or eighth-century date, but a fragment of fairly mature interlace relief found within the ruin would point to a somewhat later period. Since interlace sculpture seems to have achieved maturity in Istria and the Northern Adriatic earlier than in Dalmatia, the building may date from the last decades of the eighth century.¹²

Fragments of sculpture datable to the seventh and eighth centuries have been found at Rab, Zadar, Trogir, Split and Kotor. The fragments, usually of very poor workmanship, represent a debased, rustic version of Late Antique decorative sculpture. Exceptional are the fragments of an eighth-century choir-screen found in the Zadar Cathedral, evidently executed by the hand of a well-trained master who did not shrink from the

representation of plants and animals.18

Indeed we should concentrate on Zadar, the city which has preserved the largest number of the pre-interlace sculpture fragments and, as it was situated on a well-protected peninsula, managed to survive the troubled times of the invasions relatively unmolested. Still, among numerous Zaratine churches preserved or known through the written or graphic records, none can be safely dated before the end of the eighth century. Only the church of Sv. Vid may be ascribed tentatively to the middle of the eighth century. This church was demolished in 1871, but is fairly well documented through sketches and measured drawings. It was a cruciform triapsidal building with a dome within a tall, rounded turret (Fig. 3).

The same form reappears in the church of the Holy Cross in Nin (Figs. 4, 32, 33), one of the early Croatian capital cities, some twenty kilometres to the north of Zadar. The only difference between these structures is that the larger openings and somewhat more regular masonry of Sv. Vid still recall late Antique practices. The church of the Holy Cross is firmly datable to about 800, so we may assume that the Zaratine example preceded it by at least a decade. Sv. Vid also closely recalls the ruined church of Sv. Katarina in the harbour of Pula in Istria, a small domed structure of the sixth century. The traditional

Mohorovičić (1957b), pp. 502-3. Marušić (1955).
 Karaman (1941-42). Petricioli (1960b).

Adriatic trade route used to run from Pula to Osor and Zadar and then down along the eastern Adriatic coast, so we may expect analogies between the monuments of Istria and Northern Dalmatia around Zadar. There is no evidence, however, for dating the Zaratine church back to the sixth century, expecially since it does not fit into the Antique pattern of the city communications.¹⁴

Another argument for a relatively early date of Sv. Vid is the new dating of the first phase of the monumental rotunda of Sv. Donat at Zadar (Figs. 20, 42-46). This most popular Pre-Romanesque monument of the Croatian coastland has been subject recently to a thorough archaeological re-investigation, the results of which have not vet been made public. Evidence suggests that the traditionally accepted dating of this monument, to the first quarter of the ninth century. is inaccurate. The church seems to have been constructed in two successive campaigns, the first datable to the second half of the eighth century. The original project called for a one-story rotunda with an ambulatory, decorated in the Ravennate manner with pilaster strips and a roof construction supported by wooden beams (Figs. 45, 46). Some of the beams are decorated with fairly mature interlace sculpture motifs, and stylized scrollwork and animals, all of which seems to confirm a late eighth-century date. We may try tentatively to narrow the dating by ascribing the church to the period of Bishop Peter, a learned prelate interested in the arts, who administered the church of Zadar around 780. The second campaign was launched at the beginning of the ninth century. The building was extended upwards, and thus obtained the strange, tall proportions it has today; the ground floor ambulatory received a ring barrel vault supporting the gallery; an irregular annex was added to the west of the building, the upper story of which is connected to the ground floor by means of a staircase winding upwards along the northern side. A rectangular annex was attached to the south side, communicating both with the ground floor and with the gallery. This annex was obliterated by the Italian restorers in the course of work undertaken between the two World Wars, but is recorded on nineteenth-century measured drawings. 15

¹⁴ Catalogue, No. 1. Dyggve (1951), fig. VI:34. Petricioli (1965) p. 18.

¹⁶ Catalogue, No. 20. For the information I am indebted to Professor Ivo Petricioli, Miss Ksenija Radulić, Director of the Preservation of Monuments

Outside the cities there seem to exist only two buildings datable to the seventh or eighth century. They are both on the Dubrovnik Islands, apparently spared from devastation during the invasion period. Beneath the hotel 'Pracat' on Lopud a tomb chamber of square plan has been discovered which is covered by a barrel vault constructed from radially arranged stone slabs. A reliquary found inside, which is datable to the eighth century, suggests that the structure itself is datable to that time. The tomb itself represents the current local Early Christian type known through numerous examples from Salona.¹⁶

The other example is the church of Sv. Mihovil on Šipan, recently examined by Igor Fisković. According to his opinion, this aisleless barrel-vaulted chapel with a semicircular apse dates from the mid-seventh century. The crude building represents a variant of the typical elongated aisleless Early Christian Adriatic church, with one important modification: namely, that the nave was originally completely covered by a

barrel vault.17

All the buildings mentioned above are found within the cities or on the islands of the Byzantine province of Dalmatia. The earliest trace of architectural activity on Croatian ground is a fragment of a choir-screen from Kaštel Sućurac, to the west of Split (Fig. 31). The classic running-dog motif has already turned into Pre-Romanesque hooks, but the leaves, flat as they may be, are still free from interlace sculpture stylizations. A date before the full maturity of the local interlace sculpture, therefore before 800, seems indicated. The fragment is historically important, attesting to the fact that certain groups of the Croats had accepted Christianity before their mass conversion around 800.18 The monument commemorating the conversion itself is the font of Višeslav, which probably originated from Nin (Fig. 37). The Pre-Romanesque baptistery of Nin, a tetraconchal domed

Institute of Zadar, Rev. Dr. Marijan Grgić, Director of the Museum of Croatian Religious Art in Zadar, and Mr Josip Stošić of the Art History Institute of the Croatian University of Zagreb.

Novak (1930-34), pp. 165-94.
 Fisković, (1970), pp. 6-14.

¹⁸ Barada (1937-40). Karaman (1941-42). The epigraphic characteristics of the inscription on the arch (RESPICE HVNC OPVS MIRO QVO DECORE FACTO QVO DOMINO IVBANTE PRE ...) displaying a mixture of the capital and uncial letters is in harmony with both a seventh and eighth century date (Barada (1940), pp. 405-12).

structure, was demolished by the Venetian administration in 1746, and the font transported to Venice; it found its way into the Correr Museum towards the end of the nineteenth century and was returned to Yugoslavia after the Second World War. It is now in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split. The date of the hexagonal font is suggested by an inscription running along the upper edge of the vessel which mentions a Duke Višeslav, who is known from no other source and can be inserted into the line of Croatian rulers only at the beginning of the ninth century. Such a date is confirmed by the style of the ornament. Along the inscription there runs a string of head-and-reel ornament visually supported on each side of the font by two low-relief twisted columns with stylized Ionic capitals. The space between the columns has been left empty except on one side, which bears a cross made up of an interlace. The small balls in the centres of the interlaced loops, locally known as the 'eyes', as well as the appearance of the head-and-reel ornament, are indications of a relatively early date. This mixture of stylized classic elements and interlace motifs is characteristic of the early Croatian interlace monuments of the first half of the ninth century.18

The conversion of the Croats introduces a period of more regular and peaceful relationship between the Slavic and the Roman ethnic elements. It opens the doors for intermarriages, trade and the exchange of cultural and artistic ideas. The earliest dated buildings on Croatian territory reproduce, with a fair amount of exactitude, the forms and types current in the Byzantine province of Dalmatia in the Early Christian and Early Byzantine periods; some of those types became so popular that they continued in use until the end of the eleventh century. The buildings of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque Group, inspired by the Pre-Croatian tradition, seem thus to be the earliest manifestations of Croatian architecture in stone. This group consists of a large number of monuments which vary greatly in shape and size, ranging from miniature rotundas to fairly large

¹⁹ Catalogue, No. 7. The inscription is rustic capitals runs as follows: HEC FONS NEMPE SYMIT INFIRMOS VT REDDAT ILLYMINATOS HIC EXPIANT SCELERA SVA QVOD DE PRIMO SYMPSERVNT PARENTE VT EFFICIANTVR XRISTICOLE SALVBRITER CONFITENDO TRINVM PERENNE HOC IOANNES PRESBITER SVB TEMPORE VVISSASCLAVO DVCI OPVS BENE COMPOSVIT DEVOTE IN HONORE VIDELICET SANCTI IOHANNIS BAPTISTE VT INTERCEDAT PRO EO CLIENTVLOQVE SVO.

basilicas. The buildings reproduce, with various degrees of accuracy, the forms of earlier local architectural styles. In spite of the diversity of form, they have a number of characteristics in common. The site is often of a Roman or Early Christian ruin serving as a source of building material. The masonry technique, mostly rough rubble-work, is inspired by the provincial Roman technique of opus incertum, the corners of the building being strengthened by ashlar blocks often taken from Roman ruins. At times the faces of the walls are constructed from more regular pieces of stone laid in a fashion similar to masonry courses, while the filling consists of smaller pieces of rubble intermixed with fragments of brick and profuse quantities of mortar. The material used is most frequently the local limestone. The mortar, often of a rather poor quality, is usually prepared on the site from the materials at hand; crude sand or even small pebbles mixed with semi-quick, occasionally even diluted, lime, Such masonry technique naturally caused pronounced irregularities of struc-The walls. however, were rendered whitewashed, while the interior was often embellished by wall-paintings, of which only a few traces have survived. Unlike the walls, the pavement is usually made of fairly regular rectangular slabs. The art of dressing stone has not been totally forgotten, but the finely polished pieces were reserved for door and window frames and other particularly prominent parts of the structure.

The small-scale buildings are almost without exception vaulted. The most frequently used form is the barrel vault, but domical, semidomical and groin vaults also occur. There are even two examples of domical vaults with ribs. The domes and semidomes rest mostly on squinches, but pendentives are also known. In the exterior, the dome is masked by a square or rounded turret covered, respectively, by a pyramidal or conical roof.

The vaulting of these small-scale centralized buildings seems easy to account for, seeing that their models, small-scale centralized structures of Roman and Byzantine Dalmatia, are also vaulted;²⁰ however, the vaults also occur above the naves of small-scale longitudinal structures. Whether this predilection for

²⁰ For example, the Church in Gradina in Solin, the Baptistery of Zadar, Sv. Katarina in the harbour of Pula in Istria.

valilting has anything to do with the alleged national tradition of constructing wooden vaults, as suggested by Strzygowski, is still difficult to ascertain.21 Such an idea, however, should not be dismissed too lightly. If early Slavic wooden architecture indicates a familiarity with the technique of wooden vaulting, the Croatian masons may have deliberately chosen those pre-Slavic models which, by their complete vaulting, reminded them of the huildings that the Croats presumably used to build in their old country beyond the Carpathian Mountains. Unfortunately very little is known about the early medieval architecture of the Slavs and, as we have seen, Strzygowski's theses have been formulated on the basis of much later material. Another argument in favour of a theory stressing the influence of architecture in wood on architecture in stone is Croatian architects' love of straight lines and right angles: unfortunately we know next to nothing of early Croatian architecture in wood, so the problem of the relationship between wooden and stone structures must remain open.

In small-scale aisled buildings the vaults rest on columns or rectangular piers. While the bases and shafts are almost without exception ancient spoils, there are examples of Pre-Romanesque capitals, most often stylized descendants of the late Roman Corinthian and composite. Sometimes the relief is low, and the forms summary, as in Sv. Barbara in Trogir (Fig. 67); sometimes the shapes are burstingly plastic as in Sv. Nikola in Split (Fig. 70), or picturesquely enhanced by the play of deep shadows and flashes of light as in Sv. Lovro in Zadar (Fig. 65). The columns are found exclusively within the cities of Byzantine Dalmatia, though the ruins of ancient buildings were available all over the country. The cities seem to have inherited some of the old Mediterranean Hellenistic love of lighter and livelier structures. whereas the extramural territory preferred heavier and bulkier forms and used piers. Piers occur even in the church of Sv. Marija in Salona itself, where the ancient columns were available to the local architects until as late as the High Renaissance.

The impost blocks above the capitals of columns, piers and pilasters show simple-square, champfered, or cavetto-profiles. The springing of the vault is sometimes marked by a string course of similar form. The impost blocks played a fairly

²¹ Strzygowski (1927), pp. 89-91.

important role in the construction process since centring apparently rested on them. The centring itself was prepared in a rather sloppy manner, causing pronounced irregularities in the forms of the vaults. Judging by the traces still visible on the vaults of Sv. Trojica in Split, it must have been a basketlike device consisting of a fragile frame carrying two criss-crossed layers of reed.²² The vaults are usually constructed from tufa, sometimes from thin limestone slabs. Baked clay jars are occasionally found inserted into the vaults; this device aimed at reducing the weight of the vault and at improving the acoustics of the church, while also having a decorative function.

The door openings are mostly rectangular, surrounded by a polished stone frame, in several cases adorned with interlace and, exceptionally, with animal and figured motifs.²³ The door may be surmounted by a lunette, a discharge arch or even a hanging porch.²⁴ The windows are mere round-headed or square-headed slits, in many cases splayed inside. If there occur larger round-headed windows, they are covered by transennae, pierced stone slabs, with rounded, lozenge-shaped or fish-scale openings. Occasionally there are interlace decorated window frames.²⁵ There are also a few examples of oculi and cross-shaped windows,²⁶ Small perforations found in a few buildings right underneath the eaves seem to have served for additional ventilation.²⁷ The windows were probably covered by wooden shutters. The doors revolved round posts inserted into holes in the threshold and the lintel and usually opened inwards.

The architectural decoration consisted primarily of pilaster strips enframing shallow blind arches or, in a few instances, standing by themselves. This decorative system had been familiar in the Adriatic region since Late Antiquity and may ultimately be of oriental origin, as the Adriatic zone had been

²² Marasović (1958b), vol. 2, p. 5.

²⁸ The most ornate are the portals of Sv. Lovro in Zadar, Sv. Mihajlo at Ston, and the portal transferred to the church of Sv. Bartol from the ruined church of SS. Kuzma and Damjan in Dubrovnik.

²⁴ Sv. Nikola in Split.

²⁶ Rounded lights: Sv. Ilija, Lopud, Lopud; Sv. Petar, Dubrovnik; lozenge shaped: Sv. Mihovil, Brnazi; Sv. Andrija, Vrgada; fishscale: Sv. Nikola, Povljana. Decorated window frames occur in Sv. Mihajlo at Ston (Fig. 48).

²⁶ Oculi: Sv. Petar at Priko in Omiš; Sv. Luka on Lastovo. Cross-shaped openings: Sv. Krševan near Glavotok on Krk; Sv. Donat, Zadar (Fig. 43).

²⁷ Sv. Trojica, Split; Sv. Ilija, Lopud.

open to eastern influences since the time of Diocletian. The semicircular niches enriching the interior walls also seem to be due to Late Antique practices.²⁸ Towards the end of the eleventh century there appear, sporadically, both arched and flat corbel tables.²⁹

The architectural decoration enhances the main lines and volumes of the structure, but there is no attempt to relate the interior to the exterior visually and structurally. While the architectural articulation of the wall may indicate four, five or even six internal units, for example, the interior consists of three bays only. The wall is conceived as a decorative plane, a surface to be articulated through the application of architectural ornament. The multiplication of elements of architectural decor produces, in a few instances, an effect similar to that of horror vacui, while by its form and size the decorative motifs are subordinated to the form of the surface they have been applied to, as if obeying the Law of Cadre.³⁰

Like the architectural decoration, the arrangement of the exterior masses may also be misleading in terms of its relationship to the internal organization. Square apses and drums often contain rounded niches or domes. The interior and the exterior are two worlds apart. This is especially true of the longitudinal and combined types. Many buildings that combine the longitudinal and central concept are composed in such a way that the mass grows towards the dome, whereas the interior space is longitudinally oriented towards the apse, the central accentuation being almost negligible. This lack of interest in structural and visual correspondence between the interior and exterior, or even a deliberate rejection of the principle of correspondence, is common to almost all Traditional Pre-Romanesque buildings.

The surface decoration is especially rich in the relatively simple longitudinal aisleless buildings (Fig. 47). The architects of intricate central solutions paid less attention to the articulation of the walls, the architectural expression having been secured by the interplay of the masses or the spaces (Figs. 32, 33).

²⁸ Dyggve (1951), pp. 134ff. Marasović (1958b), vol. 1, pp. 47-50.

²⁰ Sv. Petar at Priko in Omiš (Figs. 51, 52), Sv. Nikola on Lopud, Sv. Nedeljica in Zadar.

³⁰ Gvozdanović (1969), pp. 50-1.

Interlace sculpture is used to enhance the structurally and visually important parts of the architecture and the church furniture: door and window frames, capitals, impost blocks, transennae, choir-screens, altar-frontals, holy-water basins, fonts, ciboria, ambos and sarcophagi. Chandeliers and metalwork doves containing the sacred oil hung from the vaults or the choir-screen beams, while the other liturgical implements were kept in simple wall niches at the sides of the altar. The latter often assumed the form of a table supported by a single square, rounded or polygonal leg, but there are also blocklike altars with decorated altar-frontals. 22

The most prominent item of early Croatian church furniture is the choir-screen. It consists of one to three entrances covered by arches, or arches inscribed with gables (Fig. 71). This motif, known already to the Early Christian architecture of Dalmatia, becomes extremely popular in the Early Croatian period. The monumental model is probably the protyron of the palace of Diocletian, which gives access to the vestibule of the palace from the peristyle and under the arched portion where the Emperor used to appear to the people. The motif is thereby closely associated with the Imperial cult, and in early Croatian churches serves to monumentalize the entrance to the presbytery, the shrine of the King of Kings.³³

The arch or the gable rests on rounded or polygonal colonettes with stylized Corinthian or composite capitals; the colonettes themselves stand on squat rectangular piers which also serve to anchor the panels, plutei, separating the presbytery from the nave. There is sometimes another pier at the wall side of the plutei, or they may be directly inserted into vertical slits in the wall. The colonettes also support the horizontal beams inserted into the wall at the other end.

The choice and application of decorative motifs on the choir-screens reveal a considerable artistic sensitivity on the part of early Croatian sculptors. The narrow elements, horizontal and

³¹ Katić (1954-57, pp. 244-50.

³² The table altars stood, or still stand, in Sv. Barbara and Sv. Marija in Trogir, in Sv. Mihovil in Pridraga, Sv. Nikola at Povljana, the church at Manastirine at Kašić; a block-like altar is still in situ in Sv. Petar in Dubrovnik (Fig. 64).

³⁸ Marasović and Marasović (1968), pp. 15-16. The best preserved example of an early Croatian choir-screen is to be seen in the chapel of Sv. Martin, inserted into the Northern Gate of the palace of Diocletian, some hundred yards to the north of the Peristyle (Fig. 71).

vertical alike, are covered by 'dynamic' ornamental motifs. On the piers, there appear curvilinear or rectilinear tresses, intersecting circles or lozenges and interlocked rounded and square motifs. On the opening side the edge of the piers is sometimes emphasized by a zig-zag. Dynamic horizontal motifs run along the upper end of the plutei: circles linked by rounded knots occasionally housing beasts and vegetal motifs, interlocked 'pretzels' or half-circles, stylized scroll-work, or even small arcades containing birds and animals (Fig. 68). To the main zone of the plutei, the artists have applied motifs of a more static nature, appropriate to bigger surfaces. There one sees large circles connected by rounded knots filled by rosettes and occasionally stylized birds and beasts, interlocked circles and lozenges or squares, squares connected by knots and containing the representations of stylized vegetal and animal motifs, crosses formed from interlace tresses flanked by palmettes and standing underneath an arcade. We note also the same decorative repertoire applied to the altar-frontals and sarcophagi.34 The beams and the gable usually carry three strips or zones, the lowermost reserved for a continuous inscription (Fig. 39). The central is adorned by a dynamic motif such as the pretzels, semicircles or even a series of small interlace-formed arcades possibly deriving from the egg-and-dart motif. The uppermost strip usually carries a series of hooks, also a derivative from a classic motif, in this case the running-dog. The hooks, by their position and inclination, lead the eve towards the centre of the screen, i.e. to the top of the gable, which is stressed by a cross. On the gable itself the two lower strips follow the arch while the hooks run along the outer edge. In the centre surface there is usually a cross flanked by two stylized peacocks or other animals (Fig. 71).

A similar feeling for the proper use of static and dynamic motifs guided the masters when they were decorating the other elements of church furniture, or of the architecture itself. The door and window frames bear dynamic motifs such as stylized scrollwork (Fig. 48). In the case of the transennae, the interlace runs round the openings forming knots in between the lights. The ciboria share some motifs and decorative principles with the

³⁴ The sarcophagus in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, the panel at Sv. Lovro in Pazdigrad near Split (originally probably an altar frontal), the altar frontal of Sv. Nikola in Dubrovnik.

choir-screen gables. The arch is underlined by some 'smooth' dynamic motif such as interlocked circles, the straight upper end by as many as three zones of ornament, the uppermost usually containing the hooks leading the eye towards the centre of the composition. The other two zones display such motifs as interlocked semicircles, tiny arcades or even a checkerboard. The triangular surfaces in between the arch and the straight ends are filled by ornamental elements, scrollwork or animals, the latter sometimes appearing in confronted pairs. The columns of the ciboria are topped by stylized Corinthian or composite capitals.³⁵

The decorative effect of the reliefs used to be enhanced by colour. In a few instances the traces of red, blue and yellow paint are still visible.³⁶ In early Croatian art there appear, as basic colours, the three primaries red, blue and yellow, which generally were popular with the early medieval barbarian peoples – witness numerous precious objects, decorated by red and blue

stones inset within golden cloisons.

The interior walls were covered by wall-paintings of both ornamental and figured subject matter. The almost complete disappearance of the painted decoration is a considerable loss, as the colour must have been one of the main keys to understanding the aesthetic principles of early Croatian architecture.³⁷

We have mentioned briefly some of the buildings of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque and indicated their dependence on the Late Antique types. Now we shall analyse various types within the group, beginning with the domed buildings of northern Dalmatia. The earliest preserved building within the group may be Sv. Križ, modelled after Sv. Vid in Zadar, a cruciform triapsidal building with a dome hidden within a tall rounded turret (Figs. 3, 4, 32, 33). The plan on the ground level reminds one of a combination of three short unaisled buildings.

36 The traces of the paint are still visible on the Ciborium of Proconsul Grgur in Zadar (c. 1030) and on some of the fragments from Pridraga in the Museum of

Croatian Archaeological monuments in Split.

38 Catalogue, No. 2.

³⁵ The ciborium of Sv. Tripun at Kotor (early ninth century), Ciborium of Proconsul Grgur in Zadar (c. 1030), Ciborium from Crkvina in Biskupija (late eleventh century).

³⁷ The best preserved examples are the wall paintings at Sv. Mihajlo near Ston (Fig. 49). A few fragments have survived in Sv. Ilija on Lopnd, Sv. Mihajlo on Sipan and Sv. Petar the old in Zadar. There are traces at Sv. Nikola in Povljana, Sv. Marija on Iž Mali, Sv. Donat in Zadar, the churches at Crkvina and Stupovi in Biskupija, Sv. Spas at Cetina, Sv. Petar in Dubrovnik and Sv. Toma at Kuti.

On the vault level the plan changes into a quadrilobe set forth by semidomical vaults resting, like the dome itself, on squinches. In spite of its modest dimensions, the spatial experience is complex and the visitor has to move in order to obtain a complete picture of the interior. The exterior decoration is limited to shallow blind arches on the cross arms, gables and turret. The masonry is crude, with antique spoils used as quoins and in the foundations, where they are heaped up in pell-mell fashion, recalling the foundations of Sv. Donat in Zadar dating from the last decades of the eighth century (Fig. 32).

Sv. Križ has been traditionally considered the Palatine Chapel of Croatian Dukes and Kings, who indeed had one of their courts in Nin. More recently the funerary function has been suggested.³⁹ The problem has remained open despite recent archaeological investigations. The excavations have disclosed a detail, however, which seems to establish the date of the church with some precision. A tomb containing a coin of the Emperor Constantine Copronimus (741-775) has been discovered at the southern side of the church. The relationship between the tomb and the foundations indicate that the church had existed when the tomb was prepared; as the coins of Constantine Copronimus can hardly be expected to have circulated after 800, the church seems to date from before or around that year.⁴⁰

Sv. Križ and the baptistery of Nin seem to stand at the beginning of a line of two families of small-scale buildings. The type following the church of Sv. Križ, with a salient dome constructed above a squarish central bay, enjoyed considerable popularity around Zadar and in Northern Dalmatia in general. The simplest form, a square chamber covered by a dome, is represented by the well-preserved church of Sv. Pelegrin in Savar on the island of Dugi (Figs. 5, 34), and the ruins of Sv. Viktor on the same island. The original portion of Sv. Pelegrin serves today as the presbytery to a larger, later medieval church. The dome rests on squinches, and there seems to have existed a semicircular apse, subsequently demolished. The ruins of Sv. Viktor, discovered in Telašćica on the island of Dugi, display almost exactly the same forms and dimensions. The wall-piers at the apse entrance probably served to support the squinches on

⁸⁹ Jelić (1911), Peričić (1969), pp. 117-18.

⁴⁰ For information I am indebted to Rev. Dr Marijan Grgić.
⁴¹ Catalogue, No. 3.

the apse side. The bay of Telašćica has been recorded as a 'Vallis Sancti Victoris' in a document datable between 986 and 999; so we may assume that the church existed some time before that date, as it gave the name to one of the most prominent geographical features of the island. A ninth or early tenth century date may therefore be suggested for both Sv. Viktor and Sv. Pelegrin, especially as their form repeats a Late Antique model, a type of a tower-like memorial structure sometimes used to represent the Holy Sepulchre on Late Antique ivories. As this shape, in its purest simplest version, is, to the best of our knowledge, otherwise unknown to Pre-Romanesque architecture, the humble and crude chapels of the island of Dugi seem to be of considerable interest for a study of the typology of the western Pre-Romanesque architecture.

The two chapels on the island of Dugi apparently represent a local variant of a Late Antique type. The chapel of Sv. Juraj at Ravanjska, to the north of Zadar, is a local invention on the same theme (Fig. 35). It is a miniature aisleless building with a rounded apse; the nave is covered by a dome of an elongated elliptical plan resting on squinches. The chapel combines the simplest of all Christian plans with the local predilection for domical vaulting. As a derivative of the Savar-Telašćica type, it should be dated after the island of Dugi churches, but before 1071, when Sv. Juraj is mentioned in a charter describing the territory of the diocese of Rab.⁴⁴

An exception among the domed northern Dalmatian churches is Sv. Marija at Iž Mali on the island of Iž, the only early Croatian example of a small-scale rounded building (Fig. 36). A small semicircular apse juts out from the core which is covered by a heavy irregular dome. The crude forms of the structure and the rubblework masonry indicate a Pre-Romanesque date. 45

The Baptistery of Nin introduces a group of polyconchal buildings. Besides the baptistery itself, there is another tetraconch (Sv. Petar at Muć), seven hexaconchs (the church at Mastirine at Kašić; Sv. Mihovil at Pridraga; the Stomorica

⁴² Catalogue, No. 4. Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 49-50.

⁴⁸ See Volbach (1961), pl. 92 (ivory from the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, around 400), pl. 93 (ivory from the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich, around 400).

⁴⁴ Catalogue, No. 5. Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, p. 124.

⁴⁶ Catalogue, No. 6.

church and the church at Kolovare in Zadar; Sv. Marija at Trogir; Sv. Trojica in Split; and Sv. Mihovil at Brnaze) and two octaconchs (the church on the Citadel at Bribir, and the church at Ošlje). None of these buildings is fully preserved. The radius of the churches averages ten metres, the radius of the central domed chamber seven. The apses covered by semidomes jut out from the central core. The three eastern apses, in the hexaconchs, constitute the presbytery separated from the rest by a choir-screen. The exterior walls are sometimes decorated by shallow blind arches.

The dates of the buildings are not easy to establish. Sv. Petar at Muć is the only firmly dated example, as the fragment of its choir-screen bears the name of Duke Branimir (872-893) and the date 888 (Fig. 39). The crude church of Sv. Trojica in Split has usually been assigned to the ninth century (Figs. 1, 38). The dome had already fallen during the Pre-Romanesque period and was repaired in an equally crude rubblework masonry. A fragment of the choir-screen displays characteristics almost analogous to those of the Arch of Sućurac, another indication of an early date, possibly as early as 800. The church of Sv. Mihajlo at Brnazi, equally coarse and irregular, may also date from the ninth century. One of the fragments of the choir-screen bears the word 'Domnus', the title of the Croatian rulers before they started, in the first quarter of the tenth century, to style themselves 'reges'. **

Sv. Mihovil at Pridraga seems to date from not later than the end of the tenth century (Fig. 40). The original choir-screen had been dismantled, and a new shorter one was constructed at the entrance to the apse from the fragments of the first. This must have occurred while the interlace reliefs were still in fashion, and so before the end of the eleventh century. About a hundred years probably elapsed between the construction of the church and the refurbishing of the interior. By analogy, a very similar church at Kašić, only a few kilometres to the west of Pridraga, may also date from the end of the tenth century.

⁴⁶ Catalogue, No. 10.

⁴⁷ Catalogue, No. 8. Marasović (1958b), vol. 2, pp. 4-13. The dome was reconstructed in 1972.

⁴⁸ Catalogue, No. 9. On the titles of the Croatian rulers see Klaić (1971), pp. 226-7.

⁴⁹ Catalogue, Nos. 12, 13.

The Stomorica in Zadar, provided with a small western annex topped by a bell-tower, could hardly date from before 1000 as the towers seem to have become popular in Croatia, and especially in

Zadar, during the eleventh century.50

There is no evidence to help us date Sv. Marija at Trogir. A reconstruction of the western part had been undertaken in the twelfth century, so that the original building must date from before 1100.⁵¹ Nor is there any evidence to date the church at Kolovare in Zadar, known only through old drawings. The plan closely resembles that of the Stomorica, so it may be assigned a similar date, tentatively around 1000 or during the eleventh century.⁵²

The approximate date of the octachora at Ošlje may be established because a complex westwork characterized by advanced masonry was added to the church probably during the second half of the eleventh century (Fig. 2). The westwork, a fine Early Romanesque structure, will be discussed later. Because of the much cruder masonry of the octachora itself, we may suggest that it is at least one century older. Ošlje is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century as one of the cities of the Duchy of Hum which, in the first half of the tenth century, enjoyed considerable prosperity under Duke Mihajlo Višević. 53

As yet there is no evidence to date the partially excavated octachora at the Citadel in Bribir. 54

The three triconchs, Sv. Nikola near Nin, Sv. Krševan near Glavotok on the island of Krk, and Sv. Toma near Vrsi to the north of Nin. will be discussed in Chapter 3.

The sources of the forms of the polyconchal buildings of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque group can be found among the late Roman and Early Christian buildings of Dalmatia. There is a series of polyconchal chambers within the Palace of Diocletian. The Baptistery of Zadar, destroyed during the Second World War, was, as we have seen, a hexaconchal building with a

war, was, as we have seen, a hexaconchal building with a hexagonal exterior. The concentration of the Pre-Romanesque polyconchal buildings around Zadar and Split indicates that the

⁶⁰ Catalogue, No. 14. Petricioli (1968), pp. 264ff.

⁵¹ Catalogue, No. 15. Marasović (1963) has suggested a ninth-century date.

⁵² Catalogue, No. 16.

⁶⁸ Catalogue, No. 11. De administrando, I, pp. 162-3.

⁶⁴ Catalogue, No. 17.

earlier structures in these two cities probably served as models of the early Croatian polyconchal buildings.⁵⁵

There are three centralized structures that do not fit into either of the groups discussed so far. The only known polygonal building is the octagonal church at Sv. Trojica in Biskupija near Knin. The church was never investigated and is known through descriptions only. The form was possibly inspired by the Cathedral of Split, originally the Mausoleum of Diocletian.⁵⁶

The Early Byzantine church at Gradina in Solin, which we have mentioned before, was evidently repaired during the Pre-Romanesque period, since some of its capitals and bases are obviously crude Pre-Romanesque copies of the sixth-century works (Fig. 41). Besides the eight columns originally supporting the dome, there was an additional column in each of the four corners, presumably to lend more strength to the construction. These corner columns may have been a Pre-Romanesque addition, but they may also be a result of some later restoration of the church. It is known that the building was repaired in the sixteenth century during the Turkish occupation of Solin and used as a mosque and a mausoleum.⁵⁷

Finally there is Sy. Donat, the most famous among the Pre-Romanesque monuments on the Eastern Adriatic coast (Figs. 20, 42-44). The archaeological problems have already been discussed briefly. The church is mentioned and described as a two-story structure by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century. The dedication to the Trinity probably applies to the original one-story building which may have served as a consignatory. The upper story, the construction of which is usually attributed to Bishop Donat who ruled the Zaratine Church at the beginning of the ninth century, may have been dedicated from the outset to the bishop's namesake, St. Donato d'Arezzo. Since the fifteenth century the church has been referred to exclusively as Sv. Donat. Donat, who acted fairly successfully as a peacemaker between Charlemagne and Nichephoros I, and travelled both to Constantinople and to the Carolingian courts, may have been inspired to rebuild the church by the examples he saw on his travels. The upper story seems to

⁸⁵ Marasović (1958b), vol. 1, pp. 66-7.

Catalogue, No. 18. Gunjača (1952c): 286-97.
 Catalogue, No. 19. Katić (1955a); pp. 66-77.

have served as the chapel of the bishops, later the archbishops, of Zadar.58

The function of the centralized churches, as well as of the other small-scale early Croatian churches, is far from clear. Their form is usually that of the martiria, baptisteries or court chapels. Yet within the group discussed above there is only one baptistery (Nin), one court chapel (the definite version of St. Donat in Zadar) and one building which might have served as a court chapel or funerary church (Sv. Križ at Nin), The churches at Pridraga and Kašić served as monastery oratoria. Two of the polyconchal structures, those at Pridraga and Brnaze, are dedicated to St. Michael. The church of Sv. Trojica in Split seems to have been dedicated originally both to the Trinity and to the Archangel. The octaconchs at Oslje and Bribir, and the church at Kašić, standing on prominent hilltops, may have been dedicated to the Archangel too. The reason why St. Michael should have been connected with the form is not clear; vet we should note that the church of the Archangel at his famous shrine at Le Puy was originally a tetrachora and not totally dissimilar to our examples.59 The hexaconchs at Trogir and Zadar (the Stomorica), and the rotunda at Iz Mali, have been dedicated to the Virgin. The Stomorica is known to have served as a votive chapel protecting a city gate. Sv. Marija in Trogir was attached to the city loggia and had some role in the administration of justice. The dedication of these churches to St. Mary seems to be in harmony with the practice of dedicating some of the early medieval centralized churches to the Virgin, the original model being the church at Her tomb in the Valley of Josaphat.60

Nothing definite can be said about the function of the other buildings within the group; however, as witnessed by numerous foundation and donation charters datable between c. 800 and 1100, many of the small-scale churches seem to have served as votive foundations of the rulers, noblemen and even ordinary freemen.⁶¹ We can sometimes follow the vicissitudes of a particular church. We can see how a certain family took care of it

⁶⁸ Catalogue, No. 20 De adminsitrando, I, pp. 138-9. Bianchi (1877-79), vol. 1, p. 34.

For Le Puy see Hubert (1938), pp. 75-7.
 See Krautheimer (1969). pp. 107-14.
 Marasović (1958b), vol. 1, pp. 27-31.

from generation to generation, or how it ended in the hands of some outstanding ecclesiastical institution, such as the monastery of Sv. Krševan or St. Marija in Zadar, St. Ivan in Biograd or Sv. Benedikt or Sv. Stjepan in Split, or as the property of the Archbishop of Split. Occasionally the church was donated upon its completion, in which case the building, standing on the donated land, appears to have served as a witness of the donation, a kind of a charter in stone. Donations in the early Croatian period were often oral, so that the owners frequently had to resort to forgeries in order to prove their rights in the later Middle Ages. A church in durable material would have been an excellent witness to the contested rights of a monastery or a bishop to the lands that belonged to the church.

The marked disproportion in number between the small-scale and monumental buildings indicates that some at least of the small-scale buildings, small as they were, served as parish churches. In Grand Moravia, a country which developed an early Slavic culture at the same time as Croatia, the small-scale churches often seem to have acted as cellae in which the Mass was said while the faithful stood within a sacred precinct, a kind of temenos, around the church. 64 This custom is still observable

⁶² For example Sv. Juraj at Putalj (Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 5, 23, 141), Sv. Marija at Vranjic (ibid., pp. 59, 60, 165), Sv. Mihovil in Solin (ibid., pp. 47, 51, 53), Sv. Mihovil on Pašman (ibid., pp. 65, 71), Sv. Pankracije in Babino Polje on Mljet (ibid., 72, 73), Sv. Nikola of unknown location (ibid., p. 75), Sv. Ivan in Telaščica on Dugi otok (ibid., p. 100), SS. Petar and Pavao in Obrovac (ibid., p. 131), Sv. Mihovil in Mirani (ibid., p. 147), Sv. Martin at Šumet (ibid., p. 213). With the exception of Sv. Ivan in Telaščica, no material remains exist of any of the churches listed above.

⁶³ Klaić (1971), p. 10.

⁸⁴ Cibulka (1962). Dvornik ((1970), pp. 85-9) has suggested, a possibility of a direct influence of early Croatian architecture on the monuments of Grand Moravia. The dates available to Dvornik have been mostly corrected by recent scholarship which greatly invalidates his theory. No early Croatian church firmly datable to the beginning of the ninth century shows any analogy to Grand Moravian material. In a broader sense, however, it is worth stressing the preference of both early Croatian and Grand Moravian architects for straight lines and right angles as well as for the use of western masifs in the case of more monumental structures (in Moravia: Churches Nos. 3 and 10 at Mikulčice, Churches at Pohansko, Sady and the Church 'na Spitalkach' at Stare Mesto: see Dvornik (1970), pl. A. figs. 3, 10; pl. B, figs. 13, 14, 16). Dvornik has also compared the Grand Moravian buildings to those of the Doclean territory (roughly the present-day Republic of Montenegro). Again, the dates of the early-Doclean churches are rather arbitrary and insecure, and the material is badly in need of re-evaluation.

in Croatia today. Some of the small-scale buildings may therefore well have acted as parish churches. We are thinking primarily of those buildings which, extended, still serve as parish churches today – as, for example, Sv. Marija at Iž Mali, Sv.

Pelegrin at Savar and Sv. Juraj at Ravaniska.

What was said about the form and function of centralized structures can be applied also to the small-scale longitudinal buildings. The earliest datable monuments again follow the local Late Antique types. Sv. Petar at Rižinice, the church of the monastery founded by Duke Trpimir in 852, is simply a restored and refurbished Early Christian building with an elongated unvaulted nave and a deep, wide semicircular apse. 65 Sv. Luka at Uzdolje, founded by Duke Mutimir in 893, possibly as a thanksgiving for his ascent to the Croatian throne in 892, differs from the church at Rižinice in that the nave walls directly continue into the apse while the nave, judging by the traces of internal pilasters and external buttresses, was vaulted (Fig. 7). The type of church with an apse as wide as the nave is known to Early Christian architecture of the Adriatic area. The church of Sv. Lucija near Krk, which is well preserved, already displays Early Romanesque characteristics, and will be discussed later. 66 Other aisleless churches with a rounded apse revert to the Rižinice plan, but they also retain the vaults on transverse arches over the nave. In most cases there is no system of external buttressing. Such are: the churches of Sv. Nikola at Povliana on the island of Pag (Fig. 6); Sv. Andrija on the island of Vrgada and Sv. Ivan in Telašćica on the island of Dugi, all around Zadar; Sv. Juraj at Straževnik and Sv. Juraj at Nerežišće on the island of Brac (with the walls, exceptionally, decorated by blind arches); Sv. Ilija in Vinkovci, in Continental Croatia (with the walls reinforced by slightly projecting buttresses): Sv. Maksim near Jesenice, and possibly the much rebuilt church of SS. Ivan and Teodor at Bol on the island of Brač, have naves covered by continuous barrel-vaults.67 The dates of all these buildings are

6 Catalogue, Nos. 22, 88. Dyggve (1951), fig. VI:34. Mohorovičić (1957b), pp. 500-501.

⁶⁵ Catalogue No. 21. Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 4-6.

⁶⁷ Catalogue, Nos. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30. Some of these churches, especially Sv. Maksim, may remind one of certain Mesopotamian examples such as Mar Kyriakos at Arnas or Mar Sovo at Khahk. See Strzygowski (1927) pp. 44ff. The structure of early Croatian churches of this type is so simple and elementary that we should not draw far-reaching conclusions from the analogies.

difficult to establish. Sv. Ivan in Telašćica, now very much in ruins, is mentioned in a document datable between 1060 and 1065. Fragments of Pre-Romanesque transennae have been discovered at Sv. Andrija on Vrgada and at Sv. Nikola at Povljana; Sv. Maksim is recorded in 1080, while fragments of interlace relief have been found at SS. Ivan and Teodor at Bol. Sv. Juraj at Straževnik is mentioned for the first time in 1111, and indeed, the fairly regular masonry would not allow for much earlier dating. On the basis of the Hungarian coins found within the ruins of Sv. Ilija in Vinkovci, we may date it about 1100.

Another variant of the small-scale aisleless building is the one with a rectangular apse, a type also known to local Late Antique art. Judging by the fragments of sculpture found among the ruins, the church at the City Gate in Zadar is a Late Antique structure repaired in the Pre-Romanesque period. Another possibly early building, Sv. Stjepan in Dubrovnik, already mentioned, belongs to the same type, the only difference being that the apse is rounded within. Finally we may note the church of Sv. Stjepan on the island in Solin, now in ruins, but certainly existing before 976, when it is recorded as having been either constructed or repaired by Queen Jelena (Fig. 8). Since its spacious narthex served as the mausoleum of Croatian kings, the latter appears to be the more likely suggestion.

A large family of aisleless churches with a rectangular apse, mostly found in Southern Dalmatia, differs from the above examples in that the centre is often emphasized by a miniature dome encased within a square turret. The fashion survived beyond the year 1100, and the buildings of the South Dalmatian type continued to be constructed well into the sixteenth century. To the period before or around 1100 we may assign the following: Sv. Marija on Čiovo near Trogir, Sv. Juraj at Radun and Sv. Petar at Priko in Omiš, all to the north of the Cetina River, which marks the border between central and southern Dalmatia; Sv. Nikola near Selca on the island of Brač; Sv. Mihailo, Sv. Petar, Our Lady in the Marshes, and Sv. Martin at

⁶⁸ See again the relevant catalogue entries.

⁶⁰ Catalogue, No. 30. Dimitrijević (1966), pp. 45-60.

⁷⁰ Catalogue, Nos. 31, 32, 33.

⁷¹ For the definition of the type, we are indebted to Tomislav Marasović. See Marasović (1960).

Ston; Sv. Luka on Lastovo; Sv. Petar, Sv. Mihajlo and Sv. Ivan on the island of Šipan; Sv. Ilija, Sv. Ivan, Sv. Petar and Sv. Nikola on the island of Lopud; Sv. Nikola and Anuncijata on the island of Koločep; Sv. Nikola and the Sigurata in Dubrovnik; Sv. Mihajlo on the island of Mrkan; Sv. Dimitrije at Gabrili; and Sv. Toma at Kuti. Closely related to the above, but dating probably from the twelfth century, are Sv. Ilija near Donji Humac and Sv. Kliment near Pražnice on the island of Brač; SS. Filip and Jakov and Sv. Juraj at Ponikve; Sv. Ante and Sv. Srđ on Koločep; Sv. Luka in Dubrovnik; and, perhaps, Sv. Stjepan at Dubac. Most of the buildings are fairly well-preserved, the exceptions being Sv. Petar and Sv. Martin at Ston, Sv. Srđ and the Anuncijata on Koločep, Sv. Ilija, Sv. Nikola and Sv. Petar on Lopud, Sv. Petar on Šipan, Sv. Mihajlo on Mrkan, Sv. Toma at Kuti and Sv. Stjepan at Dubac, all in various stages of disrepair.

All these buildings are rather small, measuring from seven to ten metres in length and four to five in width. The nave is usually divided into three bays by means of pilaster strips supporting the transverse arches. Occasionally the nave consists of more than three, but never more than five, bays (Figs. 9, 12, 51, 52).72 The bays are covered by barrel vaults or, in a few cases, groin vaults. In many instances there is a miniature dome constructed above the central bay. It rests on squinches or, exceptionally, on pendentives (Fig. 53).73 The apse is usually rounded within and square without, but there are a few examples of an apse square both within and without. The interior walls between the pilasters have been articulated by blind arches and sometimes also with rounded niches. Similar recessions, a kind of symbolic absidioles. occur sometimes on each side of the apse. In most cases the third bay and the apse, separated by a choir-screen and raised one step above the rest, constitute the presbytery.

Both the nave and the apse are covered by a gable roof originally constructed from stone slabs, replaced almost always by valley tiles. The roof lies directly on the vaults.

The exterior walls may be left unadorned, but usually they are articulated by a system of pilaster strips enframing blind arches or, very rarely, standing by themselves (Figs. 51, 54, 56, 57). The exterior decoration does not correspond to the interior

Sv. Nikola in Dubrovnik is the only five-bay example.
 Sv. Petar at Priko in Omiš, the Sigurata in Dubrovnik.

organization. There is usually one large arch inscribed into the west facade, three to six arches on the lateral facades of the nave, one on the each side of the apse on the nave termination wall, one to three on the apse termination wall, and one on its side walls. At Sv. Mihajlo near Ston there is a tendency – an exception, not systematically carried through – to articulate the walls by two rows of superimposed arches, additional tiny recessions being inserted between the heads of the arches of the upper tier (Fig. 47). In a few churches there are arched corbel tables (Fig. 51). Hall arches sometimes also appear on the turrets. The most sophisticated example is Sv. Petar at Omiš, where a low gable is inscribed into the rectangular wall surface of the turret and decorated by three arches, the central one taller than the other two (Figs. 51, 52).

In domed buildings we discover a fairly strong clash between the basic concept in the organization of space and mass. The mass grows towards the dome, which acts as a centralizing force; the space is longitudinally oriented toward the apse, the impact of the tiny dome riding on top of the central bay being almost negligible. This, along with the lack of correspondence between the interior and exterior pilaster strips and the fact that the rectilinear masses (apse, turret) enclose rounded spaces, is a feature foreign to the Romanesque principle of clarity and logic. This should be emphasized, because some of the buildings discussed here, such as St. Peter in Omiš, have been considered Romanesque merely on the basis of the appearance of the arched corbel tables.

As with other groups of early Croatian buildings, the chronology of the South Dalmatian type is not easy to establish. Only two buildings are mentioned in the sources. Sv. Petar at Priko in Omiš is known to have existed between 1070 and 1092, and Sv. Nikola in Dubrovnik is mentioned around 1100.75 Stylistic analysis appears not to be a safe guide. There are several sub-divisions within the type: churches with the dome, pilaster strip decoration in the exterior and semicircular niches in the interior (e.g. Sv. Petar at Priko in Omiš, Figs. 51, 52); with the dome and the exterior decoration only (e.g. Sv. Ivan on Lopud); with the dome only (Sv. Ante on Koločep); with the

⁷⁴ Sv. Petar at Priko in Omiš, Sv. Nikola on Lopud.

⁷⁶ Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, p. 174. Šišić (1928), p. 363.

exterior decoration but with no dome (Sv. Luka on Lastovo); and without both the dome and the exterior decoration (Sv. Klement near Pražnice on Brač). Since buildings such as Sv. Petar in Omiš and Sv. Mihailo at Ston recall quite closely a type of Late Antique multi-story memorial chapel known, for example, from Bramantino's drawings in the Ambrosiana, we used to maintain that the most complex examples of the South Dalmatian type preceded the less complex ones.78 The problem is not so simple, however. The question of progressive simplification is complicated by the fact that in two cases at least domes were added some time after the completion of the church (Sv. Nikola near Selca on Brač, Figures 54, 55, and Sv. Luka in Dubrovnik, a twelfth-century building in the style of the South Dalmatian type).77 This indicates that some 'simple' buildings may antedate some of the 'complex' ones. In general, as Christianity made little progress in the area between the Cetina and Dubrovnik before the tenth century, we can hardly expect any of the churches to date from before 900.

One of the oldest still existing churches of the type may be Sv. Mihajlo at Ston (Figs. 9, 47).78 It is a surprisingly tall building, which may be a reference to a multi-story Late Antique model. The treatment of the facades crowded with blind arcades and niches produces a strong impression of horror vacui, which again may be an indication of an early date. In the first half of the tenth century, on the top of the Hill of St. Michael, there used to stand the court of the Dukes of Hum. One of them, Mihailo Višević, has been traditionally singled out as the founder of the church. The large openings, the reliefs in supple late interlace style and the frescoes are a result of a restoration campaign around 1100 (Figs. 48, 49).

A few hints to help date some of the monuments, at least hypothetically, could be gathered from an analysis of the buildings on the Dubrovnik Islands. The three small islands, Šipan, Lopud and Koločep, have preserved, complete or in ruins, eleven churches of the South Dalmatian type. Two, Sv. Petar on Lopud and the Annunciation on Koločep, are too poorly preserved to be considered here. A study of the remaining nine

⁷⁶ Gvozdanović (1969) p. 48. See Bramantino's drawings reproduced by Rivoira (1910), vol. 1, figs. 263, 264.

⁷⁷ Catalogue, Nos. 46, 99. 78 Catalogue, No. 34.

buildings leads to some interesting conclusions. There is little similarity between the individual churches of the same island, so we may assume that some time elapsed between the construction of each of them and that each marks the arrival of a new workshop or fashion. As there are definite similarities between the churches on different islands, the successive workshops may have moved from one island to another.

Sy. Petar on Sipan, without analogies on the other two islands. belongs to the 'complex', possibly early, variant with the interior niches. Tentatively we would suggest a date around 1000,79 Sv. Ivan on Lopud and Sv. Nikola on Koločep (Fig. 50) are both domed buildings with four external blind arches (Sv. Nikola has lost its dome).80 Sv. Mihailo on Sipan is a little more sophisticated but essentially not unlike the other two.81 The three churches may be assigned to the same workshop or sub-style. We tend to date them to the first half or middle of the eleventh century. Sv. Nikola on Lopud, decorated with arched corbel tables and thus analogous to Sv. Petar at Omiš, would date from the end of the century.82 This church is also unique within the type in displaying a perfect correspondence between internal space organization and external decoration (Fig. 12). Consequently it is also the only building of the type that displays what we may define as an Early Romanesque tendency, again an indication of a fairly late date. Sv. Ilija on Lopud, with larger openings and corbels instead of internal pilasters, may date from about 1100 to 1120.88 Sv. Ivan on Sipan, a crude rustic example, seems to date from about 1100, or later.84 Sv. Ante on Koločep, recalling the squat proportions of the twelfth-century church of Sv. Luka in Dubrovnik, can hardly be earlier than 1120-1130. The analogous church of Sv. Srd on the same island could even be dated as late as 1150, due to its more regular masonry.85 More sophisticated buildings such as Sv. Petar and Sv. Mihailo on Sipan, Sv. Ivan and Sv. Nikola on Lopud and Sv. Nikola on Koločep may be tentatively ascribed to workshops coming from the mainland, presumably from Dubrovnik or Ston. The rest

⁷⁹ Catalogue, No. 36.

⁸⁰ Catalogue, Nos. 39, 40.

⁸¹ Catalogue, No. 41.

⁸² Catalogue, No. 45.

⁸³ Catalogue, No. 52.

⁸⁴ Catalogue, No. 50.

⁸⁶ Catalogue, Nos. 100, 101.

may be assigned to less skilful local masons.

The hypothetical dates of the island structures may now be taken as a system or reference for assigning dates to some of the buildings on the mainland and on the other islands. Sv. Nikola in Dubrovnik recalls the buildings on the islands datable to the first half of the eleventh century, and consequently may date from about 1000, as the buildings in the cities of the mainland would have antedated and served as models for the buildings on the islands. 86 Sv. Martin at Ston, and Sv. Luka on the island of Lastovo recall Sv. Ivan on Sipan and, as crude, rustic examples of the type, many be assigned to the first half of the twelfth century.87 The poorly preserved church of Sv. Toma at Kuti closely recalls Sv. Petar on Sipan and may date from about 1000.88 The church of the Sigurata in Dubrovnik (Fig. 53), covered by groin vaults recalling the interior of Sv. Petar at Priko in Omis, may date from the middle or second half of the eleventh century.89

A few churches around Ston on the Pelješac peninsula seem to constitute a local variant distinguished by a 'triapsidal' chevet, probably influenced by the eastern end of Sv. Mihajlo at Ston. All these buildings – the northern church in the complex of Sv. Petar at Ston, Sv. Juraj and SS. Filip and Jakov at Ponikve – are late examples dating from the twelfth, and perhaps even the

thirteenth, century.90

The 'triapsidal' end also occurs at Sv. Dimitrije at Gabrili, a rather crude building externally decorated by pilaster-strips standing by themselves, thus recalling another equally crude church, Sv. Juraj at Radun (Figs. 56, 57). As Radun is practically on the outskirts of the ancient Salona, the use of pilaster-strips may be a direct reference to some among the Salonitan Early Christian buildings such as the Mausoleum of Sv. Anastasius at Marusinac (c. 300). The structural buttresses of the ancient building have in Radun become a purely decorative device. The pilaster-strips of the Gabrili church, not far from the site of the ancient Epidaurus, may also have been

⁸⁶ Catalogue, No. 38.

⁸⁷ Catalogue, Nos. 51, 107.

⁸⁸ Catalogue, No. 37.
⁸⁹ Catalogue, No. 43.

⁹⁰ Catalogue, Nos. 108, 102, 103.

⁹¹ Catalogue, Nos. 47, 48.

inspired by an ancient structure. Both churches seem to represent a crude, rather late variant of the type, and may date

from the end of the eleventh century.

As stated above, the model of the South Dalmatian type. in terms of plan and some decorative elements, may be a certain type of antique memorial chapel. As the plans of the churches vary to a considerable degree, the existence of several model-buildings may be postulated. None has come to light so far. The type must have been known all over the central and eastern Mediterranean and is reflected both in Early Christian and later medieval church architecture of the area, especially in the Balkans and Asia Minor. Yet within the Byzantine sphere, in Armenia, Bulgaria, Serbia and Constantinople itself, the buildings of the type usually assume monumental proportions. The central bay is often square rather than rectangular, taller than the rest, and topped by a dome on pendentives.92 In Croatia, we find exceptional examples, such as Sv. Petar at Priko in Omiš, with a square central bay topped by something resembling a real dome. But this is not the rule. Ordinarily the dome is a secondary and by no means indispensable element of . the structure. It serves no practical function, since examples of its use as a lantern are extremely rare.93 Even in the cases of analogous small-scale monuments elsewhere - for example, San Angelo a Monte Raparo in Lucania in southern Italy, or the Church at Matejevci in Serbia (both undated but possibly earlier than the twelfth century) - the central bay has been given special emphasis.94 The dome of the South Dalmatian buildings thus appears to be primarily a decorative or symbolic element added to an already complete structure. The straight lines of the turret enclosing the dome are fully in harmony with the dominant straight lines of the rest (Figs. 51, 52, 54, 55). There are also domeless churches, and we have seen that in certain cases the dome has been added to an originally domeless building

93 Sv. Ivan on Lopud. The irregular openings in the turret may easily be of a

late date.

⁹² In Armenia: Marmashen (988-1029), see Strzygowski (1918), vol. 1, pp. 200-1; Holy Cross at Haghbat (965-991): see Matskanian and Alpago-Novello (1970), pp. 1ff. In Bulgaria: St. Mary at Stanimaka (around 1200), see Bošković (1962), p. 123. In Serbia: Studenica and Gjurgjevi Stubovi (both late twelfth century), see Deroko (1953), pp. 70-5, 79-81. In Constantinople: the so-called St. Thecla (tenth century), see Gurlitt (1912), vol. 1, p. 36, pl. 52:9G.

⁹⁴ Venditti (1967), vol. 2, pp. 879ff. Deroko (1953), p. 57.

(Figs, 54, 55). The appearance of the dome may be due to the local interest in centralized structures especially evident in Northern Dalmatia but present also in Southern Dalmatia and Doclea (the Church at Ošlje, Sv. Toma at Prčanj and the Cruciform Church at Doclea). Its popularity may also be due to influence from southern Italy, or to the repeated influxes of Byzantine forms either through the Balkans or across the sea. Since the function of the South Dalmatian churches is probably analogous to that of the other small-scale early Croatian churches, namely that quite a few of them may have served as donation 'witnesses', the dome may have been deliberately used to assure an easy identification of the building as an ecclesiastical structure.

As the density of the monuments is at its highest to the south of the Pelješac peninsula, we may assume that the Late Antique model or models stood in some of the ancient cities of Southern

Dalmatia - Narona, Ston or Epidaurus.

Yet at the very northern border of the diffusion of the type we find another analogous building, on a more monumental scale: the church of Our Lady of the Island (or Sv. Marija) in Solin (Figs. 10, 11). The church, now in ruins, was an aisled four-bay building, the bays being separated by square piers. There was a single apse, rectangular without and rounded within. There seems to have been a dome above the third bay of the nave. The exterior was decorated by pilaster-strips. The silhouette must indeed have recalled buildings of the South Dalmatian type. In front of the building, however, were two annexes, a two-storey endonarthex serving as a funerary chapel and containing the sarcophagus of Queen Jelena, buried there in 976, and a tripartite, two-storey exonarthex. The ground floor burial chamber of the endonarthex was surmounted by a gallery accessible by means of a staircase inserted into the southern section of the exonarthex, the central part of which served as the main entrance to the church, while its northern chamber provided the communication to a lateral annex. The arrangement of the pilaster-strips on the exterior walls, and the lack of any correspondence between the external decorative elements and the internal supports, indicates that the building appeared from the outside as a solid block covered by a uniform gable roof,

⁹⁵ Đurović et al. (1967-), vol. 1, pp. 269, 374ff.

the only projecting element being the dome. The archaeological unity of the building has never been questioned, especially as a thirteenth-century source credited the Queen with the construction of this church, as well as of Sv. Stjepan, a few feet to the south. 96 A closer study of what is today the eastern wall of the endonarthex, however, discloses a few rather striking features. There is a trace of a stepped-in portal, almost unique by its monumentality in early Croatian architecture. The pilasterstrips on the wall show no spatial, structural or decorative relationship to the rest of the endonarthex. Both these features indicate that the eastern wall of the 'endonarthex' was once the main facade of a free-standing church, and that the annexes have been added to an already complete building. Queen Jelena should perhaps be credited with the reconstruction of the churches rather than with their initial construction, or more precisely with the addition of the annexes, one of which served as a royal mausoleum. 97 This also seems to indicate that the Queen only restored the adjacent church of Sv. Stiepan, the spacious western annex of which served as the burial ground of early Croatian rulers. The time of the original construction of the churches thus becomes obscure, but they obviously antedate 976. indicating that the Croatian architects were capable, at a fairly early date, of handling complex assignments.

The building is also a fitting introduction to a number of larger buildings which all follow the scheme of an Early Christian basilica. The variant, with only one rounded apse, is represented by the ruins of Sv. Stjepan at Sustjepan in Split and Sv. Petar at Sumpetar to the south of Split. Sv. Stjepan was a spacious aisled building with a broad nave and, judging by a seventeenth-century drawing, with a clerestory, and a narthex which was indistinguishable from without. The church is mentioned in 1020 and a recent study by Marasović and

⁹⁶ Catalogue, No. 35. Thomas, Historia, p. 32.

⁸⁷ That the custom may go back to the Constantinian period has been indicated by Krautheimer. See Krautheimer (1969), pp. 27-34. St. Helen's mausoleum was attached to the front of the basilica of SS. Pietro and Marcellino in Rome. Constantine's mausoleum, built probably by Constantius somewhat after 359, may have stood in front of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. For numerous other examples, see Grabar (1942-44), vol. 1, part 5, ch. 5.

⁹⁸ Catalogue, Nos. 57, 60.

Vrsalović favours a tenth-century date. 99 Little is known of the much smaller church at Sumpetar as the remains were devastated before the investigations were completed. It was consecrated in 1080.

The original phase of the church of Sv. Marija at Nin seems to have belonged to the same type. The apse, rounded within and polygonal without, indicates that the structure probably dates from the sixth century. Judging by the style of the capitals, the church was thoroughly rebuilt in the eleventh century (Fig. 59). The rounded apses were added to the aisles at the same time. 100

The only well-preserved early Croatian basilica is Sv. Petar in Supetarska Draga on the island of Rab, recorded in 1060, and possibly founded on an Early Christian site (Figs. 18, 60-63). It was provided with a clerestory, but the aisles have subsequently been raised. The chevet, consisting of three contiguous semicircular apses, recalls some other eleventh-century Adriatic structures such as Sv. Martin at Sv. Lovreč Pazenatički in Istria, 101 Some of the capitals, recalling those of Sv. Martin, may also indicate the presence of an Istrian workshop. These capitals, with eight upright palm leaves, find numerous twelfth-century Romanesque analogies on the island of Rab. Other capitals, however, are copies of Antique and Early Byzantine types (Figs. 61-63). The western facade, constructed from ashlar and incorporating a hanging porch supported by lions, probably dates from the beginning of the twelfth century, to which date we should also assign the bell-tower at the southwestern corner of the church. The ruined church of Sv. Petar at Osor on the island of Osor, founded in the first half of the eleventh century by St. Gaudenzio, a disciple of St. Romuald, is fairly similar to the basilica at Supetarska Draga. 102

At the end of this list of aisled structures we may wish to say a few words about a rather exceptional building, the church of the royal monastery of Sv. Ivan in Biograd, begun around 1059-60 and consecrated in 1076. 103 It was an aisled building with a compact triapsidal chevet, and a tripartite annex recalling the exonarthex of Sv. Marija on the island in Solin (Figs. 11, 27). The

⁸⁹ Marasović and Vrsalović (1963-65).

¹⁰⁰ Catalogue, No. 56. Petricioli (1969), pp. 319-20.

¹⁰¹ Catalogue, No. 59.

¹⁰² Catalogue, No. 58.

¹⁰³ Catalogue, No. 61. Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, 88-91, 122, 145-6, 148-52.

discovered remains of the church are otherwise so scanty that it is impossible to establish the type of the main supports. The only remaining element of the supporting system is a uniform continuous foundation wall, and the roof construction may have rested on columns pilfered after the destruction of the building. The exterior walls, save for the apses, were richly adorned by pilaster strips, the disposition of which indicates that the western annex was indistinguishable from the outside. The lack of any responds on the internal faces of the walls suggests that the church was probably timber-roofed.

The Biograd church seems to represent the first thorough attempt at monumentalization of the traditional Early Christian basilica. Whereas the plastic accentuation of the chevet (three contiguous apses) is found at Supetarska Draga, Osor and Nin, and the western annex at Sv. Stjepan in Split, a consistent system of wall-decoration is a new contribution found only in Sv.

Ivan in Biograd.

The lateral walls of the church were, obviously, treated as a uniform decorative surface. The examples of such regularized decorative systems, showing no relationship to the structure of the building, survived even into Croatian mature Romanesque. The twelve-arch blind arcade on the lower portion of the southern facade of the late twelfth-century church of Sv. Krševan in Zadar shows no correspondence to the seven-arch interior arrangement (Fig. 81). The only difference between the solution applied to Sv. Ivan and Sv. Krševan is that, in the case of the latter, the decorative elements were individualized and given more plastic power. 104

A separate variant of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque Group is represented by a number of small-scale buildings within Byzantine Dalmatia, which show a blend between the local tradition and certain features of the contemporary Byzantine architecture. The buildings to consider here are Sv. Lovro and Sv. Nedeljica (demolished in 1891) in Zadar, Sv. Barbara and Sv. Stjepan (demolished in the eighteenth century) in Trogir, Sv. Nikola and Sv. Eufemija (destroyed by fire in 1877) in Split and the crypt of Sv. Petar in Dubrovnik. Each is a highly individual monument, but there is one feature in common – all, except the crypt of Sv. Petar, use columns. A combination between an

¹⁰⁴ On Sv. Krševan see Iveković (1931).

aisled three-bay church and a cruciform solution is found in Sv. Lovro in Zadar. The longitudinal orientation is stressed by the apse and the lateral apsidiole niches, the centralization by the dome (now lost) and the semidomical vaults in the aisles (Figs. 13, 14, 65). The presbytery, preserved only in its lower portions. consisted of a square apse embedded in the termination wall and two lateral chambers - pastophoria - communicating with the apse only. The whole church was covered with a uniform gable roof. Judging by the predominance of the straight lines, the turret encasing the dome was probably square. This, as well as the straight termination wall and the use of the blind arches preserved in their original form on the north wall, are features very much in the spirit of the local tradition. The disposition of the interior, however, recalls the Byzantine church of the Macedonian period modified under the influence of local customs. A two-story westwork was added later, and as it is related to the Royal Group it will be discussed in the following chapter. Since the westwork can hardly date from before the beginning of the eleventh century, the rest of the church may be assigned a tenth-century date. Indeed it is mentioned in a document dated 918 which, although a twelfth-century forgery, apparently relates tenth-century events with a fair degree of exactitude. The rich Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque sculpture of the church, attributable to as many as four workshops, only confused the dating (Fig. 66). The church seems to be a result of Byzantine influence fairly strong in the Adriatic area during the reign of Basil I and his immediate successors, so we may date the original phase of Sv. Loyro to around the year 900,105

Judging by old descriptions, the ruined church of Sv. Stjepan in Trogir seems to have been fairly similar to Sv. Lovro. The crypt of Sv. Petar in Dubrovnik recalls the cruciform plan of both Sv. Lovro and Sv. Stjepan (Fig. 64). 106 Sv. Nikola in Split belongs essentially to the same type, the difference being that the cruciform organization is strongly emphasized by the transept (Figs. 69, 70). The arms of the cross are covered by barrel vaults, the rest by semidomes merging directly with the wall surface. There is a square turret (reconstructed) with no dome inside.

¹⁰⁵ Catalogue, No. 64.

¹⁰⁶ Catalogue, Nos. 63, 64, 69.

The vaults are supported by monolith columns with unique, powerfully carved capitals, distant relatives of the Corinthian. A church of St. Nicholas existed in Split in the middle of the eleventh century and we are probably justified in identifying it with the building under consideration.¹⁰⁷

Sv. Barbara, originally Sv. Martin, at Trogir is a miniature four-bay basilica with a clerestory and a square apse covered with a semidome on squinches (Figs. 16, 67). There used to be a turret above the third bay of the nave. The columns supporting the groin vaults were all pilfered from Antique buildings, and only one of them bears a Pre-Romanesque capital made after a Corinthian model. The inscription on the lintel of the entrance door in rustic capitals states that the church was the work of a Prior Maius and a Petrus. The crude decoration of the lintel points to the formative period of interlace sculpture around 800. Another fragment, once serving as the choir-screen beam, bears an inscription saying that the restoration of the church was the work of another Peter and his wife Dabriza. Here the style of decoration points to the period of full maturity of interlace sculpture between the middle of the ninth and the middle of the eleventh century. The original dedication to St. Martin, a Carolingian saint, points to the early ninth century, a period of considerable Carolingian influence. The church may have been restored by the second Peter in the tenth or eleventh century: the turret may have been added during the restoration work. 108

Another small-scale aisled structure, this time with a transept but with no clerestory, is Sv. Eufemija, originally Sv. Benedikt, in Split, mentioned as recently completed in 1068. 109 It is a four-bay building with three rounded apses and a dome within a rounded turret at the crossing (Fig. 15). The bays were covered by barrel vaults supported by columns and the corresponding wall pilasters. There is no external wall decoration. The masonry is still rather crude, but the individual pieces have been cut with somewhat more care than usual.

Finally Sv. Nedeljica, originally Sv. Ivan, in Zadar, was an aisled three-bay church with no clerestory and with a straight

¹⁰⁷ Catalogue, No. 68. Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, p. 112. The turret has been restored on the basis of old drawings and archeological investigation. See Fisković (1949).

¹⁰⁸ Catalogue, No. 65.

¹⁰⁹ Catalogue, No. 66. Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 109-12.

termination wall (Fig. 17). The church was constructed on top of a cruciform undercroft extending underneath the whole building. The nave and the aisles were covered by groin vaults supported by columns. The date is probably the second half of the eleventh century, as indicated by arched corbel tables and the Romanesque articulation of the wall surfaces of the tiny bell-tower which used to stand at the south-western corner.¹¹⁰

No direct parallels to the buildings listed above could be found outside the Dalmatian cities, but the plans are comparable to those of a number of small-scale churches in Byzantineinfluenced southern Italy. The cruciform Dalmatian churches are comparable to San Costanzo at Capri (late eleventh to early twelfth century), Sv. Eufemija to San Giovanni al Mare in Gaeta (about 1050) and Sv. Nedelijca to the demolished church of the Ottimati in Reggio Calabria (late tenth to early eleventh century).111 In spite of the analogies, no Dalmatian church could be considered a direct model of a southern Italian one, or vice versa. The similarities are due to the common factor, Byzantium; the discrepancies to different local traditions. Southern Italy was an extended bulwark of the Byzantine world. much as Byzantine Dalmatia was. We should also mention here that striking similarities can be seen occasionally between buildings of Byzantine Dalmatia and some other provincial Byzantine zones: for example, between Sv. Barbara at Trogir and some small-scale aisled churches at Trebizond. 112

Some small-scale buildings are difficult to classify at all. The recently discovered church at Begovača in Kašić near Zadar consists of three parallel naves, the central one longer than the side ones, all terminated by rounded apses. The eastern aisle used to communicate with the nave, but the western did not. The plan recalls some of the northern Adriatic examples datable between the sixth and eighth century, and may indicate an early date for the Begovača church (c. 800?), though there is no direct evidence. 113

The form of the two-aisled Sv. Petar the Old in Zadar seems

¹¹⁰ Catalogue, No. 67.

¹¹¹ Venditti (1967), vol. 2, pp. 666ff., 675ff., 874ff.

¹¹² For Trebizond: Ballance (1960).

¹¹⁸ Catalogue, No. 70. The church is comparable to Sv. Tomaž near Rovinj (seventh or eighth century) and Sv. Martin near Martinšćica on Cres (between the sixth and the eighth century). See Mohorovičić (1957b), pp. 496, figs. 16, 17.

again to indicate links between the Zadar region and the northern Adriatic. An analogous structure, Sv. Platon, has been discovered near Osor, and is dated tentatively to about 800 on the basis of the form of interlace relief fragments. Another analogy would be St. Mary the Lesser near Bale in Istria, unaisled, but having two apses, possibly datable to the tenth or the eleventh century. Originally Sv. Petar the Old was a simple boxlike structure attached to the apse of the sixth-century aisleless basilica of Sv. Andrija. The vaults and the supports divinding the space into two aisles seem to have been inserted only in the eleventh century; the date of the original phase remains open. All three buildings remind one of the basilicae geminae which were so popular in the Adriatic zone during Late Antiquity.¹¹⁴

Finally, we should mention the simplest of all the buildings discussed so far: the church at Dolac in Osor, a simple elongated boxlike structure identified as a cult place by the discovery of the traces of an altar and the fragments of interlace sculpture. 115

A rather special case is that of a number of ancient buildings of various functions converted into churches in the Pre-Romanesque period. The corridors above the northern and western gates of the Palace of Diocletian were converted into chapels dedicated to St. Martin and Our Lady respectively. The former houses the best-preserved example of an early Croatian choir-screen; the latter is surmounted by what appears to be the oldest preserved Early Romanesque bell-tower of the eastern Adriatic (Figs. 71, 75). Exactly when the corridors were turned into chapels remains unknown. The dedication of one to a Carolingian saint, St. Martin, may indicate the ninth century. 116

The ruined chapel of Sv. Danijel at Seget near Trogir in the form of a broad and deep rounded apse oriented northwards (Fig. 19) has probably been constructed on the site of an antique memorial structure of the solo-apse type. 117

At Puntamika, near Zadar, a Roman cistern (second century

¹¹⁴ Catalogue, Nos. 71, 72. On Sv. Marija see Mohorovičić (1957b), p. 501, fig. 20. The basilicae geminae used to rise in Salona, Osor, Poreč, Nesactium. See Dyggve (1951), pp. 33ff.; also Zeiller (1922).

¹¹⁵ Catalogue, No. 73. 116 Catalogue, Nos. 75, 87.

¹¹⁷ Catalogue, No. 76. On the solo apse martyria see Grabar (1942-44), vol. 1, part 2, ch. 3.

AD) has been converted into an elongated church serving as an undercroft for another chapel erected on its vaults. The church dedicated to Sv. Stošija seems to have existed in 931 and may have been constructed in the ninth century. 118

The monuments of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque group, as we have seen, represent a colourful group of buildings greatly varied in form and size recalling Late Roman, Early Christian, and Early Byzantine tradition. The fact that the forms of the buildings were rooted in earlier styles does not diminish their claim to originality and aesthetic value. The conservatism of the local masons should not be overstressed. After all, they did not think they were supposed to 'prepare' the Romanesque: they built to satisfy the practical and aesthetic needs of their patrons. The forms borrowed were often re-worked and re-interpreted. Some of the buildings, especially the small-scale ones, are real masterpieces of complexity and subtlety, and attest to the considerable imaginative power of their creators. The finest examples among the better-preserved buildings are Sv. Križ at Nin, Sv. Lovro in Zadar, Sv. Barbara at Trogir, Sv. Petar at Priko in Omiš and Sv. Mihajlo at Ston. Their complexity and hybrid character may prove especially appealing to a modern non-purist art critic, but those characteristics also mark the buildings as Pre-Romanesque, since the Romanesque signifies, as we shall demonstrate, a return to simplicity and to structural and decorative clarity.

¹¹⁸ Catalogue, No. 74. Bianchi (1877-79), vol. 1, pp. 170-2.

2

Royal Pre-Romanesque

While most masons throughout the country emulated Pre-Slavic models, the architects working for the uppermost strata of society seem to have turned their eyes also to a more cosmopolitan type of architecture - the architecture of the Carolingian West. The result of their endeavours was a small group of monuments in most cases commissioned by, or built for, the ruler himself or the highest among his officers. Sv. Marta at Bijaći was the court chapel of one of the royal estates; the church at Crkvina was a royal mausoleum; the aisled church discovered at Biograd served as the cathedral of one of the favourite royal residences; the Saviour's Church at Cetina was commissioned by Count Gastica, the royal administrator of the County of Cetina; the basilica at Žažvić was probably connected in some way to the powerful Šubić family. Sv. Cecilija in Biskupija may have also been related to the dynasty, since one of the kings, Dimitri Zvonimir, chose to hold an assembly in front of the church, an assembly which cost him his life. The interest in western. Carolingian forms among the higher ranks of society is not surprising since the royal court was oriented toward the West. In the ninth century the ruler was nominally a subject of the King of the Franks: Carolingian tradition was not abolished even with the establishment of full national independence around 870. The king, judging from the relief in the Baptistery of Split, wore a Frankish costume and a crown of Carolingian type (Fig. 74). The spurs found in the ducal tomb at Crkvina in Biskupija are local work after a Carolingian model. The court was organized along Frankish lines with a major domus, Croatian Ded. The missi dominici performed the king's commissions in the provinces.1

So the royal architects also turned toward the West. The dates

Sišić (1962), p. 151. Karaman (1925).

of major monuments seem to suggest that the ninth century is the period of absorption of Carolingian forms still strongly tainted by local customs, the tenth of elaboration and initial synthesis, and the eleventh of synthesis on a really monumental scale.

The earliest monument of the group is probably Sv. Marta in Bijaći (Fig. 22). The court already existed there in 852, while the church itself is recorded in 892. It is reasonable to assume that the church itself existed in 852. As the court must have existed in Bijaći some time before 852, the church may date back to the period of initial Christianization around 800. As the highest strata of the population were most open to evangelization, we may postulate that a royal estate would have had a church at the earliest date possible.²

The building, now in ruins, has been erected on the site of an early Christian aisled basilica with a rounded apse and a polygonal baptistery at the southern flank. The Pre-Romanesque church consists of an aisled nave with a rectangular apse and a bulky western tower. The tower is accessible from the west and the south, the latter entrance perhaps reserved for the ruler, as the court itself may have been on that side. In addition there was probably a gallery on the second story reserved for the ruler and

his retinue.

Since the appearance of the western tower, or westwork, is a constant feature of the buildings of the Royal Group, we must consider briefly the problem of its function. Although the westwork was not apparently conceived of as a Kaiserkirche, at any rate at first, the terrestrial ruler soon found his way into the iconography of the western massifs. As Carol Heitz demonstrated, the westwork seems to have been originally reserved for the liturgy commemorating and glorifying the Saviour and his Resurrection. The climactic liturgical events of the year, the celebrations of Christmas and Easter, took place in the westwork. The model inspiring the combination of the western massif (essentially a centralized structure) and a longitudinal church body seems to have been the complex at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.⁸

German scholars on the other hand maintain that the

⁸ Heitz (1963), pp. 77ff., 91ff., 102-6ff., 121ff.

² Catalogue, No. 77. Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 4-6, 23-4.

westwork is primarily a Kaiserkirche, claiming that the frequent dedication of the westwork to the Saviour is a consequence of the merging of the cults of the Saviour and the Emperor. These contentions, however, do not seem to be mutually exclusive. Heitz allows for the role of the ruler in the westwork iconography but considers it of secondary importance, while the German thesis recognizes the importance of the liturgy of the Saviour, emphasizing that the celebration of the Redeemer is inseparable from the Imperial cult.⁴

Heitz's reasoning seems to be valid and applicable as far as the central lands of the Carolingian Empire are concerned, but in the borderlands of the western world the secondary ramifications seem to have had more prominence. The westwork is reserved for a person of distinction. Alternatively it may have served as a burial chamber, or as a real fortress defending the entrance to the church. The Croatian westwork is no exception. As we shall see, there is enough evidence to demonstrate that the upper story often contained a gallery reserved for a person of consequence while the ground floor served as a burial chamber. The latter brings to mind the Pantheons of Asturia and the custom of planting tombs at the entrance to the church, going back, in Christian architecture, possibly as far as the Constantinian

To return to Sv. Marta (Fig. 22), the nave is separated from the aisles by two pairs of rectangular piers probably supporting a continuous barrel vault. That the vaults indeed existed is indicated by crude but strong buttresses added at the southeastern and southwestern corner of the church in the Late Middle Ages to secure the vaulting construction that threatened to collapse; the lack of any wall articulation seems to favour a continuous vaulting system. The thickness of the walls (0.70 for a church fourteen metres long) is a further argument for the existence of the vaults.

Sv. Marta displays certain local features, such as the archaic basilican plan with only one apse, the predominance of the

period.6

⁴ See in particular Fuchs (1950), pp. 227, 253-5, 259-74; (1957).

⁶ Defensive function has been hinted at by Effman who otherwise maintained that the westwork was an adaptation of the western choir raised above the ground to better accommodate the church entrance. See Effman (1912). The idea of the defensive function was further elaborated by Stengel, See Stengel (1956).

⁸ See onr discussion of St. Mary in Solin in the preceding chapter.

straight lines and the use of piers, although the columns of the earlier church must have been available on the spot, for their bases have been discovered underneath the floor of the Pre-Romanesque building. The vaults are untraditionally applied to an essentially basilican plan, and the westwork, though not in bond with the west facade, is probably of the same date as the rest since there is no apparent difference in masonry.

Some of the elements present in Bijaći reappear, on a more monumental scale, in the church at Crkvina in Biskupija, probably dedicated to St. Mary and St. Stephen.⁷ The excavations have revealed a complex consisting of an aisled church with a flat chevet (Fig. 21). The church body is preceded by an aisled two-story western masif and a transversal porch. The group of buildings to the north of the church, arranged round a rectangular courtyard, has been identified as a monastery. The westwork, surprisingly enough, is not in bond with the walls of the church but with those of the monastic buildings. The masonry is the same, however, and we may assume that all parts came into being in fairly close succession.

The rooms on each side of the ground-floor passage of the westwork have served as funerary chambers. There, in sarcophagi reassembled from ancient fragments, rested, in the northern chamber a nobleman, in the southern a lady. Another tomb has been discovered beneath the lady's sarcophagus and yet another at the western end of the southern aisle. Each contained the body of a boy. The quality of the spurs, earrings and scraps of clothing discovered within the tombs indicates the high, possibly royal, stature of their occupants. A coin of Basil I has been found in the nobleman's sarcophagus. The Croatian rulers did not mint their own money, but used Byzantine coinage. The burial must therefore have occurred between 867 and 900, after which the money of Basil I would have been considered obsolete. The church, not in bond with the westwork, may be slightly earlier.

The second storey of the westwork was accessible only from the monastery by means of a staircase. It probably served as a ruler's gallery, as the ruler may have used some of the monastic premises as his quarters according to Carolingian practice.⁹

⁷ Catalogue, No. 78.

⁸ Marun (1898).

⁹ Fuchs (1950), p. 55.

Since the walls between the funerary chambers and the passage are inordinately thick, we are led to assume that they supported some kind of a roof projection above the central part of the westwork. Judging from the amount of tufa recovered in the course of excavations, the ground floor of the westwork and the church itself must have been vaulted. The vaults would have been supported by rectangular piers, and the lack of any articulation again favours a continuous barrel-vault, possibly merging directly with the wall surfaces. There had probably been a uniform gable roof lying directly on the vaults, a practice well known in the Mediterranean area.

We can again discern a blend of local and innovative elements. The plan with a flat chevet is a local feature, but the complete vaulting of the church, and the developed form of the westwork combining the functions of a royal lodge and a mausoleum, is

again innovative.

There are several historical considerations which may help establish the identity of the person buried at Crkvina. The collateral branch of the royal Trpimirović family is known to have had its possessions in the Highlands. One of the members of the collateral branch, Branimir, ruled the country from 878 to 892. He left no heirs (in the tombs of the two boys at Crkvina, we have the material evidence that the nobleman buried there was probably predeceased by his sons), and the main branch reverted to the throne.¹²

Judging from a fragmentary inscription, the church was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Stephen, and the mausoleum churches of the main branch of the royal family, at the island in Solin, were dedicated to the same saints. Also, from another fragmentary inscription, we learn that the Crkvina church was constructed by a 'dux gloriosus' and 'praeclarus', most probably the ruler himself. It seems probable that Branimir wished to build a mausoleum church for the members of his family on the territory under his control. This may narrow the dating of the church to the period of Branimir's reign.

10 Gunjača (1953).

¹¹ A uniform gable roof lying directly on top of the vaults seems to have been a popular device in some other Mediterranean countries such as Catalonia, Macedonia, and Greece. For Catalonia see Puig i Cadafalch (1928), pp. 67ff. For Greece and Macedonia, Millet (1916), pp. 40ff.
¹² Šišić (1962), pp. 113-17.

The choice of the Virgin and St. Stephen as the patrons of the royal mausolea deserves comment. The Virgin is often associated with royal foundations: witness the dedication of the chapel at Aachen, or her prominent position in the Laudes Regiae. St. Stephen can also be considered a saint of the court. His name appears in the Laudes; the court and coronation church of the Byzantine Emperors was dedicated to him; and the greatest treasure of the Palatine Chapel at Aachen was a relic of the saint. Croatia recognized Frankish overlordship during the period from 800 to about 870, and had a common border with the Byzantine enclaves of Dalmatia. Dedication of the royal mausolea to the Virgin and St. Stephen does not therefore seem at all surprising.

Another, possibly ninth-century, church is the one of which feeble traces have been discovered at Koljani; only the western portions of the building had been investigated before the site was devastated. It was apparently an aisled building, with extremely narrow aisles, the nave preceded by a bulky western tower. As with Bijaći and Crkvina, there is no articulation of the walls.¹⁴

Another group of churches, best represented by Sv. Spas, the Saviour's Church, at Cetina, may tentatively be ascribed to the second half of the ninth and to the tenth century. The only even partially preserved building of the Royal Group, Sv. Spas, is an aisleless structure with a triconch presbytery (replaced in the Late Medieval period by a square chancel) and a two-story westwork preceded by a five-story, tapering tower (Figs. 23, 72). The presbytery is separated from the nave by a choir-screen, the fragments of which bear an inscription corroborating the traditional dedication to Christ and reveal the name of the founder, Count Gastica, who built the church in honour of the Saviour. It probably served as the religious centre of the county of Cetina, while the huge necropolis around the church indicates that the central burial place of the people of the County, both

¹³ One can quote from the Laudes sung to Charlemagne at St. Riquier and recorded in the Gallican Psalter from St. Riquier (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 13159). See Heitz (1963), pp. 158 ff. Also, Kantorowicz (1942), pp. 65-81.

¹⁴ Catalogue, No. 82.

¹⁵ Catalogue, No. 79. The inscription in half-uncial script runs as follows: AD ONOREM DOM (ini) N(ostri) IHU XPI EGO GASTICA HUPPANUS D(onavi?) ... I ET ANIME MEE ET MATRIS MEE NOMINE NEMIRA E FILIIS MEIS NOMINE ... The half-uncial script seems to have died out in Croatia before the eleventh century but this has not been definitely proven. See Gunjača (1955b), pp. 227-8.

noble and common, existed there.

The church was vaulted, a fact confirmed by the presence of five pairs of strong, projecting, rounded buttresses and the amount of tufa, recovered in the course of the investigations, which sufficed to cover the whole floor of the church. The first pair of buttresses leans diagonally against the corners of the westwork; the second reinforces the wall separating the westwork from the nave; the next two support the nave vaults; while the last supports the lateral apses. There are also buttress-like wall-thickenings between the lateral apses and the main apse.

The central ground-floor chamber of the westwork is covered by a groin vault, the lateral ones by barrel vaults. The vaults support a gallery accessible by a staircase approaching from the north, and landing on a platform in front of the entrance on the west side of the second storey of the tower. The platform surmounted a porch, now completely in ruins. The staircase issued from a building to the north of the church, the traces of which are so meagre that its form and function remain unknown. The gallery communicated visually with the nave by means of three roundheaded openings, the central one taller than the other two, enframed by pilaster-strips. This was probably the place reserved for the Count when he participated in the services, from which he may have also have administered justice. Both the nave and the westwork would have been covered by a uniform gable roof and, except naturally for the tower, the westwork would remain indistinguishable from the outside.

The date of the church is unfortunately not known, but there are indications of an approximate dating. The dedication to the Saviour favours the early ninth or tenth century, recalling the original or primary iconographic content of the westworks. ¹⁶ The County of Cetina is known to have existed as an administrative unit in the tenth century, if not earlier. ¹⁷ The plan of the church, with the triconch presbytery, can be explained as a transitional form between the complex Traditional Pre-Romanesque solutions, and large Royal Group basilican structures of the eleventh century, to be discussed shortly. The nave of Sv. Spas is about two metres wider than the nave of the Church at Crkvina (Crkvina is only about twenty kilometres to the west of Cetina);

¹⁶ See above, pp. 74-5.

¹⁷ De administrando, I, pp. 144-5.

at Crkvina the thrust of the nave vaults was compensated for by the aisles which acted as buttresses. At Sv. Spas the function of the aisles is taken over by the rounded buttresses. Structurally, Sy. Spas appears more daring. Also, in terms of the articulation of masses, the Cetina church seems to be a departure from the simple box-like form of the ninth-century Royal Group buildings. While at Crkvina the only accent was the projection above the roof of the westwork, at Cetina special attention was paid to the plastic emphasis of the two most important sections of the church, the western end and the presbytery. The walls themselves are articulated by the rounded buttresses, which at same time have the important structural role of strengthening the walls and lending support to the vaulting system. The external approach to the gallery is the one element that recalls Crkvina. The earliest known internal staircase appears in the westwork of Sv. Marija on the island in Solin, the westwork having been completed before 976.18 All these arguments suggest that the Saviour's church postdates Crkvina, but predates the constructions of the second half of the tenth century; its construction can therefore probably be assigned to the last decades of the ninth or the first decades of the tenth century.

The ruins of the church at Lopuška Glavica in Biskupija show a plan almost completely anologous to that of Sv. Spas. It is an aisleless church with a triconch presbytery, the main and the northern apses being rounded, the southern apse square. There is a tower in front of the whole width of the western facade, so that the western part of the church had to be reinforced by four pairs of rounded buttresses. There are no diagonal buttresses, as at the Saviour's, a structural archaism which may indicate a somewhat earlier date. The fragments of interlace sculpture recovered in the course of excavations show striking similarities with the fragments from Sv. Petar at Rižinice of about 852, and although too much reliance should not be placed on the style of interlace relief as a guide to a conclusive dating, this suggests that the church was constructed in the middle or during the second half

Traces of another church with rounded buttresses have been

of the ninth century. 19

¹⁸ Catalogue, No. 35.

¹⁹ Catalogue, No. 80.

discovered at Bukurovića Podvornice, also in Biskupija. It is known to have been an aisleless building with a rounded apse, but the form of the western end remains unknown. The nave was covered by vaults, the existence of which is suggested by pilasters on the internal faces of the walls apparently carrying transverse arches and the quantity of tufa recovered by the archaeologists. The walls were reinforced from without by rounded buttresses. The internal supporting system, well-known from the buildings of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque group, indicates the transitional character of the building, which may therefore be dated to the very end of the ninth or to the tenth century.²⁰

In the eleventh century the elements of the Royal Group were applied on a more monumental scale. We are referring primarily to the Cathedral of Biograd and Sv. Cecilija in Biskupija, both aisled, triapsidal churches with a westwork and rounded buttresses. Sv. Cecilija, now completely in ruins, is the most interesting monument of the whole group and should be discussed first. It was a spacious aisled building, the nave being separated from the aisles by three pairs of heavy cruciform piers (Fig. 24). The church possessed a westwork with a western tower in front of it. There was an inner communication with the westwork gallery managed in the southern chamber of the tripartite ground floor. The walls were strengthened by a series of rounded buttresses. Along the southern flank stood two annexes: an open porch, and a small chapel with an apse pointing to the east.

The quantity of tufa recovered on the site, and the thickness of the walls, indicates that the church was vaulted. In spite of the cruciform piers, the church was probably covered by barrel vaults on transverse arches, since the unequal size of the nave bays and the oblong form of the aisle bays would not suit a groin vault solution.²¹

Because the site is not even properly levelled, we may conclude that the church was constructed in a hurry. The construction was probably started at the southeastern corner where the buttress,

²⁰ Catalogue, No. 81.

²¹ The plan of Sv. Cecilija (Catalogue, No. 83), with its heavy cruciform piers, may remind one of some early Romanesque barrel-vaulted churches of Catalonia such as San Pere de Casserres (about 1010), Cohaner (after 1069), or Mur (after 1069). See Puig i Cadafalch (1928), pp. 74ff.

perpendicular to the church wall, was expected to assume the thrust of the apse vault only. By the time the northeastern corner was reached the conception changed. The buttress there is leaning diagonally against the corner, indicating that the architect had now decided to cover the whole church with vaults. Maybe a new man, better versed in engineering problems and of a more daring disposition, took over. The wall was then extended to as far as the third buttress from the east, at which point, with the foundation of the easternmost pair of piers, it appeared necessary to insert an intermediary buttress not in bond with the wall. On the southern side the wall may have already been constructed beyond the third buttress, and when the vaulting was definitely decided upon, the second and third buttresses (from the east) had to be added. Yet very soon the architect was ordered to provide for a lateral chapel and a porch, so the rest of the buttresses on the southern side were omitted, the annexes themselves acting as buttresses. The construction of the third buttress was interrupted, and it was partly incorporated into the apse of the chapel. The westwork and the western tower, however, were built before the lateral porch, as the western wall of the porch leans against the important buttress reinforcing the partition wall between the westwork and the church body.

The fragments of interlace sculpture disclose a rare technical perfection and uniformity of style, confirming that the church must have been erected in a relatively short period of time. It existed in 1088 when King Dimitri Zvonimir held an assembly in front of the church in the course of which he was cut to pieces by his enraged retainers. Pure Pre-Romanesque rubblework and the absence of any elements of incipient Romanesque in the sculptural decoration favour a date in the middle of the eleventh century. The dedication to Sv. Cecilija, an anti-princely, pro-papal saint, may indicate a date shortly after the reformist

synod of Split in 1060.22

Equally monumental in size, but much less consistent in style, is the cathedral of the royal city of Biograd (Fig. 25). Some features, such as a reduced westwork consisting of a bulky western tower only, may suggest that the church derived from Sv. Cecilija; yet the absence of diagonal buttresses and the use of

²² Gunjača (1952c), pp. 260-4, 292-7. On the synod of Split see Klaić (1971), pp. 361-75. On St. Cecilia: de Voragine (1965), pp. 771-7.

rounded piers (or columns), intermingled in an apparently irregular way with rectangular supports, make it appear more archaic.28 Judging from the thickness of the walls, the close distance between the supports and the presence of wall pilasters. the church was vaulted. The substitution of simple supports for the complex supports of Sv. Cecilija appears as an archaic feature, but we should not forget that the building stood in a coastal city, and the cities displayed a strong preference for simpler columnar supports.24 On the other hand, Biograd was the favourite royal residence, especially during the second half of the eleventh century, with close connection to Knin, another royal city located in the Highlands just five kilometers from Riskupija. The Cathedral of Biograd seems therefore to represent a modification of the Highlands type under the influence of the architecture of the coastal cities. The first recorded bishop of Biograd is Theodosius, mentioned in 1059-60; the church may date from the middle of the eleventh century.25

Another building, in the western Lowlands, almost exactly half-way between Biograd and Knin, seems to reflect the influence of Highlands architecture. It is the church at Zažvić, at the foot of the Hill of Bribir, the seat of the Subics, Counts of Bribir, one of the mightiest noble families in the land. The church consists of an aisled nave, a deep rounded apse, and a westwork, the plan of which recalls those of Sv. Cecilija and Sv. Spas. From a relative thinness of the walls and the absence of any consistent system of buttressing, we may deduce that the church was covered by a timber roof. The disposition of the piers as indicated on the only plan ever made is at best strange, and seems insufficient to carry any kind of roof. We should probably imagine another pair of piers in between the two marked on the plan and some kind of wall projections at the entrance to the apse. The deep apse, paved by opus signinum, recalls Late Antique Adriatic practice and probably formed a part of an Early Christian church. The fairly advanced masonry of the

²³ Catalogue, No. 84. The excavated remains had been vandalized before they were properly studied. This may account for the strange inconsistencies marked on the plan executed, in a hurry, during the excavations.

²⁴ For example, Sv. Lovro, Sv. Nedeljica, Zadar; Sv. Nikola and Sv. Eufemija, Split, Sv. Barbara and Sv. Stjepan, Trogir (Catalogue, Nos. 64-69).

²⁵ Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, p. 88.

whole may suggest an eleventh century date.²⁶ We believe that the form of the church could be explained as a provincial, less daring variant of the style radiating from the strong centre around Knin. At the foot of the Hill of Bribir, the seat of the Counts of Bribir, the church may have served as the central ecclesiastical structure of the County, like Sv. Spas at Cetina. The westwork gallery would have been reserved for the Counts, members of the Subić family, while the tombs in the ground floor suggest that it was also used as a mausoleum.

The use of western massifs makes it necessary at this point, to discuss several buildings either mentioned previously or to be discussed in the following chapter. The churches of Sv. Marija and Sv. Stjepan on the island in Solin were both provided with western annexes (Figs. 8, 10). Sv. Marija is authentically dated to shortly before 976, while the simple boxlike annex of St. Stjepan was at least repaired at about the same time. As already stated, both westworks served as royal mausolea, another argument in favour of the thesis that, in Croatia, the western annexes appear primarily in the buildings connected with the Crown.²⁷

The complex two-storey westwork added to Sv. Lovro in Zadar in the course of the eleventh century may be due to a 'royal' influence (Figs. 13, 14). The church apparently served as the chapel of the Priors of Zadar, and the Prior family, the Madii, were related through intermarriage to the Croatian royal

family.28

The westwork with a tower, a fine Early Romanesque structure, added to the church at Ošlje in the late eleventh century, will be thoroughly discussed in the following chapter (Fig. 2). We shall there say more about the western tower of the royal monastery of SS. Petar and Mojsije in Solin (around 1060-70), which contained a gallery on the first floor, and the ground floor of which served, again, as a funerary chamber (Fig. 26), and about the tower in front of the church of Sv. Vid near Dobrinj on the island of Krk constructed in 1100 by Dragoslav, apparently a distinguished local nobleman (Fig. 79).

As we have already tried to show in the analysis of the

²⁶ Catalogue, No. 85. The church was only superficially examined by Marun, and it still awaits a re-excavation. See Marun (1895).

²⁷ Catalogue, Nos. 33, 35. ²⁸ Catalogue, No. 64.

buildings, the aesthetic premises of the architecture of the Royal Pre-Romanesque Group differ from those of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque buildings. The architects of the best among the royal buildings show a desire for a more thorough reinterpretation of the tradition. The plans with the trefoil chevet may still remind one of the practices of the Traditional Group, but the westwork, a new unit both in terms of space and mass, appears as a counter-balance to the eastern end; the church has become bi-polar, and both poles are plastically emphasized and enriched. As opposed to the stressing of the central part of the building by a dome, a practice cherished by the architects of the first group, the accent is now on the functionally most important parts, the eastern and western ends. The westwork is often emphasized by a tower, and the presbytery by a trefoil of compact triapsidal chevet.

The rounded buttresses are an important innovation. Their role is twofold: to strengthen the walls, and to break the monotony of the walls' blank uniform surfaces. The incentive for the use of buttresses may have come from the Salonitan Early Christian basilicas, such as those of St. Domnios at Manastirine, or the Basilica of Five Martyrs at Kapljuč; however, in Salonitan architecture, the buttresses, rectangular in form, had no structural function. Their rounded shape may instead have been suggested by the colonnades of engaged columns, or semicolumns, as they appear in ancient pseudo-peripteral structures, or which occur, more than once, within the Palace of Diocletian.²⁹ Then again in the hands of early Croatian architects an ancient decorative motif is turned into a structural one.

The 'Caves' or underground chambers of the Palace may have also served as a textbook for vaulting. The interest of the Palace of Diocletian, in the eyes of Croatian rulers and their architects, is easy to account for. The Croatian king considered himself a lawful heir to the Emperor; besides incorporating the elements of the contemporary imperial architecture of the west, the royal architects seem thus to have been inspired by the forms of the local, ancient imperial structures.

²⁹ This possibility has been indicated by Marasović (1958b), vol. 1, p. 48. I am also indebted to Professor Robert G. Calkins of Cornell University for having drawn my attention to the fact that the rounded form of the buttresses may have been inspired by engaged columns.

In spite of the innovations, the Royal Group is still essentially Pre-Romanesque. The interior and the exterior are not related, and their supports do not correspond. The architects understood some structural problems; they were, for example, aware of the usefulness of diagonal buttressing, but they failed to bind the buttresses and piers into a logical and indissoluble structural system. They only started to wrestle with the problems of plastic articulation of the body, and left at least a part of their westworks indistinguishable from without. They also failed to develop any consistent system of wall decoration which would have underlined and emphasized the main lines of architecture.

The royal architects nevertheless made a few daring attempts. They were determined to vault completely the buildings of monumental size. They experimented with combinations of large, individual plastic forms – the body of the church, the presbytery and the westwork. The results were buildings of massive, rugged individuality representing, in our opinion, the most important Croatian contribution to the general history of Pre-Romanesque architecture. The experiments of the royal builders were, locally, of paramount importance. Some of the eleventh-century architects understood the lesson of their 'royal' colleagues, and having assimilated the tradition of both Pre-Romanesque groups, they created a few monuments which, specific and peculiar as they may seem, constitute a Croatian variant of the 'First Romanesque Art'.

3

Early Romanesque

If we define a Romanesque building as one in which the external structure corresponds to the organization of the interior, where the exterior volumes - basic geometric forms - are related to equally clear-cut internal spatial units, where the sculpted and painted decoration, subordinated to the architecture, enhances the main lines of the structure, then the easiest way to define an Early Romanesque building is by saying that it does not yet fulfil all of the above requirements, or satisfies them only to a certain degree. The Early or 'First' Romanesque is different both from the Pre-Romanesque and from the mature Romanesque. To distinguish it from the former, we may say that the building has become structuralized; it has undergone a certain simplification while the architectural decoration has been made to follow the main structural lines. This is a fundamental difference in kind. The difference from the mature Romanesque is only one of degree. The structuralization has not always been made fully evident: the plastic force of the building and its parts is still restricted; and the architectural decoration is limited to flat wall-surface articulation. The masonry, rubblework or partly dressed stone has no specific expression of its own; therefore it is covered by plaster which, through its uniformity, only enhances the fine, flat decorative effect of the facades, Sculptural decoration is rare. The mature Romanesque will pay more attention to the plastic expression of the masses and to relief effect of the surfaces. The wall-decoration will appear as a volume set in front of a background and the elements of equal structural and aesthetic value will become individualized by different treatment. The projections and recessions will become more prominent or at least optically so.1

¹ The above characteristics seem applicable to Lombardy, Catalonia, the Alps, and the other regions of the 'First Romanesque Art'. One is referred to the

The Early Romanesque in Croatia fulfils the above standards. The structuralization is not always consistently carried through: the plastic power of volumes and surfaces is limited: the masonry, at best, consists of semi-dressed stone; the sculptural decoration is scarce and applied mostly to the interior; but the complexity of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque Group, and of some of the buildings of the Royal Group, has been given up. The forms are less numerous, but their significance within the structure is easier to grasp. The walls remain rather flat and there are no individualized decorative members. The tendency to vault the building is less prominent. The vault is an additional and certainly valuable asset defining the space from above, but it is not necessarily a sign of 'progress', and it does not make a building 'Romanesque'. It is questionable whether all the schools of the First and even mature Romanesque had any especially urgent desire for vaulting. The vaults may have even led to a recurrence of technical devices harmful to the clarity of structure.2

The Early Romanesque characteristics can be found in a limited number of early Croatian monuments, and very rarely are they all present in one individual building. In some cases the main classification criteria have been the structural, optical and decorative logic, in some instances the simplification of traditional form, often accompanied by an increased quality of masonry. The classification has not always been easy. Some of the buildings we have discussed above may be called Early Romanesque; for example, Sv. Nikola on Lopud (c. 1100), the only building of the South Dalmatian type displaying a correspondence of external wall decoration and interior spatial organization. Others are Sv. Eufemija in Split (shortly before 1069) and Sv. Nedeljica in Zadar (second half of the eleventh century). Yet, at St. Nikola's the squarish masses still contain

³ Above, pp. 61, 69-70.

illustrative material in Puig i Cadafalch (1935) and Porter (1917). A further study, however, in the visual and structural properties of the 'First Romanesque Art' seems indicated. It would also be interesting to establish the degree of the 'structuralization' tendency, if any, within each of the Pre-Romanesque schools of the west.

² That the vault is by no means a sign of 'progress' has been signalled by Krautheimer (1965), p. 103. One may add that the desire for vaulting joined by an insufficient knowledge of building techniques prevented the architects of the Royal Group from creating a 'real' Romanesque building.

curvilinear spatial units: in the case of Sv. Nedeliica there are spatial units indistinguishable from the outside (the apses), whereas Sv. Eufemija shows no tendency to break the monotony of completely blank exterior walls. In the case of Sv. Ivan in Biograd (dedicated 1076) the consistent exterior wall decoration may advocate the inclusion of the building within the Early Romanesque group. On the other hand, this decoration is in no way related to the interior organization, and one of the main spatial units - the westwork - was apparently indistinguishable from the outside. To illustrate our concept of Early Romanesque we would like to start our discussion with the most perfect Early Romanesque church in Croatia - the church of the royal monastery of SS. Petar and Moisije in Solin, mentioned for the first time in about 1070.5 In 1076 it saw the coronation of King Dimitri Zvonimir, so we may assume that it was considered one of the most representative and modern buildings of the realm. It was an aisled building with a flat eastern end, with a rectangular apse and rounded apsidioles, all embedded into the wall (Figs. 26, 73). The aisles were separated from the nave by five pairs of columns to which pilaster-strips correspond on both external and internal faces of the walls. There is no conclusive evidence as to whether the church was vaulted, though the perfect correspondence of the supports and the thickness of the walls may be indicative of vaulting. The aisled body was preceded by a square tower which can still be seen, in a good state of preservation, on a map-drawing of 1571 (Fig. 73). Judging from a sarcophagus found there, the ground floor of the westwork had a funerary function. The traces of a staircase leading to the gallery are still visible in the southeastern corner of the ground floor. The masonry, consisting of elongated, partly dressed pieces of stone, indicates a remarkable improvement over the buildings of the Pre-Romanesque groups. The plan, with the flat eastern end, however, is archaic, and in its outline recalls the ninth-century church at Crkvina in Biskupija (Fig. 21); the western tower appears as a faithful companion of the churches connected with the dynasty. It is within the traditionalist frame, however, that the architect has conceived and realized a perfectly logical structural solution and a regularized system of architectural

4 Above, pp. 66-7.

^o Catalogue, No. 86. Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 125, 139, 160, 165.

decoration.

Another longitudinal structure of Early Romanesque character is the westwork added in front of the octachora of Ošlje (Fig. 2). The interior disposition of the building appears rather irregular, but some anomalies seem to be due to the imperfect state of preservation of the ruin. We can distinguish a central passage entered by a triple, stepped-in portal, unusual in early Croatian architecture, and two narrow, elongated lateral chambers, the southern containing traces of a staircase. Judging from the forms of the foundations of the western end, the passage was surmounted by a tower. The exterior is systematically decorated by pilaster strips. The masonry, in partly dressed stone, is in a strong contrast to the rubblework walls of the octachora itself. All these elements seem to support a late eleventh-century date.

While the relationship between the exterior and interior can hardly be discussed on the basis of the incompletely preserved ruins, the decorative consistency, the individualized tower, the form of the portal and the quality of the masonry justify, in our opinion, the classification of the building as Early Romanesque.

The tower of Ošlje is destroyed, as are other eleventh-century towers such as those of the Stomorica and Sv. Nedeljica in Zadar, That of Sv. Lovro in Zadar is only partly preserved. The sole source of our knowledge of the form of the small-scale eleventh-century tower therefore remains the bell-tower above the chapel of Our Lady of the Bell-Tower, inserted, as already stated, into a corridor within the Western Gate (Porta Ferrea) of the Palace of Diocletian.7 It is a four-level tower with one bay window at the lower levels and biforae on the top (Fig. 75). The corners are marked by pilaster-strips. There is a flat corbel table at the upper end of the facades resting on indented corbels, recalling those of Sv. Petar in Supetarska Draga on the island of Rab, and of Sv. Nikola near Nin, to be discussed shortly (Fig. 77). The flat corbel table may be an import from the north, from Lombardy, and may have first made its appearance on the northern Adriatic Islands.8 The masonry of the tower is rather

Catalogue, No. 11.
Catalogue, No. 87.

⁸ For the eleventh century Lombard examples, such as San Pietro at Acqui, the Baptistery of Biella, or SS. Pietro e Paolo at Casalino see Porter (1917), vol. 1, pp. 25-30, 119-21, 257; vol. 4, pl. IV:2, XXX:2, XXXXVIII:2. The arched corbel tables occurring, as we have seen, only in a few instances (Sv. Petar at Priko in Omiš,

poor and the capitals are decorated by interlaces, making the tower datable to a period before 1100.

Yet the consistent tendency to mark the most important architectural lines – the corners and the top of the facades – by special members, makes the tower Early Romanesque.

Likewise another important element, the rib vault, or more precisely a domical vault constructed above heavy square ribs, seems to have come from the north. The earliest dated example is the vault of the second story of the tower of Sy. Marija in Zadar (Fig. 80), the first truly mature Romanesque building in Croatia. erected in 1105.9 but two somewhat earlier examples seem to exist. At Sv. Krševan at Glavotok on the island of Krk and Sv. Nikola near Nin the vault is applied to the central room of a small trichora church. 10 The two churches are similar in plan and details, the only marked difference being that at Sy. Krševan the entrance bay is covered by a barrel vault and at Sv. Nikola's by a semidome. The masonry is halfway between rubble and ashlar (Fig. 77). The ribs themselves are constructed from dressed stones of various sizes, most probably ancient spoils, intermixed with rubble. The portal of Sv. Nikola, from polished stone and with a fully developed lunette, is already representative of the modest type of mature Romanesque portal. As the development of the Romanesque elements seems to have progressed from north to south, we might tentatively date Sv. Krševan first, then Sv. Nikola (both around 1100) and finally the vault of the tower of Sv. Marija.

It is interesting that the trichora type became popular towards the end of the Pre-Romanesque period, probably because the form fits fairly well with the structural investigations of the Proto-Romanesque masons. Structurally, the most important portions of the building are the meeting places of the conches which lead the eye towards the crown of the whole construction, the dome. In the interior the same lines are stressed by the pilasters supporting the ribs which themselves, again, lead the eye towards the centre of the dome. Also, as distinct from the tetrachora or hexachora type, the evident differentiation between the rounded conches and the square entrance bay

Sv. Nikola on Lopud, Sv. Nedeljica in Zadar, the south facade of Sv. Lovro in Zadar) may also be considered an import from Northern Italy.

Petricioli (1966), p. 81.
 Catalogue, Nos. 90, 91.

provides the building with a more prominent sense of direction.

Nevertheless we hasten to admit that the form itself may be seen as a Pre-Romanesque survival and that it enjoyed a considerable popularity in the eleventh and twelfth century in some other traditionally-minded milieus such as Catalonia, Roussillon and some parts of the Languedoc.¹¹

The trichora type may be said to represent an Early Romanesque variation on a traditionalist theme. All Early Romanesque buildings still to be discussed, found on the Northern Adriatic island of Krk, are essentially traditionalist structures, with some Romanesque elements. 12 Sv. Donat near Krk (Fig. 76), with a square chamber covered by a plastically strongly emphasized dome, with a square barrel-vaulted presbytery and equally square entrance bay, and with lateral apses attached to the central core, is reminiscent both of the buildings of the Sv. Pelegrin in Savar type and of polyconchal solutions. 18 The clash of curved and straight elements endowing the building with a considerable plastic vigor, in itself an element foreign to the principles of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque Group, must have been even more prounounced when the original wall-surface, consisting of almost perfect ashlar, was intact. Nowadays there are only a few courses of the original wall-surface preserved on the northern lateral conch. The church should be dated towards the very end of the eleventh century.

Judging from advanced masonry, the early Croatian portions of the aisleless chapel of Sv. Lucija near Krk also date from the end of the eleventh century.¹⁴

The last two buildings, both documented around 1100, represent a transition between Early Romanesque forms and those of small-scale mature Romanesque buildings. They are

¹¹ For example, Brull, Gallifa, Fabregues, Montmajor, Ponts, Tavernolles (all eleventh century); Cellers, Erill la Val, Porquieres (twelfth century) in Catalonia; Gueyze, Aubiac (eleventh century); Tourtoirac, Montmoreau, St. Macaire, St. Martine-de-Londres (twelfth century) in the French South and South West.

¹² A possibility of a close connection in the second half of the eleventh century, in terms of economic and political history, between the Kvarner Islands and Istria, and by the way of Istria with Italy, has been stressed by Klaić (1971), pp. 377.8

¹⁸ Catalogue, No. 89; also, Nos. 3, 4, 7, 10.

¹⁴ Catalogue, No. 88.

both remarkable for their starkness and simplicity. Sv. Lucija at Jurandvor, an elongated unvaulted aisleless church with a rounded apse, marks a return to the simplest of the Early Christian types used in the Adriatic zone, yet the walls are constructed from perfect ashlar (Fig. 78). Sv. Lucija was the church of a royal monastery and we are tempted to recognize, in the appearance of a western tower, an influence of the Royal Group, but the difference in masonry shows that the tower is not contemporary with the rest and it probably dates from the end of the twelfth century.¹⁵

Sv. Vid near Dobrinj, consecrated in 1100, is a fitting conclusion to our survey. 16 It is a short, unvaulted chapel terminated by a rounded, somewhat elongated apse, and preceded by a massive four-storey tower (Fig. 79). There is no wall decoration either on the exterior or in the interior. The architectural expression has been achieved purely through the interplay of the three solid, clearly outlined volumes, the apse, the body, the tower. The church was founded by a local nobleman, and the appearance of the sizeable tower may be a reference to the Royal Group. The tower is indeed the last 'Pre-Romanesque' element, and it will soon be eliminated. The result will be a simple rectangular chamber, either vaulted or unvaulted, with a rounded apse, a form known from innumerable examples of rural Romanesque architecture all along the Croatian coastland.

As opposed to the architects of the first two groups, their Early Romanesque colleagues have either thoroughly reinterpreted the tradition, or, in less monumental cases, applied the imported Romanesque elements to those traditional forms which best suited their taste. The latter tendency was apparently very strong in the northern Adriatic, indicating that in Croatia the Romanesque indeed spread from north to south; more precisely, it was imported from northern Italy. The more radical and original solutions, such as SS. Petar and Mojsije in Solin or the tower of Our Lady, stand in Central Dalmatia, the heart of the state, which was evidently favouring monumentalization still combined with certain elements of the local tradition. A building

¹⁶ Catalogue, No. 93. The date of the church is supplied by the Panel of Baška, originally a part of the choir screen of the church, bearing the longest and the oldest text of Old Croatian language in glagolitic script.
¹⁶ Catalogue, No. 94. Surmin (1898), pp. 428-9.

such as SS. Petar and Mojsije could have prepared the ground for a local, distinct, Romanesque school, but no such school appeared. At the beginning of the twelfth century the country was flooded by mature Romanesque forms of Northern Italian or Lombard type and became a province of the 'Lombard' style or, if one may so describe it, of international Mediterranean Romanesque style.

We cannot avoid the feeling that after an analysis of the Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia, the Croatian Romanesque, at least at the present state of research, appears rather disappointing.17 There is a series of fine and individualized, but rather isolated, monuments and a mass of humble rustic creations. On the monumental scale, we can hardly distinguish anything we could call a local school. One of the reasons may be that, after the remarkable activity of the Pre-Romanesque masons, there were very few monumental commissions available to their successors. At Krk, Rab and Zadar the Romanesque architects remodelled the Late Antique cathedrals, or they reverted to the simplicity of the Early Christian forms, as in the monastic churches of Sv. Andrija and Sv. Ivan at Rab. In Zadar, the fine late twelfth-century church of Sv. Krševan is essentially a monumentalized Early Christian basilica decorated in the 'Pisan' manner. The cathedral of Trogir, constructed ab ovo in the first half of the thirteenth century, rather successfully combines Lombard and Apulian elements.

The situation is somewhat different in the conservative milieu of southern Dalmatia. There the Pre-Romanesque forms influenced the architecture of the small-scale churches until as late as the sixteenth century. The monumental Romanesque buildings of the area, the late twelfth-century cathedrals of Dubrovnik (destroyed in the earthquake of 1667) and Kotor (largely rebuilt), were domed basilicas, probably at least to some extent a reference to the tradition established by the southern

¹⁷ There is no survey of Romanesque art in Croatia nor are there any modern monographs of individual monuments. For basic information see Karaman (1964b), pp. 7-20; Vasić (1922), pp. 185-210, 225-32; Fisković (1965b); Stjepčević (1930-34); Gvozdanović (1970); Mohorovičić (1960).

Dalmatian type of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque Group.

The monumental Romanesque architecture of the continental portions of the country all but completely disappeared during the Tartar invasion (1242) and the three centuries of Turkish wars (from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century). Apart from a few fragments in local collections, little has been preserved of the cathedrals at Zagreb and Krbava, or the monastery churches at Bijela, Podgorje and Rudine. What remains are a dozen small-scale rural churches which find analogies with village churches throughout central Europe.

Early Croatian architecture seems thus to have had a rather limited influence on the later architectural styles of the country. Yet it should not be dismissed as stillborn or hopelessly provincial but, rather, regarded as an authentic artistic expression of its time and space. The architects resuscitated and reworked numerous Late Antique and Early Byzantine models; they were familiar with provincial Byzantine forms and the achievements of Carolingian architecture. They were especially successful in adapting Carolingian forms to local customs. Finally, in the eleventh century, some of the masters undertook a thorough reinterpretation of the tradition and created a few monuments which may be said to constitute the specific local variant of the 'First Romanesque Art'.

4

Conclusion

In a few final words I would like to summarize what I believe to be the results of our project. In doing so, I will consider separately the points bearing directly on the study of early Croatian architecture and those which I hope may prove of some use for a general history of Pre-Romanesque style in architecture.

In the first area I have tried to indicate the presence of two basic types of architectural expression: one Pre-Romanesque and one Early Romanesque. Within the first type, I suggested the existence of two groups – one, the Traditional Pre-Romanesque group based predominantly on the pre-Slavic traditions, which one is tempted to call somewhat vaguely 'popular', as opposed to the other, the Royal Pre-Romanesque group, which, though not completely free from local traditions, also seeks inspiration in the architecture of the Carolingian West. The two groups co-exist in time and space, but the patrons appear to differ. Whereas in the first group the patrons seem to come from the ranks of petty noblemen, even ordinary freemen, and city patricians, in the second group they can be shown conclusively to belong to the highest strata of society.¹

The Early Romanesque appears in the eleventh century. While not free from the tradition of the Pre-Romanesque groups, it is distinguished by its tendency towards simplification, and its

¹ See again our discussion of the Royal Pre-Romanesque group, especially the introductory lines. The patronage of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque buildings needs further study. However (see above pp. 54-5) we hope to have shown that petty noblemen and freeman can be seen as patrons of at least some of the buildings. Some other churches, such as Sv. Petar at Supetarska Draga on the island of Rab, Sv. Barbara at Trogir and Sv. Nikola at Split, were foundations of city patriciate. Some of the Traditional Pre-Romanesque churches (Sv. Petar at Rižinice, Sv. Luka at Uzdolje) seem to have been rulers' foundations in spite of their modest size.

optical and structural logic. We should note that at the point when the Early Romanesque emerges the Pre-Romanesque masons are still active, and that buildings in rustic, bastardized, Pre-Romanesque style continue to be constructed, especially in more conservative milieus, for centuries to come. For at least half a century, c.1050-c.1100, Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque exist, as modes of expression, side by side.

Our research also indicates that early Croatian architecture should not be studied in splendid isolation. Although many forms and types are based on local traditions, we have discovered a number of analogies with the architecture of Pre-Romanesque Spain, Great Moravia and Southern Italy. One of the most urgent tasks of future research will be to define with more precision the nature of these analogies. We are fully aware that we are far from having said the final word on the problems involving early Croatian architecture, but we hope to have raised a number of questions and to have provided the badly needed basic material for future studies.

We also hope that our work may have some relevance for research into the problems of Pre-Romanesque and 'First Romanesque' art in general. We have tried to show that one can, at least in the case of early Croatian material, distinguish stylistically between the Pre-Romanesque and the Early Romanesque. The Pre-Romanesque buildings rather consistently display the following characteristics:

- 1. Lack of correspondence between the organization of space and the organization of the exterior wall surfaces; the space organization is not 'projected' on the exterior wall surfaces; the inner and outer supports do not correspond. Numerous buildings, such as the churches of the South Dalmatian type, or the structures with the rounded buttresses, can serve as examples.
- 2. The form of the space does not correspond to the form of the shell that contains it. We have pointed out numerous instances of square apses and turrets enclosing hemispherical domes and rounded niches.
- 3. There are 'hidden' spaces, the existence of which does not become evident from an analysis of the exterior. We have observed this phenomenon in the case of numerous westworks and eastern ends of buildings.

4. In a number of buildings the corpus grows towards a central accent - turret or dome - whereas the interior space is longitudinally oriented toward the apse. The South Dalmatian churches are the most obvious example of this tendency towards bi-axiality.

5. A number of buildings – Sv. Lovro at Zadar, Sv. Cecilija in Biskupija and Biograd Cathedral being the most typical – display a predilection for narrow passages and bulky supports.

briefly for spatial discontinuity.

The Romanesque seems to signify the elimination of these 'contradictions' or 'complexities'. It would be going far beyond the scope of this book to assert that the five characteristics listed above occur in all other groups of Pre-Romanesque architecture or that they are the only characteristics of Pre-Romanesque architecture. However, we cannot deny the fact that they occur in some hundred buildings, and even a brief look at Pre-Romanesque works elsewhere indicates that some of the items from our list are not limited to the area of early Croatian architecture.²

² In Mozarabic architecture: horse-shoe apse hidden within rectangular masses (Melqne, Escalada, Penalba, Celanova, Mazote); dome hidden within a square turret (Melque, Penalba, Celanova, Mazote); an entire triconch hidden within a rectilinear eastern end (Mazote). Spatial discontinuity is typical of almost all Mozarabic buildings.

In the Graubinden group of buildings in the Central Alps (Raetia): triapsidal eastern end announcing an aisled interior whereas, in fact, the interior consists of one oblong chamber (St. Martin and St. Mary at Dissentis, St. John at Müstair, St. Martin at Pleiv, St. Peter at Mistail); tripartite presbytery hidden within a

straight termination wall (St. Agatha at Dissentis).

In Anglo-Saxon architecture: discontinuity in the case of some more complex buildings (Bradford-on-Avon, Bradwell-on-Sea, St. Pancras, and SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury, Deerhurst, Reculver, Ramsey, Stow); lack of correspondence between the exterior wall decoration and the organization of space (Barnack, Barton-on-Humber, Corhampton, Earl's Barton, Sompting, Woolbeding).

In Grand Moravia: disparity between the exterior and interior (church No. 9 at Mikulčice, rotunda with a quarterfoil interior). Similar disparity is found in some Carolingian and Ottonian centralized buildings (Würzburg, Deutz, Mettlach). In connection with the imperial lands we may also note the apse hidden within the westwork at Mittelzell, or the apsidioles embedded into straight termination wall (Helmstedt, Deventer); also, a tendency toward bi-axiality, or more precisely, bi-polarity (St. Riquier at Centula, St. Michael at Hildesheim). The division of the nave into units by means of alternation of supports (ABAB rhythm at Gernrode and Susteren; ABBABB at St. Michael at Hildesheim and at Mersburg) is in no way reflected by the organization of the exterior wall surfaces.

Also, if Romanesque is to be seen as a 'resolution' of the above 'inner contradictions', if it is to stand for a powerful optical and structural logic, as it obviously does around 1100, then a series of buildings classified as 'First Romanesque' fail to meet these standards.³ A serious revaluation of the 'First Romanesque Art' seems to be an area of fruitful research. The eleventh century should be defined as an age of transition, the transition itself assuming different forms in different parts of Western Europe.

Next, if we speak strictly in terms of style, there is no reason why we should not be able to look for 'Romanesque' buildings before the eleventh century; Santa Maria de Naranco near

Oviedo is an example that comes readily to mind.

Finally, if Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque can coexist, maybe we can discover survivals of Pre-Romanesque stylistic character beyond the end of the eleventh century. Some individual monuments, or entire groups could presumably then be explained as a continuation, for some particular reason, of Pre-Romanesque aesthetics.

I hasten to admit that I am raising more questions than can be answered at this point, but I believe that these questions are valid and worth raising, and that the research they lead to may provide us with a clearer picture of what happened in the architecture of the Christian West between the eighth and the eleventh century.

³ Only a few among the eleventh- and early twelfth-century buildings investigated in Catalonia by Jose Puig i Cadafalch and in Lombardy by Arthur K. Porter meet 'Romanesque' requirements. Such are Cardona, Ovarra, Bosost and Verdun in Catalonia, and Rivolta d'Adda in Lombardy.



Part Two

Catalogue



1 Traditional Pre-Romanesque

I. Centralized buildings

1. Sv. Vid, Zadar (probably second half of the eighth century)

The church, demolished in 1877, was a cruciform, triapsidal building with a dome within a tall, rounded turret (Fig. 3). The same form is repeated by the church of Sv. Križ at Nin, some twenty kilometres to the north of Zadar, datable around 800. As the Zaratine church may be assumed to have served as the source of the inspiration, we seem to be justified in dating Sv. Vid to the second half of the eighth century. The structure of Sv. Vid was apparently more regular, its openings larger and the system of blind arcades more extensive. The form itself was known to the Adriatic area already in the sixth century (witness the church of Sv. Katarina in the harbour of Pula in Istria), but we can hardly assign Sv. Vid such an early date since the church does not fit into the antique street pattern of the city of Zadar.

Bianchi (1877-79), vol. 1, pp. 448-50. Brunelli (1913), p. 20. Petricioli (1966), p. 77. Vasić (1922), pp. 11-12.

2. Sv. Križ, Nin (very probably around 800)

The cruciform, triapsidal chapel (8.90 by 8.80, thickness of the walls c. 0.70) with a dome within a tall rounded turret seems to have been modelled on Sv. Vid in Zadar (Figs. 4, 32, 33). The dome, as well as the semidomical vaults over the cross arms, rests on squinches. The turret and the gables are decorated by shallow blind arches. The square entrance is surmounted by a lintel adorned by stylized scrollwork and bearing an inscription which seems to read: GODEAI IUPPANO ?ISTO DOMO CO in

a crude version of capital script under the influence of the Beneventan. This, in the opinion of a recent researcher (Jakić-Cestarić), would indicate and eleventh-century date. The inscription has been interpreted as 'Godečaj Iuppano isto domo construxit' or 'Godečaj Iuppano in Isto dominio conditur'. The first reading has been accepted by the majority of scholars, especially those who want to see in the church the court chapel of Croatian rulers who in fact had their court next to the church itself. The second reading, favoured by Peričić, would point to a sepulchral function. Indeed some bones were recovered inside the building during the excavations by Jelić in 1900. Opinions as to the date and provenance of the lintel differ strongly, and it is uncertain whether the lintel is a part of the original construction or a later interpolation. The archeological evidence is inconclusive, especially since the recent, over-radical restoration of the church has replaced the lintel by a replica. So the lintel should be dismissed as evidence in any serious attempt to establish the date of the church. However, we have been informed by Rev. Dr Marijan Grgić that during the recent excavations a tomb containing a coin of Constantine Copronimus (741-775) was found at the southwestern corner of the southern cross arm; the relationship between the tomb and the church foundations shows that the burial occurred after the erection of the church. As one can hardly expect the coinage of Constantine Copronimus to have circulated after 800 the church should be dated to the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century. The archaic plan (recalling Sv. Vid in Zadar and Sv. Katarina in Pula), the extremely crude rubble-work, very shallow architectural decoration and pell-mell use of ancient spoils in foundations seem to confirm such a date.

Bianchi (1977-79), vol. 2, pp. 259-60. Gušić (1970) pp. 23-9. Jackson (1887), vol. 1, pp. 347-8. Jelić (1902), pp. 110-14. Jelić (1911). Karaman (1964b), pp. 13-14. Kukuljević-Sakcinski (1857), pp. 12-15. Petricioli (1969), pp. 320-7. Vasić (1922), pp. 7-10.

3. Sv. Pelegrin, Savar on the island of Dugi (probably ninth or tenth century)

The Pre-Romanesque portion of the church consists of a small, square chamber (4.55 by 4.35, thickness of the walls 0.50) covered by a low dome on squinches (Figs. 5, 34). A sacristy was

added to the east, replacing the original semicircular apse, and a nave added to the west. The masonry of the original part is very crude and, as already stated in Part One, the chapel must have recalled the Early Christian memorial structures often shown on Late Antique ivories representing the Holy Sepulchre. The use of an Antique type is in itself an indication of an early date, which is further corroborated by the fact that a similar chapel of Sv. Viktor in Telašćica also on the island of Dugi is mentioned in a charter datable 986-99. Thus it seems reasonable to date Sv. Pelegrin to the ninth or tenth century.

Bianchi (1877-79), vol. 2, p. 71. Petricioli (1954), pp. 53-6.

4. Sv. Viktor, Telašćica on the island of Dugi (before 986-999)

The remains of the church (6.60 by 4.50), thickness of the walls c. (0.55) consist of a square chamber, a rounded apse and traces of a later porch. The chamber (4.50 by 4.50) is almost of the same dimensions as Sv. Pelegrin at Savar. The walls at the apse entrance form wall-piers which probably supported the squinches. The masonry technique is poor. The church is known to have existed in 986-99, and as a copy of an ancient model may be dated, like Sv. Pelegrin, to the ninth or tenth century.

Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 49-50, 168-9. Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 60-2. Petricioli (1954), pp. 56-9; (1958b), pp. 65if.

5. Sv. Juraj, Ravanjska near Zadar (before 1071; probably tenth century)

The oldest part of the church is a tiny oblong nave with a rounded apse (4.60 by 2.80, thickness of the walls 0.60) covered by a domical vault, of elliptic plan, resting on squinches (Fig. 35). A nave was added to the west, a chapel to the north, both in the forms of mature Romanesque of the twelfth or thirteenth century. An arcosolium, contemporary with the Pre-Romanesque phase, leans against the southern flank of the chapel. The building was mentioned by a charter dating from 1071. As an imaginative variant of the churches of Sv. Pelegrin in Savar type it could be dated tentatively to the second half of the tenth century.

Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 123-4. Petricioli (1963b).

6. Sv. Marija, Iž Mali on the island of Iž (before 1100)

The Pre-Romanesque portion of the church consists of a small rotunda (radius 6.10, thickness of the walls c. 0.60) covered by an irregular dome, and a rounded apse (Fig. 36). Jars made of dark baked earth, characteristic of Early Croatian pottery, were inserted into the dome. The masonry is extremely crude. On account of all these factors we may consider the rotunda Pre-Romanesque and assign it a date before 1100.

Petricioli (1961).

7. Sv. Ivan, Nin (around 800)

The baptistery of Nin was demolished in 1746, and its remains probably lie underneath the sacristy of the parish church, formerly the cathedral, of Nin. It has been described as a tetraconchal structure the central section of which contained a font to be identified with the Font of Duke Višeslav, presently in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments at Split (Fig. 37). The style of the font decoration and the historic information provided by the inscription, point, as already stated in Part One, to the period around 800. It has been recently brought to my attention that, according to the investigations of Mr Suić and Mr Perinić, there is a doubt as to the existence of the Pre-Romanesque baptistery at Nin.

Karaman (1930), p. 79; (1952), pp. 22-3; (1960a), pp. 107-9. Kukuljević-Sakcinski (1857), pp. 12-15. Peričić (1969), pp. 378-9. Petricioli (1969), pp. 315-17.

8. Sv. Trojica, Split (probably ninth century)

The hexaconchal chapel (radius 10.33, thickness of the walls 0.55) is preserved up to the springing of the dome (Figs 1, 38). The three eastern apses once formed a presbytery separated from the rest by a choir-screen with three passages surmounted by arches. The entrance doors, in the western and south-western conch, have frames made from ancient spoils. The apses are covered by semidomes. In the south-western and south-eastern apse there are tiny openings, probably for ventilation. The central space was covered by a dome which collapsed and was

replaced, judging from the type of masonry, even during the Pre-Romanesque period by a conical timber roof resting on a straight drum. We can still distinguish two phases of the drum, separated by a string of projecting stone slabs, even though the masonry is almost identical (very crude rubble intermingled with ancient spoils). The church used to be whitewashed inside and out.

When the dome collapsed it must have smashed the choir-screen, which explains the difference in style between two groups of fragments found within the church. The earlier group displays archaic characteristics, reminding one of the style of the Arch of Sućurac (second half of the eighth century). The second group displays a more mature style of interlace sculpture, datable between the late ninth and mid-eleventh century. One of the fragments bears the inscription MICHAELI ARC suggesting that the church was originally, or also, dedicated to the Archangel.

There is no firm evidence for the date of the building, but the archaic type of both architecture and sculpture, the crude masonry and the presence of two Pre-Romanesque phases indicate a date around 800.

Alačević (1891). Jackson (1887), vol. 2, pp. 72-4. Jelić, Bulić and Rutar (1894), pp. 186-215. Marasović (1958b), vol. 2, pp. 2-14. Marasović et al. (1971). Radić (1891), pp. 20-2; 45-7. Vasić (1922), p. 21.

9. Sv. Mihovil, Brnazi near Split (probably ninth or tenth century)

The remains of the crude hexapsidal church (radius 11.00, thickness of the walls $c.\ 0.60$) with an irregular narthex not in bond with the rest were discovered and examined by Dr Gunjača on St. Michael's Hill near Brnazi. The church was built on a Roman and Early Christian site. The walls of the narthex were decorated by blind arches. The masonry was very crude and the walls were whitewashed. The pavement was constructed with somewhat more care.

A fragment of the choir-screen bears an inscription in rustic capitals: INDIGNVS PECATOR FIERI R(ogavit?) ... (t)EMPORE DOM(ni) ... 'Domnus' was one of the titles of Croatian rulers before they started, around 925, to style

themselves 'reges'. This may indicate a ninth or early tenth century date for the church. As the thirteenth century tombs around the building cut across its foundation walls, the church may have fallen victim to the Tartar invasion of 1242.

Gunjača (1955a). Marasović (1958b), vol. 2, pp. 55-61.

10. Sv. Petar, Muć near Split (888)

The traces of the tetraconchal chapel were discovered underneath the parish church at Muć in 1871. The date is established by an inscription, in Roman capitals under the influence of Carolingian script, on a fragment of the choir-screen: BRANIMIRI ANNORVM XRISTI DE VERGINE CARN(em) VT SVMPS(it) S(unt) DCCCLXXX ET VIII VI QVE INDIC(tio). The fragment decorated by an interlace is of a surprising quality and testifies as to the high standard of some Croatian ninth-centry sculpture (Fig. 39). Recent investigations, not yet published, have failed to confirm the tetraconch form of this building.

Karaman (1930), pp. 17, 80. Ljubić and Rački (1874), pp. 93-108.

11. Octachora, Ošlje near Ston (possibly tenth century; the forechurch probably late eleventh century)

The octachora (radius 12.00, thickness of the walls 1.00-1.15) has been preserved at some points up to the window zone (Fig. 2). There was a window in each of the conchs and two rounded wall-niches in the entrance apse. The apse openings were doubly enframed as the meeting points between the apses are marked by pilaster strips. The entrance apse seems to have been preceded by another apse-like structure opening on the exterior. The external walls were decorated by pilaster strips. The masonry was very crude.

The longitudinal forechurch (8.65 by 6.65, thickness of the walls 0.60-0.65) added to the west of the octachora, was constructed from larger semi-dressed stones forming fairly regular courses. The western portion was surmounted by a square tower. The nave opens to the west by a triple recessed portal. There are two very narrow 'aisles', the northern

transversely cut by a wall whose function is not clear, the southern divided into two parts, the western being a narrow elongated chamber, the eastern housing a staircase to the gallery. The exterior was richly decorated by pilaster strips recalling Sv. Ivan in Biograd which was completed in about 1076.

The township of Ošlje ('Iosle') was mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The octachora displays a taste for rich interior articulation recalling the church of Sv. Mihajlo at Ston nearby, the beginnings of which may go back to the tenth century. This may be the date of the octachora while the forechurch could hardly date from before the second half of the eleventh century.

De administrando, I, pp. 162-3. Marasović (1957); (1958a), vol. 2, pp. 16-21.

12. Sv. Mihovil, Pridraga near Zadar (probably c. 1000)

The ruins of a hexapsidal building (radius 10.00, thickness of the walls 0.75-0.80) with a square narthex were discovered by Dr Gunjača at Mijovilovac (St. Michael's Place) in Pridraga in 1940 (Fig. 40). The narthex, not in bond with the church, was added during the course of construction. The apses were decorated with four pilaster-strips each. The limestone, which comes in fine sedimentary layers locally, produced fairly regular structure and masonry. The mortar is of poor quality using already weakened lime.

The choir-screen which used to run through the centre of the building was dismantled and another constructed from its fragments at the entrance to the eastern apse. The rebuilding of the screen must have occurred while the interlace sculpture was still in fashion – i.e. before $c.\ 1100$ – and this may indicate that the building itself may date from as early as $c.\ 1000$.

The narthex was a two-bay structure with two entrances, one to the north, another to the west communicating with a group of buildings around a not too regular courtyard. The place name 'Manastirine' (The Ruined Monastery) indicates that these were monastic buildings; actually it was a group of Roman structures which seem to have survived quite unchanged into the Middle Ages.

Gunjača (1963). Marasović (1958b), vol. 2, pp. 33-5. Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 110-12.

13. Church at Mastirine, Kašić near Zadar (possibly before c. 1000)

By its dimensions (radius 11.50, thickness of the walls 0.60-0.80), forms and masonry technique, the church at Mastirine ('Ruined Monastery') at Kašić closely recalls Sv. Mihovil in Pridraga, some twenty kilometres to the east. The narthex, not in bond with the rest, was a multistorey structure, as indicated by the traces of a staircase. There were two one-foot tables in the eastern apse, one serving as the main altar, the other probably as a repository for liturgical implements.

The church was still in use in the seventeenth century, as witnessed by Venetian coins and fragments of Venetian brick found within.

Gunjača (1958d), pp. 231-2; (1960b), pp. 270-1. Marasović (1958b), vol. 2, pp. 38-41.

The Stomorica Church or Sv. Marija de Pusterla, Zadar (possibly eleventh century)

The church was discovered in 1880 and re-excavated between 1956 and 1967. It is a hexachora (total length 14.20, radius 9.30, thickness of the walls 0.65) with a square entrance bay preceded by a transverse porch surmounted by a tower. The latter was secured by buttresses at the porch corners; fragments of the tower biforae capitals and colonnettes have been found. The porch was entered from the north as the church originally stood outside the city-walls and just a few metres from the sea to the south. Between the entrance bay and the north-western apse traces of an arcosolium, not in bond with the church walls, have been discovered.

The church walls were left undecorated. The masonry is fairly regular, consisting of elongated slabs of local limestone. The walls were covered by plaster, the lower coat of which shows meagre traces of Pre-Romanesque frescoes.

The date of the church depends on the interpretation of the bond between the church and the western annex. Marasović assumed that there is no bond and dated the hexachora to the eighth, the porch being a later, possibly eleventh-century addition. Petricioli claims that the porch is coeval with the rest, the apparent lack of bond being due to the insertion of large antique spoils where the church walls meet those of the porch. If so, the church could hardly date from before 1000 as the bell-towers do not seem to have been in use in the coastal cities before that date. In Zadar they seem to have become popular in the eleventh century, as witnessed by the towers of Sv. Lovro and Sv. Nedeljica. The Stomorica was not represented on the model of Zadar in the Venetian *Museo Storico Navale*, datable around 1560, so we may assume that it had already perished by that date.

Brunelli (1913), p. 262. Danilo (1883, 1884). Jackson (1887), vol. 1, pp. 266-7. Marasović (1958b), vol. 2, pp. 23-31. Petricioli (1957); (1968). Vasić (1922), pp. 20-1.

15. Sv. Marija, Trogir (possibly eleventh century)

The hexaconchal church (radius 11.00, thickness of the walls c. 0.70) was demolished in 1851, and only one of the apses, embedded in the wall of the adjacent Sv. Sebastijan church, has survived. The remains were excavated by Marasović in 1957-59. Thanks to a drawing in the Trogir Museum we know that the central space was covered by a dome, the drum of which was decorated by blind arches. The walled-in door once connecting Sv. Marija and Sv. Sebastijan uses a pilaster of a Pre-Romanesque choir-screen as the lintel. The use of interlace reliefs indicates that the church was built before 1100, but there is not enough evidence to say exactly when. The fairly regular masonry may point to the eleventh century.

Jackson (1887), vol. 2, pp. 144-5. Marasović (1958b), vol. 2, pp. 43-54; Marasović (1963).

16. Church at Kolovare, Zadar (before 1100)

The hexachora in the Kolovare suburb of Zadar is known only from the model of Zadar (c. 1560) in the Venetian Museo Storico Navale. Like the other zaratine hexachoncal church, the Stomorica, it had a square entrance bay. A fragment of an interlace relief has been discovered near the place where the church is supposed to have stood.

Bianchi (1877-79), vol. 1, pp. 478-9. Marasović (1958b), vol. 2, pp. 64ff. Petricioli (1958b), pp. 63-9; (1958a), p. 121.

17. Octachora, Bribir near Šibenik (before 1100)

An octachoncal structure has been traced beneath the parish church at the Citadel of Bribir, but the excavations have not yet been completed.

Gunjača (1968b), p. 235ff.

18. Church at Sv. Trojica, Biskupija near Knin (before 1088)

The only information about the church beneath the present-day orthodox church in Biskupija has been provided by a letter of Rev. Vinjalić of 1746 ('...piu al insu verso ostro vi e la villa detta Bikupija, lontana circa tre migla a dritta linea dalla fortezza perche si va a cercar li ponti ve ne sonne piu di sette; qui sono tre ruine delle fabriche; la piu vicina e la piu intatta, questa e una rotonda ottongolare, per che sia stata chiesa all'antica ...' (see Gunjača (1952c)). The octangonal form may have been inspired by the Mausoleum of Diocletian in Split.

Dr Gunjača has demonstrated conclusively that Biskupija was known in the Early Middle Ages as the 'Five Churches', and archaeologists have succeeded in locating or excavating all five. The place is of considerable historical importance, since in front of one of the churches, Sv. Cecilija, King Zvonimir met his violent death at the hands of his enraged retainers in 1088. The only serious challenger to Dr Gunjača's identification has been Dr Nada Klaić, but since one of the churches, that at Bukurovica Podvornice, was already destroyed in the thirteenth century, her argument about the late medieval origin of the 'Five Churches' name does not hold. The archaeological evidence strongly supports Dr Gunjača's theory, and it is reasonable to accept a date before 1088 for all five churches: at Crkvina; Sv. Trojica; Bukurovića Podvornice; Lopuška Glavica; and Stupovi.

Gunjača (1952c), pp. 286-97. Zlatović (1888), pp. 103-4.

19. Church at Gradina, Solin (sixth century; repaired between the ninth and eleventh century)

The church was a square building (20.80 by 13.00, thickness of

the walls 1.00-1.30) with a rectangular narthex added subsequently, and a rounded apse accompanied by apsidioles embedded into the wall. Eight columns carrying typical early Byzantine low-relief capitals apparently supported a dome, and an additional column was inserted into each of the corners of the main chamber, perhaps to lend more strength to the structure (Fig. 41). Some of the crude truncated bases date from the Pre-Romanesque period and some of the capitals are in fact Pre-Romanesque copies after a sixth-century model. The narthex, constructed in a rather poor masonry technique, is probably also Pre-Romanesque. The church was thus thoroughly repaired some time between the ninth and the eleventh century. It was rebuilt again by the Turks during their occupation of Solin in the sixteenth century, when it was converted into a mosque. One wonders if the corner columns were not inserted by the Turks with the intention to reinforce the old structure.

Bulić (1925). Karaman (1930), pp. 181-204; (1934), pp. 18-22. Katić (1955a), pp. 42-4, 67-77. Strzygowski (1927), pp. 95ff.

20. Sv. Donat, Zadar (late eighth and early ninth century)

The two-storey rotunda of Sv. Donat (radius 21.00, height 28.00, thickness of the walls c. 0.90-1.10) forms a part of the Cathedral complex of Zadar (Figs. 20, 42-46). It has an irregular narthex, an outer ambulatory containing a staircase on the northern side to which corresponded, in the south, a square two-storey structure. The traces of the latter were totally demolished by the Italians during their occupation of Zadar. The aim of their restoration works (1928-30) was to make the building more similar to the Ravennate monuments! There is also another staircase on the north, dating from the Baroque and covered by a timber-roof. At the north-eastern corner of the narthex there is a turret-like projection placed above the outer staircase and covered with an elliptical vault. There is a triple chevet, both on the ground floor and at the gallery levels, consisting of three radially arranged horseshoe apses. The church was built directly on the Roman forum and innumerable antique spoils were used as structural and decorative elements, and as material in the foundations.

The narthex opens to the south by an arch marking the whole height of the ground floor. To the visitor's right there is the

entrance to the rotunda, the portal of which consists of antique fragments. The ambulatory, on the ground floor level, is covered by an annular barrel vault supported by six sturdy piers with simple champfered capital zones and two reused composite columns on the presbytery side. The construction is reinforced by diaphragm arches inserted at the springing of the vault. The ambulatory wall is articulated by tall, semi-circular niches. The apses are covered by semidomes.

On the gallery level, the ambulatory is covered by an annular lean-to roof. The gallery pavement rests on the ground floor vault while the floor of the apses is about 2.5 metres above the vaults of the apses of the ground floor. A separate intermediary vault, preserved only underneath the northern apse and invisible today, had to be constructed to make up for the difference.

Both the ground floor and the gallery originally communicated with the southern, two-storey annex. On the ground floor there are also two passageways communicating with the staircases. The inner stairway winds upwards following the outer wall of the ambulatory. There used to be a direct entrance to the stairway at its eastern end surmounted by an arch decorated with hooks. The arch is slightly recut at its springings which may indicate (but not necessarily) that it was pilfered from another Pre-Romanesque building. The entrance is now walled-in. The wall at the entrance is not in bond with that of the apse it leans against, showing that the stairway is later than the rotunda itself.

Both stairways meet at the north-western corner and continue upwards together, towards the upper storey of the narthex. The entrance to the gallery is marked again by a portal composed of Roman spoils. To its south there was once another doorway leading to the second storey of the southern annex. This communication was completely eliminated by the Italian restoration. Two large biforae and a one-bay opening used to link the gallery to the second storey of the annex. On the opposite, northern side there is an arcade opening into the outer ambulatory. Two narrower round-headed windows open into the narthex.

The north-western corner of the narthex seems to have been largely rebuilt. There may have originally existed a communication towards the cathedral. The grand Baroque bifora opens to the south, constructed round a slightly narrower

Pre-Romanesque opening, showing that the present-day southern wall of the narthex belongs to the original construction

period.

In 1732 Archbishop Zmajević had a corridor between the church and the cathedral sacristy constructed. In 1733 he had the staircase rebuilt, connecting the inner staircase for the first time with the ground floor of the rotunda. He also ordered another staircase to be built, connected with the ground floor by means of a corridor underneath the inner staircase. In 1772 the Venetian Governor Balbi had the entrance arch of the narthex renewed and a new vault over the ground floor of the narthex constructed. The arcade between the inner and outer ambulatory on the gallery level was remade. The baroque bifora probably dates from the same year. The church was partly disfigured in the nineteenth century when it served as a warehouse, but it was restored when it became a museum in 1872. In 1928-30 the Italians pulled down the last remains of the southern annex and extended the pilaster-strips on the southern side all the way to the roof, cutting across to walled-in openings. The investigations of the building were resumed in 1954-7 and again in 1970. Some of the results, for which we are indebted to Professor Petricioli, Rev. Dr Marijan Grgić, Miss Ksenija Radulić and Mr Josip Stošić, have been presented here.

The first church, the one-storey rotunda decorated externally by pilaster-strips and internally by semicircular niches, still recalls Antique practices. The form is too general to insist on any direct models. The final, two-storey version, may have been modelled upon the Palatine church architecture of Con-

stantinople and the courts of the west.

If we exclude the poorly documented rotunda at Kotor, known to have been erected around 800 and not necessarily influenced by Sv. Donat, the zaratine church had no progeny. Still, it is an important evidence of the ability of the Dalmatian masons around 800 to construct a monumental building, a fact which has to be borne in mind when one discusses the beginnings of Pre-Romanesque architecture both in Dalmatian cities and in their Croatian background.

Bersa (1922), pp. 55ff. Bianchi (1977-79), vol. 1, pp. 384-90. Brunelli (1913), pp. 221ff. *De administrando*, vol. 1, pp. 138-9. Hauser and Bulić (1882). Iveković (1937). Jackson (1887), vol. 1, pp. 249-60. Karaman (1930), pp. 59-60. Monneret de Villard (1910), pp. 14-22. Petricioli

(1959-66), vol. 1, pp. 73-5. Petricioli (1966), pp. 78-9. Rivoira (1910), vol. 1, pp. 152-7. Smirich (1901). Vasić (1922), pp. 16-20.

II. Aisleless longitudinal buildings

21. Sv. Petar, Rižinice near Split (late Antique; restored in 852)

The aisleless unvaulted chapel with a deep rounded apse is a thoroughly rebuilt Early Christian building (14.50 by 7.40, thickness of the walls 0.60). It belonged to a monastery founded by Duke Trpimir in 852. The Duke's name was found recorded on a fragment of the choir-screen gable. The church is in ruins.

Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 4-6. Karaman (1934), pp. 11-13. Katić (1955a), pp. 20-4. Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 299-309. Vasić (1922), p. 22.

22. Sv. Luka, Uzdolje near Knin (895)

The aisleless church (13.20 by 6.20, thickness of the walls c. 0.70) with a rounded apse as wide as the nave is dated by an inscription on the fragments of the choir-screen, mentioning Duke Mutimir (OCTINGENT orum non AGINTA ET QuiNQue annorm Domini Ferrorm Den ... hich being composuit OPVS PRINCEPS NAmQue MVNCYMIR ...). The church was apparently vaulted, the vaults being constructed above the transverse arches springing from pilasters (Fig. 7). From without the walls were reinforced by three pairs of strongly projecting buttresses, possibly due to an influence of local late Antique buildings such as the Mausoleum at Marusinac in Solin (c. 300).

Marun (1927), pp. 1-14; 272-315. Radić (1895b). Vasić (1922), pp. 30-2.

23. Sv. Ivan, Telašćica on the island of Dugi (before 1060-65)

The ruined church of Sv. Ivan (10.75 by 5.55, thickness of the walls 0.50-0.60) was mentioned in a document datable between 1060 and 1065. It was an aisleless three-bay structure with a

rounded apse. The bays were separated by pilaster-strips apparently supporting transverse arches underneath the vaults. The porch in front of the church is a later addition. Masonry is very crude.

Bianchi (1877-79). vol. 2, p. 81. Brunelli (1913), pp. 287-8. Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 49-50. Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 60-2. Petricioli (1958b), pp. 65ff. Petricioli (1954), pp. 56-9. Strgačić (1943).

24. Sv. Nikola, Povljana on the island of Pag (possibly before mid-eleventh century)

The plan of the fairly well-preserved church (11.80 by 4.75, thickness of the walls c. 0.65) closely recalls that of Sv. Ivan in Telašćica, the only difference being that the interior of Sv. Nikola consists of four rather than three bays (Fig. 6). There are blind arches inscribed between the wall-pilasters in the interior.

The masonry is extremely crude. The walls were plastered; there are minute traces of frescoes. The entrance door frame is composed from Roman spoils. The roof is covered by stone slabs.

Fragments of a transenna with fish-scale openings, datable between the ninth and the eleventh century, were discovered within the church. Because of the similarity between Sv. Nikola and Sv. Ivan in Telašćica the Povljana church may be assumed to have existed in the middle of the eleventh century.

Petricioli (1963a).

25. Sv. Andrija, on the island of Vrgada (possibly before mid-eleventh century)

The plan of the church (11.00 by 4.90, thickness of the walls 0.70-0.80) is reminiscent of that of Sv. Ivan in Telašćica, so we may assume that the church existed around 1050. The interior consists of three bays separated by pilaster-strips supporting the transverse arches underneath the barrel vaults. The church was partly disfigured by an unauthorized modern restoration.

Iveković (1933).

26. Sv. Maksim, Jesenice near Split (before 1080)

The aisleless church with a rounded apse (6.70 by 2.60, thickness

of the walls c. 0.55) was mentioned in a document dated 1080. The interior is divided into three bays by means of pilasters. The nave is covered by a continuous barrel-vault. The masonry, quite exceptionally, consists of crude, almost Cyclopean blocks.

Bulić (1934). Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 174-5, 177, 195. Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, p. 317. Vasić (1922), p. 28.

27. SS. Ivan and Teodor, Bol on the island of Brač (possibly late eleventh century)

The first two bays, covered by a continuous barrel-vault, indicate that the church resembled Sv. Maksim at Jesenice. The third bay and the apse were replaced by a large rectangular presbytery. Originally the church was probably about 8.50 long and 4.40 wide. The thickness of the walls varies from 0.40 to 0.50. A Pre-Romanesque date is confirmed by the discovery of a few

fragments of interlace sculpture.

A few other churches on the island of Brač belong to the same variant with the continuous barrel vault. These are: SS. Kuzma and Damjan at Smrčevik, Sv. Nedelja at Gradac, Sv. Toma at Gornji Humac, Sv. Martin near Milna and All Saints near Gornji Humac. As there are no written records or sculptural elements to help establish the dates we have preferred to leave the churches out of our survey. All these buildings may be crude rustic survivals of Pre-Romanesque architecture dating from the twelfth or the thirteenth century.

Domančic (1960), pp. 125-30. Radić (1900b). Vasić (1922), pp. 25-6. Vrsalović (1960).

28. Sv. Juraj, Nerežišće on the island of Brač (possibly around 1100)

Sv. Juraj is another example of an aisleless, three-bay church with a rounded apse (6.80 by 3.65, thickness of the walls 0.85) distinguished, however, by a rich exterior articulation by means of pilaster strips. As the rich exterior articulation may be one of the characteristics of late eleventh-century architecture (witness Sv. Ivan at Biograd, completed by 1076, Catalogue No. 61), one is inclined to date the church around 1100, especially as the

masonry is somewhat less crude than the typical Pre-Romanesque rubble-work.

Domančić (1960), pp. 121-2.

29. Sv. Juraj, Straževnik on the island of Brač (before 1111, possibly around 1100)

The aisleless, three-bay church with a rounded apse was mentioned in a document dated 1111. The fairly regular masonry may be indicative of a date around 1100. The bell-cote, contemporary with the rest of the structure, is the oldest datable bell-cote of the Croatian coastland.

Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 2, p. 21. Domančić (1960), pp. 125-6.

30. Sv. Ilija, Vinkovci, north-eastern Croatia (around 1100).

The aisleless three-bay church with a rounded apse (11.45 by 6.75, thickness of the walls 1.00-1.15) is the only monument of Pre-Romanesque architecture so far recorded in continental Croatia. The western, northern and southern walls were each reinforced by two pilaster-strips and the apse was strengthened by three pilaster-strips. Subsequently two piers were inserted into the western part of the nave, probably to prevent the vaults from collapsing. Now in ruins, the church was constructed from Roman brick available at the site of the ancient Cibalae. The three tombs within the church contained coins of the Hungarian King Ladislav (1077-1095), by which we can date the church towards the end of the eleventh century.

Dimitrijević (1966), pp. 45-50.

31. Church at the city gate, Zadar (late Antique; repaired between the ninth and eleventh century)

Traces of a rectangular apse and of the eastern part of an aisleless nave (6.60 by 5.70, thickness of the walls 0.50-0.70) have been discovered at the city gate at Zadar. A series of Early Christian and Pre-Romanesque fragments found within the ruin

indicate that it was a Late Antique church repaired in the Pre-Romanesque period.

Bersa (1914).

32. Sv. Stjepan, Dubrovnik (before 950; possibly seventh or eighth century)

The ruined aiseless chapel with an apse rectangular without and rounded within was mentioned by Constantine Porpyrogenitus. Once famous for the relics of St. Pancratius, Sv. Stjepan was, according to local tradition, the first church constructed in what is today Dubrovnik by the fugitives from Epidaurus, which was destroyed at the beginning of the seventh century.

De administrando I, p. 135. Beritić (1956), pp. 63-4. Radić (1897).

33. Sv. Stjepan, Solin (before 976)

The remains of the aisleless church with a rectangular apse and a spacious western annex (15.20 by 5.00, thickness of the walls 0.50-0.55) lie beneath the parish church on the island in Solin (Fig. 8). According to Thomas Archidiaconus, it was constructed at the same time as Sv. Marija, just a few metres to the north of Sv. Stjepan. Thomas attributed the construction to Queen Jelena, buried in Sv. Marija in 976. The spacious annex served as the mausoleum of Croatian kings. The church was probably erected on the site of an earlier dynastic mausoleum or, like Sv. Marija, was just repaired by the Queen. Serious doubts were recently expressed about the Pre-Romanesque date of this church. If the meagre traces date only from Baroque times, the mausoleum should, after all, have been at Sv. Marija, which might have carried a double dedication, SS. Marija and Stjepan, or indeed have been dedicated to Sv. Stiepan only. The problem in my opinion still remains open (and baffling).

Dyggve (1929). Karaman (1930), pp. 71-2, 217-21, 227-9; (1934), pp. 13-18. Katić (1929); (1955c); (1955a), pp. 36-41. Milinović (1883). Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2 pp. 310-16. Rapanić and Jelovina (1977), pp. 107-33. Thomas, *Historia*, p. 55.

III. South Dalmatian buildings

34. Sv. Mihajlo, Ston (possibly tenth century and around 1100)

Sv. Mihajlo is an aisleless church of the South Dalmatian type (6.25 by 4.50, thickness of the walls 0.70) with a slightly projecting apse rounded within and rectangular without (Figs. 9, 47). The bays are separated by pilaster-strips which support the transverse arches. The first and third bays are covered by a curious baldachinno-like vault, the second by a brick barrel-vault which probably replaced the dome. Between the pilasters there are doubly-enframed blind arches, each containing in addition a semicircular niche. Two similar niches

act as apsidioles.

The frame of the square church entrance is decorated by interlaces. So are the frames of the three surprisingly large round-headed windows (one in the apse, two in the second bay). In addition there are two small windows placed high at the eastern end of the lateral facades providing more light for the altar area. They are covered by transennae with four rounded openings further subdivided into fish-scale lights. These two windows cut into the decorative pilaster-strips on the external faces of the walls. The exterior decorative system consists of blind arches enframed by pilaster-strips. There is one large arch on the western facade, five on the south (the first two units consisting of two superimposed arches), five on the north, additional miniature recessions being inserted between the tops of the last three units. Two very tall, slim arches decorate the nave termination walls. There is one extremely narrow arch on the lateral walls of the apse and one on its termination wall. The complexity of the wall decoration, especially in terms of the superimposed units, is unique and was probably caused by the abnormally tall proportions of the church.

The interior has to a considerable extent preserved its painted decoration. On the entrance wall there are traces of a Last Judgment and, in the first bay on the north, a representation of a king offering a model of the church to Christ (Fig. 49). On the walls there are representations of saints and evangelists. The Original Sin and a medallion with Christ's face (a latter addition) are painted on the eastern wall. On the vaults there are figures of the prophets. The window niches are covered by

paintings and are therefore contemporary with or earlier than the frescoes. The king wears a crown identical in form to that worn by the monarch on the panel from the Baptistery of Split (ninth

to eleventh century) (Fig. 74).

The land around Ston, the Duchy of Hum, was towards the end of the eleventh century subject to the rulers of Duklja (Doclea) one of whom, Mihailo, assumed the royal title in 1077. There has been a tendency to identify the Ston king as Mihailo himself or his son Bodin (1081-1105). The frescoes display typical early Romanesque characteristics - strongly stressed contours, stratified background, emphasized linearism. The interlace sculpture, a local South Dalmatian variant using thick and supple scrollwork, may be dated around 1100 (Fig. 48). From the sculpture and painting we may assume that the church existed around that date. However, the tall proportions seem to be a direct reference to the antique multi-story memorial structures which apparently determined the form of the buildings of the South Dalmatian type. The presumed models were also characterized by an apse embedded in the wall, and the apse of Sy. Mihailo is the least protruding apse of all South Dalmatian churches. The architectural decoration displays a striking horror vacui. All these elements seem to indicate a much earlier date, and we are inclined to attribute the church to Duke Mihailo Višević (first half of the tenth century) who had his castle on the top of the hill of Sv. Mihajlo. The church was repaired and embellished by new painted and sculpted decoration around 1100.

Fisković (1960). Karaman (1928); Karaman (1960b). Ljubinković (1964). Marasović (1960), p. 36. Radić (1898a). Vasić (1922), p. 35. Vlašić (1956), pp. 96-7. Zdravković (1960).

35. Sv. Marija, Solin (before 976)

The aisled church (21.70 by 9.10, thickness of the walls 0.65-0.70) with an inner and outer narthex stood a few metres to the north of Sv. Stjepan, already described (Figs 10, 11). It had a single apse, rounded within and rectangular without; the aisles were separated from the nave by three pairs of piers. From the arrangement of the second and third pair, forming a square bay, we may deduce that the bay was covered by a dome. There are

pilasters on the internal faces of the walls corresponding to the piers. The body was preceded by an aisled endonarthex, possibly vaulted, with the vaults carrying a gallery on the second story. The vaults would have been supported by a pair of piers and corresponding pilasters on the lateral walls. As the western wall of the church body was provided with a quite unique triple recessed portal and decorative pilasters (not corresponding at all to the supporting system of the endonarthex) we may reasonably suggest that this was indeed the original facade of the church; the endo- and exonarthex would have been added when Queen Jelena decided to use the church as a mausoleum.

The outer narthex consists of three parts, the central serving as an entrance passageway into the church, the southern housing a staircase and the northern accommodating a passage to a square lateral annex. The sarcophagus of Queen Jelena was found in the

endonarthex. It bears the date of 976.

The walls of both the body and the annexes were decorated by a system of pilaster-strips not corresponding to the interior organization of the church. From the outside the church probably appeared as a single, solid block, the only protrusion being the dome above the uniform gable roof. A reconstruction of the building with two-tower facade, orally suggested by Dyggve to Karaman and Prelog, finds no support in the forms and measure of the remains; Dyggve himself rejected such a reconstruction and in the History of Salonitan Christianity reconstructed the building as one solid block.

The annexes can be attributed to Queen Jelena and dated shortly before 976, but the church itself must be older. How much, is difficult to establish; but as the church was attached to the dynastic mausoleum (Sv. Stjepan) both churches, in their

original form, probably date from the ninth century.

The churches remained intact throughout the Middle Ages and fell victim to the first Turkish raids at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Concerning the possibilities opened by the newest research see above, No. 33.

Bulić (1898); (1901). Dyggve (1929), pp. 561-76; (1951), pp. 130-2. Karaman (1930), pp. 71-2, 217-21, 227-9; (1934), pp. 13-18. Katić (1955c); (1955a), pp. 36-41. Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 310-16. Thomas, *Historia*, p. 55. Vasić (1922), pp. 48-54.

36. Sv. Petar on the island of Šipan (possibly around 1000)

The church of the South Dalmatian type (8.00 by 4.25, thickness of the walls 0.60) displays the variant with the interior semicircular niches, on the basis of which it may be dated relatively early, tentatively around 1000. The masonry is very crude. The church is in ruins.

Lisičar (1932), p. 179. Lučić (1968), p. 100. Marasović (1960), p. 36. Posedel (1952), pp. 114-19. Puhiera (1954-55), pp. 228-9, 232, 246.

37. Sv. Toma, Kuti near Dubrovnik (possibly around 1000)

Sv. Toma (8.90 by 4.90, thickness of the walls 0.55) is a building of the South Dalmatian type of the variant with the rounded interior niches. The measures and the forms are fairly similar to those of Sv. Petar on Šipan (No. 36). The building is in ruins and only the remains of the northern wall belong to the time of the original construction. The masonry is crude but the individual pieces are somewhat larger than usual. The panel of the choir-screen of the church, now in the Museum at Hercegnovi, showing two angels adoring the cross is a masterpiece of late Pre-Romanesque sculpture and is datable around 1100. The church was decorated with wall-paintings.

Kovačević and Pusić (1959). Marasović (1960), pp. 34-5. Vasić (1922), pp. 33-6.

38. Sv. Nikola, Dubrovnik (possibly around 1000-1050)

Sv. Nikola is a church of the South Dalmatian type (10.00 by 4.60, thickness of the walls 0.60) the nave of which, exceptionally, consists of five bays. There is a dome above the centre bay constructed, also quite exceptionally, on pendentives. The church is almost completely engulfed by later additions dating from the period between the Late Middle Ages and Baroque.

Sv. Nikola was mentioned around 1100 in connection with the war between Dubrovnik and the Doclean king Bodin, On account of the analogies to the presumably early eleventh-century monuments on the Dubrovnik islands we may tentatively suggest a date between 1000 and 1050.

Jackson (1887), vol. 3, p. 326. Šišić (1928), p. 363. Marasović (1960), p. 35. Radić (1898d). Vasić (1922), p. 39.

39. Sv. Ivan on the island of Lopud (possibly around 1000-1050)

Sv. Ivan is a church of the South Dalmatian type with a dome riding on the centre vault (6.35 by 2.30, thickness of the walls 0.60). The exterior is decorated by blind arches which also occur on the turret. A few fragments of interlace sculpture have been found within the church. Sv. Ivan was recorded in 1269. Stylistically it appears to be the earliest of the Pre-Romanesque churches on the island of Lopud and is tentatively datable between 1000 and 1050.

Lisičar (1931), pp. 11-12. Lučić (1966), pp. 201, 203, 207, 212, 215. Marasović (1960), p. 36. Novak (1930-34), pp. 175ff.

40. Sv. Nikola on the island of Koločep (possibly around 1000-1050)

A church of the South Dalmatian type (5.00 by 2.30, thickness of the walls 0.55) similar to but somewhat smaller than Sv. Ivan on Lopud (No. 39). The dome does not exist any longer (Fig. 50). Four fragments of interlace sculpture have been found around the church. The porch is probably a nineteenth-century addition. Since it is analogous to Sv. Ivan on Lopud the church may date from c. 1000-1050.

Lisičar (1932), pp. 105-9. Lučić (1966), pp. 201-5. Marasović (1960), p. 35.

41. Sv. Mihajlo on the island of Šipan (possibly around 1000-1050)

A church of the South Dalmatian type (original measures 7.50 by 4.30, thickness of the walls c. 0.55) partly rebuilt and extended on its western side in the fourteenth century. The original building recalls Sv. Ivan on Lopud (No. 39) and is therefore

tentatively datable around 1000-1050. The traces of frescoes, recently discovered, show analogies with the painted decoration of Sv. Mihajlo at Ston and are datable around 1100. The Pre-Romanesque table altar consists of Early Christian spoils. The church was recorded for the first time in 1272.

Fisković (1955), pp. 46-52. Fisković (1970), pp. 21ff. Lučić (1968), p. 100. Marasović (1960), p. 36. Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 456-9. Posedel (1952), pp. 122-5. Puhiera (1954-55), pp. 230-1, 241.

42. Sv. Petar, Omiš (before 1074-90, probably between 1050-70)

Sv. Petar (9.25 by 5.70, thickness of the walls 0.80) is the best preserved and most complete of all the churches of the South Dalmatian type (Figs. 51, 52). It belongs to the variant with the dome (on pendentives) and with the semicircular niches in the interior. The lateral facades are decorated by five doubleheaded blind arches. On the southern side there are three fairly large windows covered by transennae pilfered from an Early Christian building. The openings cut into the pilaster-strips. The turret is decorated by blind arches too. The apse, rounded within and rectangular without, was restored on the basis of a thorough archaeological investigation. The pilasters, dividing the interior into three bays, are also pilfered from an earlier building; the style of their capitals is typical of the works of the period of Justinian's Reconquest (sixth century). The first and the third bays are covered by groin vaults. The interior of the dome is decorated by four intersecting ribs and a series of eleven miniature blind arches at the springing of the dome. This decoration may be partly original, but it is known to have been tampered with in the nineteenth century. The entrance portal is constructed from ancient spoils. The oculus above it belongs to the original construction but its tracery is Baroque.

The church was mentioned in a document datable between 1074 and 1090. The appearance of arched corbel tables on the lateral facades may be an indication of the incipient Romanesque style radiating from the opposite side of the Adriatic. Therefore the church, in spite of the fact that it belongs to the 'archaic' variant with the interior niches, cannot be older than c. 1050-1070.

Bezić (1960); (1961). Bulić and Karaman (1922). Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, p. 174. Dyggve (1930-34). Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 351-3. Radić (1896b). Sas-Zaloziecky (1955), pp. 74-5. Vasić (1922), pp. 42-4.

43. Sigurata, Dubrovnik (possibly around 1050-75)

A South Dalmatian type church (9.25 by 4.35, thickness of the walls 0.60) with a dome on pendentives (Fig. 53). The lateral aisles were added in the Baroque period, when the church also received a new rectangular apse and a complete new exterior coat of masonry. The first and the third bay are covered by groin vaults. The bays are separated by twice projecting pilasters. The use of groin vaults and pendentives recalls Sv. Petar in Omiš (No. 42), the construction of the dome Sv. Nikola, Dubrovnik (No. 38) and the twice projecting pilasters Sv. Mihajlo at Ston (No. 34). Therefore a date in the middle or third quarter of the eleventh century seems indicated.

Marasović (1960), p. 35.

44. Sv. Mihajlo on the island of Mrkan near Dubrovnik (possibly late eleventh century)

The ruined chapel of the South Dalmatian type (4.30 by 2.90, thickness of the walls 0.45) was constructed on top of a barrel-vaulted undercroft. The outlay recalls the churches of Sv. Petar in Omiš type, but the strange irregularities of the plan suggest a rather late date.

Egger and Dyggve (1917-39), vol. 3, pp. 127-8. Fisković (1955), p. 53. Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 465-9.

45. Sv. Nikola on the island of Lopud (possibly around 1075-1100)

The small, partly ruined chapel of the South Dalmatian type (4.80 by 2.30, thickness of the walls 0.55), shares with Sv. Petar in Omiš (No. 42) the use of arched corbel tables and groin vaults (Fig. 12). The interior three-bay organization is harmonized with the exterior wall articulation (three doubleheaded blind arches). Consequently, this is the only building of the South Dalmatian

type which qualifies as Proto-Romanesque. The most probable date is the last quarter of the eleventh century.

Lisičar (1931), p. 13. Marasović (1960), p. 36.

46. Sv. Nikola, Selca on the island of Brač (possibly around 1050 and 1100)

An extremely crude and irregular church of the South Dalmatian type (5.25 by 3.55, thickness of the walls 0.70). There is no exterior decoration (Figs. 54, 55). The walls were subsequently extended upwards, and a turret with no dome inside was added to the roof. The entrance is surmounted by a hanging porch. The original phase of the building is difficult to date. The upper portions, in an equally crude masonry technique, may have been added with the intention of monumentalizing the structure. The model may have been Sv. Petar in Omiš, on the mainland right opposite the island of Brač. The second phase therefore may date from around 1100, the first possibly predating it by half a century.

Domančić (1960), pp. 118-19. Marasović (1960), p. 39. Radić (1901a), pp. 35-6. Vasić (1922), pp. 39-40.

47. Sv. Juraj, Radun near Solin (possibly late eleventh century)

Sv. Juraj is an aisleless building (10.15 by 5.05, thickness of the walls 0.55-0.65) with a square apse covered by a semidome resting on a strange construction consisting of three intersecting arches rather than on squinches proper (Figs. 56, 57). The nave, covered by a timber roof, was probably originally barrel-vaulted. It is divided into four bays by three pairs of wall pilasters. The wall between the pilasters is further articulated by semicircular niches some of which have been walled-in. The western entrance is surmounted by a lunette, the southern by a hanging porch. A square Baroque window stands above the western entrance. The exterior walls are richly decorated by pilaster-strips enframing mainly squareheaded niches (only the two lateral niches on the apse termination wall are roundheaded). The masonry is very crude. The exterior decoration may have been inspired by a Late

Antique building in the neighbouring Salona (e.g., the Anastasius Mausoleum at Marusinac, c. 300). Although this would speak for a relatively early date, one tends to consider Sv. Juraj a late, rustic derivative of the South Dalmatian type on account of the extreme crudeness of the masonry and the irregularity of the structure.

Dyggve (1951), pp. 134ff. Radić (1891), pp. 47-50.

48. Sv. Dimitrije, Gabrili near Dubrovnik (possibly late eleventh century)

The church belongs to the domeless variant of the South Dalmatian type (6.90 by 4.55, thickness of the walls 0.50). The exterior walls are decorated, quite exceptionally, by pilasterstrips standing by themselves. The open porch in front of the church, constructed from 'stećaks' (late medieval rustic tombstones), is probably of nineteenth-century date. The openings of the western facade date probably from the same period. The architecture is extremely crude and irregular, and one is inclined to date the church toward the end of the eleventh century as a rustic variation of the South Dalmatian type.

The church was recently discovered by Mrs Dubravka Beritić, Director of the Preservation of Monuments Institute of

Dubrovnik.

49. Sv. Marija, Čiovo near Trogir (possibly late eleventh century)

The church is of the South Dalmatian type (6.40 by 4.10, thickness of the walls 0.50) without a dome, and its exterior is richly decorated by blind arches (as many as six on the lateral facades of the nave). This might be an indication of a late date. The masonry is crude. The interior was remodelled and the porch was added in the Baroque period.

Dyggve (1951), pp. 134-6.

50. Sv. Ivan on the island of Šipan (possibly around 1100)

A church of the South Dalmatian type (6.40 by 3.60, thickness of the walls 0.60) without a dome. The exterior is adorned by blind arches (three on the lateral facades of the nave, one on the termination wall of the apse). The forms are very irregular, the masonry crude. The interior was remodelled in the Renaissance. The church appears to be a rather rustic, simplified variant of the South Dalmatian type, and one is inclined to date it around 1100 or shortly afterwards, the closest analogy being the church of Sv. Luka on Lastovo (No. 51).

Lučić (1968), p. 100. Marasović (1960), p. 36. Posedel (1952), pp. 119-22. Puhiera (1954-55), p. 232.

51. Sv. Luka on the island of Lastovo (possibly around 1100)

A church of the South Dalmatian type without a dome (5.60 by 4.35, thickness of the walls 0.50-0.70) fairly similar to Sv. Ivan on Šipan (No. 50). An interesting detail is the appearance of false plaster groins on the vault in front of the apse. The forms and the masonry are extremely crude indicating a date around 1100.

Dyggve (1949), Fisković (1966b), pp. 49-50, Radić (1901b), Vasić (1922), p. 32

52. Sv. Ilija on the island of Lopud (possibly around 1100)

A half-ruined chapel of the South Dalmatian type (5.00 by 2.50, thickness of the walls 0.55) with an apse square both inside and out and the transverse arches springing from brackets. There is no exterior decoration. The brackets are Late Antique fragments. The two large windows, one in the southern wall, the other in the apse, are covered by transennae with rounded lights encircled by an interlace. There are tiny openings at the top of the lateral facades which probably served for ventilation.

A few traces of frescoes have survived; there are bands in blue, red and green on the triumphal arch, a lozenge pattern in red and black within the apse window niche and a fine, somewhat Byzantine-like, face of a saint in the southern squinch of the apsidal semidome. The style is that of the twelfth century.

The church was recorded in 1270 but was probably built around 1100 as a simplified variant of the South Dalmatian type. The frescoes were painted soon afterwards. The church was

already in a poor state in 1773.

Lisičar (1931), pp. 10-11. Lučić (1966), pp. 201-2, 208. Marasović (1960), pp. 35-6.

53. Sv. Petar on the island of Lopud (around or before 1100)

A fragment of the northern wall showing the South Dalmatian characteristics is all that has remained of the church of St. Peter (6.75 by 2.60, thickness of the walls 0.50). The church was recorded in 1299 and was already ruined in 1773.

Lisičar (1931), pp. 12-13. Lučić (1966), pp. 201, 204, 216.

54. Anuncijata on the island of Koločep (around or before 1100)

A fragment of a wall articulated with blind arches is all that has survived of the church. The articulation indicates that the church belonged to the South Dalmatian type and that it is consequently datable around or before 1100.

Lisičar (1932), pp. 99-100.

55. Gospa u Lužinama, Ston (possibly ninth or tenth century, considerably rebuilt)

The aisleless church of 'Our Lady in the Marshes' (16.00 by 7.00-7.60, thickness of the walls 0.90-1.30) with a rectangular porch topped by a bell-tower displays at first glance no Pre-Romanesque characteristics (Fig. 58). Yet numerous fragments of interlace sculpture, some datable to the ninth or tenth century, and some to around 1100 have been found within and around the church.

The Pre-Romanesque building on the site seems to have been founded on the ruins of an early Christian structure. Judging from the shape of the much rebuilt nave the Pre-Romanesque building probably belonged to the South Dalmatian type characterized by tripartite organization of the interior. A fragment of rubblework masonry within the present tower indicates that the Pre-Romanesque building was preceded by a western annex.

On the basis of an analysis of the types of the masonry one may suggest that the church was repaired in the thirteenth century, considerably rebuilt in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century and perhaps repaired again after the earthquake of 1667. It was rather radically restored in 1891.

Dračevac (1966); (1970). Korać (1965), pp. 52-7. Radić (1898a), pp. 72-7. Vasić (1922), pp. 26-7. Vlasić (1956), pp. 98-9.

IV. Aisled buildings

56. Sv. Marija, Nin (possibly sixth century, rebuilt in Pre-Romanesque)

The traces of an aisled triapsidal church (23.00 by 12.80, thickness of the walls 0.60) were excavated by Jelić (1898) and Dyggve (1928), but no accounts have ever been published. The central apse, rounded within and polygonal without, may date from the sixth century as may the small capitals decorated with Acanthus spinosus which probably belonged to a ciborium. The sixth-century church was itself founded on the ruins of a small Early Christian building. Some time between the ninth and the eleventh century, probably around 1000 or later, the lateral, semicircular apses were added and the church received new furniture decorated by interlace motifs. To this phase seem also to belong the capitals of the nave (Fig 59) recalling those of Sv. Martin at Sv. Lovreč Pazenatički in Istria and of Sv. Petar in Supetarska Draga on the island of Rab (both eleventh century). Fragments of rather debased, irregular interlace works indicate that the church was again repaired around 1100 or somewhat later. Judging from the use of columns it was probably covered by a timber-roof, although a seventeenth-century description mentions vaults, the reference possibly being to the apsidal semidomes. The church was demolished in 1646, and the stone was used to repair the city fortifications.

Bianchi (1877-79), vol. 2, pp. 256-9. Gušić (1970), pp. 17-21. Jelić (1901), pp. 190-2. Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 112-17. Petricioli (1969), pp. 319-20.

57. Sv. Stjepan, Split (before 1020)

The church was a spacious aisled building (43.00 by 22.00, thickness of the walls 0.70-0.80) with one single rounded apse and a shallow narthex. Judging from a seventeenth-century drawing, the narthex was indistinguishable from without and the church was provided with a clerestory. A tower was inserted

between the apse and the southern aisle in the thirteenth century. The nave was separated from the aisles by five pairs of columns. The masonry is somewhat less crude than usual.

The monastery of Sv. Stjepan, one of the most important ecclesiastical centres of the realm, was first recorded in 1020. This, as well as a rather archaic plan (one apse only), indicates that the church may date from the tenth century. The monastery and the church were in ruins already in 1699, and were completely devastated in the following centuries. Only recently the site was thoroughly investigated by Marasović and Vrsalović. The beautiful choir-screen gable showing the *Maiestas Domini*, a masterpiece of Croatian early Romanesque sculpture, datable around 1100, indicates that the church was at least redecorated around that date.

Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 60, 93, 123, 142, 164, 165, 190. Jelovina (1968), pp. 194-5. Marasović and Vrsalović (1962), p.4. Marasović and Vrsalović (1963-65). Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 319-27. Vrsalović (1963), pp. 272-3.

58. Sv. Petar, Osor (first half of the eleventh century)

The church, now in ruins, was an aisled, triapsidal timber-roofed structure (22.00 by 12.30, thickness of the walls 0.60) comparable to Sv. Petar in Supetarska Draga (No. 59), and Sv. Martin at Sv. Lovreč Pazenatički in Istria. The western part of the building has completely disappeared. The groin-vaulted annex to the north dates from the twelfth century. The church, in ruins already in 1453, was founded by St. Gaudenzio, disciple of St. Romuald.

To the south of the church Mohorovičić has discovered the traces of two Antique walls, perpendicular to the southern facade of the church, connected by a short, transverse, Pre-Romanesque rubblework wall with a tiny apse pointing southwards. The patchwork character of the structure may be an indication of an early date, possibly even before 800.

Fučić (1949), pp. 50-2. Mohorovičić (1955), pp. 12-13; (1957a); (1954), p. 221; (1957b). Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 149-55.

59. Sv. Petar, Supetarska Draga on the island of Rab (before 1060; probably mid-eleventh century)

The aisled church with a triapsidal chevet (21.60 by 10.30. thickness of the walls 0.80) was attached to a Benedictine monastery founded in 1060 (Fig. 18). Originally the church was provided with a clerestory, but the aisles were subsequently raised. The nave is separated from the aisles by five pairs of columns carrying a timber roof. The capitals belong to three types. Five are decorated by eight upright palm leaves recalling the caps of Sv. Marija at Nin (No. 56) and Sv. Martin at Sv. Lovreč Pazenatički in Istria (both eleventh-century buildings). Three follow a good, possibly still classical Corinthian model. and two are Pre-Romanesque copies of the flat Adrio-Byzantine capitals of the sixth century. All the capitals are surmounted by impost blocks, the smooth, quarter-circle moulding of which is usually associated with mature Romanesque (Figs. 60-63). Some of the shafts were shortened during an unauthorized restoration in about 1960. Judging from the traces on the columns adjacent to the presbytery there was a bema extending into the nave. A few fragments of interlace reliefs, preserved in the parish house, probably belonged to the screen. The original clerestory windows were roundheaded and, like the other original openings, they display the 'sickle' type arches with a bulging extrados. characteristic of the local mature Romanesque. The tall, slightly pointed windows of the aisles could hardly date from before the fifteenth century. The aisles may have been raised around that date. The two narrow, recently discovered windows of the main apse, covered by the transennae with rounded lights belong to the original construction. The facade, in dressed stone, with a hanging porch supported by lion protomai, as well as the massive, tapering tower (only the two lowermost stages are preserved) date probably from the beginning of the twelfth century. The exterior walls are thickly rendered, but judging from the fragment of the wall visible at the western end of the north facade the lateral walls were constructed from ashlar-like stones. Further investigations are necessary to establish the exact type of masonry and the original form of the roof before the raising of the aisles.

At first glance, Sv. Petar appears too mature for a building constructed about or before 1060. However, the innovations are limited to certain decorative elements (dented brackets of the western facade, the impost mouldings) and minor structural details (the 'sickle' arches). The plan, following possibly the

outlay of an Early Christian church on the site (numerous spoils) is archaic. The triple presbytery occurs at other Croatian eleventh-century aisled churches (Nin, Biograd, Osor). The capitals recall those found at Nin, and at Sv. Lovreč Pazenatički in Istria. We may speculate about the coexistence of two shops, one local and steeped in the imitation of the Antique, another 'cosmopolitan', originating possibly in Istria. Interlace sculpture was used in decorating the church, which also points to the eleventh century. A date around 1050 does not seem improbable. The portal and the tower are twelfth-century additions. The aisles were not raised before the fifteenth century; the tower partly demolished in the nineteenth.

The church was recently reinvestigated by the Regional Institute for the Preservation of Monuments at Rijeka; Mrs Iva Perčić and Mrs S. Bročić of the Institute have kindly agreed to share the results of their work with me. The investigations are to

be completed in the near future.

Bianchi (1877-79), vol. 1, pp. 43, 203. Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 85-6. Karaman (1930), pp. 65-7, 70-2. Mohorovičić (1957b), p. 512. Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 120-6. Vasić (1922), pp. 113-17.

60. Sv. Petar in Selo, Sumpetar near Split (consecrated in 1080)

The remains of the church were superficially investigated in 1910-1914, but the site was devasted by the peasants in 1919, before the completion of the investigations. The church seems to have been an aisled structure with a single rounded apse. It was constructed on the site of an Early Christian building, and solemnly consecrated by Archbishop Lovro in 1080.

Bulić (1920). Katić (1955b). Novak and Skok (1952). Ostojić (1960); (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 338-44.

61. Sv. Ivan, Biograd (founded 1059-60, consecrated 1076)

The ruins of this aisled, triapsidal church, with a tripartite western annex were recently investigated and restored (27.50 by 12.50, thickness of the walls 0.60). The exterior, except for the apses, was richly decorated by pilaster-strips, the disposition of

which indicates that the annex was indistinguishable from without (Fig. 27). The apses, packed closely together, recall Sv. Petar at Supetarska Draga (No. 59), Sv. Petar at Osor (No. 58) and the Cathedral of Biograd (No. 84), all eleventh-century structures. The type of supports remains unknown; judging from the thinness of the walls they were probably columns supporting a timber roof construction. The presbytery was directly connected with a monastery by a door on its southern side.

What makes Sv. Ivan outstanding among the other early Croatian eleventh-century aisled buildings is the systematic and

consistent application of decorative pilaster-strips.

Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 88-91, 122, 145-6, 148-52, 156. Iveković (1930-31), pp. 148-9, 152. Jelić (1898), pp. 44, 55-6. Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 216-20. Škrapa (1898).

62. Sv. Toma, Biograd (shortly before 1061-62)

Little can be said about the church of the Benedictine convent of Sv. Toma in the northern section of the city of Biograd, except that it was apparently an aisled building smaller than, but not essentially different from, Sv. Ivan (No. 61). A fragment of an early Romanesque scrollwork found on the site seems to confirm the date of about 1060. The church was recorded in a charter of 1061-2.

Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 97-8, 151, 169. Jelić (1898), pp. 49, 54-5. Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 240-2. Škrapa (1898).

V. Small-scale aisled Dalmatian buildings

63. Sv. Petar, Dubrovnik (possibly before 800)

The tiny Pre-Romanesque crypt (6.10 by 2.70) lies beneath the presbytery of a partly ruined Baroque church (Fig. 64). It is approached by a long additus, originally barrel-vaulted and containing a staircase. The crypt, cut into the live rock, is an aisled three-bay chamber – the vaults, which partly collapsed, being supported by four piers. The nave was covered by groin vaults, the aisles by barrel-vaults. The nave terminates with a rounded apse embedded in the wall. The apse is lighted by a

window with a transenna having ten rounded lights encircled by an interlace.

The quantity, quality and size of the fragments of interlace sculpture found within the walls of the Baroque church above show that there once existed on the site a Pre-Romanesque church of considerable importance. The mature style of the fragments hardly allows for a date before 800, which to some extent weakens the identification of the site with that of the first cathedral of Dubrovnik, dedicated to St. Peter, a building which, according to the old descriptions, was in the form of a Greek cross. At present, we may only conclude that the crypt formed a part of an important church which may have existed as early as c. 800.

The investigations conducted by Mrs Dubravka Beritić, who kindly volunteered to share with me the results of her efforts, are still in progress.

Beritić (1956), pp. 59-61.

64. Sv. Lovro, Zadar (possibly tenth and eleventh century)

The church, today almost completely enveloped by more recent buildings, is an aisled structure (14.15 by 6.40, thickness of the walls 0.60, in the westwork 0.95) with a two-storey westwork and a tripartite chancel (Figs. 13, 14, 65). The first and third bays of the nave are covered by groin vaults, the second used to carry a dome. The aisles, terminating in semicircular apsidioles embedded in the walls, are covered by semidomes on squinches. The vaults are supported by four columns constructed almost completely from Roman spoils. The only Pre-Romanesque details are the capitals of the pair on the westwork side. They belong to the Pre-Romanesque variant of the Corinthian with strongly projecting leaves producing a marked contrast of light and dark. On the nave side of the southwestern capital there is a figure of a saint in the orans pose, a flat, short apparition with a large head. The nave used to be lighted by roundheaded windows replaced by larger Baroque openings which are now walled-in. In the middle of the northern facade there used to stand a portal (now in the Archaeological Museum) showing on the saddle-back lintel the Maiestas Domini, the figures appearing rather barbarous but executed with great technical skill and a feeling for plastic values. The same supple carving is revealed by the scrollwork on the jambs. The junctures between the lintel and the jambs are rather awkward but as the style is the same, there is no reason to assume that the portal was remade.

The presbytery, only partly preserved, consists of a square apse and two smaller lateral chambers all embedded in the straight termination wall. It seems to have been of the same height as the nave, and the whole church body was apparently

covered by a uniform gable roof.

The northern facade was decorated by four deep blind arches and was treated as a single surface disregarding the division into the body and the presbytery. On the southern side there are again four niches, this time topped by a triple-arched corbel table.

Through a roundheaded opening surmounted by a low, pointed discharge arch one enters the ground floor of the westwork, the walls of which are not in bond with those of the church body. The ground floor consists of three barrel-vaulted chambers connected by a transverse aisle. The vault of the aisle rests on the church side on two short columns assembled from Roman spoils. There are walled-in roundheaded windows in the central and northern chamber, traces of walled-in doors at either end of the transverse nave and a walled-in window in the southern chamber on the level between the ground floor and the gallery. The position of the window indicates that this room used to contain, as it still does today, a vertical communication accompanied by an ascending barrel-vault (now containing a wooden ladder).

The upper storey basically repeats the plan of the ground floor. The vault of the transverse aisle is supported by short columns topped by stylized Pre-Romanesque capitals of the composite type. Between the columns there is a large rectangular window overlooking the nave, its present form dating from the Baroque

period.

The central room is covered by a groin vault above which rises the tower, nowadays both invisible and inaccessible. The other portions are barrel-vaulted, the vaults being rather crude and irregular. In the centre of the western wall there is the beginning of a passageway which, through a large rectangular opening (now walled-in) led to some building to the west of the church.

The masonry consists of crude rubble copiously intermixed

with Roman spoils. The walls used to be covered with plaster. The roof is covered with stone slabs.

In its present state the building is a puzzling monument, evidently altered more than once. It was mentioned in the Testament of Prior Andrew (918).

The form of the body seems to represent a modification of the Byzantine quincunx church of the Macedonian period under the influence of local tradition to which one has to attribute the flat chevet, the uniform gable roof, and, hypothetically, the square turret encasing the dome. The influence of the art of the Macedonian Renaissance would have become apparent around 900 and the form would be in harmony with the date given by the Testament.

The westwork was added not much later, possibly at the beginning of the eleventh century. The church itself may have belonged to the Madii, the Priors of Zadar, who possessed two houses close by. They were related to the Croatian royal family and the appearance of the westwork may be due to the influence of the buildings of the 'Royal Pre-Romanesque Group'.

A new campaign seems to have been launched at the end of the eleventh century. The two nave capitals represent possibly an eleventh-century interpolation. To the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth we may assign the portal and the choir-screen, the 'modernization' of the southern facade and the sculptures of the birds in the nave. We have, however, to distinguish between the style of the Portal Master, an accomplished craftsman whose art is refined and exquisite as long as he treats decorative elements, but strikingly barbarous, though powerful, in the representation of figure, and the style of the Screen Master, a conservative in the choice of ornament, who is, none the less, an innovator in his more naturalistic treatment of the figure. In spite of these distinctions, both men in their particular ways represent the transition from the Pre-Romanesque to the Romanesque (Fig. 66).

The southern facade was modernized by the insertion of the arched corbel tables, and was, apparently, at a certain stage the representative facade of the building. The portal, however, the most representative single element of the exterior was carved for the northern facade; we may conclude that the actions were not simultaneous and that the portal was commissioned and executed while the northern facade was still the representative

facade of the church.

One might suggest that the portal and perhaps the capitals were made during the last two decades of the eleventh century and the choir-screen around 1100. The southern facade was probably altered during the first half of the twelfth century. The birds – fine, almost rounded mature Romanesque works – could hardly date from before the first half of the twelfth century.

The church underwent a series of modifications in the seventeenth and the eighteenth century (new openings and communications), and also in the nineteenth, when it served as a

lumber yard.

Bersa (1932), pp. 134ff. Bianchi (1877-79), vol. 1, pp. 447-8. Brunelli (1913), p. 246. Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 25-8. Hauser (1894). Jackson (1887), vol. 1, pp. 263-5. Petricioli (1955a); (1960a), pp. 27-43; 44-60; (1965), p. 148; (1966), pp. 79-80; (1967), pp. 162-4. Vasić (1922), pp. 54-9.

65. Sv. Barbara, Trogir (between the ninth and the eleventh century)

The church of Sv. Barbara (12.30 by 6.20, thickness of the walls 0.50) is nowadays almost completely enveloped by more recent buildings (Figs. 16, 67). It is a miniature basilica with a clerestory, the nave being terminated by a square apse covered by a semidome, the aisles by apsidiole niches. Both the nave and the aisles are covered by groin vaults. The third bay of the nave once carried a square turret. The clerestory walls are supported by columns assembled from Roman spoils, the only Pre-Romanesque piece being the capital of the second column on the south. The caps are surmounted by squarish imposts.

The western facade, of which only the lower portion is visible, is decorated by pilaster-strips. The lintel of the square entranceway (surmounted by a discharge arch) is decorated by sloppily executed rosettes, and a cross flanked by two hen-like doves. There is an inscription in the rustic capital: EGO MAIVS VNA CVM COGNATV MEO PETRVS COGITAVIMVS PRO REMEDIAM ANIME NOSTRE HOC TEMPLVM CONSTRVERE. Another inscription is found on a fragment of the choir-screen; it is not fully legible but one can read the name of the 'restaurator operis Petrus' and of 'Dabrizza uxor eius'.

The church was originally dedicated to St. Martin, a Frankish Saint, and as the Franks were ousted from the Dalmatian cities by 812, and from Croatia by c. 870, this may indicate an early date. The style of the lintel, displaying the interlace sculpture still in its formative stage, would be in harmony with an early date (around 800). The crude masonry, with a considerable admixture of antique spoils is another argument for an early dating.

The church was restored by the other Peter some time between the middle of the ninth and the middle of the eleventh century. The fully developed hooks motif on the fragment of the

choir-screen is indicative of that period.

Sv. Barbara combines the Early Christian tradition (clerestory, use of columns) with certain local traits (predilection for straight lines and vaulting). Hypothetically, we may suggest that the original structure was a small vaulted basilica, the turret being added in the tenth century when the cities were exposed to a new wave of the Byzantine influence.

Jackson (1887), vol. 2, p. 145. Jelić, Bulić and Rutar (1894), p. 205. Marasović (1962), p. 357. Radić (1891), pp. 78-83. Vasić (1922), pp. 65-8.

66. Sv. Eufemija, Split (shortly before 1069)

The church (17.30 by 9.40, thickness of the walls c. 0.65) burnt down in 1877 but is well known through old drawings and an archaeological investigation undertaken in 1946. It was an aisled building with a transept and triapsidal chevet (Fig. 15). The nave was separated from the aisle by three pairs of pilfered Roman columns supporting transverse arches. The dome at the crossing was concealed within a rounded tower. A chapel was added to the south in 1444, another to the north in the Baroque era, when the rounded apses were also replaced by a square choir. The masonry is somewhat less crude than usual and consists of rather small but fairly regular pieces. About a dozen interlace fragments were discovered within the ruin.

Originally dedicated to St. Benedict, the church was recorded in 1069 as belonging to a convent founded shortly before that date by Archbishop Lovro. The convent was suppressed by the French in 1806. With the introduction of Austrian rule, a few years afterwards, it was turned into a military hospital and fell

victim to the fire in 1877.

Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 110, 186, 188. Fisković (1948). Jelić, Bulić and Rutar (1894), p. 201. Marasović (1962), p. 357. Ostojić (1962a), (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 254-61. Vasić (1922), p. 46.

67. Sv. Nedeljica, Zadar (probably second half of the eleventh century)

The church, originally dedicated to St. John, was pulled down in 1891, but the nineteenth-century sketches and measured drawings allow for a fairly reliable reconstruction (Fig. 17). It was a two-storey building, consisting of a cruciform barrel-vaulted undercroft supporting an aisled, three-bay structure (8.00 by 7.40, thickness of the walls 0.50). The groin vaults of the upper church were supported by three pairs of pilfered Roman Corinthian columns (the westernmost pair is leaning against the wall). The entrance was at the western end of the northern facade. Opposite, on the south, there stood a slim bell-tower with biforae on the top, whose walls were decorated by pilaster-strips. The presbytery consisted of a square apse and one rounded and one square apsidiole. The apse was lighted by a roundheaded window, there was a cruciform opening above it. The projecting eaves were supported by an arched corbel table.

From the church originate the two remarkable low-relief panels relating the Infancy of Christ (Fig. 68). The panels, once forming a part of the choir-screen, were executed in a style marking the transition from the interlace sculpture to the early Romanesque. On account of the style of the panels the church is usually dated to the second half of the eleventh century. The appearance of the groin vaults and arched corbel tables is in harmony with such a date.

Bianchi (1877-79), vol. 1, pp. 413-19. Brunelli (1913), pp. 251ff. Hauser (1894), pp. 245ff. Jackson (1887), vol. 1, pp. 265-6. Petricioli (1960a), pp. 18-32; (1967). Vasić (1922), pp. 59-61.

68. Sv. Nikola, Split (possibly second half of the eleventh century)

The cruciform church with very narrow aisles (10.85 by 5.25, thickness of the walls 0.70) and a square turret (with no dome) at the crossing was thoroughly rebuilt in 1667 when the original

apse was demolished and the western facade moved forward. The turret was pulled down in 1860. The church was restored to its

original form in 1949 (Figs. 69, 70).

The arms of the cross are covered by barrel-vaults, the rest by semidomes gradually merging into the wall surface. The vaults are sustained by monolithic columns pilfered from a Roman building and recarved in the Pre-Romanesque period. The columns with an emphasized entasis and plastically powerful capitals, distant relatives of the Corinthian, count among the most interesting creations of early Croatian architectural sculpture. There are two entrances. The western is topped by a hanging porch resting on lions, the southern, more modest, by a discharge arch only. The masonry is crude. The roof is covered by stone slabs. There used to be a choir-screen cutting into the second pair of columns. Its fragments display mature Romanesque forms.

An inscription on the lintel states that the church was built by a 'Famous John' together with his second wife, Ticha. The same is repeated by an inscription on the choir-screen beam, adding that the project was financed from the income of John's first wife. Both the inscriptions appear on the fragments datable to the twelfth century. As the choir-screen is certainly – and the lintel most likely – a later interpolation, we may still identify the church with the one dedicated to St. Nicholas and recorded in 1068. The cruciform disposition of the roof recalls Sv. Eufemija (No. 66) built in Split around 1060. The masonry is typically Pre-Romanesque. We may assume that John was responsible for a substantial repair work and redecoration of the church in the twelfth century.

Barada (1952), pp. 179-80. *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. 1, p. 112. Fisković (1949). Jackson (1887), vol. 2, p. 72. Jelić, Bulić and Rutar (1894), pp. 206-13. Marasović (1962), pp. 356-7. Vasić (1922), pp. 47-8.

69. Sv. Stjepan, Trogir (before 1100)

The church, demolished in 1769, was a vaulted cruciform building with a turret, and possibly a dome, at the crossing. The vaults were supported by four columns re-used in the late Baroque singing gallery of Trogir Cathedral. The church may have resembled Sv. Lovro in Zadar and Sv. Nikola in Split.

Fisković (1962), pp. 44ff.

VI. Miscellaneous

70. Church at Begovača, Kašić, near Zadar (possibly ninth century)

The ruins of the church were recently discovered in the middle of a huge early Croatian necropolis, the earliest tombs of which date from the ninth century. The building consists of three parallel chambers, each provided with a rounded apse turned northwards. The central chamber is no longer than the other two. It communicates with the eastern 'aisle', but there is no communication with the western chamber. The building was founded on the site of an antique complex, and was itself destroyed before the end of the Middle Ages as the fragments of interlace sculpture were found in some of the late medieval tombs around the church. The analogies with some of the buildings from the North Adriatic zone datable between the sixth and the eighth century (Sv. Toma near Rovinj in Istria, Sv. Martin near Martinšćica on Cres) may be an indication of an early (ninth century?) date.

Jelovina (1968), pp. 193-4. Vrsalović (1963), pp. 274, 278.

71. Sv. Petar Stari, Zadar (possibly tenth and eleventh century)

Sv. Petar Stari ('The Old') is a two-nave church (8.60 by 4.50-5.00, thickness of the walls c. 0.50) with two apses and a straight termination wall. It is attached to the apse of the early Christian aisleless church of Sv. Andrija. The groin-vaulted four-bay naves are separated by two columns and a pier, supporting the transverse arches. All the supports are a crude patchwork of various antique spoils. The interior walls are articulated by blind arches, the exterior unadorned save for the termination wall displaying three small blind arches. The church was originally a box-like structure with a slanting roof the trace of which is still visible on the apse of Sv. Andrija. Subsequently the vaults and supports were inserted into the box. The patchwork character of the whole construction indicates a date before 1100, but the dating is confused by the fact that the traces of the frescoes still visible on the vaults were painted on the

lowermost layer of plaster. The frescoes display the twelfth-century characteristics and could theoretically be contemporary with the vaults. Either the complete original coat of plaster was very carefully scraped off, or the vaults were left at first bare, which would be rather exceptional. The church was mentioned in the Testament of Prior Andrew (918) and the information probably refers to the first, box-like stage; the vaults may have been inserted in the eleventh century, the frescoes painted in the twelfth. A few fragments of interlace sculpture belonging to the church are now displayed in Sv. Andrija. The church was grossly disfigured in the Baroque era, and during the nineteenth century when it served as a warehouse.

Bianchi (1877-79), vol. 1, pp. 380-2. Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 25-8. Jackson (1887), vol. 1, pp. 261-2. Petricioli and Vučenović (1970). Smirich (1895). Vasić (1922), pp. 44-6.

72. Sv. Platon, Osor (possibly early ninth century)

The ruined chapel (12.40 by 6.50, thickness of the walls 0.50) is an aisleless, two-apsidal building. An early ninth-century date has been suggested on account of the style of the interlace reliefs found among the ruins. The plan recalls the popularity of the basilicae geminae in the Adriatic during Late Antiquity, the local Pre-Romanesque analogies being Sv. Petar Stari in Zadar (No. 71) and Sv. Marija Mala ('The Lesser') in Bale in Istria.

Marušić (1955), p. 13. Mohorovičić (1954), p. 220; (1957a). pp. 97-8; (1957b), pp. 501-2.

73. Church in Dolac, Osor (possibly early ninth century)

The ruinous elongated rectangular structure (14.70 by 4.60, thickness of the walls 0.50) has been identified as a church on the basis of the discovery of fragments of interlace reliefs, and traces of an altar. The style of sculpture seems indicative of the early ninth century.

Marušić (1955), pp. 11-12. Mohorovičić (1954), p. 220; (1957a), pp. 98-9; (1957b), p. 502.

74. Sv. Stošija at Puntamika, Zadar (possibly ninth century)

The church (16.10 by 6.50, thickness of the walls 0.50-1.00) is constructed on top of a Roman second-century cistern which serves as the crypt. A square apse pointing southwards, a choir-screen and a one-foot alter table were inserted in the

Pre-Romanesque period.

The upper church, almost completely in ruins, was constructed upon the cistern barrel-vault. There was a semicircular apse and a choir-screen in front of it. The upper church was probably reached by a wooden ladder as there are no traces of a staircase. A few fragments of interlace sculpture and a transenna belonging to the apse window have been found within the church. The masonry is very crude.

According to a document known to have existed in the seventeenth century but since lost, the church was originally dedicated to St. Clement, and was repaired and rededicated to St. Anastasia (Stošija) in 931. It was in ruins already in 1675. A document of 1603 indicates that the upper church was dedicated to St. George. Both levels were complete churches forming a pair of superimposed basilicae geminae.

Bianchi (1877-79), vol. 1, pp. 170-2. Suić and Petricioli (1955).

75. Sv. Martin, Split (possibly ninth century)

The chapel was inserted into the corridor above the *Porta Aurea* of Diocletian's Palace possibly, judging from the dedication to St. Martin, a Frankish saint, during the ninth century. An inscription within the church mentions a presbyter Dominicus perhaps identical with the clergyman of the same name recorded by Duke Trpimir's charter of 852. The church has preserved, in *situ*, an almost complete choir-screen, datable, mostly on account of the zig-zag motif appearing on the edges, to the eleventh century (Fig. 71).

Bulić (1915-19). Bulić and Karaman (1929), pp. 165-6. Jelić, Bulić and Rutar (1894), p. 202. Marasović, Jerko and Tomislav (1968), Supplement, p. 48. Petricioli (1960a), pp. 60-1. Vasić (1922), pp. 165-7.

76. Sv. Danijel, Seget near Trogir (before 1100)

The ruined chapel of Sv. Danijel (5.95 by 6.60, thickness of the

walls c. 0.50) is actually just a solo-standing, elongated apse enclosed by a straight wall on its southern side (Fig. 19). It is covered by an irregular dome resting on squinches on the side of the straight wall. Two short walls at the southern entrance, serving probably as buttresses, do not belong to the original construction. The frame of the eastern entrance displays a smooth edge normally associated with the local early Romanesque. This detail need not belong to the original phase of the building. A fragment of interlace sculpture found within the ruin attests to a date before 1100.

The remains of a villa rustica have been found around Sv. Danijel, and the chapel itself seems to be an adaptation of an ancient structure. The pagan memoriae used to assume the north-south orientation, and it seems likely that Sv. Danijel was constructed on the ruins of an ancient memorial chapel of the solo-apse type. Judging from the somewhat more advanced masonry, the adaptation may have occurred during the eleventh century.

Fisković (1954-57), p. 213.

Royal Pre-Romanesque

77. Sv. Marta, Bijaći near Trogir (first half of the ninth century)

Sv. Marta, the chapel of the royal court at Bijaći, was an aisled building (14.80 by 8.00, thickness of the walls c. 0.70) with a rectangular apse and a square western tower (Fig. 22). A recent re-excavation has proved that the church was constructed on the site of an Early Christian basilica. The bases of the columns of this building are still in situ in the aisles of Sv. Marta. Traces of an octagonal baptistery have been discovered to the south of the church.

The aisles of the Pre-Romanesque church were separated from the nave by two pairs of rectangular piers which, together with a pair of wall-piers at the entrance to the nave and at the triumphal arch, probably supported a continuous barrel-vault. The vaults were reinforced by two crude buttresses added later at the southwestern and southeastern corner of the church, while the arcade between the two pairs of piers was walled-in. Fragments of interlace works belonging to the choir-screen and a ciborium have been found, as well as the fragments of very crude, rustic versions of interlace sculpture.

The church probably dates from the beginning of the ninth century. The court at Bijaći was recorded in 852, the church itself in 892. The vaults partly collapsed in the thirteenth century smashing the original church furniture, and the crude buttresses probably date from this period while the original decoration was replaced by rustic interlace work. The church was finally demolished during the period of Turkish raids, between

1500 and 1700.

Ljubić (1879), pp. 12-15, 50-6. Karaman (1930), pp. 67, 149-78. Radić (1891), pp. 50-3, 75-8. Vasić (1922) pp. 63-5.

78. Church at Crkvina, Biskupija near Knin (second half of the ninth century)

The ruins of the church were investigated on several occasions between 1885 and 1908, and thoroughly re-examined between 1950 and 1957. The church was an aisled structure with a tripartite presbytery and a flat chevet (32.65 by 13.25, thickness of the walls 0.70). The nave was separated from the aisles by three pairs of piers. There was a secret chamber, possibly a treasury, underneath the southern part of the presbytery (Fig. 21).

A two-storey westwork, preceded by a transverse porch, stood in front of the church body. On each side of the ground floor passage there was a burial chamber containing a sarcophagus, one for a high nobleman and the other for his wife. The thickness of the separating walls (1.90) indicates that they were meant to support a tower or some kind of roof projection above the central part of the westwork. The westwork was in bond not with the church body but, rather, with the walls of a spacious complex with a courtyard to the north of the church, usually identified as a monastery. The only access to the westwork gallery was provided by a staircase from the monastery.

Judging from the quantity of the tufa recovered during the excavations the church was vaulted. The absence of any buttresses or wall articulation, the simple rectangular supports, indicate continuous barrel-vaulting. The masonry of all the parts of the complex is identical, consisting of crude rubble-work with a considerable admixture of antique spoils. The floor was covered by a conglomerate of ground brick, stone and lime, recalling the

opus signinum.

The church was richly decorated by Pre-Romanesque sculpture. There is a group of typical interlace works, datable between the middle of the ninth and the middle of the eleventh century; two fragments are of particular importance. They bear the names of St. Mary and St. Stephen, and also mention a 'dux preclarus' and 'gloriosus', thus establishing the dedication of the church and the rank of the donor.

Another group consists of figured reliefs, still rather flat and reminiscent by its technique of the works of interlace art; this is datable to the end of the eleventh century.

Some of the pieces were re-used twice: once when a Roman

fragment was converted into an interlace relief, and a second time when it was recarved towards the end of the eleventh century. The refurbishing of the church at that date seems to have been fairly extensive and also signifies a considerable change in taste. The church was again redecorated, judging from the mature Romanesque style of the fragments, in the thirteenth century. The interior walls were covered by wall-paintings.

The sarcophagus of the nobleman contained a coin of Basil I (867-886); as Croatian rulers did not mint their own money but used Byzantine coinage, we may assume that the coins of a deceased emperor would not have circulated for more than some twenty years after his death. Consequently the westwork could date from between 867 and the end of the century, the body of the church being perhaps a little bit earlier. One is inclined to identify the noble buried in the westwork as Duke Branimir (879-892), who seems to have had his possessions in the Highlands. The church may have been refurbished during the reign of Dimitri Zvonimir (1076-88) when the Highlands assumed considerable political importance. It was restored in the thirteenth century, probably as a consequence of the Tartar invasion. The building seems to have fallen victim to the civil wars of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century or the earliest Turkish raids.

Bulić (1886), p. 54. Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, p. 170. Gunjača (1940); (1952c), pp. 286-97; (1952d); (1953); (1956a); (1956e); (1958e), pp. 20-4; (1960c). Karaman (1955). Marun (1890-91); (1890-92); (1898). Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 536-7. Petricioli (1960a), pp. 44-7, 50-3. Radić (1895a). Vasić (1922), p. 110. Zlatović (1883b), p. 55.

79. Sv. Spas, Cetina near Knin (probably around 900)

Sv. Spas (21.50 by 8.00, thickness of the walls 0.70) is an aisleless church with a trefoil chevet, the central conch of which was replaced in the Late Middle Ages by a square presbytery (Fig. 23). The nave, the walls of which are preserved up to the springing of the vaults, is preceded by a two-storey westwork, indistinguishable from the outside and a five-storey tapering tower (Fig. 72). The barrel-vaulted passageway in the ground floor of the tower was preceded by a porch, now almost completely gone, which served as a landing platform, in front of

the entrance to the second storey of the tower, to a staircase approaching from the north. The westwork ground floor consists of three chambers, the central one covered by a groin vault, the other two barrel-vaulted. A roundheaded opening leads into the nave. On the gallery level the westwork opens onto the nave by three roundheaded windows, the central one, taller than the rest, enframed by pilaster-strips. This was the place where the Count of Cetina probably made his appearance to the people, the church being the central ecclesiastical structure of the County. The upper storey of the westwork seems to have been vaulted too.

The existence of the nave vaults is corroborated by strongly projecting, rounded buttresses and the quantity of the tufa recovered during the investigations. The nave is divided into two unequal sections, the division being marked by a pilaster-strip at the second pair of buttresses. The western section is rectangular, the eastern almost square. The nave was separated from the presbytery by wall piers at the triumphal arch and by a choir-screen.

The first pair of buttresses leans diagonally against the corners of the westwork; the second strenghthens the dividing wall between the westwork and the nave; the next two support the nave walls; and the last the lateral apses. There are wall thickenings between the apses acting also as buttresses. The walls, of small rubble with an admixture of Roman spoils, were covered by plaster. The interior was adorned by wall-paintings.

The inscription in the half-uncial script on a fragment of the choir-screen reveals that the church was built by a Count Gastica and his wife Nemira and their sons (names lost) in honour of the Saviour (Croatian, 'Spas'). The half-uncial seems to have died out in Croatia before the eleventh century, but this is far from certain. The dedication to the Saviour may be indicative of a ninth or tenth century date. Many of the contemporary Saviour churches in the west were provided with westworks and in some way or another connected to the royal families or their officers. The county of Cetina is known to have existed around the middle of the tenth century. A censer of Merovingian workmanship was discovered at the church, and it was probably imported during the period of Frankish overlordship (c. 800-c. 870). The external approach to the gallery recalls Crkvina, some twenty kilometres to the west of Cetina

(No. 78). Sv. Spas appears to be structurally more advanced, however. The nave of the Spas is 2.5m wider than that of Crkvina, and the architect had to introduce the buttresses. For this reason, Sv. Spas appears to be somewhat later than Crkvina. Both Sv. Spas and the church at Lopuška Glavica in Biskupija (No. 80) represent a transition between the complex, traditional Pre-Romanesque types (trefoil presbytery) and the fully developed buildings of the Royal Group (Sv. Cecilija in Biskupija, the Cathedral of Biogard, Nos. 83, 84). For all these reasons one seems justified in dating Sv. Spas around the year 900.

De administrando I, pp. 144-5. Gunjača (1939a); (1948); (1949c); (1958e). Marun (1895-96). Stanić (1961). Vasić (1922), pp. 107-8. Vinski-Gasparini (1958). Zlatović (1883a).

80. Church at Lopuška Glavica, Biskupija near Knin (probably ninth or tenth century)

The church, now in ruins, was an aisleless building (15.00 by 7.25, thickness of the walls 0.60) with a trefoil presbytery, the southern conch of which, however, was square. Each of the three presbytery units contained a one-foot altar table. The presbytery was separated from the nave by a choir-screen.

A westwork, of the same width as the nave, stood at the western end. It, as well as the western portions of the nave walls, was reinforced by rounded buttresses (three pairs leaning against the lateral walls, one against the western facade). The concentration of the supporting elements at the western end indicates that the westwork was a multistorey affair. Judging by the quantity of the tufa found within the ruins, the church was vaulted.

Fragments of the choir-screen recall the works from Sv. Petar in Rižinice (No. 21) (852). A close analogy in terms of plan and supporting system with Sv. Spas at Cetina speaks in favour of a late ninth- or early tenth-century date. As the thirteenth-century tombs around the church cut across its foundation walls the church must have already been in ruins by that time.

Gunjača (1952c), p. 292; (1954a). Marun (1890-91). Radić (1903). Vasić (1922), p. 22.

81. Church at Bukurovića Podvornice, Biskupija near Knin (possibly tenth century)

The foundation of the eastern part of an aisleless nave with a rounded apse (c. 9.00 by 6.80, thickness of the walls c. 1.00) is all that has survived of the church. There are traces of two rounded buttresses on the northern and one on the southern wall, and of four pilasters in the interior; these probably supported transverse arches. Judging by the thickness of the walls and the tufa recovered during the excavations, the church was vaulted.

The building should probably be classified as a transitional monument between the Traditional and Royal Pre-Romanesque groups, and dated to the late ninth or early tenth century. The fragments of interlace sculpture found in the thirteenth century tombs around the church indicate that by that time the church had already perished.

Gunjača (1939b); (1952c), pp. 286-97; (1952a); (1958e), pp. 20-1.

82. Early Croatian church, Koljani near Knin (possibly ninth or tenth century)

The remains of the church, the foundations of the western tower and the western part of an aisled nave, rest today at the bottom of an artificial lake. The nave, separated from the aisles by rectangular piers, was preceded by a bulky tower. This, as well as the absence of buttresses, recalls the church of Sv. Marta in Bijaći, indicating that the church at Koljani may date from the ninth or tenth century.

Gunjača (1958e), pp. 11-13. Radić (1900a). Stanić (1961).

83. Sv. Cecilija at Stupovi, Biskupija near Knin (before 1088, probably around 1060)

The spacious aisled church with a triapsidal chevet and a tripartite two-storey westwork (35.00 by 13.00, thickness of the walls c. 1.10) the remains of which have been discovered at Stupovi in Biskupija, is probably identifiable with the church of Sv. Cecilija in front of which king Dimitri Zvonimir was slain by his enraged retainers (1088). The tradition of the dedication of

the church to St. Cecilia has survived in the name Cecela born by

the neighbouring fields (Fig. 24).

The church was entered by a passageway in the ground floor of the tower, leading into the central chamber of the ground floor of the westwork. The southern chamber contained a staircase to the gallery. The nave bays were roughly square, those of the aisles rectangular. The roof was carried by six sturdy cruciform piers. The walls were reinforced by rounded buttresses, some contemporary to the original construction, some added later. On the southern side two annexes, an open porch and a chapel with a rounded apse were substituted for most of the buttresses.

The form and the size of the piers, the presence of buttresses, and the discovery of a considerable amount of tufa during the excavations indicate that the building was vaulted. There were probably transverse arches springing from the piers. The form of the aisle bays would have suited barrel-vaulting, the square nave bays may have been covered by groin vaults, but their unequal

size seems more indicative of barrel-vaulting.

The church, built of crude rubble, with almost no Antique spoils, must have been constructed in a hurry. The site was not even properly levelled and the highest spot coincides with the centre of the nave. The style of the fragments of interlace reliefs, of exquisite workmanship, is surprisingly unified, also pointing to a relatively speedy construction.

As one of the 'Five Churches' Sv. Cecilija must have existed before 1088; the dedication to a pro-papal saint may speak for a time shortly after the Reformist synod of Split in 1060. As the sculpture is purely of Pre-Romanesque character showing no traces of incipient Romanesque, the date could hardly be much

after 1060.

Gunjača (1952c), pp. 260-4, 292-7; (1956b); (1958e), pp. 20-1. Marun (1892), p.60. Radić (1901c). Vasić (1922), pp. 110-11.

84. Cathedral, Biograd (not much before 1060)

The remains of the spacious aisled, triapsidal church with a western tower (29.80 by 14.30, thickness of the walls 1.10) were devastated in 1930, before they were thoroughly studied (Fig. 25). The nave was separated from the aisles by five pairs of supports; seven of them were rounded, either columns or piers,

three rectangular. This apparent anomaly may be due to the incomplete state of excavations at the point when the only existing groundplan was drawn, or the 'rectangular piers' may simply be the substructure to the rounded supports. Pilasters on the internal face of the walls correspond to the three easternmost pairs of supports. The thickness of the walls, the small distance between the supports and the presence of the rounded buttresses suggest that the church was vaulted. The closest analogy would be Sv. Cecilija in Biskupija (No. 83), datable probably around 1060. The first bishop of Biograd known from the sources was Theodosius, mentioned in 1059-60. It seems likely that the church was constructed shortly before that date.

Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, p. 88. Karaman (1930), pp. 68-71. Škrapa (1898).

85. Early Croatian church, Žažvić (possibly eleventh century)

The church, an aisled structure with a single rounded apse, a westwork and a western tower (26.90 by 8.65, thickness of the walls 0.60) is very poorly known. It was excavated by Marun in 1891, buried again, and never re-examined. The disposition of the two pairs of supporting piers seems strange and the number of the supports inadequate. We should probably imagine another pair in the westwork, a pair between the two discovered by Marun, and some kind of wall piers at the entrance to the apse. The apse floor consisting of the opus signinum indicates that the apse was probably a remnant of an Early Christian building. The walls are too thin to allow one to think of vaulting. The masonry appears to be fairly advanced and consists of small, rectangular pieces set into fairly regular courses. Fragments of both Roman and interlace sculpture have been found among the ruins.

The masonry may speak for the eleventh century, as well as the plan, similar in main lines to that of Sv. Cecilija in Biskupija (No. 83) constructed around 1060.

Karaman (1930), p. 71. Marun (1895).

Early Romanesque

86. SS. Petar and Mojsije, Solin (shortly before 1070)

SS. Petar and Mojsije (26.30 by 13.60, thickness of the walls 0.85), coronation church of King Dimitri Zvonimir, was discovered and investigated in 1931 (Figs. 26, 73, 74). It was an aisled building with a flat, tripartite chevet, and a bulky western tower. The nave was separated from the aisles by six pairs of re-used antique columns. The central apse was square, the lateral ones rounded. The presbytery was separated from the rest by a choir-screen of monumental dimensions standing at the fifth pair of columns.

The details preserved, such as the fragments of door jambs, thresholds, and stairs, are made of finely polished stone. An early Christian sarcophagus, re-used in early Croatian times, was discovered on the ground floor of the westwork. Traces of a staircase suggest that the westwork was provided with a gallery.

The walls were lined up by pilaster-strips on both faces; the strips correspond to the main supports. The walls themselves were executed with considerable care. The church was probably the most sophisticated and sumptuous building of the early Croatian period. The perfect correspondence of the supporting elements and the thickness of the walls may be an indication that the church was vaulted, but there is no conclusive evidence to support such an assumption.

The church was recorded as St. Peter in 1070 and 1076, and as St. Moses in 1078 and 1158. The remains of an inscription on the fragments of the choir-screen confirm the double dedication. The building decoration was partly replaced in the twelfth century with interlace reliefs of rather rustic nature. This may suggest that the church was damaged during the Interregnum around 1100. It is known that the monks abandoned the monastery before 1106 and returned in 1158. The church still stood in 1571

and was demolished only in 1700 to serve as a quarry for a new mill.

Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 123, 139, 160, 165; vol. 2, pp. 16-17, 87. Dyggve (1951), pp. 132-4. Karaman (1934), pp. 23-6. Katić (1929); (1939); pp. 17, 20; (1942); (1955a), pp. 44-9. Milinović (1884). Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 306-10.

87. Gospa od Zvonika, Split (probably second half of the eleventh century)

The chapel of Our Lady of the Bell-Tower (Gospa od Zvonika) was inserted into a corridor above the western gate of the Palace of Diocletian (Fig. 75). It is surmounted by a four-storey articulated hell-tower by corner pilasters enframing doubleheaded arcades. All the openings, with the exception of the biforae on the top and the one bay window on the western facade, have been walled-in. Above the biforae, the facade ends with a flat corbel table. The corbels are indented, recalling those of Sv. Petar at Supetarska Draga (No. 59) and Sv. Nikola at Nin (No. 91), both of which were constructed in the second half of the eleventh century. The supple, compact interlaces on the biforae capitals seem to suggest a date towards the end of the century. The masonry is still rather crude, a mixture of rubble and numerous antique spoils.

Bulić and Karaman (1929), pp. 164-5. Karaman (1930), p. 72.

88. Sv. Lucija, Krk (possibly eleventh century)

The aisleless church (10.10 by 4.90, thickness of the walls 0.50), stands about two kilometres to the east of the town of Krk. The rounded apse is of the same width as the nave. The latter is covered by barrel-vaults on transverse arches. Pilasters divide the interior into three bays. The details of the western facade as well as the porch are modern.

The nave walls are constructed from small, rather crude rubble, the apse, the pilasters and the transverse arches, from larger and more regular pieces. The nave seems to be a part of an Early Christian building, the rest, a Pre-Romanesque interpolation datable, on account of the masonry, to the eleventh century.

Mohorovičić (1957a), p. 97; (1957b), pp. 500-1.

89. Sv. Donat, Krk (probably end of the eleventh century)

The deserted chapel of Sv. Donat (9.60 by 7.50, thickness of the walls 0.70-0.80) stands about six kilometres to the east of the town of Krk. (Fig. 76). It is a square chamber with rounded lateral apses, and a square presbytery and entrance bay. The central square is covered by a dome resting on a combination between pendentives and squinches.

The whole outer layer of the masonry has been peeled off, and only on the northern lateral apse do we find a few courses of the original wall surface, executed in a surprisingly advanced masonry, consisting of small squarish, almost fully dressed,

stones.

Sv. Donat seems to be an imaginative cross between the types represented by Sv. Križ at Nin (No. 2), Sv. Pelegrin at Savar (No. 3) and polyconchal buildings. In spite of the very advanced masonry, the appearance of which on the island of Krk is documented around 1100 (see Sv. Lucija, Jurandvor; No. 93), the lines of the architecture are still rather irregular and one is inclined to date the building towards the end of the eleventh century.

Mohorovičíć (1957a), pp. 95-6; (1957b), p. 499. Polonijo (1939).

90. Sv. Krševan, Glavotok on the island of Krk (probably end of the eleventh century)

The tall, triconchal building (7.85 by 7.00, thickness of the walls 0.50-0.55) with a rectangular, barrel-vaulted entrance bay, stands about three kilometres to the north of Glavotok on the island of Krk. The central chamber is covered by an irregular dome supported by heavy square ribs springing from the pilasters at the intersections of the conches. The ribs and the pilasters consist of antique spoils intermixed with rubble. Each conch contains a narrow window in the shape of two superimposed crosses – a form completely unique in early Croatian architecture. The masonry is rather crude but the individual pieces are fairly large, forming somewhat irregular courses.

The closest analogy to Sv. Krševan is Sv. Nikola at Nin (No. 91) datable to about 1100. As the Romanesque elements, such as ribs, seem to have spread from the north to the south, one is inclined to suggest a slightly earlier date for Sv. Krševan.

Mohorovičić 1957a), pp. 96-7; (1957b), p. 500. Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 191-2. Polonijo (1939), p. 32.

91. Sv. Nikola, Nin (probably around 1100)

The triconch church (7.30 by 6.80, thickness of the walls 0.60-0.70) with a square entrance bay covered by a semidome on squinches, stands about one kilometre to the south of the town of Nin (Fig. 77). It is located on the top of an artificial, prehistoric mound. The central chamber is covered by a dome supported by heavy square ribs springing from the pilasters at the intersections of the conches. The ribs and the pilasters are made from antique spoils intermixed with rubble. The richly moulded pilaster capitals are of antique origin too. The eaves of the stone slab roof are lined up with a series of indented brackets recalling those of Sv. Petar in Supetarska Draga (No. 59) and the Tower of Our Lady in Split (No. 87), both eleventh-century buildings. The masonry consists of thin, rather crude pieces, set in fairly regular courses. The corners of the entrance bay are strengthened by quoins. The portal, with a lunette, shows the characteristics of the local rural version of mature Romanesque. The dome is hidden from the outside by a crenellated tower added in the Late Middle Ages.

The closest analogy is Sv. Krševan on Krk (No. 90), which would suggest a date around 1100.

Gušić (1970), p. 22. Jackson (1887), vol. 1, pp. 342-3. Jelić (1900, 1901). Petricioli (1969), pp. 327-9. Vasić (1922), pp. 14-15.

92. Sv. Toma, Vrsi near Nin

Minimal traces of a small triconch church were discovered in summer, 1971, by Rev. Dr Marijan Grgić and the author in the locality of Sv. Toma about one kilometre to the east of Vrsi, not far from Nin. The church is probably similar to Sv. Nikola at Nin, but nothing precise can be said before a thorough archaeological investigation.

93. Sv. Lucija, Jurandvor on the island of Krk (around 1100)

The elongated, aisleless church (16.55 by 5.95, thickness of the walls 0.55) with a deep, rounded apse stands on a slope overlooking the Baška valley on the island of Krk (Fig. 78). The oblong nave is covered with a timber roof. The western tower, not in bond with the facade, seems to be a twelfth-century addition. The chapel of the Rosary, at the southern side of the nave, was constructed in 1498.

The masonry is surprisingly good. The wall faces consist of regular courses of ashlar, the intermediary space filled in with a conglomerate of mortar and rubble. Some of the openings display 'the 'sickle arch' with bulging extrados, typical of the Adriatic

mature Romanesque.

The date of the church is provided by a long glagolitic inscription in Old-Croatian on the left side panel of the choir-screen. The slab, known as the Panel of Baška (now in the Yugoslav Academy in Zagreb), is according to the archaeological evidence contemporary with the architecture. There is a scrollwork running along the upper end of the panel, the rest being occupied by thirteen lines of text in glagolitic letters, representing the transitional stage between the rounded and angular, typically Croatian, form. This oldest extant text of Croatian language records a donation by King Dimitri Zvonimir (1076-88), who granted the land for the construction of the church to Abbot Držiha, and states that the church itself was constructed by his successor, Abbot Dobrovit during the rule of Duke Cosmas, who must have governed the island before 1118 when the uninterrupted line of the Counts of Krk, later known as the Frankopans began after a temporary Venetian occupation. The style of the ornament and letters and the language of the panel are in harmony with the date around 1100 indicated by the historical information.

Fučić (1957a); (1957b); (1960). Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 168-73. Štefanić (1936).

94. Sv. Vid, Dobrinj on the island of Krk (consecrated in 1100)

The aisleless church with a rounded apse and a bulky,

four-storey western tower (10.70 by 4.70, thickness of the walls 0.70-0.90) stands to the east of the township of Dobrinj on the island of Krk (Fig. 79). The apse is covered by a semidome, the passage in the ground floor of the tower by a barrel-vault; the nave is left unvaulted. The church was recently restored, and the fourth storey of the tower is completely modern. The masonry consists of rather crude pieces set in fairly regular courses.

The church, founded by a local nobleman, Dragoslav, was consecrated in 1100. It represents a fully developed type of rural Romanesque chapel, the only unusual element being the tower, the appearance of which is probably due to the influence of the 'Royal Pre-Romanesque Group'.

Mohorovičić (1957b), p. 513. Štefanić (1939). Šurmin (1898), pp. 428-9.

4 Problem buildings

95. Sv. Silvestar on the island of Biševo

The church of Sv. Silvestar on the island of Biševo near Vis was founded shortly before 1050, but little, besides the foundations of the aisleless, four-bay nave, could date from the eleventh century. The nave was terminated by a rounded apse and covered by a pointed barrel-vault, seemingly of fourteenth-century date.

Codex Diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 87-9. Fisković (1968), pp. 150-1. Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, pp. 374-6. Radić (1896a). Vasić (1922), p. 35.

96. Sv. Mihovil, Dol on the island of Brač

The church of the South Dalmatian type (8.40 by 4.80, thickness of the walls 0.65) with no dome and, exceptionally, with a rounded apse, displays no pronounced stylistic characteristics and may date from any time between the eleventh and the thirteenth century.

Domančić (1960), p. 119.

97. Sv. Ilija, Donji Humac on the island of Brač

The church of the South Dalmatian type (7.40 by 3.40, thickness of the walls 0.65) with no dome displays no pronounced stylistic elements and may date from any time between the eleventh and the thirteenth century.

Domančić (1960), pp. 120-1.

98. Sv. Stjepan, Dubac near Dubrovnik

The church, a few kilometres to the south of Dubrovnik, was completely obliterated during the construction of the Adriatic Highway. It seems to have belonged to the South Dalmatian type, the closest analogy being the equally undatable church of Sy. Martin at Ston.

Đurović (1967-), vol. 1, pp. 338, 432.

99. Sv. Luka, Dubrovnik

The aisleless, three-bay chapel (6.20 by 3.05, thickness of the walls 0.60) now forms the presbytery of a larger Gothic church. A dome of the South Dalmatian type was subsequently added above the central bay. The original phase may date from the first half of the twelfth century (the closest analogy being the church of Sv. Jakov in Dubrovnik); the dome seems to be a late twelfth-century addition.

100. Sv. Ante, Koločep

The church of the South Dalmatian type (6.70 by 2.60, thickness of the walls 0.60), with a dome, and with no external decoration recalls by its squat proportions the church of Sv. Luka in Dubrovnik (No. 99). The bulky dome is also comparable to that of the Dubrovnik church. Consequently, Sv. Ante could hardly date from before the first half of the twelfth century.

Lisičar (1932), pp. 93-9. Lučić (1966), pp. 204-5. Marasović (1960), p. 35.

101. Sv. Srd, Koločep

This almost completely ruined chapel recalls by its forms and measurements (6.20 by 2.40, thickness of the walls 0.60) the church of Sv. Ante on the same island. The masonry is surprisingly good and consists of large pieces of semi-dressed stone set in fairly regular courses. The chapel probably dates from around the middle of the twelfth century.

Lisičar (1932), pp. 103-5. Lučić (1966), pp. 201-6. Marasović (1960), p. 35.

102. Sv. Juraj, Ponikve

The church belongs to the South Dalmatian type (5.60 by 3.45, thickness of the walls 0.50). It has no dome and no exterior decoration, except for two pilaster-strips enframing the western facade. The lines of the architecture are rather irregular, whereas the masonry consists of fairly large pieces of stone set in not too irregular courses. Recent investigations by Igor Fisković suggest a date as late as the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Fisković (1960), p. 48. Fisković (1972), pp. 26-33. Radić (1898c), pp. 152-3. Vasić (1922), pp. 32-3.

103. SS. Filip and Jakov, Ponikve

The oldest part of the church (6.15 by 3.30, thickness of the walls 0.65) consists of two bays and a slightly protruding apse, rounded within and rectangular without, accompanied in the interior by two apsidal niches. The vaults covering the nave are of a curious domical shape which may be due to a very thick coat of plaster.

The masonry is very crude.

It is impossible to establish whether there existed a third bay destroyed when the church was enlarged which would make the church similar to the buildings of the South Dalmatian type, or whether the church was a two-bay structure from the outset. Two bay buildings exist on several South Dalmatian islands and mostly date from the twelfth century. The chevet recalls Sv. Mihajlo at Ston (No. 34) and Sv. Juraj at Ponikve (No. 102), both nearby. There are no pronounced stylistic elements and the church may date from any time between the eleventh and the thirteenth century.

Fisković (1960), p.49. Fisković (1971), pp. 33-40.

104. Sv. Klement, Pražnice on the island of Brač

The chapel of St. Klement (6.40 by 4.20, thickness of the walls c. 0.65) is a building of the South Dalmatian type with no dome or external decoration. It displays no pronounced stylistic elements and may date from any time between the eleventh and the

thirteenth century. The apse was rebuilt in the fourteenth century.

Domančić (1960), pp. 122-3.

105. Sv. Ivan, Ston

The half-ruined church (9.20 by 4.80, thickness of the walls 0.60-0.70) is an aisleless five-bay structure with a broad, rounded apse. The nave used to be covered by a continuous barrel-vault. The apse seems to be a fragment of an Early Christian building, the nave may be Pre-Romanesque, the vaults inserted later. The absence of any stylistically pronounced elements makes a more precise dating impossible.

Đurović et al. (1967-), vol. 1, p. 340. Vasić (1922), p. 36.

106. SS. Kuzma and Damjan, Ston

The tiny chapel (3.70 by 2.90, thickness of the walls 0.45-1.05) serves as an undercroft to a late medieval church. It is a miniature aisleless room with a rounded apse cut into the live rock. The crude barrel-vault rests on a transverse arch on the apse side and on the thick wall separating the chapel from a square antechamber, constructed or remodelled according to an inscription in 1436. In the northern wall of the chapel there is a broad niche of the arcosolium type.

The rough masonry and the form of the apsidal niche, recalling those of Sv. Mihajlo (No. 34) and Sv. Petar (No. 108) at Ston, indicates that the church may be Pre-Romanesque.

107. Sv. Martin, Ston

The half-ruined, rather coarse structure of the South Dalmatian type with no external decoration (6.20 by 3.50, thickness of the walls 0.55) seems to represent a late rustic version of the type, and consequently may date from the first half of the twelfth century.

Đurović et al (1967-), vol. 1, pp. 339-40, 432, 440-2. Radić (1898a), p. 81. Vasić (1922), p. 29.

108. Sv. Petar, Ston

The ruined church consists of two parallel chambers inserted into the chancel of an Early Christian basilica oriented northwards. The left chamber (7.20 by 4.95, thickness of the walls 0.55) repeats the plan of the South Dalmatian buildings, the triapsidal chevet recalling Sv. Mihajlo at Ston (No. 34). The chevet is embedded in a straight termination wall.

The right chamber (12.00 by 4.95, thickness of the walls 0.55) seems to be an unaltered apsidal part of the basilica. A rectangular schola cantorum was inserted into the apse during the Pre-Romanesque or Romanesque period. Sv. Petar may date

from around 1100 or from the twelfth century.

Radić (1898a), pp. 140-4.

109. Sv. Mihovil on the island of Vis

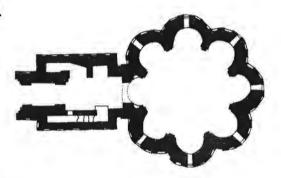
The southern wall with three blind arches and the square apse covered by a semidome on squinches indicate that the original church, rebuilt several times, resembled the buildings of the South Dalmatian type. However, it was covered by a continuous barrel-vault, recalling thus Sv. Maksim at Jesenice (No. 26), and several eleventh-or twelfth-century buildings on the island of Brač. The church was in a state of disrepair in 1613, and was thoroughly repaired in 1778. The original phase may date from around 1100 or from the twelfth century.

Fisković (1968), pp. 71-4. Ostojić (1963-65), vol. 2, p. 375. Radić (1896a). Vasić (1922), p. 32.

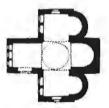
Illustrations



2.



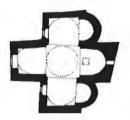
3,



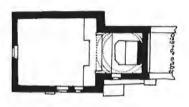
1. Split -2. Ošlje -3. Zadar -Sv. Trojica Octachora Sv. Vid

10 m

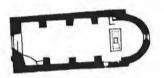




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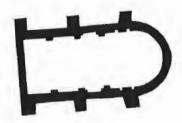


4.	Nin	-	Sv. Križ
5.	Savar	-	Sv. Pelegrin
_			-

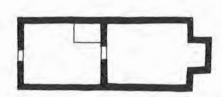
6. Povljana - Sv. Nikola







8.



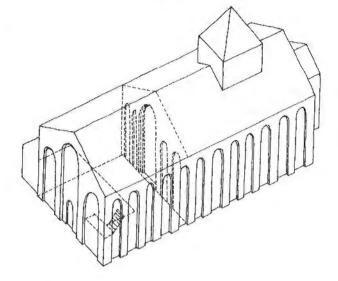
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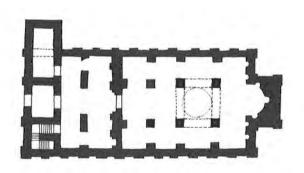
7. Uzdolje - Sv. Luka 8. Solin - Sv. Stjepan 9. Ston - Sv. Mihajlo

10m





11.



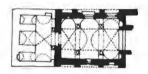
10. Solin 11. Solin Sv. Marija - reconstruction
 Sv. Marija - ground plan







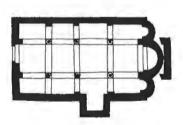
13.



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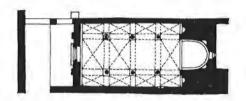
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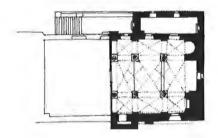
- 12. Lopud Sv. Nikola 13. Zadar Sv. Lovro 14. Zadar Sv. Lovro 15. Split Sv. Eufemija ground plansection







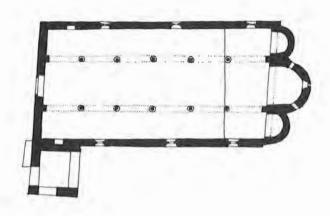
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16. Trogir - Sv. Barbara 17. Zadar - Sv. Nedeljica







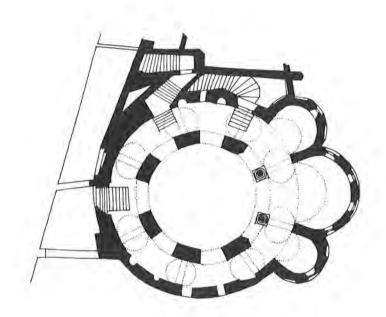
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18. Supetarska Draga - Sv. Petar 19. Seget - Sv. Danijel

1 10m



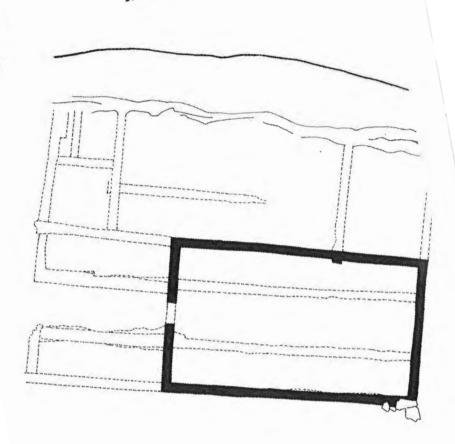


20. Zadar - Sv. Donat





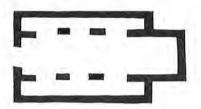
Illustrations



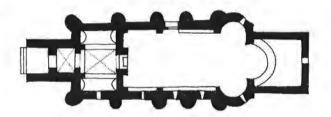
21. Biskupija - Church at Crkvina







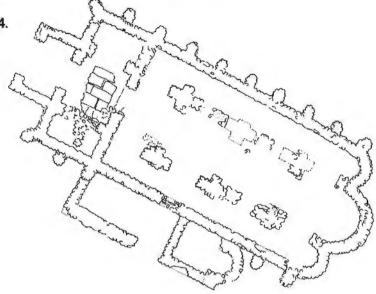
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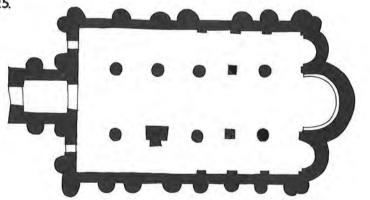
22. Bijaći - Sv. Marta 23. Cetina - Sv. Spas







25.

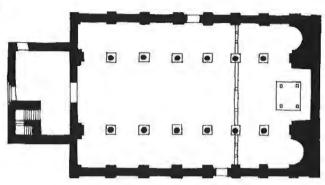


24. Biskupija - Sv. Cecilija 25. Biograd - Cathedral

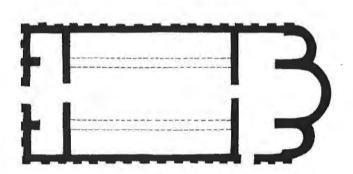
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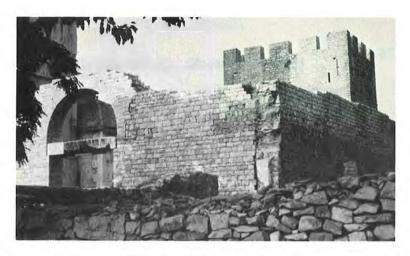
27.



26.	Solin	-	Sv.	Petar	and	Mojsije
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4





28. Povlja. Basilica (fifth or sixth century). From the west.

29. Pridraga. Sv. Martin (probably sixth century). From the west.





30. Pridraga. Sv. Martin (probably sixth century). From the north.

31. Split. Archaeological Museum. Arch from Sućurac (probably eighth century).





32. Nin. Sv. Križ (around 800). Before restoration.



33. Nin. Sv. Križ (around 800). After restoration.

34. Savar. Sv. Pelegrin (probably ninth century). From the east.





35. Ravanjska. Sv. Juraj (probably tenth century). From the south (Photo: $\check{\mathbf{Z}}$, Bačić).

36. Iž Mali. Sv. Marija (before 1100). From the east.





37. Split. Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments. Font of Višeslav (around 800).

38. Split. Sv. Trojica (around 800). From the west (Photo: Ž. Bačić).





39. Zagreb. Archaeological Museum. Branimir's inscription from Muć (888).

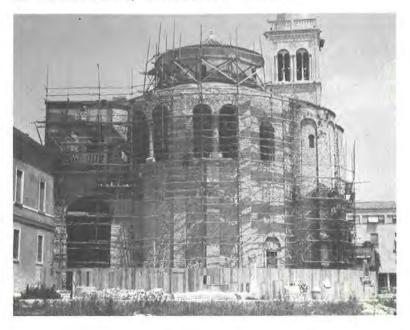
40. Pridraga, Sv. Mihovil (probably around 1000). Western end.





41. Solin. Church in Gradina (sixth century; repaired in the Pre-Romanesque period).

42. Zadar. Sv. Donat (around 800). From the south.





43. Zadar. Sv. Donat (around 800). From the east.



44. Zadar. Sv. Donat (around 800). Interior.



45. Zadar. Sv. Donat (around 800). Wooden beam (Photo:Croatian Institute for the Restoration of Monuments).



46. Zadar. Sv. Donat (around 800). Wooden beam (Photo: Croatian Institute for the Restoration of Monuments).

47. Ston. Sv. Mihajlo (possibly tenth century and around 1100), From the east (Photo: Ž. Bačić).





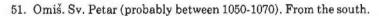
48. Ston. Sv. Mihajlo (possibly tenth century and around 1100). Window frame.



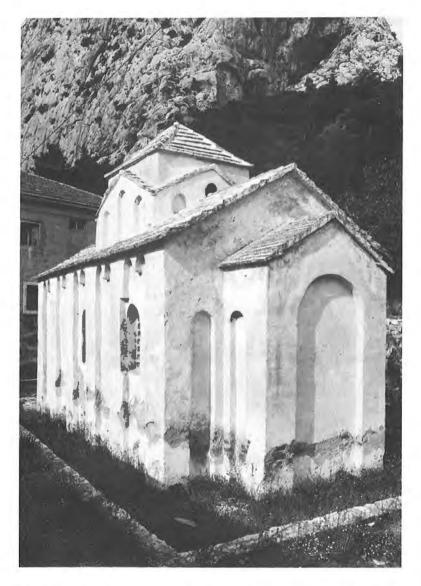
49. Ston. Sv. Mihajlo (possibly tenth century and around 1100). Portrait of the Donor (around 1100).



50. Koločep. Sv. Nikola (possibly around 1000-1050). From the north.







52. Omiš. Sv. Petar (probably between 1050-1070). From the east (Photo: \check{Z} . Bačić).



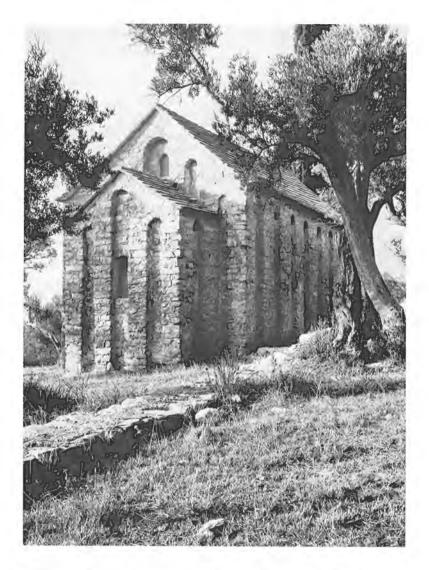
53. Dubrovnik. Sigurata (possibly around 1050-1075). Interior.



55. Selca. Sv. Nikola (possibly around 1050 and 1100). The vaults.

54. Selca. Sv. Nikola (possibly around 1050 and 1100). From the south (Photo: \dot{Z} . Bačić).





56. Radun. Sv. Juraj (possibly late eleventh century). From the east (Photo: Z. Bačić).



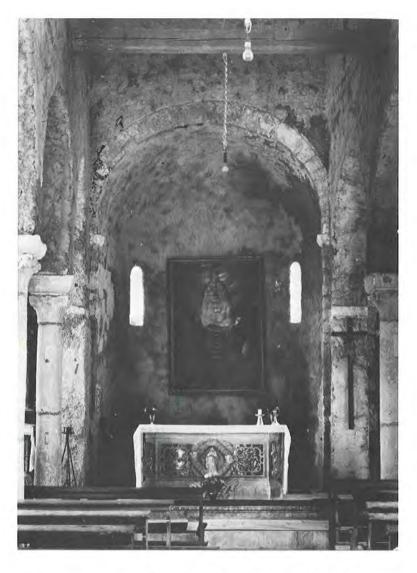
57. Radun. Sv. Juraj (possibly late eleventh century). The apse (Photo: $\check{\mathbf{Z}}$. Bačić).



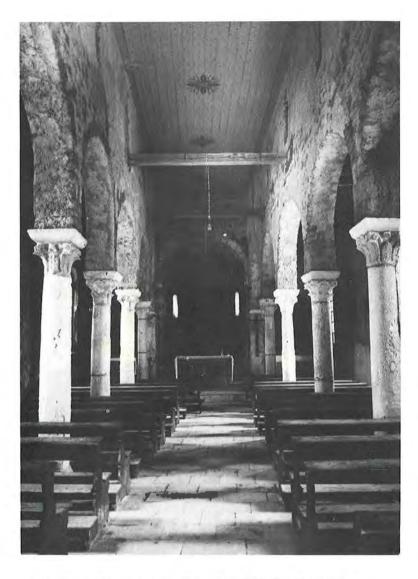
58. Ston. Gospa u Lužinama (possibly ninth or tenth century). From the south.

59. Nin. Archaeological Museum. Capital from Sv. Marija (probably eleventh century).





60. Supetarska Draga. Sv. Petar (shortly before 1060). The apse. (Photo: Regional Institute for Preservation of Monuments, Rijeka.)



61. Supetarska Draga. Sv. Petar (shortly before 1060). The nave.



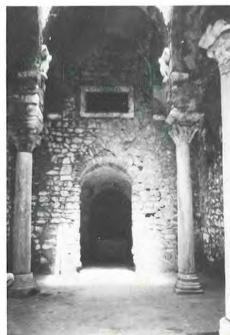
62. Supetarska Draga. Sv. Petar (shortly before 1060). Nave capital.



63. Supetarska Draga. Sv. Petar (shortly before 1060). Nave capital.

64. Dubrovnik. Sv. Petar. (possibly before 800). Looking east.





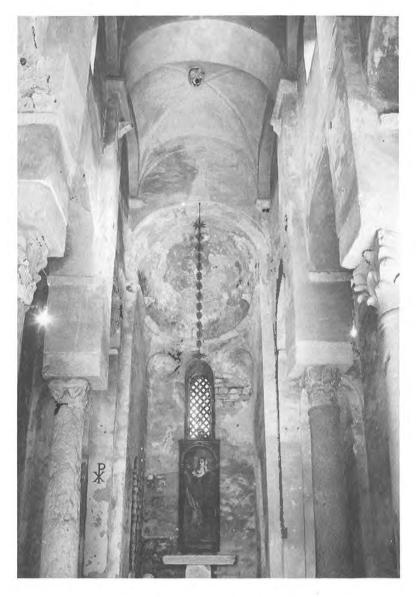
65. Zadar. Sv. Lovro (probably tenth and eleventh century). Interior looking west.



66. Zadar. Archaeological Museum. Fragment of a choir-screen from Sv. Lovro (probably around 1100).

68. Zadar. Archaeological Museum. Choir-screen panel from Sv. Nedeljica (probably second half of the eleventh century).

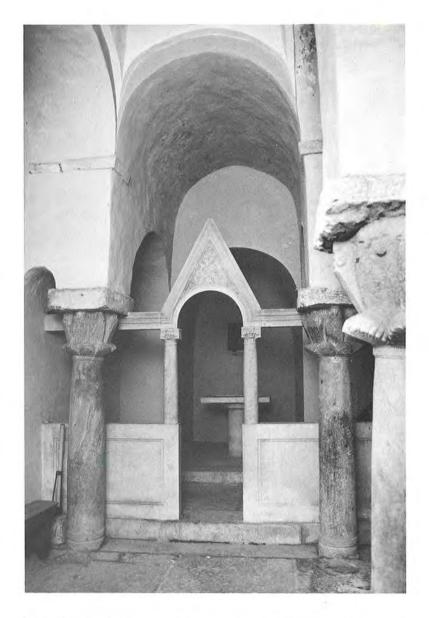




67. Trogir. Sv. Barbara (possibly ninth and tenth century). Interior looking east (Photo: \check{Z} . Bačić).



69. Split. Sv. Nikola (possibly second half of the eleventh century). From the east (Photo: Ž. Bačić).



70. Split. Sv. Nikola (possibly second half of the eleventh century). Interior looking east (Photo: Ž. Bačić).



71. Split. Sv. Martin (possibly ninth century). Choir-screen (possibly eleventh century) (Photo: Ž. Bačić).



72. Cetina. Sv. Spas (probably around 900). From the west (Photo: \check{Z} . Bačić).



73. Zagreb. National Archives. Map of Salona from 1571, showing in the upper right corner the church of SS. Petar and Mojsije (shortly before 1070).



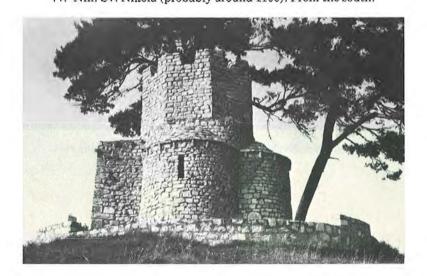
74. Split. Baptistery. King's Panel (believed by some to be from SS. Petar and Mojsije in Solin-Salona).



75. Split. Our Lady of the Belltower (probably second half of the eleventh century). From the east.



76. Krk. Sv. Donat (probably around 1100). Interior looking east.77. Nin. Sv. Nikola (probably around 1100). From the south.

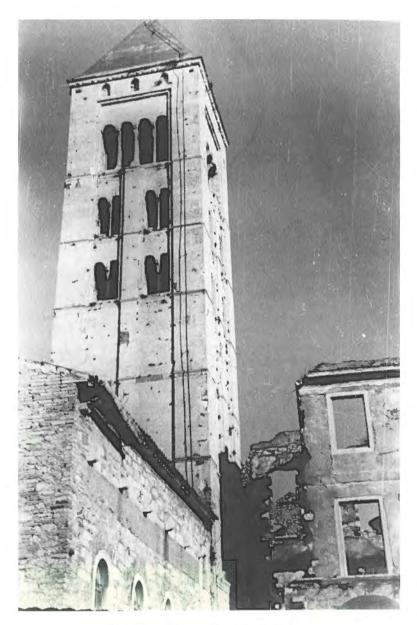




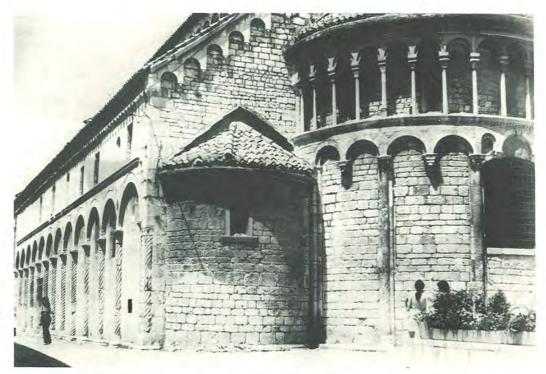
78. Jurandvor. Sv. Lucija (around 1100). Interior looking east.



79. Dobrinj. Sv. Vid (1100). From the west.



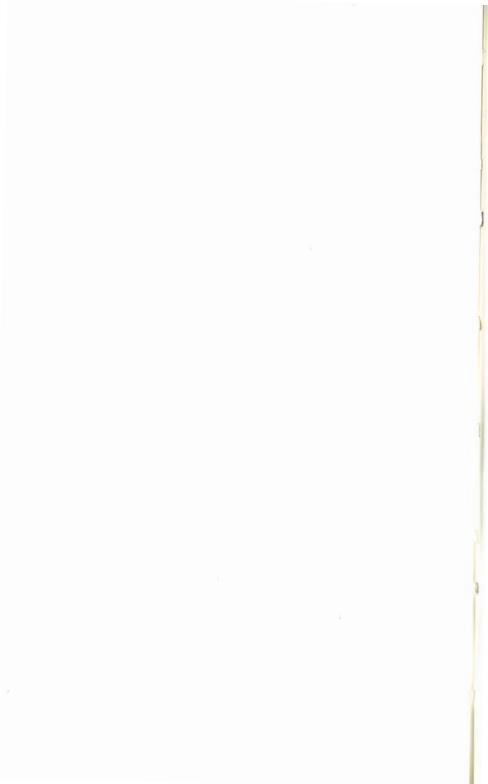
80. Zadar. Tower of Sv. Marija (1105).



81. Zadar. Sv. Krševan (second half of the twelfth century). South elevation.

HUNGARY REPUBLIC SLOVENIA **AUTONOMOUS** REGION OSIJEK VSTRIA VOJVODINA REPUBLIC of BOSNIA and HERCEGOVINA CROA SE REPUBLIC PORIATIC MONTENEGRO AUTONOMOUS REGION PIBANIA KOSOVO 1. YUGOSLAVIA REPUBLIC PRESENT-DAY POLITICAL MACEDONIA **ORGANIZATION**





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