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When I published my article "The Southeastern Border of Carolingian Architecture" in the Cahiers archéologiques in 1978, I considered the matter mostly closed. It was evident that within the core of the early medieval Croatian state, the Dalmatian Highlands around Knin, there existed a group of buildings displaying some characteristics of the contemporary Carolingian architecture, including one of the most innovative and impressive features of medieval architecture in general, the westwork. The buildings could be related to the ruling family and the highest officials of the state, and the best preserved example, the church at the source of the Cetina, even bore a dedication to the Savior. Of course, my younger colleagues have made some useful amendments, chronology has been refined, one more church was discovered in the Dalmatian Highlands, and an impressive related building is being right now explored at the other end of the country, at Lobor in Transmontane Croatia to the northwest of Zagreb.2 The magnificent exhibition The Croats and the Carolingians held in Split in 2000 made amply manifest the Caro-

lingian presence in the entire 9th century Croatia, i.e., the lands inhabited by the Croats, from Slavonia, to Dubrovnik, to Dalmatia, to Istria, to western Bosnia, in history, archeology, architecture, art, inscriptions, and historical sources. But as I started revising the second edition (2006) of my 1996 book on Croatian Pre-Romanesque architecture, it dawned upon me that in spite of my own books and articles, in spite of fine efforts by my colleagues, in spite of the Croats and the Carolingians, there are quite a few points worth reconsidering.3 Then Professor Barral i Altet asked me if I had anything to contribute to the Francia Media gathering in Gent in 2006, and I did. This was followed by a long discussion between the two of us at the gathering, to be continued ever since. Thanks to Professor Barral i Altet, who forced me into very serious rethinking, I believe I have made some steps forward in looking at the issue from two points of view previously unavailable to me, those of cultural anthropology and linguistics.4 The fact that in the course of our everyday research my team seems to be uncovering traces of a pre-Christian, pa-

GOSS, V. P.: The South-Eastern Border of Carolingian Architecture. In: *Cahiers archéologiques*, 27, 1978, pp. 133-148. The text also contains a list of standard features adopted by the Croats from their Frankish overlords.

Especially JURKOVIĆ, M.: Crkve s westwerkom na istočnom Jadranu. In: Prilozi povijesti umijetnosti u Dalmaciji, 26, 1986 – 1987, pp. 61-86; JURKOVIĆ, M.: Sv. Spas na vrelu Cetine i problem wetwerka u hrvatskoj predromanici. In: Satrohrvatska prosvjeta, 22, 1995, pp. 55-80; JURKOVIĆ, M.: L'église e l'état en Croatie au IXème siècle – le problème du massif occidental carolingien. In: Hortus artium medievalium, 3, 1997, pp. 23-40. Also MARASOVIĆ, T.: Westwerk u hrvatskoj predromanici. In: Starhrvatska spomenička baština. Eds. M. JURKOVIĆ – T. LUKŠIĆ. Zagreb 1996, pp. 215-223; MARASOVIĆ, T.: Graditeljstvo starohrvatskog doba u Dalmaciji. Split 1994, pp.

^{193-209;} PETRICIOLI, I.: Prilog diskusiji o starohrvatskim crkvama s oblim kontraforima. In: *Izdanja HAD*, 8, 1980; and PETRICIOLI, I.: Crkva Sv. Spasa na vrelu Cetine. In: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 22, 1995, pp. 19-28, to list the most important ones. On Lobor, see FILIPEC, K.: 10 Jahre archäologischer Grabung in Lobor (1998 – 2007). In: *Hortus artium medievalium*, 13, 2007, pp. 411-422.

³ GOSS, V. P.: Pre-Romanesque Architecture in Croatia. Zagreb 2006.

⁴ Some of the materials published in this article have been also used in my contribution submitted for the proceedings of the *Francia Media*. As the future of that project remains uncertain, Professor Barral i Altet has given me his permission to use them in this article, for which I am extremely grateful.

gan Slavic cultural landscape in Continental Croatia provided another stimulus for reconsidering what, as I said at the beginning, I had considered a dead issue. It led me to reconsider some other aspects of the Pre-Romanesque, in Croatia as well as elsewhere, some fruits of that labor having already been committed to press.

I published my first book on Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia in 1969, and so its theoretical premises, which at the time of writing did not strike me as fundamental, served as the basis for my doctoral dissertation at Cornell University (1972), wherein I proposed a tripartite classification of the Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia, which, with some modifications, seems to be by now mostly, albeit somewhat tacitly, accepted: 1. Traditional Pre-Romanesque group of mostly small buildings that follow local pre-Slavic traditions; 2. Royal Pre-Romanesque group – essentially Croatian version of contemporary Carolingian architecture sponsored by the court and high gentry; and 3. Early-Romanesque group, a Croatian version of the "First Romanesque Art", in which forms of both groups undergo changes comparable to what was happening in Lombardy, the Alps, and Catalonia. With some useful amendments on groups 2 and 3, this is where the matter rests today.6

If I were totally satisfied with the scheme, I, of course, would not be writing this paper. Already in 1972, I noted that Croatian Pre-Romanesque architecture displays a strong predilection for straight lines and square angles, and also a very pronounced "will-to-vault". A comparative study of all West European Pre-Romanesque groups revealed a very similar predilection for straight lines, and also for vaulting. In 1982, I summed up my research on the topic in an article in the *Peristil* entitled "Is there a Pre-Romanesque Style in Architecture?". There I proposed, on the basis of an analysis of Early

Croatian material, five characteristics of Pre-Romanesque as an architectural style:

- Bi-axiality or bi-polarity of the Pre-Romanesque as opposed to mono-axiality and mono-polarity of the Romanesque;
- 2. Lack of correspondence between the organization of space and exterior wall-surfaces;
- 3. Lack of correspondence in form between the space units and their external shells;
- 4. Hidden interior units undistinguishable from the outside;
- 5. Spatial discontinuity as opposed to spatial continuity.

I noted that those characteristics are shared by practically all groups of Pre-Romanesque architecture, and are also found in the architecture of Eastern Christianity (beyond classical Byzantium area). Could one speak of the Pre-Romanesque as an "Oriental architecture transposed to the West"? Josef Strzygowski noticed similarities between some Early Croatian buildings and those of Asia Minor. An entire book by Ante Šonje was dedicated to oriental sources of early medieval architecture of Istria.⁷

As opposed to the Pre-Romanesque, the Romanesque represents a way toward increasing clarity of concept and structure. Such tendencies could be traced back as far as the 9th century (Asturias), and they fully blossom out in the 12th century. Most of the buildings of the "First Romanesque Art" of the Mediterranean still share some of the Pre-Romanesque characteristics. The final "fulfillment" of the Romanesque is in fact the Gothic with the absolute clarity of the High Gothic structure, the mono-axiality of space, and supreme continuity of Gothic interior. Thus a change from the Pre-Romanesque to the Romanesque (and further on to the Gothic) should be seen as long process taking over three centuries, in which the West creates its "own" architecture. Needless to say, there are many

This research has been carried out within the project Romanesque Art between the Sava and the Drava Rivers and European Culture, financed by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports of the Republic of Croatia.

⁶ GVOZDANOVIĆ, V. [GOSS, V. P.]: Starohrvatska arhitektura. Zagreb 1969; GVOZDANOVIĆ, V. [GOSS, V. P.]: Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque Architecture in Croatia. [Ph.D. Diss.]

Ithaca: Cornell University, 1972. It was published in an amended form and entitled *Early Croatian Architecture* (London 1987). On M. Jurković's valuable contributions, please see note 2.

⁷ GOSS, V. P.: Is There a Pre-Romanesque Style in Architecture. In: *Peristil*, 25, 1982, pp. 33-51; STRZYGOWSKI, J.: *Starohrvatska umjetnost*. Zagreb 1927; ŠONJE, A.: *Bizant i crkveno graditeljstvo u Istri*. Rijeka 1981.

currents and undercurrents, and exceptions to the rule. For example, there is a large group of truly wonderful domed churches in central/southwestern France actually never systematically explored and explained ever since they were highlighted by Felix de Verneilh some 150 years ago. This is because they, as "deviant" buildings, do not fit the scheme of linear growth which still plagues much of our thinking. This is a brief summary of what I said in 1982 and elaborated further in the conclusion of my 1996 and 2006 books.⁸

These proposals of mine were not received with applause, but as time went by most among distinguished Croatian students started to apply the above mentioned "rules", as they proved to be a good lead toward classification of buildings based on empirical testing of hundreds and hundreds of architectural works between ca. 800 and ca. 1200, i.e., one can empirically test this model by applying it to any mature Romanesque building, or, in fact, realize that it fully matures in the High Gothic. This is, of course, a very, very abbreviated version of my reasoning, so please accept it as such. I emphasize, as I have always done, that this system should be applied with maximum flexibility as we are dealing

not with sudden and clear-cut changes, but a *process* (I call it a process of structuralization) taking several centuries (roughly from 800 until 1200), and definitely not linear. If judged in that light, Carolingian buildings quite regularly display all or some of the characteristics listed above as Pre-Romanesque.

A dissenting voice has been raised, however, by Magdalena Skoblar, 10 who has questioned my distinction between the Pre-Romanesque and the Romanesque without actually describing it, saying why, or offering substitution of her own.11 The architects of the Pre-Romanesque and the Romanesque had the right to express their concepts, feelings, and visions ("the intangibles of history", as once wisely said by Ernst Kitzinger¹²), and they could express them only through form, i.e., the architecture they produced. Yet my concept of style is not formalist, as it embodies content ("meaning", "embodied meaning", as nicely put recently by no one less than Arthur Danto¹³) leading, eventually, to placing the work of art within its material and spiritual (cultural) context. I also repeat that my "tool" must be applied with a high degree of flexibility, and it primarily measures change, as for me a style is a dynamic, not a static category.14 This needs to be reiterated as the main

⁸ GOSS, V. P.: Pre-Romanesque Architecture in Croatia. Zagreb 1996 and 2006. In particular 2006, pp. 211-220.

⁹ E.g., FISKOVIĆ, I.: Crkveno graditeljstvo dubrovačke regije u svjetlu povijesti, od IX. do XII. stoljeća. In: Tisuću godina dubrovačke nadbiskupije. Dubrovnik 2000, p. 420; JURKOVIĆ, M. - MARAKOVIĆ, N.: La nascita del primo romanico in Croatia nel contesto delle grandi riforme ecclesiastiche del secolo XI. In: CALZONA, A. et al. (eds.): Immagine e ideologia. Studi in onore di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle. Parma 2007, pp. 96-102, especially pp. 96, 98-99, notes 2 and 8 (references to my works); and GOSS, V. P.: What Josef Strzygowski did not Know. In: Ibidem, pp. 583-593, especially p. 587 (SS. Peter and Moses); MARASOVIĆ, T.: Dalmatia praeromanica. Vol. 1. Split - Zagreb 2008, pp. 11, 54. I would like to point out that T. Marasović (p. 54, note 75) has committed an error attributing to P. Vežić the observation that my system is not perfect, a conclusion Vežić has reached analyzing the 12th century church of St. Krševan in Zadar. Vežić must have not read my texts carefully, as I already in 1982 had used the same example as a building that does not fit my system, and listed the reasons why. Please see my work cited in note 7, and VEŽIĆ, P.: Bazilika sv. Ivana Krstitelja (sv. Nediljica) u Zadru - prilog poznavanju ranoromaničke arhitekture u Dalmaciji. In: Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti, 23, 1999, p. 8, note 15.

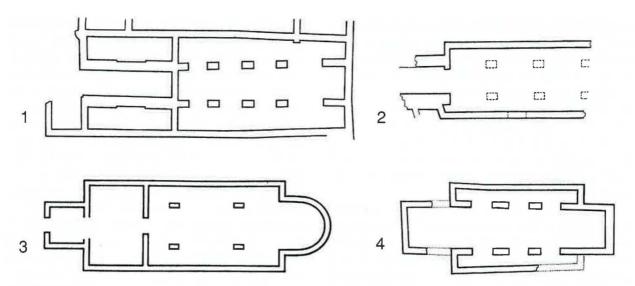
¹⁰ SKOBLAR, M.: Još jednom o predromaničkoj arhitekturi u Hrvatskoj. In: *Kvartal*, 4, 2007, No. 3, pp. 25-28. The piece does not warrant a response but as it cuts, most inexpertly, into some important methodological issues, I feel obliged not to "hide" it from the reader. An answer to some factual errors in the text will be presented elsewhere when appropriate.

M. Skoblar calls my reasoning "Winckelmannian". I wonder if she had ever read any works by Johann Joachim Winckelmann, but being a "Winckelmannian" I consider a compliment as Winckelmann was, as recently demonstrated by Marko Špikić, dealing exactly with Croatian materials, one of the first scholars who studied the work of art within its context. – ŠPIKIĆ, M.: Život i djelo antikvara Ivana Josipa Pavlovića-Lučića. In: Peristil, 51, 2008, pp. 47-71.

¹² KITZINGER, E.: Gregorian Reform and the Visual Arts: A Problem of Method. In: *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 22, 1972, pp. 57-102.

¹³ DANTO, A.: Abuse of Beauty. Chicago 2006, in particular pp. 139-142.

¹⁴ May I just add that in a recent article two leading experts on the Romanesque in Croatia, Miljenko Jurković and Nikolina



1. Croatian Pre-Romanesque churches with a westwork, earlier group (probably early 9th century): 1. SS. Mary and Stephen at Crkvina in Biskupija; 2. Church at Koljani; 3. Church at Žažvić; 4. St. Martha in Bijaći. Repro: Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, Split.

topic of our discourse, the westwork, is not just a "technical" (formal), but, as we shall argue, a spiritual and cultural issue (i.e., also an issue of content).

Running a risk of boring an informed reader, I have to outline at least very briefly the story of the westwork in Croatia. Carolingian aspects in architecture, primarily linked to the westwork, were for the first time seriously considered by Tomislav Marasović, and were systematically treated in my doctoral dissertation at Cornell University (1972). As the vast majority of the building activity in Croatia between 800 and 1100 consists of relatively small buildings modeled, presumably, on Early Christian or, to a lesser extent, Early Byzantine forms, the small group of Carolingian buildings took quite some time to be recognized. Today, after the studies by Miljenko Jurković who since the late 1980s has been amplifying my work, its importance is fully acknowledged.15

In Croatia, there are 11 churches with a western massif as a common feature datable with some

certainty to the 9th or early 10th century. Today, four of them, at Bijaći, Koljani, Žažvić and Crkvina in Biskupija, are dated toward the earlier 9th century [Fig. 1]. Crkvina in Biskupija ("Villa regale") near Knin, dedicated to SS. Mary and Stephen, was a royal mausoleum, as a tomb of a "dux gloriosus et praeclarus" was found in the westwork along with more than a dozen other distinguished graves. The earlier 9th century dating is far from certain, but it is probably correct for St. Martha at Bijaći, and the church at Koljani, while somewhat questionable for Crkvina, and the poorly known church at Žažvić [Fig. 1.3]. At Bijaći [Fig. 1.4], where a curtis of Croatian dukes stood in the first half of the 9th century, we have epigraphic evidence of a Frankish (or Langobard) cleric, most likely a missionary, Gumpertus [Fig. 2], and we can follow his progress from a diaconus to presbyter. There must have been more such men, primarily clerics, who gave advice to their new local patrons. A western massif signifies royal power as well as that of Christ. In a still rather crude and primitive stage

Maraković, explicitly rely on my system in establishing, in my opinion very successfully, the first layer of the Romanesque in Croatia. It is worth noting that their analysis of the key building, SS. Peter and Moses in Solin, is almost verbatim the same as mine published in an article in the same volume as theirs. Of course, the conclusions have been reached

independently, but they rely on the same method. Please see note 9, reference to their article.

Please see notes 2 and 6; also MARASOVIĆ, T.: Carolingian Influences in the Early Medieval Architecture in Dalmatia. In: Actes du XIX^e Congrès international d'histoire de l'art. Paris 1958, pp. 117-121.



2. Bijaći, Fragment "Gumpertus Diaconus", early 9th century. Repro: Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, Split.

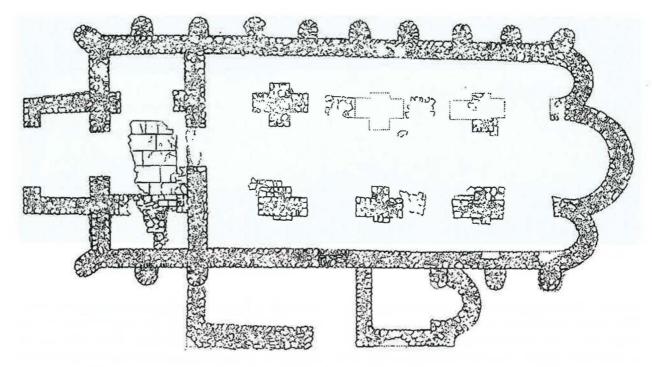
just after the Frankish conquest and conversion, ca. 800, a very simple tower was added to an equally crude aisled structure built in a local tradition of straight lines and flat chevets, what is, however, also in harmony with typology of some Early Carolingian achievements. Crkvina in Biskupija [Fig. 1.1] and the church at Koljani (according to the newest revision of the latter) [Fig. 1.2] may have had flat chevets. Bijaći and Koljani had simple square towers, whereas at Crkvina a more complex, two-storey aisled westwork preceded the nave. At Bijaći, A. Milošević has identified, in my opinion successfully, a considerable group of reliefs datable around the year 800, one of which bears an inscription "...atoru(m) et iupa..." ("... Croatorum et iupanus...") quite likely referring to a "iupanus" (count) of the Croats, the earliest mention of the national name in history.¹⁶

Some of the elements of the above mentioned group seem to be common to other Pre-Romanesque families of buildings. In a recent book on Pre-Romanesque architecture, Charles McClendon has paid a very careful attention to the earliest phases of Christian architecture on the British Isles. His fine summary leads to a conclusion that a wooden Anglo-Saxon post-built hall is not an unlikely prototype

for early attempts at religious building (Chalton). One should not overlook the undertakings by the Irish monks whose monasteries were built on the model of Celtic circular forts, surrounded by dry wall or earthen ramparts, and consisting of a series of circular beehive huts, be it of wood or of stone in which case they were covered by corbel vaulting. The only rectangular building was the oratory. Here we have two basic architectural types joining hands in producing a fairly sophisticated element of a cultural landscape, and a framework for existence of a fairly complex social group. In passing, we note a similar coexistence of an elongated hall and a circular area used as sanctuary in early Slavic architecture, an offshoot of which is, I believe, a building such as the church/palace at Ostrow Lednicki in Poland. McClendon goes on to show how some key Anglo-Saxon sites featured buildings of elongated rectangular plan - nave plus sanctuary, even with some sort of aisles, as in the case of Monkwearmouth, founded in 675, and Jarrow, founded in 680. The forms of these two important Northumbrian foundations are reflected in a well preserved church at Escomb from ca. 700, as well as by the forms of the mid-7th century wood-frame church traces of

To avoid overburdening the text with references, I suggest that the interested reader consult relevant entries (sub nomine) in MILOŠEVIĆ, A. (ed.): Hrvati i Karolinzi. [Exhib. Cat.] Vols. 1-2. Split 2000, with extensive bibliography; also GVOZDANOVIĆ, V. [GOSS, V. P.]: A Note on Two Early

Croatian Royal Mausolea. In: *Peristil*, 18-19, 1976, pp. 5-13; MILOŠEVIĆ, A.: Prva ranosrednjeovjekovna skulptura iz crkve Sv. Marte u Bijaćima. In: *Starobrvatska prosvjeta*, 26, 1999, pp. 237-264; DELONGA, V.: *Latinski epigrafički spomenici u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj*. Split 1996, p. 52.



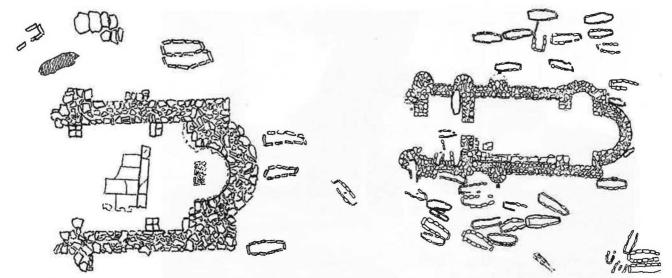
3. Biskupija, St. Cecilia, late 9th century, ground plan. Repro: Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, Split.

which were excavated at the royal villa at Yeavering. McClendon is extremely cautions not to omit the fact that the "barbarian" component had its role in the formation of the Christian architecture on the British Isles. He also highlights a general predilection for rectilinear building which he had also noted in the chapters on the Visigothic Spain (San Pedro de la Nave) or Merovingian France (St. Jean, Poitiers), and the same phenomenon may be observed among the earliest of important monastic foundations of the Carolingian times – at Lorsch (765 – 774, aisleless church with a rectangular apse), Centula (790 – 799, aisled, double-transept plan with a square presbytery), or, a few decades later, at St. Gallen (830 - 836, large rectangular block with an equally rectangular western annex). A similar situation can be observed within royal estates, as witnessed by the audience hall (elongated rectangle) and the church at Paderborn

(under construction in 777, aisleless church with a short rectangular sanctuary and equally rectangular side spaces). In fact, a reevaluation in the light of McClendon's conclusions of the presumably earliest large Croatian Pre-Romanesque buildings in Dalmatia as mentioned above - St. Martha in Bijaći, SS. Mary and Stephen at Crkvina in Biskupija, the church at Koljani (?) – is absolutely indicated. St. Martha [Fig. 1.4] in outline indeed is not far from Lorsch, and Crkvina and Koljani [Figs. 1.1, 1.2] from St. Gallen. Thus, whereas there may be a local tradition, the early group of Carolingian buildings seems to have had a fairly direct effect, too, and our Gumpertus [Fig. 2] may have indeed known some such structures before arriving to Croatia.¹⁷ More light may also be shed on such buildings as the church at Zalavár - Récéskút [Fig. 13], as well as on the newly discovered large Pre-Romanesque building at Lobor in northwestern

¹⁷ McCLENDON, C.: The Origins of Medieval Architecture. New Haven – London 2005, pp. 60-65, 72-83, 104-105, 152-153, 153-158, 171-172. See also SŁUPECKI, L. P.: Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries. Warszawa 1994, fig. 5, pp. 108-116, 135-137. On combination of centralized chapel and a palace-hall, see WA-

LICKI, M. (ed.): *Sztuka Polska – przedromanska i romanska do schylki XIII vieku*. Warszawa 1968, pp. 76-77 (Ostrow Lednicki, Giecz, Przemysl, Wislica). As opposed to the Irish examples, at the presumed Slavic sites we have a sort of a reverse, i.e., the secular building is rectangular and the sacred precinct rounded.



4. Biskupija, Church at Bukurovića podvornice, late 9th century, ground plan. Repro: Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, Split.

Biskupija, Church at Lopuška glavica, late 9th century, ground plan.
Repro: Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, Split.

Croatia [Fig. 12]. ¹⁸ Investigations by Ivan Stopar in Slovenia also highlight the Carolingian type of an aisleless building with a rectangular sanctuary, be it in wood or in permanent building material. ¹⁹

Another significant wanderer might have also been more instrumental than we have thought. Was the famous Saxon Gottschalk, present at Trpimir's court from 846 to 848, a perennial traveler from one important Carolingian monastery to another – Corbie, Corvey, Hautvillers, Orbais – among the transmitters of architectural ideas, too? It is known that Gottschalk had some influence on the Duke, and he even tried to teach Trpimir the idea of predestination!²⁰

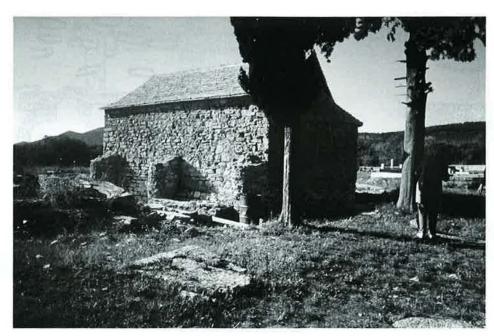
The second, more coherent group, today usually dated to the second half of the 9th century, includes the church of St. Cecilia at Stupovi in Biskupija [Fig. 3], the churches at Bukurovića podvornice and Lopuška glavica, all in Biskupija [Figs. 4, 5], the Savior's Church at Cetina [Figs. 7-10], St. Mary at Blizna [Fig. 6], and the cathedral of the royal city of

Biograd [Fig. 11]. The common feature of the buildings is rounded buttresses, complete vaulting, and a western massif. The buildings represent a compact stylistic group, and as such they must have come into being within one generation or so. The western massif can be best studied at the only reasonably preserved building - the Savior's Church at Cetina. It appears as a reduction of a "Voll-Westwerk" – a tall, tapering tower with a two-storey annex opening onto the single nave. The upper storey [Figs. 8, 10] was almost certainly reserved for the "župan" - the administrator of the county of Cetina, Gastica (Gastiha), recorded in an inscription on the choirscreen. The eastern end of the church is trefoil [Fig. 7], which could be seen as a reference to numerous small centralized buildings built in Croatia between the 9th and the 11th century. The most developed westworks, such as at Cetina and St. Cecilia, were reflected in the westwork of otherwise much more traditional church at Žažvić [Fig. 1.3].

¹⁸ On Lobor, see FILIPEC 2007 (see in note 2); on Zalavár – Récéskút, see MORDOVIN, M.: The Building History of Zalavár – Récéskút Church. In: *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, 12, 2006, pp. 9-34.

¹⁹ STOPAR, I.: Karolinška arbitektura na Slovenskem. Ljubljana 1987, pl. 2-7, 10.

²⁰ On Gottschalk, see KATIĆ, L.: Saksonac Gottschalk na dvoru kneza Trpimira. In: *Bogoslvoska smotra*, 22, 1932, pp. 1-28; and MILOŠEVIĆ 2000 (see in note 16), Vol. 1, pp. 293-295.



6. Blizna, St. Mary, late 9th century. Photo: V. P. Goss.

I would suggest that in the case of the second group we have a local style developing on the basis of earlier attempts, and continuing by now well-absorbed Carolingian practices even after the Carolingian overlordship and Aquileian ecclesiastic preeminence were gone in the 870s. This group of massive, vaulted churches with heavy rounded buttresses and westworks is probably Croatia's most important contribution to the history of Pre-Romanesque architecture.²¹

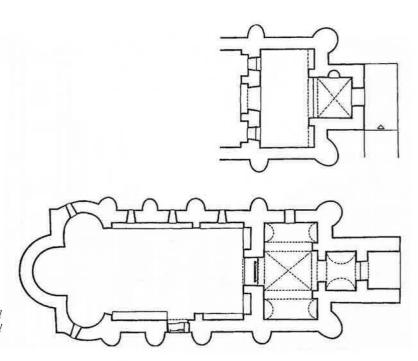
The third group is represented by the large 9th century church being excavated at Lobor in northwestern Croatia [Fig. 12], to which one might add an apparently similar church at Zalavár – Récéskut [Fig. 13], the seat of Slavic princes of Lower Pannonia, nowadays in Hungary. This is no surprise, as the Pannonian Slavs to the north of the Drava were certainly closely related to those in the areas to the

south of the river, and, possibly in the course of the 9th century, experienced from time to time common leadership. 22 What all the churches from Bijaći at the coast near Split, through the Dalmatian Highlands, to Lobor, and to Zalavár indeed share is that they were related to the high society. St. Martha at Bijaći was a church of a ducal curtis, the churches at Biskupija stood in a "Villa regale", the churches at Cetina and Blizna were "župans" eigenkirchen, not unlikely also those at Koljani and Žažvić. Biograd was one of royal residences. Lobor, on a fortified hill inhabited at least from the Late Bronze Age, with now a well established Roman and Early Christian phases (large basilica with a baptistery), was an important yet unidentified ruler's seat; dukes Pribina and Kozil called Zalavár (Blatnograd) their home. One needs to add that along with the just mentioned stone church, traces of a smaller church in wood were also found

As in the case of the first group, the reader is referred to relevant numbers and bibliographies in MILOŠEVIĆ 2000 (see in note 16). See also BUŽANČIĆ, R.: Nalaz Gospine crkve iz starhorvatskog doba na groblju sela Blizna Gornja. In: Vartal, 10, 2001, pp. 5-7; GOSS 2006 (see in note 8), p. 186. In addition to "Voll-Westwerks" of St. Spas and St. Cecilia, we encounter a tower in the width of the western facade (Lopuška glavica, Blizna, and, possibly, Bukurovića podvornice), and a simple western tower (Biograd Cathedral).

The complex tripartite westwork at Lobor is yet to be fully explored. Westworks and western towers continued to be built in Croatia in later centuries; in fact, they appear in village churches down to the 19th century.

²² See note 18. Duke Braslav who was, according to sources, a ruler of Western Pannonia (ancient Pannonia Savia) toward the end of the 9th century also ruled the Balaton/Blatnograd area. See MILOŠEVIĆ 2000 (see in note 16), Vol. 1, pp. 262-263.



7. Cetina, Savior's Church, late 9th century, ground plan. Repro: Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, Split.

at Lobor. It is, according to the investigator, related to Carolingian architecture in wood from Bavaria, and, in terms of its rectilinear forms, also to some examples of Carolingian period architecture in stone, in particular in the border regions, such as the neighboring Slovenia, as demonstrated by Stopar.²³

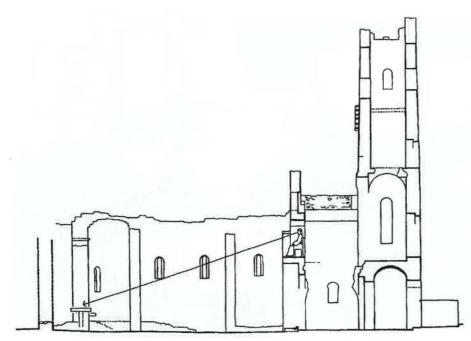
Is it possible to define the ways the "Carolingian westwork" reached Croatia more precisely? The first preserved written document of a Croatian ruler, issued by Duke Trpimir at Bijaći, is dated to the times of Lothair I, the King of Franks (r. 840 – 843). After the Treaty of Verdun and the division of the Empire, Lothair I became the first ruler of Francia Media. As Croatia was subject to the Patriarch of Aquileia and the marchgraves of Furlania, one would expect impulses to come from northern Italy. But where do we find the idea of a Carolingian westwork in northern Italy? Northern Italy certainly possesses architecture of Carolingian times, but without those most prominent, innovative features. It fails as a possible source of Croatian westworks.²⁴

One might argue that in Croatia a local Carolingian type was formed by the second half of the 9th

century, on the basis of earlier experiments. These themselves were based on an interplay of what was brought in by Frankish missionaries, what the rulers themselves learned about "rulers' churches", or what they and their companions saw by themselves while visiting the centers of the Empire, and on how all this was absorbed by the local tradition steeped in rich Roman and Early Christian legacy. If we compare the developed Croatian westwork of the later 9th century to anything within the Empire, we will find limited analogies, the closest being, apparently, around the very center of the Empire - at Steinbach or Inden, or, in a more monumental form, at Corvey, i.e., a facade with an emphasis on a single tower and a central protrusion. The problem with Steinbach and Inden is that their apparently more modest height does not correspond to what we find in Croatia, whereas Corvey is much too monumental and complex. Still, this reinforces the idea that the Croatian dukes and their entourage visiting Carolingian state gatherings learned by autopsy what was "right" for them, and continued doing the same after they severed all political ties with the Empire in 870s. Croatian early

Please see notes 18, 19, and 22; also FILIPEC, K.: Arheološko-povijesni vodić po svetištu Majke Božje Gorske u Loboru. Zagreb 2008, fig. 21.

²⁴ KOSTRENČIĆ, M. (ed.): Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae. Vol. 1. Zagreb 1967, pp. 3-8.



8. Cetina, Savior's Church, late 9th century, section. Repro: Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, Split.

9th century dukes — Borna (of Dalmatian Croats), later on Braslav (of Pannonia), or their emissaries — in case of Duke Ljudevit of Pannonia and also of Borna — participated in Frankish imperial councils; so did also the rulers of Lower Pannonia around the Balaton Lake, Pribina and Kozil. This presence is especially notable during the rule of Louis the Pious and the rebellion (819 — 823) of the above mentioned Ljudevit, when Borna sided with his Frankish overlords.²⁵ They would have also seen another very important westwork linked however to a building of a very different sort — the Palatine Chapel at Aachen. Indeed, this structure constructed for and by Charlemagne is by its position, bulk, and height not incompatible with the "Croatian westwork".

Also, according to Lobbeday, a reduced version of the westwork – a tower plus a gallery – seems to appear in Westphalia as early as around 900, the earliest such datable example being Sankt Walburga at Meschede (ca. 900). Here we indeed find a tall tower in front of a facade of an aisled church having a gallery at its western end, a solution strikingly similar to the Savior's Church, and, even more so, to the aisled St. Cecilia in Biskupija [Figs. 3, 7].²⁶

How what we have said so far relates to what we usually call "Carolingian architecture"? What is really "Carolingian", and what is "Pre-Romanesque"; or, as it was lucidly stated decades ago, in 1937, by Josef Zykan, "anti-Carolingian"?²⁷

²⁵ McCLENDON 2005 (see in note 17), pp. 138-141, 173-174. Milošević quotes references to State Councils (in Aachen and Frankfurt) of 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, and the rule of Braslav, 884 – 896. – MILOŠEVIĆ 2000 (see in note 16), pp. 258-261, 262-263.

²⁶ LOBBEDAY, U.: Westphalie romane. La Piere-qui-Vire 1999, pp. 356-358.

²⁷ ZYKAN, J.: Die Karolingisch-Vorromanische Malerei in Österreich. In: GINHART, K. (ed.): Die Bildende Kunst in Österreich -- Vorromanische und Romanische Zeit. Wien 1937, pp. 46-50,

especially p. 48. Zykan makes his distinction by comparing the frescoes at Mals ("Carolingian") and at Naturns ("anti-Carolingian"). The frescoes according to most authors date from the 9th century, although some doubts have been raised about Naturns. A somewhat similar distinction was made by Brozzi and Tagliaferi, who, speaking of the Langobard metalwork (but also of stone reliefs) distinguish between a "barbarian" or "Langobard" art and an art "contaminated" by Carolingian art, which they see as linked to "conservative currents". – BROZZI, M. –TAGLIAFERI, A.: Arte Longobarda. La scultura figurativa su marmo e su metallo. Vols. 1-2. Cividale 1961, Vol. 2, p. 44.



9. Cetina, Savior's Church, late 9th century, view from the south. Photo: V. P. Goss.

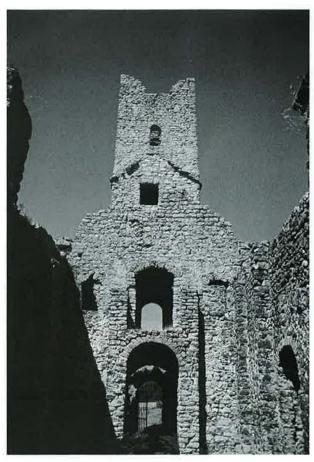
The art and architecture of the Carolingians is explicitly an art of the "Renovatio imperii Romani" (Christiani)". Carolingian architecture revives the idea of the monumental rotunda, a form with somewhat limited future; by building "more romano", it seeks to go back to the Constantinian models of basilican arrangement, but its key idea, the double choirs, would have little reception outside the core of the Imperial lands where it merges with another vision of bi-polar building, the church with a western and eastern tower; and, thirdly, it creates a new basilican form with a powerful western massif, in some cases balanced by a similar grouping at the eastern end of the building. This westwork and eastwork would prove crucial for the future of European architecture. The ultimate triumph of such buildings as St. Riquier at Centula lies in the monumentalization of the two key portions of the building: its entrance facade, literally, its face, culminating in the Gothic two tower facades, and its heart, the sanctuary where

an often multistory eastwork with a crypt would also culminate in the High Gothic sanctuary which, with its semicircular ambulatory and contiguous radiating chapels, constitutes in fact a semi-rotunda, shimmering with light in front of a pilgrim's eyes as he travels through the lofty, longitudinal nave.²⁸ So it would seem that "the southeastern border of Carolingian architecture" is, I must admit, a sort of misnomer. It is certainly a document of the presence of forms of the Carolingian time, but those in fact are not from the Renovatio circle; they belong to the innovative, bold new trend within the architecture of the Carolingian times, and, as far as one could conclude from the material at hand, they demonstrate, albeit on a modest scale, a higher degree of boldness than the center itself. This trend is future-oriented, Pre-Romanesque in the best sense of the word when meaning "leading toward the Romanesque".

The architectural New Jerusalem of reawakened Europe was not one of the humble. It boldly an-

less to say, there is a good number of western annexes in Croatian Pre-Romanesque (and later) which are difficult to classify, or which should be classified as "Westbau". See also ERLANDE-BRANDENBURG, A.: Autel des reliques et la sanctuarisation du chevet. In: *Hortus artium medievalium*, 11, 2005, p. 183-188.

²⁸ LOBBEDAY, U.: Die Beitrag von Corvey zur Geschichte der Westbauten und Westwerke. In: Hortus artium medievalium, 8, 2002, pp. 83-98. Lobbeday, as we will see in a moment, makes a useful distinction between westwork ("Westwerk") and western annex ("Westbau"), and eloquently shows how difficult it is to define what exactly a westwork is. Need-



10. Cetina, Savior's Church, late 9th century, interior toward the west. Photo: V. P. Goss.

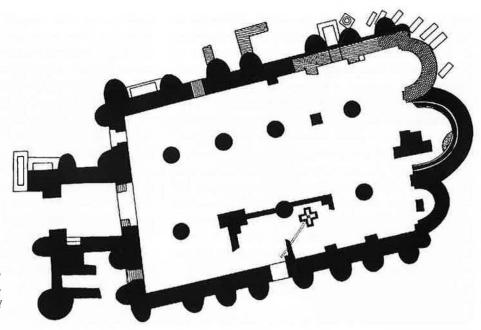
nounces itself as a City, a Fortress of the Lord. It will take time and Martin Luther to remind Europe that only the Lord is a fortified city, not pieces of rock or brick piled up by the hands of the sinning mortals. In the meantime, however, the tower, the

western massif, evidently fired up the imagination of both the Imperial and the borderland princes. In architecturally most interesting frontier areas, Asturias and Croatia, the result was a hard, massive and powerful architecture; an architecture of an early "will-to-vault", which in itself led in Asturias to the first inklings of the Romanesque structuralization, and in Croatia to vaulting rather large buildings while strictly staying within the Pre-Romanesque esthetics. And then, toward the end of the 10th century, in those same Mediterranean lands, from Dalmatia to Catalonia, there emerged a new art of sturdy buildings in durable materials, experimenting both with vaulting and decorating of external faces of the walls - the so-called "First Romanesque" of the Mediterranean circle. But this is another story.

If the key theme of the "Carolingian Revival" is harking back, i.e., "reviving" earlier styles, imperial styles - Early Christian, Early Byzantine -, then the less innovative forms of Carolingian architecture are truly Carolingian (the monumental rotunda, the basilica with a western transept, or, "more romano" and "more constantinopolitano"). The innovative aspect of the Carolingian architecture, the one which would have a profound impact on the architecture of the next half a millennium, the westwork, the western massif, is in fact "anti-Carolingian", or at least "un-Carolingian"! I do admire Carol Heitz's wonderful analysis of the westwork at Centula, and his conclusions that the westwork is linked to the Holy Sepulcher ("more hierosolimitano"), yet the Holy Sepulcher was not a tower but a rotunda. The westwork, as Hietz correctly remarks, is a centralized structure, but what a difference between the turris at Centula or Corvey, and the Early Christian and Early Byzantine rotundas.²⁹ Thus, the most innovative, the most revolutionary

also GOSS, V. P.: Early Croatian Architecture. London 1987, pp. 74-75). Germanic scholars paid more attention to the westwork as the "Kaiserkirche", claiming that the frequent dedication to the Savior is a consequence of the merging of the cults of the Savior and the Emperor. The contentions are not mutually exclusive, as Heitz allows for the role of the ruler in the westwork iconography, whereas the German thesis recognizes the importance of the liturgy of the Savior. In those terms, especially useful are FUCHS, A.: Die Karolingischen Westwerke und Andere Fragen der Karolingischen Baukunst. Paderborn 1929; FUCHS, A.: Enstehung und Zweckbestimmung der Westwerke. In: Westfallische Zeitschrift, 100,

²⁹ The reader is certainly aware of the fact that westwork is a vast area of research with an equally vast bibliography, so our observations will remain fragmentary, centering on what is recognized as crucial. In my opinion, C. HEITZ's profound study, *Les recherches sur les rapports entre l'architecture et la liturgie à l'époque carolingienne* (Paris 1963), expanded by the same author's book *L'architecture carolingienne* (Paris 1980), remains one of the crucial bases for any study of the westwork issue. Heitz's reasoning (i.e., in a nutshell, westwork – area reserved for the liturgy of the Savior, the model being the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem, see pp. 77 ff., 91 ff., 102-106 ff., 121 ff.) is best applicable to the central lands of the Empire (see



11. Biograd, Cathedral, late 9th century (?), ground plan. Repro: Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, Split.

aspect of the architecture of the Carolingian period had little to do with the idea of Renovatio! As one writes these words, one is immediately reminded that similar dichotomy rules the painting and sculpture of the Carolingian period - there are obvious Renovatio pieces (The Coronation Gospels, The Charlemagne from Metz), but even within the art of the Palatine School, the renovational models almost immediately give way to a more structured, more planar, and more decorative solutions. Is it an accident that to the place with the probably first monumental Carolingian westwork church, St. Riquier at Centula, are also linked the Centula Gospels? Should we, therefore, now turn our contention about what is Carolingian and what is not upside down? Lobbeday has demonstrated that the westwork had no identifiable antecedent. The same may be said of the Romanesque towers and campanili, as foreign to Classical architecture as the Carolingian turris. I would dare postulate that the "intellectuals" may have had their visions of the past, but as soon as this visions turned into reality, the "people" did their best to redirect them toward what the "people" knew best: their own artistic "barbarian" tradition, although already "contaminated" by Carolingian or some other "renovational" trend. Once that "contaminated" art, bringing together both the classical and the barbarian tradition, assumed a monumental scale within a monumental architectural framework, the Romanesque would emerge from the Pre-Romanesque.

As just stated above, Lobbeday has pointed out that we really do not know the source of the Carolingian *turris*, that marvelous invention which turned the boring, low-lying Early Christian basilica into an exciting asset to the landscape, profoundly changing its expressive content in the process. By proposing a very useful distinction between a proper westwork and a "Westbau", Lobbeday has reminded us that western annexes existed along the facades of Christian churches from a much earlier period. Only,

of the westwork. Another important study on the defensive function is STENGEL, E. E.: Über Ursprung, Zweck und Bedeutung der Karolingischen Westwerke. In: Festschrift Adolf Hofmeister. Ed. U. SCHEIL. Greiswlad 1956, pp. 283-311. For some more recent suggestions, see LOBBEDAY 2002 (see in note 28).

^{1950,} p. 227-291, in particular pp. 227, 253-255, 259-274; and FUCHS, A.: Zum Problem der Westwerke. In: *Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst.* Eds. A. ALFÖLDI et al. Wiesbaden 1957, pp. 109-127. The old classic – EFFMANN, W.: *Centula.* Münster 1912 – is still recommended reading, especially in terms of Effmann's discussion of the defensive functions

they mostly complied with the simple silhouette of the building's body. Many western burial chambers of Pre-Romanesque churches, from Asturias to Croatia, follow that principle. Once a turris rises over that "crypt", we have a westwork.31 In what is still in my opinion the most thorough discussion of the western massif issue, Carol Heitz has explained the full westwork as a place reserved for the liturgy of the Savior (Christmas and Easter), topping a "crypt" with an altar.32 As the westwork does not seem to have any precedents in Classical architecture of the Mediterranean, one could speculate about potential pre-historic or "barbarian" sources, such as menhirs, stelae on top of burial tumuli, some forms of Celtic religious architecture, postulated wooden forms, early medieval tower like structures containing a

tomb or an altar allegedly existing in the Eastern Alps, but there is at this point, as far as I can see, no single convincing source.³³ Let us not forget, either, that the westwork is in principle a centralized structure. Thus, putting together a westwork and a rotunda would seem to be a tautology.

Yet, it did occur. Here, the Palatine Chapel at Aachen may indeed be a very distinguished model. As opposed to the exactly contemporary St. Riquier at Centula, where a centralized western annex was attached to a longitudinal nave, the sequence in Aachen is (atrium equals nave): western *turris* – centralized (polygonal) "nave" – rectangular sanctuary. That sequence – tower, rotunda, sanctuary – is well-known from Eastern Europe, where, no doubt, the Aachen model was applied on local level.³⁴ The

Romanesque Rotundas in East-Central Europe. In: Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies, 2, 1975, pp. 123-129; and GERVERS-MOLNAR, V.: Romanesque Round Churches of Medieval Hungary. In: Actes du XXII Congrès international d'histoire de l'art. Budapest 1972, pp. 386-401. There are more than 80 rounded churches in Hungary alone. I vividly remember the words of Dr. Gervers-Molnar after my lecture at the Scarborough College of the University of Toronto in 1977 that the rotunda is such a frequent form in Central-Eastern Europe that it should be seen as a regular type and not an exception. Yet there is technically little in common between the complex and monumental imperial structure in Aachen and the little rounded churches of Central-Eastern Europe. One does not claim that on human psychology level the Aachen church was not an august and unrepeatable model, a shining image reflected in the eastern outskirts of the Empire by the little, modest, rounded church. One has heard of Aachen, one has been informed about its essential form (centralized building), one knows that such a building is proper for a ruler, one finds a builder to repeat the model on a very reduced scale commensurate with the stature and means of the patron. But why rounded? The ruler's church in Croatia and elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe is even more frequently an aisled or aisleless building with a westwork or westbau. The model is, of course, universal European and can be traced from Scandinavia to Kosovo, and from the lower Rhine to Transylvania. This does not mean, in technical terms, rejecting the Palatine Chapel as an ideal model. But we doubt that it would have had such a success, if it had not had a very receptive (i.e., prepared) audience, used to centralized form sanctified by their own pagan tradition. I have been dealing with this issue in a number of studies, e.g., GOSS, V. P.: Landscape as History, Myth, and Art. An Art Historian's View. In: Studia Ethnologica Croatica, 21, 2009, pp.133-166; and GOSS, V. P.: Memories, Sources, Models. In: Medioevo: Immagine e memoria. Parma 2009, pp. 169-174.

³⁰ See notes 27 and 28.

³¹ See note 28.

³² See note 29.

³³ GINHART, K.: Die Karolingisch-Vorromanische Baukunst in Österreich. In: GINHART 1937 (see in note 27), pp. 5-23, especially pp. 16-22; BALDASS, P. von et al.: Romanische Kunst Österreichs. Wien [s.a.], pp. 6-7; KÜHNEL, H. et al. (eds.): Romanische Kunst in Österreich. [Exhib. Cat.] Krems an der Donau 1964, p. 235. This is a phenomenon which I would like to explore in some more detail in the future. In those terms, there are two interesting monuments in Slovenia: the rectangular choir, once a free standing structure of St. Lawrence at Dravsko polje – see STOPAR 1987 (see in note 19), p. 39 (Pre-Romanesque according to the author); and the apse of St. Nicolaus at Otok pri Dobravi which is, according to the investigators, founded upon a "Pre-Romanesque burial building" – see ŠRIBAR, V. – STARE, V.: Otok pri Dobravi. Ljubljana 1981, p. 14.

The researchers of the issue of the rotundas in Eastern and Central-Eastern Europe have almost unanimously chosen the Palatine Chapel in Aachen as a model for hundreds of centralized churches in the areas they studied. E.g., MERHAUTOVÁ-LIVOROVÁ, A.: Einfache mitteleuropäische Rundkirchen. Prague 1970, pp. 60-62; VANČO, M.: Stredoveké rotundy na Slovensku (Medieval Rotundas in Slovakia). Bratislava 2000, pp. 177-178; GERVERS-MOLNAR, V.: Les rotondes de l'époque romane dans Hongrie médiévale. In: Cahiers de civilisation médiéval, 9, 1968, p. 521. One finds such ideas also in the most up-to-date studies, e.g., POLÁČEK, L. (ed.): Terénní výzkum v Mikulčicích. Brno 2006, Vol. 1, p. 28. For the vastness of the matter, see also GERVERS-MOLNAR, V.: Középkori magyarország rotundái. In: Művészettörténeti füzetek, 4, 1972, pp. 84-90; GERVERS-MOLNAR, V.: Origins of



12. Lobor, St. Mary of the Snow, 9th century, southwestern corner, site of the wooden church next to the arcade in the background. Photo: V. P. Goss.

turris at Aachen is relatively simple compared to St. Riquier at Centula, or the magnificent westwork at Corvey, yet more assertive than other chronologically close achievements such as at Inden or Steinbach. In a careful analysis, Braunfels has distinguished the functions of the several areas of the Chapel. The "Palatine Chapel" is the octagonal space in the middle, the upper storey is reserved for the ruler and his retinue, with a throne of the Emperor at its western side, next to the tower which contained another Emperor's throne, facing the atrium, and above, on the upper storey, there was the chamber storing the relics.

The throne that faced the atrium was placed so the Ruler could receive the *laudes* of the public. It was above the tomb of Charlemagne, which was so well hidden that the Normans missed it when sacking Aachen in 881, and Otto III barely managed to find it in 1000. The central area, surmounted by a dome showing Christ and the Elders of the Apocalypse,

was the earliest preserved "sacred space" to the north of the Alps. What is, according to Braunfels, absolutely new, is the appearance of the tribune with the throne (although one may have stood at the "Westbau" of St. Denis). What is also worth noting is the *separation* of the sacred (central space) and the *turris* zone. This does not seem to have been the case at St. Riquier, an argument for the role of local and individual factors in the creation of individual westworks.³⁵

The early history of the site of the Palatine Chapel is also not without interest. Aachen, *Aquae Grani*, is a place dedicated to a Celtic deity of water. It continued to be a popular spa and a pilgrimage spot. St. Mary duly inherited the place, and in the 5th century her sanctuary was built over Grano's springs. The place is for the first time mentioned in written sources when Pepin restored the Chapel in 761 – 766. It was apparently a rotunda with rectangular annexes, something like a hall plus a sanctuary.³⁶

³⁵ BRAUNFELS, W. (ed.): Karl der Grosse. Vols. 1-5. Düsseldorf 1965, Vol. 3, texts by G. BANDMANN, F. KREUSCH, L. HUGOT, and W. SAGE, pp. 424-590. One notices that there are great, even fundamental differences of opinion among the listed top experts, which make a proper understanding of the Chapel ever so more difficult. For this reason, I find the

summary by Wolfgang Braunfels extremely useful. – BRAUNFELS, W.: Aquisgrana. In: *Encyclopedia dell'arte medievale*. Ed. A. M. ROMANINI. Rome 1991, Vol. 2, pp. 210-216.

³⁶ BRAUNFELS 1965 (see in note 35), p. 427.

Allow me a digression. In the summer of 2006, I revisited the Savior's Church at Cetina in the company of my colleague and friend, distinguished early medieval archeologist Ante Milošević. Walking around the church bathed by warm summer sun offset against the rocky sides of the Dinara Mountain [Fig. 9] and under the limpid blue sky, we both mused over the question: Is there anything analogous anywhere else in Europe? The massive wall surfaces of the Savior's Church recall Asturias. So do also the buttresses, but in Asturias, as anywhere else, they are rectangular, as, for example, also at the Roman buildings in Tillurium (Gardun/Trilj) nearby. And Asturias has no towers! Nor there are any local antique precedents! No wonder that one gets tempted to succumb to quasi-mystic musings of Strzygowski about the "Nordic" - German/Slavic art and architecture in wood, or the already invoked prehistoric menhirs, such as used to stand at the top of the macro-tumulus at Jalžabet in northwestern Croatia. Transmitted through some suspected Celtic practices in the Eastern Alps and picked up by the earliest Christian architecture of the area?³⁷ Or?

I maintain that the research by cultural anthropologists and linguists can help us, if not solve the problem, then at least open a new, so far neglected avenues of investigation.

That place names constitute an important evidence in historical studies is nothing new. The areas inhabited by Southern Slavs are full of places bearing old Slavic references - names of gods, of rituals, of old obsolete words long gone from the language, etc. What, however, was done over last two decades, and here the Southern Slavic area seems to be in the forefront of research, is to stop seeing individual place names in isolation, but to relate them within a system. This in itself was made possible by the research of the Russian scholars, Ivanov and Toporov, who, some forty years ago, recognized structural relationships between the elements and thus enabled researchers to establish the importance of certain points in the landscape. It became possible to recognize the essential elements of the fundamental myth centering on the clash between

Perun, the thunder-god, whose place is "up there", on a mountain, and Veles, the snake, the god of the "down there", the underworld, who is chased back by Perun's lightnings into the depths of the water whenever he dares attempt to climb the mountain. The interested reader is referred to anthropological literature for details of the myth which is common to many groups of both Indo-European and Non-Indo-European nations, and has even pre-Indo-European roots, and is related to the cycle of the year, the change of seasons, and rituals contained therein. In a nutshell, Perun's son Juraj/Jarylo is abducted by Veles's agents in the dead of winter and spends his youth as a shepherd of Veles's wolves. He escapes, crosses the river, changes his name into Ivan and at mid-summer marries his sister Mara. He is unfaithful to her and is killed to be born again in the midst of winter. And so on, year in, year out. An additional bone of contention between the Thunderer and the Snake is Perun's wife, Mokoš, who spends half of a year with her husband and another half with her lover, the god of the underworld. I apologize to my anthropologist colleagues for this drastic oversimplification.³⁸

The outstanding Croatian linguist, Radoslav Katičić, has identified several "stages" where the segments of the myth have been played out, including place names such as Perun, Perunsko (Perun's place), Vidova gora (St. Vid's Mountain), Gora (Montain), as opposed to Veles, Volosko (Veles's place), Dol (Hollow). Between them there is often an oak forest, Dubrava, Dubac, where the conflict between Perun and Veles takes place. Building upon Katičić's insights, the Slovene archeologist Andrej Pleterski, Croatian ethnologist and cultural anthropologist Vitomir Belaj, and his son, archeologist Juraj Belaj, started searching for patterns within such clusters of place names. The conclusion by V. Belaj is as follows: "These are not just points in the landscape any more... Mythically interpreted landscape transforms itself into an ideogram, read by those who within the culture were trained to do so. As ideogram is in fact script, the structured points in the landscape represent a written source about the early Slavic paganism."39

³⁷ See note 33.

³⁸ BELAJ, V.: Hod kroz godinu. Zagreb 2007, pp. 63-135.

³⁹ Ibidem, pp. 450-454. For bibliographies of authors mentioned, see Ibidem, pp. 471-472, 478; also KATIČIĆ, R.: Božanski boj. Zagreb 2008.



13. Zalavár – Récéskút, Pribina's Church, 9th century, view of the nave. Photo: V. P. Goss.

The pattern that has emerged is that of a sacred triangle the characteristics of which are:

- Of the three points usually in a visual contact with one another, two are occupied by male deities (Perun, Veles, Juraj) and the third by Mokoš;
- 2. One of the angles measures ca. 23 degrees (representing the deflection between the imagined orbits of the Sun on the equinox and the solstice, in Croatia 23 degrees 27 minutes);
- 3. The two shorter sides form a ratio of 1 to square root of 2;
- 4. The longest side usually links the two key opponents;
- 5. Perun's point is always on an elevated ground;
- 6. The female point is usually next to water;
- 7. There is usually water between Mokoš and Veles.

In conclusion, Belaj underlines the tremendous practical impact of the "myth in the landscape": "There is something even more important. The incorporation of the myth into the newly occupied territories was, obviously, an essential part of making the new land one's own... This is what us, who live here nowadays, albeit we have been blown together by many a wind of history, makes in a mythical and ritual way its legitimate owners."

If this view of the "myth in the landscape" is correct, then, first of all, the Croats and the other

Southern Slavs brought along to the Roman and Greek world within which they had settled a fairly sophisticated culture. Also, beyond, this may apply to any "barbarian" nation - Slavic, Germanic, Asian by origin – that settled within the Mediterranean world, or that without moving away from its homeland became a part of European civilization by accepting Christianity. The Croats and other Southern Slavs imprinted some of their essential mythical features on the new land in the process of taking it as they perpetuated some of their deepest experiences about the self and the world. They re-made the picture of their old country. Among the newcomers to the Mediterranean, only the Slovenes, Croats, and Montenegrins did preserve their "barbarian" Slavic tongue. They stuck to their tradition.

So, in many respects did, I believe, all other "barbarians" that eventually became members of "Europe". While the "humanists" among European scholars have done an outstanding job in illuminating the Mediterranean component of the European culture, the "barbarian" side has argued its case poorly or not at all. In fact, we do not yet know how to really approach a serious search for, e.g., Slavic pagan

⁴⁰ BELAJ 2007 (see in note 38), pp. 423-424, 454.

sanctuaries, as, we are told, they mostly did not exist, i.e., they were just a place *trouvé*, minimally – if at all – adjusted to serve its function.⁴¹

Cultural anthropology tells us that there was culture. Linguistics teaches us how to look for and reconstruct forms that are no more. I am referring to those strange clusters of sounds with an *, so mystifying and baffling to the non-expert. Together they should help us presume, at least tentatively, an existence of an * art form, and enable us to describe it on the basis of what we have. So as the linguists invoke non-existing but presumed verbal forms referring to Indo- and pre-Indo-European past, it would be equally legitimate to do so in the area of visual forms.

If you visit the Spiš (Zips) region in eastern Slovakia, you will discover one of the greatest assets of an anyhow delightful landscape, a medieval village church, aisleless with a rectangular sanctuary and a sturdy tower at the entrance. Just like in Polish, the tower is called "veža", somewhat confusing for a speaker of Croatian who associates the same word with a "porch", or "entrance hall". The word appears to derive from the Indo-European root *aug indicating "light", in pre-Slavic weg- which with a suffix -ja gives "wegja", i.e., "veža". We know that the early Slavs made a big use of "zemunicas", half-buried dwellings, a rectangular areas dug into the ground, covered by some kind of a gable roof. We have a description of such a building from the White Croatia beyond the Carpathians by the Arab traveler Ahmed ibn Omar ibn Rosteh (early 10th century): "In the Slavic land of Gurab [that is the White Croatia], the winters are very cold, so they dig holes which they cover with pointed roofs such as one can see in Christian churches upon which they put clay..." Thus the "zemunicas" (at least some) bore a certain not negligible superstructure which recalled "pointed" church roofs (gable or pyramid?). The Czech scholar Simun Ondruš has suggested that one type of Slavic home was a half-buried building with an added entrance structure constructed from logs. The hole is the Veles's world of "down there", darkness and winter, the superstructure is the "wegja", Perun's world of "up there", summer and light. ⁴² It would be nice to have an exact reconstruction of an early Slavic "veža", but even this may suffice to raise a very intriguing question: Do we have in the "wegja" the source of one of the most fascinating and revolutionary inventions of Pre-Romanesque architecture, the westwork?

Thus, to the already listed potential and postulated "northern" sources, I would add the "veža". A view of Perun's court "on a mountain", or the tree, the pine on the dry top of which Perun sits, while Veles hides among the wet roots, is easily applicable as an image to the westwork, having a place of distinction at the top (Savior, Emperor, nobleman, relics, St. Michael...) and a tomb/altar at the ground floor.

To illustrate this further, here is a list of opposites V. Belaj assigns to Perun and Veles respectively:

Perun	Veles
Up	Down
High	Low
Light	Dark
Above ground	Underground
Summer	Winter
"Veža" – above ground construction	"Jama (Jata)" – under- ground space
Mountain, Hill	Water, River
Dry	Wet
Ruler and his retinue	Peasants, Servants
Weapons, War etc. ⁴³	Cattle, Material wealth,

The most frequent images are the tree (e.g., dry pine) as Perun's seat opposed to the wet and dark root area as Veles's seat, or a hill (mountain) opposed to a wet plain, marshland, water. The westwork clearly belongs to the same sphere of imagery. Also,

⁴¹ SŁUPECKI 1994 (see in note 17), p. 159 ff.

⁴² BELAJ 2007 (see in note 38), pp. 136-139.

⁴³ Ibidem, pp. 69, 136, 137, 139. I beg the reader to notice a big

question mark a few lines up the page. I am not naive, and I am not proposing that a ghost form nobody has ever seen is the source of one of the key elements of western architecture. But without raising questions and making hypotheses, even incorrect ones, we would still be in the cave today.

please, note that in Slovene "vežica" means a mortuary chapel. 44

I believe that we have here a situation where a form and concept exist and are accommodated within the framework of the tradition, collective memory of the adopting side. The ground floor, the crypt, is the netherworld of Veles. The heights belong to the Resurrected Savior, St. Michael, the angels, and the live terrestrial ruler; to Perun, Thor, Perkunas, and their court.

Coming back to the issue of the Croatian westwork, one should note that two Croatian towers, at Bijaći and Koljani [Figs. 1.4, 1.2], seem to pose additional problems. Namely, their date is believed to be early 9th century, and thus they would represent reductions of the Croatian full-westwork before there was anything to reduce. Tower like porches are, of course, known from some of the outskirts of Europe, e.g., England (Wearmouth, Jarrow, Escomb, late 7th century). The western tower of the Palatine Chapel at Aachen stood by ca. 800. Delegates of the Coastal Croatian Prince Borna were present at the state gathering in Aachen in 818.45 The towers at Bijaći and Koljani would be a very early example of the appearance of the western tower at the southeastern end of the Carolingian Europe. Could their precocity also be accounted for because the Croats knew, or kept the memory, of the "veža" they used in the old country, and so they readily accepted the suggestion that the prince's church should be prefaced by a tower? There is no evidence I could offer to substantiate this suggestion, but I think that this is a way of investigation worth pursuing.

Charlemagne's empire was the *Imperium Romanum* resurrected, Aachen was a new, little, Rome, Charlemagne a new Constantine. But neither the Empire nor its art were Roman. Even among the bronze masters of the Chapel, along with almost impeccable Classicism of some pieces, there are works which look into the future, toward the art of High

Middle Ages. 46 To repeat, the same is true of the figured arts of the Court School, as the step from the Coronations Gospels to the Centula or Ada Gospels eloquently testifies. In that, the Palatine Chapel, we submit, plays an enormous creative role. It seems to bring together practically all themes available at the times. The fact that some of them have not been sufficiently, or at all, recognized does not diminish the need to expose them to critical review and see where such a review is taking us.

I.e., while not denying the Classical sources of the Palatine Chapel, each of its parts could and we believe should be seen as anchored within another, native Northern European memory. We have a "veža", a centralized "sacred space" based on the number eight, and the rectangular sanctuary of the northern architecture in wood. The Chapel's "westwork" is a very specific structure, the inner throne is in fact within the second storey ambulatory, at its western end backing up to the tower.

Reading grand synthetic studies about the westwork, such as Effmann's, Fuchs's, or Heitz's, we seem to have been led to believe that we must look for analogies and see one overwhelming theme for all western massifs. The "veža" of the Palatine Chapel shows that such an approach is not good. The tower is intimately linked with the figure of Charlemagne; it is ruled by his iconography.⁴⁷ But what all those tower like structures or images have in common is that they are linked to a person of distinction, be it Christ, St. Michael, Perun, Thor, the Emperor, or a petty village noble who curls up with his swine and his dogs. In some rural parts of Europe, for example in northwestern Croatia, a western tower continues to be built into the 19th century! After all, the Turks are just across the Sava and the Una rivers, and the tower keeps up its historical role of a refuge or fortress. It is sometimes difficult to tell a Romanesque from a 19th century tower! But it is always an image of strength, an image of power, and, in the case of

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 210. Prof. Belaj has kindly drawn my attention to the word "vežica" and its meaning.

⁴⁵ See notes 19 and 25.

 $^{^{\}rm 46}$ McCLENDON 2005 (see in note 17), p. 112 ff.

⁴⁷ See note 35. Let us recall that Pepin's building consisting of a centralized chapel and an oddly aligned rectangular building (a hall?) stands rather firmly within a German/Slavic pre-Christian architecture. Sacredness of the number eight is well-established. For Germanic and Slavic sphere, see my works listed in note 34. See also MILOŠEVIĆ, A. – PEKOVIĆ, Ž.: Predromanička crkva Svetoga Spasa u Cetini. Dubrovnik – Split 2009.

the Carolingians, a beacon of a New Europe asserting itself after an interregnum of several centuries, and paving the way for yet another New Europe of the High Middle Ages. An image which creates a new landscape where there is no more place for a low, boxlike Christian temple. In that, as we have already stated, the westwork is "anti-renovational", "anti-Carolingian". In that the Palatine Chapel in Aachen is a shining example of that "methamorphsis in progress, where principal vector was still art", invoked by Francois Pinault in his introductory words to the catalogue of the exhibition Rome and the Barbarians in the Palazzo Grassi in Venice. 48

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⁴⁸ AILLAGON, J-J. (ed.): Rome and the Barbarians. [Exhib. Cat.] Venice 2008, p. 31.

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Návrat k "chorvátskemu westwerku"

Resumé

V predkladanej štúdii sa V. P. Goss vracia k problematike westwerku, a to predovšetkým vo vzťahu k územiu Chorvátska. Autor tému po prvýkrát systematicky spracoval (11 príkladov) v rámci svojej doktorskej dizertačnej práce Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque Architecture in Croatia (Predrománska a ranorománska architektúra v Chorvátsku) (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1972). O nové poznatky obohatenú verziu potom publikoval v článku "The South-Eastern Border of Carolingian Architecture" (Juhovýchodná hranica karolínskej architektúry) (Cahiers archéologiques, 27, 1978, s. 133-148), kde na základe formálnych znakov jednotlivých westwerkov argumentoval, že predrománska architektúra ranostredovekého Chorvátskeho kráľovstva reprezentovala rozšírenie karolínskych tendencií.

Viacero novších štúdií, v prvom rade od U. Lobbedaya a C. McClendona, vyjadrilo pochybnosti o existujúcich interpretáciách westwerku. Ukázalo sa, že k dispozícii nie sú žiadne jednoznačné precedensy tohto kľúčového a revolučného prvku karolínskej architektúry, ktorý zmenil siluetu kresťanského chrámu. A tiež, že westwerk je obsahom aj formou výrazne individuálna štruktúra, interpretovateľná viac než iba jedným spôsobom.

Vo svetle týchto skutočností autor navrhuje vziať do úvahy výskumy kultúrnych antropológov a lingvistov, predovšetkým z oblasti slovanských štúdií,

a preskúmať literárny a vizuálny význam prvkov vystupujúcich z prírodnej a ľuďmi modifikovanej krajiny, napríklad hory, stromy, či štruktúry zachytené v cestopisoch, no nikdy skutočne nerekonštruované, napríklad ranoslovanské "veže", zjavné superštruktúry vtedajších obydlí. Tieto prvky možno považovať za predobrazy westwerku; ich obsah korešponduje s výrazom moci reprezentovaným karolínskou *turris*.

Autor, plne si vedomý toho, že takýto predpoklad potrebuje k potvrdeniu množstvo dôkazov, sa aspoň pokusne zamýšľa nad existenciou predpokladanej architektonickej formy a opisuje ju na základe vedomostí získaných kultúrnymi antropológmi a lingvistami.

Sú tu však aj omnoho zjavnejšie závery, t. j., že westwerk je vždy výrazom sily formujúcej novú krajinu, v ktorej už nie je miesto pre skromný, podsaditý kváder kresťanského chrámu; že westwerk nie je karolínsky, ale anti-karolínsky, keďže sa odvracia od aspektu *renovatio* karolínskej "renesancie" a otvára nové cesty umeleckého vývinu smerom k originálnej stredovekej forme. Napokon, autor netvrdí, že našiel riešenie starého problému, verí však, že identifikoval komplex skutočností, v rámci ktorého je možné hľadať nové, bohatšie a prijateľ nejšie interpretácie hodné spojenej, ale zároveň aj diferencovanej Európy.

Preklad z angličtiny M. Hrdina