THE ADRIATIC SPHERE
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notes for a tour 20 September to 2 October 2009

Miles Lewis
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PREAMBLE

To understand the sites around the northern Adriatic one must first set aside twentieth century conceptions of the nation of Italy and the former nation of Yugoslavia. The settlements and cultures along the coasts were on the one hand smaller and more separate than the modern nations, and on the other were part of larger agglomerations such as the Roman, Byzantine, Holy Roman, Venetian, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires. If one thinks of those empires as the great tectonic plates of European history, the Dalmatian coast is where at almost any time two or more of these plates are grinding against each other. Fragments of territory would attach sometimes to one and sometimes to another. Sometimes the whole of Dalmatia and Istria moved with Venice, but at other times they were split between two, three, or more great powers.

These territories were also in some ways closer to their neighbours across the sea than to their neighbours in the hinterland. Rome influenced Dalmatia, but later Dalmatia influenced Italy, as in the fourth to sixth centuries, when the idea of a martyrium linked to narthex of a church spreads from Salona to buildings like Santa Croce and Sant’ Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna, and when the so-called Palace of the Exarchs shows the influence of the Golden Gate of the Palace of Diocletian, Spalato. At later times it might be the reverse again, as with the Venetian dominance of the Dalmatian coast over seven centuries. And it could be even more complicated than this. In a manner which is hard to understand, Dalmatia was a conduit for Syrian influence in Italy, as is discussed below. When we cross the Adriatic to Puglia [Apulia] we are in entirely different circumstances, through the historical changes in political control are not dissimilar, and indeed some of the protagonists are the same. Even the Illyrians were at Bari as well as on the east side of the Adriatic.

The architecture we will see can be broadly categorised in the following terms. The earliest is Roman, and the major site is the Palace of Diocletian at Spalato, although there are other remains such as the amphitheatre and arches of Pola. According to Perkins the Roman architecture of the Illyrian coast reflects its geographical position in that there is a persistent substratum of provincial late
Greek building practice, represented by the remains of pre-Roman fortification walls and, more generally, by a fine tradition of cut stone masonry.\(^1\)

Of Early Christian architecture there is only one substantial site – that of Salona, and though no Salonitan buildings stand above ground, the plans deduced from the excavations are extremely important not just in local terms, but to the history of the period generally. One tradition established at Salona was that of double churches, which are subsequently found at Aquileia, Pola and arguably Trieste. Dyggve surmises, persuasively, that these must in each case have been a congregational church and a memorial church consecrated to relics.\(^2\) The congregational churches are dedicated to St Mary (Pola, Trieste) and to Christ, later Mary (Salona), while the memorial churches house the relics of an ordinary saint such as St Thomas at Pola, or S Justus at Trieste.

The early Byzantine is represented by the Adriatic basilica type discussed below, but after this the seventh and eighth centuries have left almost nothing. From the ninth century, though many buildings cannot be unequivocally dated, there is a strong and not readily explicable influence from Lombardy. The persistence of the Lombardic tradition, and the continuing influence of the Roman remains at Split, delayed the arrival of the Gothic,\(^3\) which although it first began to appear only in about 1230, only superseded the Romanesque at the beginning of the fifteenth century when the Venetians occupied Dalmatia.\(^4\) And it was to be short-lived, because the Dalmatians took to the Renaissance more readily and more rapidly. As will appear, this was due in the first instance to Giorgio Orsini, known as Giorgio Dalmatico, the Brunelleschi of Dalmatia, who in 1441, when he was entrusted with the completion of the cathedral of Sibenik, threw over the Gothic plans and built the east end in a picturesque Early Renaissance style.\(^5\) But according to Jackson Dalmatian architecture never embraced Palladianism, for it retained a picturesque Gothic component until the transition to the Baroque.\(^6\)

While Puglia has one of the best-known vernacular building types in the world, the corbelled stone *trullo*, not much is available on the vernacular traditions of Istria and Dalmatia. However rain was the source of domestic water in the

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smaller towns of Dalmatia, and especially the islands. In the courtyards of the houses and the cloisters of the convents the whole area was excavated to create an immense cistern, the walls and sides puddled with clay. A cylinder of dry stone walling or brickwork was constructed at the centre, rising to ground level, and the rest of the pit was filled with sand. Holes were left in the paving for the water to enter, so that it would be filtered by the sand before entering the cylinder, from which it was drawn as from a well. The top was usually a Venetian-type *pozzo* of marble or Istrian stone.¹

The names of places on the Croatian coast are problematic. Some towns had Illyrian names, and most had Roman ones which might or might not be related to the Illyrian. The Italian names which followed derive from the Roman ones, but the Slavic ones are not so easily recognisable, and some, like Dubrovnik for Ragusa, bear no relationship to their predecessor. Literary sources of course use all these names, and especially the Italian ones.

These notes draw upon a variety of sources, of which by far the most useful has been T G Jackson's *Dalmatia, the Quamaro and Istria, with Cettigne in Montenegro and the Island of Grado*, of 1887. The downside to this (apart from the fact that the names are all given in Italian) is of course that he discusses buildings which may no longer exist, or which may now be in a very different condition, and expresses views which – insightful though they are - have not benefited from the scholarly research of the following 130 years. I have done my best to avoid these inherent traps, and can now only hope for the best.

**UDINE**

Udine was a minor settlement until the early middle ages, and is first named in an official document in 983, when the German emperor placed it under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Aquileia. In 1230 and 1248 the then patriarch bestowed free market and town rights upon it. It then developed as a major centre on intersecting European trade routes, and had resident Tuscan, Lombard and Venetian, bankers. In 1420 the town and its hinterland were occupied by the Venetians, and since that time it has been much influenced by Venice. The famous Venetian fortress of Palmanova, twenty kilometres to the south, was begun in 1593. When the Emperor Charles VI bestowed free

market status on the ports of Trieste and Fiume in 1717 the mercantile importance of Udine began to decline. It had brief periods of French rule in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and was under Austrian control from 1813 to 1866, when it was annexed by Italy.¹

Anna Frangipane has studied 250 stone portals constructed on civil buildings in Udine between the 15th and 20th centuries, and some of those in neighbouring towns.² In 1527 Giovanni d’Udine, a disciple of Raphael, and the alleged rediscoverer of stucco, escaped from Rome to Udine, and his architectural work marks the transition from the Gothic to the Renaissance. Andrea Palladio was in the town in 1556 and 1563, and his Bollani arch influenced the creation of rustic ashlar portals from the 16th to 18th centuries. In the early eighteenth century there was a flowering of activity due to the Venetian architects Domenico Rossi and Giorgio Massari. Rossi worked on the interior renovation of the cathedral, the construction of the Manin Chapel, and the enlargement of the patriarchal palace (1708-35). Massari worked on the façade of St Anthony’s Church in 1732-5.³

- **Church of St Mary of the Castle**

  This is the oldest church in Udine, with fragments from the Lombard era, in 1263, annexed to Sant’ Odorico (now the Cathedral). Rebuilt after the catastrophic earthquake of 1511, but with Venetian Gothic portico with steps and ramps of 1487.

- **Cathedral of Santa Maria Maggiore**

  The cathedral of Udine was begun 1236 and consecrated in 1335, as Santa Maria Maggiore. Transformed at the beginning of th 18th century by the Manin family. The Baroque interior contains many works of art by Tiepolo, Amalteo, and Ludovico Dorigny. On the ground floor of the bell tower (built from 1441 over the ancient baptistery) is a chapel which is completely adorned with frescoes by Vitale da Bologna (1349).

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² Frangipane, ‘Natural Stone Portals’, passim.
³ Frangipane, ‘Natural Stone Portals’, p 34.
• Town hall (Loggia del Lionello),

The Town hall, in the Piazza della Libertà, built in 1448-1457 in the Venetian-Gothic style by Nicolò Lionello, a local goldsmith, and was rebuilt following a fire in 1876. Following an enlargement of the council chamber it was wished to connect it effectively with the Municipal Loggia built by Lionello. On 14 November 1555 the Council ‘deliberatum fuit quod tribus viris [chosen by the community] sit data auctoritas fabricari faciendi scvalam ascendendentem palatium publicum porta conspicua iuxta exemplar factum’.¹ The plague and famine probably delayed the work but on 6 June the following year the staircase was begun, and was to be ‘noble and convenient’. Rumours involving Palladio and Sansovino (separately) have not been substantiated. Giovanni da Udine, who was responsible for public buildings in both 1552 and 1557, is a more likely candidate. There are no particular stylistic indicators.²

¹ Puppi, Andrea Palladio, p 304.
² Puppi, Andrea Palladio, p 305.
• **Residence of the patriarchs of Aquileia**

By Giovanni Fontana, 1517.

• **Bollani Arch**

On 21 February 1563 the Udine City Council decided to demolish the buildings at the corner of what is now the Piazza della Libertà, 'because they disfigure the street and the view of the castle'. The layout of a new roadway was entrusted to Palladio, who went to Udine on 26 June and surveyed the site. This is consistent with the attribution to him of the previously constructed Bollani Arch to him.¹ The arch, which provides the main access to the castle, was constructed by the City Council below the castle mound to recognise the services of the Venetian lieutenant Domenico Bollani during the outbreak of plague in spring of 1556. The attribution to Palladio which originated with Temenza in 1778 is unsubstantiated and Puppi seems to find it unconvincing, in view of what he calls 'the unusually heavy style and sobriety which is so severe as to be almost bleak.'² However it was executed in 1566, when Palladio was in Udine working on the Palazzo Antonini, and there is no other serious candidate. Besides, both the Bollani Arch and Palazzo Antonini use the same rustication as Palladio's Palazzo Thiene, Vicenza, and loggia of the Palazzo Municipale, Feltre.³

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¹ Puppi, *Andrea Palladio*, p 349.
² Puppi, *Andrea Palladio*, p 305.
Palazzo Antonini (now Bank of Italy), 1556.

This is a certain attribution to Palladio because it is referred to in Palladio's *Treatise* (1570, bk II, Ch 3, p 4) and mentioned by Vasari in 1568. It was 'erected from the foundations by Lord Floriano Antonini, nobleman of Udine'. From the *Quattro Libri* it is apparent that the original design included the loggias on both sides (though without the pedimented doorways) and the porch at ground level, but the rest was built at later dates up to the seventeenth century (when the interior was decorated by Martino Fischer), with some inappropriate features.¹ The facade inscription is 'GENIO URBIS UTIN. FAMILIAEQUE ANTONINORUM FLORIANUS ANDREAE FILIUS DICAVIT'² The design relates to Palladio's Palazzo Pisani at Montagna; Villa Cornaro at Piombino Dese, Villa Mocenigo at Marocco; and the Villa Sarego at Miega di Cologna. The room with four columns, which occurs in the first three of those, is an important Palladian feature.

• **Loggia del Consiglio**

The Council Chamber (later known as the Sala dell' Aiace') in the Loggia del Consiglio, Udine, was in the process of being redesigned when Palladio was called in as a consultant. He merely offered suggestions in February 1576, a time when he was very busy with other matters. He did not even visit the building, and his proposal for a deeply coffered ceiling was rejected in favour of the simple one which was actually installed by the carpenter Giovanni Lugaro in 1574.¹

• **Church of Santa Maria della Purità**

This church has eighteenth century frescoes by Giambattista Tiepolo and his son Domenico.

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**CIVIDALE DEL FRIULI**

Cividale is the ancient Forum Julii, which gave its name to Friuli, of which Cividale is the capital. In 568 Alboin made the town capital of the first Lombard duchy in Italy, which later became a Frankish duchy.² Under the Carolingian settlement with the Papacy, the patriarchs of Aquileia based themselves at Cividale from 773 to 1031, when they returned to Aquileia.³

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³ Wikipedia.
Sta Maria in Valle

The Tempietto of Sta Maria in Valle, beside the Natisone River, is the most remarkable and enigmatic monument of the Dark Ages. According to K J Conant, it can be described as proto-Romanesque – that is, Roman architecture surviving in a local form, in this case (he supposes) under Saracenic influence, but equivalent to the Asturian and Mozarabic churches of Spain. It was traditionally said to have been built by Peltruda (762-76), when the Lombards had south Italian connections,¹ and it is now known to have been built for Desiderius, last king of the Lombards, who was taken prisoner by Charlemagne in 774.²

There is a groin vaulted nave and a sanctuary with three parallel tunnel vaults carried on columns. The capitals of these columns are described by Rivoira as 'Byzantine Corinthian, showing both in design and execution a certain reversion to the classical manner.' He describes their carving as similar in style to that of to the two smaller capitals on the pillars of the marble screen or iconostasis, which he sees as 'midway between the Roman and the Byzantine', with two rows of leaves of the *acanthus spinosus.*³ The exterior of the building is plain but inside the entrance wall is richly stuccoed, including a perfectly preserved frieze of six standing figures, boldly modelled like fine Romanesque carvings.⁴ The stucco decorations have been assigned to periods from the eighth to the thirteenth century, but it is now believed that they date from the late eighth century, though possibly added to an existing building, while the paintings are later.⁵

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¹ Conant, *Caroligian and Romanesque*, p 52.
² Porcher, 'Book Painting', p 123.
⁴ Conant, *Caroligian and Romanesque*, p 52.
⁵ Volbach, 'Sculpture and Applied Arts', p 250. Volbach relies upon Dyggve's opinion for the date, but this now seems to be accepted by most scholars. Rivoira thought that the west wall had been rebuilt in the twelfth century and that the stucco work was of that date: Rivoira, *Lombardic Architecture*, I, p 112.
As explained by W F Volbach,

Only one part of the decoration has survived, that on the entrance wall. The upper register, on either side of a window whose arch is adorned with plant motifs, contains six figures of saints in relief. In the lower portion of the wall a relatively large portal lunette is lavishly decorated with palmettes, vine shoots and bunches of grapes, also in relief. Two friezes of rosettes separate the upper from the lower register. When we observe the ample modeling of the reliefs, the hieratic postures of the figures and their ceremonial garments (in the Byzantine style) we cannot fail to be surprised by the differences between this work and its immediate predecessors.... It is easy to see why some authorities, among them
Geza de Francovich, have assigned these reliefs to a later (the Ottonian) period. Nevertheless a comparison of them with Byzantine reliefs ... suggests that these stuccoes may well have been made about the year 800 or a little earlier.

The same applies to the decorations and ornamentations, characterized by an exceptional feeling for strong effects of light and shade, which led Strzygowski to see in them signs of Oriental (chiefly Syrian) influences. Indeed the differences from all previous Lombard works, both in their technique and in the maker's lively sense of plastic values, are so pronounced that, like Cattaneo, we can hardly fail to see in these works the hand of Oriental artists.¹

One or two words of explanation are called for. The reference to Byzantine works might suggest that there are comparable stucco reliefs elsewhere in the east, but this not so: the comparison, for what it is worth, is with ivories. The reference to Strzygowski might alarm some readers, as Strzygowski is notorious for exaggerating eastern influences, but Porcher concurs, saying that these decorations testify to the presence of the tradition of the Mediterranean east on Latin soil.² Indeed there is a real similarity between the bands of rosettes and the flatter monoradial ornament from Syria discussed elsewhere in these notes.

Sta Maria in Valle, Cividale, entrance wall; reconstruction of the fifth century paintings of the eastern chapel of the amphitheatre, Salona; four saints, Sta Maria Antiqua, Rome, 740s. Volbach, 'Sculpture and Applied Arts', p 249; Salona: Dyggve, History of Salonitan Christianity, I, 21; Porcher, 'Book Painting', p 127.

This building is completely unlike any other of its supposed period. The heavily modelled stucco, the sophistication of the decoration, and the almost three-

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¹ Volbach, 'Sculpture and Applied Arts', p 250.
² Porcher, 'Book Painting', p 128.
dimensional figure sculpture are unmatched anywhere. The main figures in their verticality and integration into the architecture are more like Romanesque or Gothic work than classical. Yet in much of the detail they seem to belong to the Early Christian to Early Byzantine tradition. It is as if the fifth century paintings of the memorial chapel in the amphitheatre at Salona had been translated into three dimensions by a sculptor of medieval sensibility. But the more relevant comparison, suggested by Porcher, is with the images of four standing saints (the 'unknown martyrs') at the entrance of the prothesis of Sta Maria Antiqua, Rome, of the 740s.¹

If there is an explanation for this, even Conant, a leading scholar in the field, has certainly not found it. He says 'There is clearly some outside influence in the decorative stucco mouldings and bands of the inside of Sta Maria. Stucco work was practised with rare art by the Saracens and Byzantines, also, more often than we are likely to remember, by pre-Romanesque and Romanesque sculptors in both France and Germany.'² But this is untrue. 'Saracen' is not even a term one applies to Islam at this date: most Islamic stucco is much later, and all is very different in character. Byzantine work is not at all renowned for deep relief or three-dimensional stucco, and the nearest it comes to it is the much more architectural modelling in the Orthodox Baptistery at Ravenna, more than two centuries earlier than the Tempietto. The 'pre-Romanesque and Romanesque' stucco which we tend not to remember is an unconvincing concept: there is no reference at all to stucco in Conant's index, suggesting that he also has trouble remembering it - or that it does not exist.

¹ Porcher, 'Book Painting', p 121.
² Conant, Carolingian and Romanesque, p 52.
• Duomo

The Duomo at Cividale was begun in its present form in 1453, and continued by Pietro Lombardo in 1503-2. It contains a magnificent silver-gilt altarpiece of 1200. On the south side is the Early Christian Museum, which contains the octagonal Baptistery of Callistus and the altar of Duke Ratchis, of 744-9.¹ The baptistery, according to Rivoira, was built by Callistus, patriarch of Aquileia, after 730, possibly restored under Sigualdus in the 770s, and rebuilt after 1000 – there still remain the seven carved archivolts and eight capitals, and perhaps some fragments of *plutei* incorporated in the base. The capitals, though crude, relate stylistically to those of Sta Maria in Valle.²

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¹ Rossiter, *Northern Italy*, pp 328-9. Apparently from the Church of Sa Martino; see Hubert, *Europe in the Dark Ages*, p 373.
The Archaeological Museum opposite the Duomo contains eighth century capitals, and notable medieval treasures, including the Pax of Duke Ursus, an ivory crucifixion in a jewelled silver frame, dating from about 800.


GRADO

- Cathedral or Basilica of St Euphemia (S Eufemia)

The Basilica of St Euphemia (or SS Ermacora e Fortunato) probably dates from about 571-9, replacing a cathedral of the 5th century, and is credited to Elias, Patriarch of Aquileia (571-86). There were restorations in the ninth century and at the end of the tenth. It probably had an atrium, and the early baptistery [unlike that at Aquileia, below] was an octagon with corner niches filling a square, domed and with an octagonal font, related to examples like Fréjus and Albenga. The present basilica is crudely constructed and plain externally, with a crude porch of four arches. But internally it is elegantly decorated. The nave has eleven arches on marble columns, all probably spoils from Roman buildings, but the capitals have been severely damaged.
and patched.\textsuperscript{1} There is a mosaic floor. Jackson ranks the interior with those of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, and the Euphrasian basilica at Poreč.\textsuperscript{2}

Cathedral, Grado: pleteus with peacocks and vase; fragment of a pluteus with a hunting scene. Romanelli, Venice, I, p 33.

- Santa Maria delle Grazie

On the same square as the cathedral is Santa Maria delle Grazie, a basilican church, with an assortment of ten columns and a restored marble transenna.¹ The apse has a synthronon and cathedra, and an original tiled floor which was uncovered beneath a later one. Externally it is inscribed (enclosed within a straight outside wall), as was customary from the fifth century on the Aegean islands and south coast of Asia Minor.²

![Image of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Grado, fifth century: interior, and detail of the apse, showing the cathedra, the synthronon, and the tiling uncovered beneath a later floor.](image)


**THE ADRIATIC BASILICA**

According to Jackson the cathedrals at Poreč, Pola and Grado are all 'pure Byzantine as at Ravenna'.³ And these basilicas are indeed closely related to the churches of Ravenna, but whether they are pure Byzantine is very

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¹ Rossiter, Northern Italy, p 333.
² Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine, p 198.
³ Jackson, Dalmatia, I, p 226.
questionable. They have western characteristics such as single storey aisles without galleries, and clerestory lighting, along with eastern characteristics like arcading, and lighting through the apse. We will do better to look at these and the Ravenna churches as examples of a distinctive type, the Adriatic basilica. It is not just that these churches partake of the Latin and the Byzantine traditions: they reflect a third source of influence as well, which is Syria.

Church forms had been very varied during the three centuries when Christianity was illegal, and though the Edict of Milan in 313 and the final adoption of Christianity by the Roman Empire two decades later gave rise to a boom in church building, the form of the church was still far from standardised. It is possible to distinguish church forms specific to particular areas, such as North Africa and northern Syria, as well two more general ones – a western or Latin basilica typical of Rome and its neighbourhood, and an eastern basilica (sometimes very misleadingly called ‘Hellenistic’) typical of Constantinople and Salonika.

The points of distinction are as follows:

1. The western basilica was at first occidented, or pointed to the west, though soon this lapsed and both types were oriented.

2. In the west there was an atrium or forecourt containing a cantharus or fountain for the ritual cleansing before entering the church. It now appears that the atrium was more common in the east than surviving
examples would suggest, but there is not much evidence of the cantharus.

3. In the western basilica the side of the atrium forms a colonnaded porch or verandah across which you pass to enter this nave. In the eastern basilica a tranverse space just inside the nave – a narthex. If there is a verandah of the western type it is called an exonarthex.

4. The western basilica is lit, in part, by windows through the upper part of the gable or entrance end. Less is known about eastern examples, but some at least had hipped roofs, so that no gable was even available for the purpose.

5. In the western basilica the aisles were divided from the nave by a colonnade – that is, a row of columns carrying a horizontal lintel. In the eastern basilica it was an arcade, or row of arches.

6. In the western basilica the nave was substantially higher than the aisles, and was lit by clerestory windows above the aisle roofs. In the eastern basilica there was a balcony above the aisles and the narthex, so that light could not come directly into the nave at this level.

7. In the western basilica a wall with a large arch ('triumphal arch') divided the east end from the nave: this did not occur in the eastern basilica. If some sort of tranverse space was created at this point it did not in either case amount to a true transept, projecting beyond the side walls.

8. The altar in the western basilica was commonly a portable object located within the body of the nave, and only later moved back to the chord of the apse. So far as the limited evidence goes, the altar was always at the east end in the eastern basilica.

9. At the back of the apse there might (in either basilica type) be a cathedra, or bishop's throne, In the eastern basilica only this was flanked by a stepped bench or synthronon running right around the apse, to provide seating for the clergy.

10. The apse of the western basilica was semicircular and carried a half dome, usually of brick. In the eastern basilica the apse was semicircular inside but polygonal outside, and commonly had a timber frame roof (perhaps framed in radiating half trusses.

11. The eastern basilica had windows in the apse, but the western basilica did not.

12. The western basilica is commonly long in proportion; the eastern one is shorter and squarer in plan.

The Adriatic basilica resembles the western type in that it is long in proportion, and has single storey aisles with no galleries above. It resembles the eastern
one in that it has arcades, an externally polygonal apse, and windows in the apse. The *cathedra* and *synthronon* are more problematic: they are found in churches on the east and north of the Adriatic, but not (it seems) in Ravenna. In fact in Italy proper the only examples known to me are those in the Duomo at Torcello, and S Nicola, Bari.

**AQUILEIA**

Aquileia was founded by the Romans in 182 or 181 BC as a frontier fortress against the Istrians.\(^1\) It was sacked by Attila the Hun in 452.\(^2\) When the Lombards invaded in 570 archbishop Paulinus fled with the church relics and treasures to Grado, which came to be sometimes called New Aquileia, and never returned. Aquileia was later raised to the status of a patriarchate,\(^3\) but after 606 there were rival patriarchs, John at Aquileia, a schismatic protected by the Lombards, and Cadidianus at Grado, orthodox, and protected by the exarch of Ravenna, and later by Venice.\(^4\)

- The Cathedral of Aquileia.

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It is thought that there was a community house or *domus ecclesiae* at Aquileia (comparable with the house-church at Dura-Europos or the *tituli equitii* at Rome), preceding the double cathedral of the early fourth century.\(^1\) This was replaced prior to 319, and possibly by 313, with a cathedral consisting of three buildings: two parallel halls running east-west, and a linking hall (running north-south) joining them at the west. Large parts of the walls of the south hall survive in the west and south walls of the present C11th Cathedral.\(^2\) Probably in about 400 a new structure replaced the north hall. Following conservative local custom it lacked an apse, but had a clergy bench or *synthronon*. Its size was comparable with the new standard basilicas of Rome and Milan, and it was similarly divided into a nave and two narrow aisles, which indicate that it had a clerestory.\(^3\) The fourth century baptistery was an unvaulted rectangular room,\(^4\) but was replaced in about 450 with a square baptistery containing an octagonal core (comparable with Italian examples such as Riva San Vitale).\(^5\)

A flat-roofed basilica was built by the Patriarch Poppo in 1031 on the site of the earlier church and, after it was partly destroyed in two earthquakes, it was rebuilt in 1365-81\(^6\) by the Patriarch Marquad in the Gothic style. Other work was done up to the 17th century. There is an open porch with Lombard capitals of the tenth or eleventh century, and impost blocks with reticulated ornament.\(^7\) The façade is connected to the Church of the Pagans, and the remains of the 5th century baptistery.

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6 Jackson, *Dalmatia*, III, p 397.
7 Jackson, *Dalmatia*, III, p 394.
The interior has a nave and two aisles, with pointed Gothic arcading but capitals more Romanesque in character.¹ It contains the mosaic pavement from the fourth century. The wooden ceiling is from 1526, while the fresco decoration belongs to various ages: from the 4th century in the St Peter's chapel of the apse area; from the eleventh century in the apse itself; from the twelfth century in the so-called 'Crypt of the Frescoes', under the presbytery, with a cycle depicting the origins of Christianity in Aquileia and the history of St. Hermagoras, first bishop of the city. Next to the eleventh century Romanesque Holy Sepulchre, at the beginning of the left aisle, floor levels of different ages

¹ Jackson, Dalmatia, III, p 397.
can be seen: the lowest is from a Roman villa of the age of Augustus; the middle one has a typical *cocciopesto* pavement; the upper one, bearing blackening from Attila’s fire, has geometrical decorations. Outside near the apse is the 9th century campanile.

- **Excavations**

Excavations of one street and the north-west angle of the town walls. This is perhaps where the evidence has been found of Roman warehouses, referred to by Perkins.

- **Tombs**

The Tomb of the Curii, of the mid-1st century, has a round base, three columns, and a pyramidal roof of concave profile,¹ consistent with a number of capricious monumental designs found in provincial locations, and perhaps more a part of the Hellenistic than the Roman tradition. Another tomb, which has been restored, is a *tholos* (circular structure) on a massive base with six columns, a slightly concave conical roof, and a pinecone finial.²

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- **Palaeochristian Museum,**

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The museum in the Monastero quarter is housed in a fifth century Christian basilica which later became a Benedictine monastery. It is unclear to me whether this is the same as the National Archaeological Museum, which contains over two thousand inscriptions, statues and other antiquities, as well as glasses of local production and a numismatics collection.

**TRIESTE**

Tergeste, which served as an outlet to the Adriatic for the produce of the middle Danube region, was absorbed by Rome in the second century BC. From the ninth to the thirteenth centuries it was ruled by its bishops, subject to various nominal overlords, but at the beginning of the thirteenth century the independent Commune of Trieste was established. This challenged Venice’s dominance of the Adriatic trade and brought about regular confrontations. In 1382 Trieste came under the protection of the Austrian Emperor Leopold III, but intermittent strife with Venice continued until in 1463, having been blockaded and almost destroyed, it was saved only by the intervention of Pope Pius II. The town was substantially rebuilt from 1470, but its modern prosperity dates from 1719, when Charles VI declared it a free port. The city was ceded to Italy in 1920 by the Treaty of Rapallo, but fell to Yugoslav forces in 1945. After the war Trieste and Istria were for a time constituted a Free Territory, but in 1954 the present border was agreed and Trieste became again Italian.

- **The Cathedral of San Giusto.**

Dyggve regards the Cathedral of St Justus [S Giusto] at Trieste as an example of a double church in the Salonitan tradition, as discussed above – a northern and older older church of St Mary, and a southern church of S Justus, patron saint of the town, martyred under Diocletian. The latter he regards as possibly dating from the same century as another church of S Justus in Trieste, which was cruciform (?perhaps sixth century). However in Jackson’s estimate both date to the ninth or tenth centuries. The present Cathedral of San Giusto is the result of the union of the two separate churches in the fourteenth century, and the campanile was begun in 1337.

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1 Rossiter, *Northern Italy*, p 338.
2 Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, p 34.
3 Jackson, *Dalmatia*, III, p 362.
The northern basilican church was the grander and probably earlier building. It has eight arches down each side, with columns and capitals of different sizes, obtained from different buildings, and impost blocks resembling those at S Lorenzo del Pasenatico [below].\(^1\) The southern church of S Giusto is more Byzantine in character. The original nave was four arches long with a dome carried on pendentives. The northern columns of the dome are from the C14th work, but three southern ones are original and the Corinthian capitals are rude but similar to those of the northern basilica. The apse is surrounded by five arches of wall arcading on columns of beautiful breccia, with white marble capitals.\(^2\) The apse, when Jackson saw it, had been 'hideously modernised', but retained the synthronon and cathedra.\(^3\)

Both apses have fine mosaics, especially the northern one, which has in the semi-dome the Virgin and infant Christ on a gold ground with St Gabriel to her left and St Michael to her right. Around the drum of the apse are large figures of the apostles. The mosaics of the apse of S Giusto were in poorer condition, with much painted and varnished plaster inserted, and when it was found in the nineteenth century that the mosaics and their cement bed had become detached from the masonry of the semidome, what seems to have been a model exercise in conservation was undertaken. Sixteen layers of paper were

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1. Jackson, *Dalmatia*, III, pp 357-8
pasted onto them, a wooden centering was constructed below, and the space filled with plaster of Paris so that the mosaic was evenly supported. The masonry was removed from above, and the cement bed of the mosaic was chipped away. The mosaic was grouted with a Portland cement backing, kept damp with wet cloths, and a new semi-dome built over it. After two months the centering was removed, the plaster of Paris was chipped off, and the paper, which was damp and soft, came away easily.1

- **S Giusto hill & Roman Theatre**

Here there are remains of the Early Christian basilica; the Temple of Athena under the basilica, and Temple of Zeus next to the Forum. The Roman theatre at the foot of the hill dates from the second half of the 1st century AD. The statues discovered here in the 1930s are now in the Town Museum.

- **Basilica of San Silvestro (11th century)**

- **Arch of Riccardo (33 BC)**

The Arch of Riccardo, in the Piazzetta Barbacan, an Augustan gate built in the Roman walls in AD 33 (called Arco di Riccardo because it is believed to have been crossed by King Richard of England on the way back from the Crusades).

- **Basilica Forense**

2nd century archaeological remains.

**CROATIA**

The Roman province of Illyricum was a strip down the east coast of the Adriatic, and when Roman dominion was extended inland this coastal strip became Dalmatia, and the inland was divided into Upper and Lower Pannonia. In the C3rd BC the Romans had responded to appeals from the islanders of Issa and complaints from seamen who had suffered piracy from the Illyrians under

1 Jackson, *Dalmatia*, III, pp 362-5
Agron, and then his widow Teuta, and had invaded the territory. They set up an independent kingdom under their ally Demetrius, and only absorbed the territory into their empire in 168 BC.

Henceforth, despite ongoing Dalmatian unrest, the area was steadily integrated into the Empire. The Roman capital was Salona [now Solin] until Diocletian divided the province into two: Dalmatia Salonitana, with its capital at Salona, and Dalmatia Praevalitana, with its capital at Scodra [now Schkoder, Albania]. When the Empire was divided, after the death of Theodosius in 395, the present Croatia, together with Slovenia and Bosnia and Hercegovonia, fell into the west; the present Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia fell into the east, which was ultimately to become the Byzantine Empire.

In the fifth century a former Roman general, Marcellinus, established himself as a prince, and revived the pagan religion of Rome. During his reign the Goths, Alans, Vandals, Huns and Suevi burst into Illyria: the latter even penetrated Dalmatia. Subsequent history is confused, but resembles that of other parts of the Empire in that successive strong men, whether of Roman or barbarian origin, ruled independently while remaining notionally subservient to the Empire. By the sixth century Dalmatia and Pannonia had reverted to their erstwhile barbarism and desolation, and the Latin or provincial subjects of Rome were increasingly displaced by Bulgarians, Gepids, Sarmatians and Slavonians. A particularly serious invasion of Huns, Bulgarians and Slavonians swept the peninsula in 539.

Dalmatia remained a part of the exarchate of Ravenna, but it is thought that Longinus made it a duchy with a degree of autonomy. The old Latin or Roman population did not disappear or merge with the newcomers, but regrouped in new towns or in old ones like Zara, which rose from the ruins. Fugitives from Epidaurus founded the city of Ragusa [Dubrovnik]. Some sites were abandoned entirely, and others, like Aenona were occupied by the conquering Slavs. Early in the seventh century Slavs from the area of what is now Ukraine, Poland and Belarus began to migrate into the peninsula, and the Hrvat [Croat] clan established a dominant position in central Dalmatia at Bijela Hrvatska [White Croatia]. Most of the Slavs had accepted Christianity by 640. Both the Serbs and the Croats at first paid tribute to Byzantium, and acknowledged the suzerainty of the emperor, but central control became steadily weaker and more nominal, and the Slavs finally asserted their independence.
In 800, after Charlemagne's defeat of the Lombards in northern Italy, the Franks easily conquered Istria, Liburnia and Dalmatia, and there were mass baptisms of the population into the western church. But the coast tended to remain under Byzantine influence, and in any case the Frankish domination lasted only a short time. The Croatians had by now coalesced into a single nation, and imitated the courts of their powerful neighbours, even using Latin as the official language, but they were a rural people with few and small towns. In 925 the territory of modern Croatia and part of Bosnia and coastal Montenegro united under the rule of King Tomislav, but soon the new nation was weakened by power struggles amongst the ruling classes, and Venice took advantage of this to establish a foothold on the coast in about 1000. In 1091 King Ladislav of Hungary invaded northern Croatia, and was thwarted by a Byzantine attack on Hungary, but his successor, Koloman, persuaded the Dalmatian nobility to accept his sovereignty in exchange for a large degree of internal autonomy.

William of Tyre passed through the area on his way to the first crusade, and Raymond of Toulouse, who was with him, distinguished the civilised Latin peoples encountered in the maritime cities from the Croatians - ferocious people, clad like barbarians, living by their flocks and herds rather than by agriculture, and accustomed to robbery and murder.. The Hungarians were no more prepossessing – short and swarthy, with sunken eyes – and by 1102 they had completely subjugated the inland Croatians, and the bulk of Croatia was to remain under Hungarian rule for nine centuries.

But between 1102 and 1420 Venice and Hungary grappled for control of Dalmatia. Coloman successfully laid siege of Zara, and then accepted the peaceful submission of Spalato. The Venetians deeply resented this, and after Coloman's death in 1114 invaded Dalmatia and launched a series of assaults, including a ten year siege of Zadar. Venice not only recovered the principal cities along the coast but also took some of the inland towns. By the thirteenth century, according to TG Jackson, the architecture of Zara, Trogir and Spalato was comparable with the Italian work which inspired it.1

But this was not the end of Hungarian activity and there were temporary inroads by the Byzantines as well, but the overall picture was that Venetian hegemony of the coastal strip continued for most of the next seven centuries. The

1 Jackson, Dalmatia, I, p 76.
exceptions included the establishment of Bela IV of Hungary at Trogir, when he was forced out of his capital by the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century, a wider but short-lived domination by Ludovik I of Hungary in the late fourteenth century, and period of rule by Ladislas of Naples in 1403-9. Venetian rule of Dalmatia was only definitively established in 1420.

During the sixteenth century the Ottomans advanced from the east, and threatened but never conquered the Adriatic coastline. There Venetian control, which amounted to systematic economic exploitation, continued until the Napoleonic invasion of 1797, resulting in its transfer to Austria under the Treaty of Campo Formio.

Various moves towards independence were frustrated until the Yugoslav Committee emerged during World War I, and at the end of the war a Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was established. However Italians had already begun seizing territory in Croatia, and the Serb-dominated kingdom transferred Istria, Zadar and a number of islands to Italy. Nationalistic resentment resulted in the rise of the Ustaše Croatian Liberation Movement led by the Bosnian Croat Ante Pavelić, which enjoyed the support of Mussolini, and was installed in power by the Germans after the invasion of Yugoslavia on 6 April 1941. The Ustaše conducted systematic pogroms against Jews, Gypsies and Serbs. In reaction Josip Broz Tito’s Partisans attracted support not only from Serbs, but from some Croats and from anti-fascists generally. Their success in turn attracted the support of Churchill and the Allies, and they controlled much of Croatia by 1943. On 20 October 1944 Tito entered Belgrade with the Red Army and was made prime minister.

At the end of the war the allies blocked Tito’s attempt to retain control of Trieste, but Dalmatia and most of Istria became part of Yugoslavia. In an attempt to avoid the domination of any one ethnic group Tito set up six republics, including Croatia, within his tightly-controlled one-party state. Resentment of this control and especially of the economic exploitation of Croatia, was expressed in the ‘Croatian Spring’ of 1971, which was followed by a brutal crackdown, though more autonomy was granted to the republic in the constitution of 1974. Croatia seceded from the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia in 1990, but this quickly led to disastrous conflicts and much physical damage. The United Nations administered the disputed territories until
1995, and the last region, Eastern Slavonia, was returned to Croatian control in January 1998

The most important building material of Croatia is the white limestone of Istria, which was used in the Mausoleum of Theodoric, Ravenna, in the sixth century. Similarly, stone from the village of Kirmenjak was used in the lower parts of Venetian buildings from the fourteenth century because of its durability, high compressive strength and lower water absorption.1 Other stones are used further south, most importantly in the cathedral at Sibenik. A characteristic form of ornament known as pleter, or plaiting, first appeared around 800 in the baptismal font of Duke Višeslav, in the Church of the Holy Cross, Nin.2 Early church plans are perhaps closer to those of Armenia than anywhere else, including circular examples, of which there are remains at Split, Trogir and Ošalj,3 and the important surviving example at Zadar.

Later Romanesque. Gothic and Renaissance architecture is strongly derivative, mainly, as might be expected, from Italy. By the thirteenth century (according to Jackson) the architecture of Zara, Trogir and Spalato was comparable with the Italian work which inspired it.

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1 Buršić, ‘Kirmenjak’, p 63.
2 Oliver, Croatia, p 39.
3 Oliver, Croatia, p 39.
ISTRIA

Istria is a peninsula and has always maintained a distinct identity, even when ruled (as was usually the case) by outsiders. When the Romans entered the region in the third century BC, and set up their ally Demetrius as ruler, Istria was able to remain a separate kingdom until 168 BC, when Rome annexed the whole area.\(^1\) Istria suffered less than Dalmatia from the raids of the Avars and Slavs, and though ravaged at times, was not conquered or colonised. But in the 13th and 14 centuries it was the battlefield of the Venetians, the patriarchs of Aquileja [sic], the Genoese, the Counts of Istria, the Hungarians, and the

\(^1\) Jackson, \textit{Dalmatia}, I, pp 3-4.
Archdukes of Austria.' Plague followed war, and in the early seventeenth century the population of Pola was only 300. Parenzo by 1646 had shrunk from 3000 to fewer than 100. The Venetian senate organised colonists to boost the population.¹

**NOVIGRAD [CITTANOVA]**

The castle at this location was the residence of Croatian and Hungarian kings, and a frontier fortress of the Venetians against the Turks. Queen Elizabeth of Hungary died there in 1387.² The Basilica of Sv Pelagij [St Pelagius], was rebuilt in the sixteenth century, but has an eleventh century crypt. Within the church are eighteenth century paintings of the Venetian school. The museum in the Urizzi palace contains Roman and medieval material.³

![relief from Novigrad](Jackson, Dalmatia, I, pl 1)

**POREČ [PARENZO]⁴**

Poreč, the Roman Parentium, is now a tourist trap, but contains the Euphrasian Basilica, C6th, a World Heritage site. As was their custom, the Romans laid out the town in *castrum* or military camp form, a rectangle divided by two main streets at right angles, the *cardo* and the *decumanus*, of which traces remain, including the name Dekumanus for the main street. Parenzo was one of the new bishoprics created under Theodoric the Goth and Euphrasius was the first

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1  Jackson, *Dalmatia*, III, pp 250-1.
2  Jackson, *Dalmatia*, p 322.
3  Ceriani, *Croatia*, p 53.
4  Oliver, *Croatia*, pp 141-5; Ceriani, *Croatia*, pp 53-5.
bishop. He was confirmed after the Byzantine conquest of 539. He was implicated in the Aquileian Schism, and he built the cathedral. The town was under Byzantine rule from the sixth to the eighth centuries, and by the early middle ages was ruled by the Aquilean patriarchs, until it came under Venetian control in 1267.

The cathedral of Poreč, c. 550, was built for Bishop Euphrasius between 539 and 553, by enlarging the existing fourth century oratory of St Maurus Martyr. Rivoira suggested that it was the work of builders from Ravenna, and was possibly designed by Julianus Argentarius. But while the Ravenna connection seems real enough, the idea of Julianus Argentarius as an architect is fanciful. He seems to have been – as the name suggests – some sort of financier, and is believed to have funded the construction of San Vitale and Sant' Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, possibly as the agent of Justinian.

Some original floor mosaics from the oratory survive in the garden. The new church formed part of a complex, with a triconch martyrs' chapel, and a lavish two storey episcopal audience hall or salutatorium north of the atrium. The chapel houses the remains of Saints Maurus and Eleterius, and has a mosaic floor of the sixth century. In an arrangement of perhaps Syrian origin, at the west end of the atrium is an octagonal baptistery, dating from the sixth century. Krautheimer claims that the triconch martyrium recalls Basilica B at Resafeh (490-520) but this seems rather far-fetched. The Campanile dates from the fifteenth century.

The church is often referred to as Byzantine, which is technically true but effectively misleading. It resembles nothing in the East, for even the few surviving basilicas, such as St John Studios, Istanbul, and the Holy Apostles, Salonika, are quite different. Instead it belongs to the family of Adriatic churches which have been discussed above, though unlike most it has an atrium in front, on the Roman model. The apse is semicircular, inscribed within an external polygon, lit by four large windows, with a synthronon and cathedra. The aisles terminate in absidioles as at Qalat Siman of c. 470 and Gerasa of 526-7 and 540. The masonry is of small stones, and the proportions are less

1 Jackson, Dalmatia, III, p 305.
2 Rivoira, Lombardic Architecture, I, p 102.
3 Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine, p 198.
4 Jackson, Dalmatia, III, p 305.
5 Jackson, Dalmatia, III, p 319.
6 Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine, p 198.
felicitous than at Classe, but precious materials are extensively used, including glittering mosaic on the facade gable.¹

¹ Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine, p 196.
The Adriatic Sphere

Poreč: Cathedral atrium; nave arcade; apse detail. S Vitale, Ravenna, c 530-548, chancel detail.

Jackson, Dalmatia, III, p 316; Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine, pl 110; Jackson, Dalmatia, III, p 320; Scala RA155.

The nave columns have antique Proconnesian marble shafts, and capitals probably imported from Constantinople, but arbitrarily distributed. They are closely related to the capitals of San Vitale and Sant' Apollinare, Ravenna, as is further discussed below. The walls are lined with mosaics of marble, porphyry and glass. There is mosaic between the windows and in the apse vault, and 'an incrustation of marble and mother-of-pearl' below the windows. The synthronon and cathedra are of a marble resembling cipollino, and at either end is a marble standard in the form of a dolphin. The marble and porphyry dado above the seats is unlike anything at Ravenna, but somewhat reminiscent of the wall decorations at Santa Sabina, Rome. In other respects the resemblance of the apse treatment to that of San Vitale at Ravenna is palpable. The high altar was consecrated by Adelpertus in 1233, and has a magnificent frontal of silver parcel-gilt. The baldacchino built by Bishop Otto in 1277 is of marble inlaid with mosaic, and the capitals preserve a Byzantine character despite their date. The carved walnut stalls in a side chapel are fifteenth century.

The apse mosaics are of the sixth century, with Christ and the apostles on the triumphal arch, and on the vault the Virgin and Child with two angels, flanked by

1 Jackson, Dalmatia, III, p 314.
2 Jackson, Dalmatia, III, p 314.
3 Jackson, Dalmatia, III, p 314.
4 Jackson, Dalmatia, III, pp 319-320.
5 Jackson, Dalmatia, III, p 305.
6 Jackson, Dalmatia, III, p 314.
7 Jackson, Dalmatia, III, pp 305, 324, 325.
8 Jackson, Dalmatia, III, p 305.
St Maurus, Bishop Euphrasius with a model of the church, and Deacon Claud with his son. In the dome of the apse are large figures on a golden ground, with cloudlets of crimson and blue above their heads. The Virgin Mary at the centre is clothed in a dark mantle and white undergarment embroidered with gold, and her head encircled with a nimbus. The infant Christ is in white and gold, holding a roll in one hand, and raising the other in blessing. From the sunset-tinted clouds above emerges a hand holding a jewelled wreath or crown. On each side of this central group is an angel, and beyond the angel three large figures, those to the left being inscribed with their names: Claudius, Bishop Euphrasius with a small figure of Euphrasius junior, and St Maurus, holding a jewelled urn. The bishop holds his church, a three aisled basilica resembling the actual building, and he wears a purple robe to below the knee, while the others are dressed Roman fashion in white with a purple stripe, like figures at Ravenna. The three figures on the far side bear no names.¹

Despite the damage done by the Slavs in 961 the fabric of the cathedral seems to have remained largely intact, and it was reconsecrated shortly afterwards.²

**THE EARLY BYZANTINE CAPITAL**

The capitals at Poreč belong to a family found around the Adriatic, most or all of them of Proconnesian marble and probably imported from Constantinople (modern Istanbul). By the sixth century Byzantine work was increasingly drilled out rather than carved in three dimensions. The modelled acanthus leaves of classical Corinthian capital gave way to continuous patterned surfaces penetrated by shadowy voids. This is the sculptural equivalent of the double shelled church design in which one looked from a central nave space through an arcade into an ambulatory, often darker and of ambiguous form.

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¹ Jackson, *Dalmatia*, III, p 321.
² Jackson, *Dalmatia*, III, p 315.
H Sophia, Istanbul, 532-7: capitals in the nave Lassus, *The Early Christian and Byzantine World*, p 6; Osseman


capitals from the Cathedral, Poreč: Capital in the nave, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Grado; capital from San Vitale, Ravenna.
The precise nature of these sixth century capitals varies. Some still evoke acanthus foliage, while others are reduced to simple shapes. Rivoira distinguished three types: cubical funnel-shaped; Composite bird and basket; and Byzantine Composite. One or more of these types are found at Poreč, at St Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna; at Santa Maria, Grado; and at S Vitale, Ravenna. Rivoira also cited the abbey church at Pomposa, which he believed to be of the sixth century.\(^1\) However that church is no longer believed to be nearly so early, and I remember no such capitals – if they do exist, they are probably spoils from elsewhere. Rivoira was uncertain whether they might have been imported from Salonika or Constantinople, but their affinity with the capitals of H Sophia strongly points to the latter.

**LOVREČ [SAN LORENZO DEL PASENATICO]**

Sixteen kilometres inland from Poreč is the fortified town which Jackson knew as S Lorenzo in Pasenatico, with its eponymous church, which seems to have been essentially Lombardic in character.\(^2\) Whether it survives is not apparent.

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\(^1\) Rivoira, *Lombardic Architecture*, I, p 100.

ROVINJ [ROVIGNO], Istria¹

Rovinj is a star tourist area, but of little architectural interest: Jackson reports that it 'contains nothing to make it worthwhile to go ashore'.² The architecture is Venetian in character and includes the massive Cathedral of Sv Eufemije [St Euphemia] of 1736, the largest Baroque building in Istria.

PULA [POLA], Istria³

The Illyrian town of Pola was conquered by the Romans in the 1st century BC, and became the Roman Polensium. It is said to have been destroyed by Augustus because it adhered to the party of Brutus and Cassius, then refounded by him as 'Pietas Julia' in reverence to Julius Caesar, hence the name Pola.⁴

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¹ Oliver, Croatia, pp 136-40; Ceriani, Croatia, p 56
² Jackson, Dalmatia, III, p 309.
³ Oliver, Croatia, pp 129-34; Ceriani, Croatia, pp 60-63.
⁴ Jackson, Dalmatia, III, p 280.
- **Amphitheatre**

Its highlight is the well-preserved Roman amphitheatre of local limestone, first built by Claudius, but enlarged by Vespasian in AD 79 to accommodate gladiatorial combat and seat 23,000 spectators. It is in many ways the most interesting surviving example of the type, and makes use of the slope of the hill so that it is four storeys high on the sea side and only two on the land.¹ All that now remains is the exterior, as the seating was plundered as building material in the fifteenth century. But the thirty metre high outer wall stands, still with the gutter on top to collect the rainwater, and the slabs used to secure the *velarium* or canopy which shaded the spectators.

Pola: reconstruction of the Amphitheatre, completed AD 79; the arch of the Sergii. Ceriani, *Croatia*, rear cover; MacDonald, *Architecture of the Roman Empire*, p 93.

- **The Arch of the Sergii**

The Arch of the Sergii was built in honour of three members of the Sergii family, and bears the inscription 'SALVIA POSTVMA SERGI DE SVA PECVNIA'.² It is essentially a richer version of the arch at Susa, Italy, of 9-8 BC.³ Another Roman monument of note was the Gate of Hercules.

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¹ Jackson, *Dalmatia*, III, p 287.
² Jackson, *Dalmatia*, III, p 293.
The Adriatic Sphere

- **Temple of Roma and Augustus.**

This temple, of between AD 2 and 14, was one of a pair flanking a much larger temple [the Capitolium] on the north side of the form. It is tetrastyle (four columns across the end) Corinthian, and the frieze is carved with an acanthus scroll.\(^1\) It has steep proportions, and the four columns are of beautiful breccia, with capitals and an entablature are of great delicacy. The matching structure was a Temple of Diana, which in Jackson's time was still intact at the back, though the front was unrecognisable.\(^2\)

- **Cathedral**

The Cathedral of Pola was built, according to inscription from a door pediment, but now on the north aisle wall, in 857. But there is little left of this date, possibly much of the ground plan, the triumphal arch, and recycled material including some columns and capitals.\(^3\) On each side of the choir are two embedded columns with capitals of debased Roman work, like those of the triumphal arch. Their bases are a metre or so below the present floor level, resting on a pavement of ancient mosaic, which can be seen by raising a trapdoor. This is due to the subsidence of the ground. Most of the Duomo was rebuilt in the C15th. There is one capital with a Byzantine impost block of the Ravenna type, not in accord with either the original or the reconstruction date.\(^4\)

\(^2\) Jackson, *Dalmatia*, III, pp 293-4.
\(^4\) Jackson, *Dalmatia*, III, pp 296.
arches, separating the nave and aisles from the clergy section, which is raised above the nave level and has a *synthronon*.¹

**NIN [NONA]**²

Nin, on the coast above Zadar, was a town founded by the Liburnians, and known in Roman times as Aenona (Aenona Civitas in Pliny, *Natural History*, 1, iii, c. xxi). It became a bishopric in the ninth century, and by the tenth century it was occupied by Christianised Croats, and was occasionally the residence of the Croatian king. In 1327 Nona, like Trogir and Šibenik, sought the protection of Venice against the counts of Bribir. But it passed to Hungary and then Bosnia before returning to Venice in 1420. From the eighth to the fifteenth century, except for a short time in the fourteenth century, it was a predominantly Croatian town, and it is almost entirely Slavonic rather than Venetian in character. The oldest buildings, though plain, are Byzantine rather than western.³

Excavations have revealed a Capitolium with tripartite cella,⁴ but there are no standing Roman remains. The church of Sv Kriz [the Holy Cross, S Croce], of the ninth century (as dated by Eitelberger⁵), is regarded as one of the finest pre-Romanesque Croatian churches.⁶ It was the cathedral in Byzantine times, 'as small a cathedral as any in Christendom' according to Jackson, with a nave 2.6 metres wide and total length of 7.5 metres.⁷ It contains the *pletër* style font which has been referred to above.

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2 Ceriani, *Croatia*, p 100; McKelvie, *Dubrovnik*, pp 72, 74
6 Oliver, *Croatia*, p 39 dates it to the eleventh century, which is incorrect.
7 Jackson, *Dalmatia*, I, p 347.
Outside Nin, on the route to Zadar, was the ruin of the church of Sveti Nikola [St Nicholas – normally closed]: a Greek cross with apsidal arms and semi-domes, and a central dome with diagonal ribs below it.¹

**FIRST ROMANESQUE OR LOMBARDIC**

The 'First Romanesque' is a style which developed in Lombardy and spread across the south of France into Spanish Catalonia. Its influence in Dalmatia is less clear, but S Donat at Zadar is influenced by the style. Although it is misleading to speak of a 'first' style within the development of the Romanesque, the Lombardic strand is certainly an early and important one. In summary:

- It begins in Lombardy as a brick style.
- It develops under the influence of the brick architecture of Ravenna (which was still under the rule of the Byzantine exarchate), specifically in the use of pilaster strips and arcaded corbel tables.
- It develops further brick modelling motifs, including raking arcaded corbel tables running up gables and open dwarf galleries around the top of the apse.
- These characteristics come together as a coherent style in the church of San Vincenzo in Prato, Milan, of about 833.
- By the later ninth century stone versions are being built, as at S Pietro, Agliate, c 875, still with all these decorative forms deriving from the brick.

¹ Jackson, *Dalmatia*, I, p 342.
• The popularity of the Lombard stonemason, known simply as a Lombardus, was a major factor in the dissemination of the style in western Europe.

Rivoira is adamant that no characteristics of the Lombardic style appear in Dalmatia before they do in Italy itself, but this is not so clear in relation to the triple-apsed form.

San Vincenzo in Prato, Milan, c 833: east end; S Grisogono, Zadar, east end. Miles Lewis; Jackson, Dalmatia, I, p 290

The development of the triple apsed form, which is found at S Vincenzo in Prato, and which became a common element of Lombardic or First Romanesque architecture, is not so easily explained. It probably relates to the development of side chambers or pastophories flanking the main apse, an eastern characteristic which had appeared at Ravenna, and is explicitly adumbrated in the small polygonal apses attached to the side chambers of Sant' Apollinare in Classe. This plan with apsed side chambers (in this case with curved rather than polygonal exteriors) had appeared in the church of St Thecla, Meriamlik [modern Turkey], of about 480.

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1 Rivoira, Lombardic Architecture, I, p 180.
2 Smith, 'Form and Function', passim.
3 Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine, pp 82-4 & fig 29.
However a true triple apse appears in the great martyrium of St Simeon Stylites in Syria, also in the late fifth century, and a triple apse was used in the cathedral of Poreč, Istria, in the sixth century. The strong Syrian connections with Ravenna and the Adriatic region generally suggest Syria as a possible source, and Krautheimer, dogmatically but vaguely, describes the form as 'undoubtedly of Syro-Palestinian origin'. We return to this question below.

In Rome triple apses appear later, at Sant’Angelo in Pescheria n about 755, Santa Maria in Cosmedin as rebuilt around 780, Santa Maria in Domnica in about 820, and the upper church of San Saba, possibly c 900. Santa Maria in Cosmedin also has windows in the central apse, in the eastern fashion. However the inscribed apse form used here is less typical of Syria, and more likely to be of Palestinian or other origin. In France the church of St-Philibert-de-Grandlieu of 814-19 is believed to have been given a triple apse, though it was replaced about twenty-five years later. It is in the ninth century that the triple apsed form becomes a standard element of the Lombardic or 'First Romanesque' style.

ZADAR [ZARA]

Jadera was already an ally of Rome before it received a Roman colony, as Iader, in 78 BC. It was probably destroyed by the Avars, but recovered when the Latin population, which had fled to the islands, returned. This occurred after the Lombardic king, Aistulf, captured Ravenna in 752, causing the imperial prefects of the Adriatic to transfer themselves and their fleet to Zara. When peace was made between Charlemagne and Nicephorus I, Zara became the

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1 Krautheimer, Rome, p 105. Palestine seems a less likely source, and the triple apse of the church at Sbeita, which Krautheimer tentatively assigns to the sixth century, is apparently inscribed within a solid mass of masonry rather than expressed externally: Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine, p 189, pl 103(B). Krautheimer oddly attributes later examples of the triple apse in Rome to the influence, not of Montecassino itself but of 'smaller Montecassino derivatives' which were built on a three apse plan without a transept: Krautheimer, Rome, p 180.
2 Mâle, Early Churches of Rome, p 127.
3 Conant, Carolingian and Romanesque, p 27, who refers to it rather surprisingly as having 'the usual three apses', though there doesn't seem to be any evidence that they were usual in France at this time. However Krautheimer, Rome, p 105, speculates that there was triple apse in the church of St-Martin at Autun, apparently as early as the sixth century, though he does not explain the evidence.
4 Jackson, Dalmatia, I, p 244.
5 Jackson, Dalmatia, I, p 244.
capital of Byzantine Dalmatia,¹ and throughout the middle ages Zara was the most important city.² It passed briefly to the Hungarians, and then to Venice in 1116, after which it rebelled four times, but in broad terms remained Venetian to 1797.³

The Roman forum was founded by Augustus, and there are the remains of a Roman aqueduct and of a Roman tower on the east side of the town. Excavations have revealed a forum complex with a free-standing temple, a transverse street, and two-storeyed porticoes.⁴ There are various Roman fragments, including a partial gateway, traditionally said to have been brought from Aenona, but incorporated into the inner face of the Porta S Crisogono:⁵ it consists of an archway flanked by Corinthian columns, the lower part not intact, the frieze bearing the inscription:

MELIA ANNIANA IN MEMOR. Q. LAEPICI. Q. F. SERG. BASSI MARITI SVI EMPORIVM STERNI ET ARCVM FIERI ET STATVAS SVPERPONI TEST. IVSS EX IIS DCDXX. P. R.⁶

A number of medieval churches survive, but others are known to have gone. A church believed to have been dedicated to S Orsola was discovered in 1883, but covered over again.⁷ Later work includes fortifications built by Sanmichele in 1543-1570 when the Turks were seen as a threat. The gate to the land has the lion of St Mark and an inscription dating it to 1543.⁸

¹ Rivoira, Lombardic Architecture, I, p 173.
² Jackson, Dalmatia, I, p 244.
³ Jackson, Dalmatia, I, p 245.
⁴ Boethius & Perkins, Etruscan and Roman Architecture, p 366.
⁵ Jackson, confusingly, always gives this as Grisogono.
⁶ Jackson, Dalmatia, I, p 247.
⁷ Jackson, Dalmatia, I, p 266.
⁸ Jackson, Dalmatia, I, p 249.
• S Donat (S Donatus, S Donato)

The Church of the Holy Trinity,¹ now known as S Donat [S Donatus, S Donato], Zadar, was built during the Frankish occupation (812-76), or at latest before 949, when it was described.² It is built directly onto the old Roman pavement, with no foundation of its own.³ Circular in plan, its centre room is enveloped by the two tiers of an ambulatory and a gallery, both ring shaped. Six broad piers and two columns carry the arcade of the ground floor; a second order supports that of the gallery. The composite capitals of the two columns resemble those of the arch of Septimius Severus in Rome.⁴ Three horseshoe-shaped absidioles project from the ambulatory. The ambulatory is barrel-vaulted and the central space was originally covered by a dome. The gallery was originally linked to some adjoining structure, presumably a palace. The double storeyed central plan no doubt reflects the tradition of palace churches come down from Constantinian times. S Donat is thus a cousin several times removed of H Sergios and Bakchos in Constantinople, of S Vitale in Ravenna, and of Charlemagne’s palatine chapel at Aachen [Aix-la-Chapelle].⁵ On the exterior, blind arches articulate the apses, which make it part of the Lombardic tradition.

¹ Jackson, *Dalmatia*, I, p 238.
³ Jackson, *Dalmatia*, I, p 261.
⁴ Jackson, *Dalmatia*, I, p 254.
of northern Italy, and indeed the first example of this influence on the opposite side of the Adriatic (or anywhere at all, according to Rivoira\(^1\)).

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\(^1\) Rivoira, *Lombardic Architecture*, I, p 177.
G Moretti, who was in charge of the restoration work in 1931, reported:

... not much later than the church itself, was the addition of another building; perhaps as an annexe to it. Then the two piers next to the columns had their angles in the direction of the apse chamfered off in order to give more light in the presbytery; the original stairs near the left-hand apse were supplemented by another set near the entrance. Other changes in S. Donato were due to Archbishop Zmajevich (1715-45), who introduced twenty-eight steps of red marble (later replaced by new ones), and two columns at the top of the staircase between it and the vestibule. On the right of the doors which he made in the upper gallery, two arches resting on two columns and a pier, previously opening into the annexe above mentioned, were walled up. The existing conical roof also belongs to the time of Zmajevich, but his baroque portal was removed in 1891 ...

The church was used for service until the end of the eighteenth century, when the Austrian government converted it into a magazine. But in 1870 it was given back to the Cathedral authorities, and a few years later an excavation was made under the floor to find the Roman pavement (thought to be that of the Forum) upon which this singular medieval church had been raised, with its walls, piers, and columns resting on a series of colossal architectural members. In the last decades of the nineteenth century it became the receptacle for the art collections which now form the rich and interesting National Museum.

After the War the Italian Government at once undertook the task ... The primary objects in view were the restoration of the church, its reunion with the ancient annexe which had come to form part of a modern house, and the provision of more space for the collections. But these plans were gradually extended under the Department of Antiquities, and finally embraced the project, now on the point of completion, of isolating the building so far as possible, and restoring its original form. ...

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Cathedral of St Anastasia

The cathedral was rebuilt by Archbishop Lorenzo Periandro (1245-1287) and consecrated in 1285, possibly following the partial destruction of the town by the crusaders, and it seems to contain no material earlier than the thirteenth century. It has an old-fashioned basilican plan but non-standard proportions, the nave being three times the width of the aisles. Piers with attached shafts alternate with cylindrical columns. A string course above the nave arches consists of a distinctive leaf ornament found also at Split and Trogir but not outside Dalmatia. The west front is later, dated by inscription to 1324, and equivalent to those at Pisa, Lucca and Pavia. It is beautifully executed in white compact limestone, almost marble, but has suffered some Gothic and other alterations.

The sacristy is an apsidal building, perhaps originating as an earlier church, and the passage between it and the cathedral appears to have been a chapel. A little east of the apse is the unfinished campanile, begun in 1480. The baptistery to the north appears to be ancient, on a plan comparable with the former S Orsola, and with the half-ruined SS Trinità near Spoleto, and is almost

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1 Rivoira, Lombardic Architecture, I, p 180.
2 Conant, Carolingian and Romanesque, p 251, makes a confusing reference to this building as St Mary's Cathedral, Zadar, which he says has a Lombard east end, but a Pisan west end, marking a change in artistic orientation before its dedication in 1285. Although that date suggests that it is this building to which he refers, and the west front is indeed Pisan in character, he is clearly unaware that it dates from the fourteenth century.
exactly the same size as these, with a dome diameter of six metres and with six semi-domed apses, though here the plan is inscribed within an octagon.¹

- **Sv Marija (‘Stomorica’)²**

According to Jackson the Romanesque ‘bursts suddenly into life’ with the campanile and chapter house of the convent of S Maria at Zara, the work of King Coloman and his repudiated wife the abbess Vekenega between 1102 and 1111.³ The church of S Maria Minore is mentioned in 906, and in 1066 it was granted to Ciica, sister if the king, who wanted to build a nunnery. After Cicca’s death her daughter Vekenega followed her example, took the veil, and became the abbess.⁴ Only the lower part of the walls now stands.⁵ South of the quadrangle was the chapter house, coeval with the foundation of the monastery, or nearly so, roofed with a barrel vault with four plain transverse ribs, but disfigured by later alterations.⁶ This is particularly interesting because if Jackson’s drawing is accurate it provides the precedent for the remarkable roof of the cathedral at Šibenik.

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² Ref Vinski.
⁴ Jackson, *Dalmatia*, I, pp 296-305.
⁵ As advised by Marinba Bursič 2009..
⁶ Jackson, *Dalmatia*, I, pp 296-305.
Convent of Sv Marija, Zadar: reconstruction of the church; view of the campanile; plan &
300; p 302

- **Sv Petar Stari** [S Pietro Vecchio]

This is thought by some to be the oldest church in Zara, with a very unusual
plan of a double nave with a central arcade. The eastern apses are square but
have squinches creating a semicircle. Above this the vaults are half domes, a
very common device in Dalmatia [as at Sv Kriz at Nin, and Sv Barbara at
Trogir].

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1  Ref Vinski.
2  Jackson, *Dalmatia*, I, pp 261-3. Jackson reported it to be now a storehouse
forming the ground floor of a private dwelling in a street near the Piazza dei Signori.
• **Sv Lovro (St Laurence, S Lorenzo)**

S Lorenzo is mentioned in a document of 919, and was already partly destroyed when Jackson saw it, and the apse had disappeared. The nave was a barrel vault with transverse ribs at each bay, and, the aisles had semidomes on squinches facing sideways. The church it is now accessible from the Grand Cafe on the main square.¹

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¹ As advised by Marinba Bursič 2009.
Sveti Krševan [S Crisogono, Grisogono]

According to Jackson, S Crisogono, consecrated in 1175, 'is a very refined and highly finished piece of Lombard architecture resembling the churches at
Lucca, though in reality the east end may be better compared with examples like S Vincenzo in Prato, Milan, as we have seen above. It was originally dedicated to St Anthony, but was rededicated to S Crisogono in 649, when his relics were brought from Aquileia. The church and convent were rebuilt in 986, and apparently further rebuilt before being rededicated by Archbishop Lampridio (1146-1179) in 1175. There was a new consecration in 1407, suggesting further work. Internally the nave and aisles terminate in three apses, and columns alternate with piers with attached half columns. The exterior is more beautiful than the interior, especially the apses: there is an arcaded gallery around the main apse, arcaded corbel tables around all three, and there are raking arcaded corbel tables up the slope of the aisles behind.

- **Sv Nediljica (St Domenica, once S Giovanni in Pusterla)**

This is a small building which has been moved and reconstructed in the Museum of Sacred Art, adjoining the Roman forum. It has a cruciform crypt; nave and aisles, cross-vaulted and tied with iron rods, impost with knotwork; reached by an external stair, and a Romanesque doorway with scroll of knotwork.

- **The Land Gate**

Designed by Michele Sanmicheli, 1543.

**Šibenik [Sebenico]**

Šibenik is on the coast between Zadar and Trogir. It cannot be identified with the Roman colony of Sicum, which was located elsewhere, but first appears as a Croatian town, said to have been founded by bandits. It was small until 1127

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5 As advised by Marina Bursič 2009.
6 Jackson, *Dalmatia*, I, p 265.
7 Oliver, *Croatia*, p 182.
when much of the population displaced from Zara Vecchia or Belgrad moved there.¹

The fifteenth century Katedrala Sveti Jakova [Cathedral of St James] (1431-1536) is a World Heritage listed site. It was begun under various Venetian builders, and the earlier part, the nave, was by a Venetian, Antonio, son of Pietro Paolo. But after ten years the Zadar born builder and sculptor Giorgio Orsini, known as Giorgio Dalmatico [Juraj Dalmatinac], was summoned from Venice to take over the work.² Dalmatico increased the size and altered the design into one which is regarded as transitional Renaissance, for Gothic elements such as tracery remain in his work.³ This is scarcely surprising, as his work of 1441 preceded Alberti’s at Rimini by three years, and the Renaissance had had virtually no impact in Venice before Dalmatico left the city.

Around the exterior of the apses is a frieze containing seventy-one heads which are portraits of citizens, displaying various emotions. The staircases descending from the aisles into the sacristy, on one side, and the baptistery, on the other, were also designed by Dalmatico, and within the baptistery is a font supported by three angels, designed by Dalmatico and executed by the Albanian Andrea Alexi [Andrija Aleši] of Durazzo. The portal on the north side, by Dalmatico with Bonino de Milano, has columns depicting Adam and Eve. Each is carried on a lion, in a manner typical of Romanesque churches in northern Italy (and apparently originating in Carolingian manuscripts)⁴

¹ Jackson, Dalmatia, I, pp 368-9.
² Jackson, Dalmatia, I, p 389.
³ Jackson, Dalmatia, I, p 222.
⁴ Jackson, Dalmatia, I, p 384, took it to be part of Antonio Paolo’s work, but this view seems to have been superseded by modern scholarship.
The cathedral is made of stone quarried from the islands of Brač, Korčula, Rab and Krk, and is claimed to be the largest church in the world built entirely of stone,
without brick or wood supports (though what this means is not entirely clear). The vaulted roof was completed after Dalmatinac’s death by Nikola Firentinac, who also continued the façade in the Renaissance style. The vault is extremely unusual in that it is a single thickness of stone, the upper face visible externally, and the lower face internally. It relies upon iron ties to prevent it spreading, which is itself a matter of considerable interest. Iron ties in older buildings are generally taken to result from later attempts at remediation, and only in a few cases are they thought to have been integral to the design (Hagia Sophia, Istanbul; Ste Chapelle, Paris).

Buršić, Cancelliere and Fristrić have written about the quality of this stone, which they took to be from the island of Brač, and had analysed in Venice in 2001. They asserted that despite its thinness, from 150 to 250 mm, it was still sound and had never leaked over five centuries because it was 'practically impermeable'. They were unaware that much of the stone had in fact decayed and was replaced in the nineteenth century with stone from a different source. In 1843 there were signs of danger and the whole vault was taken down and reset, with a great deal replaced by new stone. In August 1843 the architect contracted with Zanchetti of Zara for 200 or 210 rough blocks of rough stone, not from Brač but from Rab [Arbe]. The grooved joints were sealed with cement rather than the original lead, and the building was reopened 1860.

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1 Oliver, Croatia, pp 39, 183.
3 Buršić, 'Unilayer Vault-Covering', p 63.
4 Jackson, Dalmatia, I, pp 392-3.
Buršić & Ferschin have written of this building as one of these exceptions which 'make a giant leap in the history of construction', and they seem unaware of the precedents. It is indeed a remarkable building, and the roofing system appears to be unique amongst surviving examples. But it was not conceived in a vacuum. An externally exposed barrel vault was used on the Temple of Aesculapius at Split, which is in fact the only other recorded example of such a feature, perhaps in the world. Not only is the connection to Šibenik obvious: so is the role of the temple in making the barrel vault popular throughout medieval Dalmatia.

1 Buršić & Peter Ferschin, ‘Structural Analysis’, p 1855.
Whether these two novel features at Šibenik may also have had local origins is unclear. Dyggve claims that 'a special vault technique of Syrian character' forms the basis of the barrel vault in the Temple of Aesculapius at Split, and that this 'gives rise to a series of characteristic Dalmatian buildings.' But what he means by this is obscure. He illustrates three vaults: a conventional half cylinder, one with arches or ribs crossing the underside, and one with longitudinal slabs spanning between transverse arches, as at Šibenik. Only the last of these could be described as 'a special vault technique', but it is unknown in Syria. And so far as the record goes, the vault of the Temple of Aesculapius appears to be of the conventional coffered type, not built of arches and slabs. Subsequently S Lorenzo and Sv Marija at Zadar both have or had a barrel vaults with transverse ribs. Whether slabs span longitudinally between them is not apparent, but it seems improbable.

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Outside Dalmatia, the Temple of Diana at Nîmes, France, has a system of parallel arches similar to that at Šibenik, but the spans between them are small. And long slabs are used in many Roman buildings of the Hauran, Syria, but in the construction of flat floors and roofs rather than barrel vaults. The vault at Šibenik is a combination of these two essentially Roman ideas, and one would expect it to have derived from prototypes nearer at hand than France and Syria. If Jackson's record is correct, that prototype is the nearby chapter house of the convent of Sv Marija, Zadar. In a sense that only puts problem at one remove, but in reality the Zadar example is much easier to explain – it is a smaller and much less remarkable construction, it belongs to a period when barrel vaults of various types were in regular use, and it is chronologically closer top the putative Roman prototypes.

On the opposite side of the square from the cathedral is or was the old two storeyed, arcaded loggia of 1532.¹

**TROGIR [TRAU]**

Trogir, now a World Heritage site a little to the east of Split, is set on an island, connected to the mainland by a bridge. Stewart describes it as an enchanting little town of honey-coloured stone.² It is supposed to have been founded by

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¹ Jackson, *Dalmatia*, I, p 378.
Syracusan Greek colonists in 380 BC. The town evolved through the Hellenistic period on a flat islet in the marshy strait between the mainland and the island of Ciovo. It became the Roman Tragurion, which flourished as an *oppidum civium romanorum*, linked with the neighbouring cities of Salona, capital of the Roman province of Dahnatia, and Siculi, a colony for Roman military veterans. During the Late Roman period it was extended and refortified. Extensive Roman cemeteries have been discovered, outside the town, as was customary, and a basilica was erected in one of 19 these in Late Roman times. Although it was not made a bishopric in the early Christian period, Trogir was endowed with two large aisled basilicas, sited where the present Cathedral and Benedictine Church of St John the Baptist now stand.\(^1\) The town passed into the nominal sovereignty of Byzantium until 998, when with the rest of Dalmatia it submitted to Venice. It was subsequently taken by the Hungarians, returned to Venice, sacked and destroyed by the Saracens in 1123, retaken by the Hungarians, and finally held by Venice on an enduring basis from 1420.\(^2\)

\(\text{Map of Trogir: State Geodetic Administration of the Republic of Croatia.}\)

\(\text{1 World Heritage documentation.}\)
\(\text{2 Jackson, *Dalmatia*, II, pp 100-101.}\)
- Cathedral of St Lovro [St Lawrence]

At the east end of the town is the People’s Square, with the cathedral on its north side, the loggiaed town hall on the south, and behind this the church of St Barbara.¹ After the previous church had been destroyed by the Saracens, the

present cathedral was begun in 1200, under the Florentine Bishop Treguano (1206-1254 or 1255) and by 1213 was built as high as the roof and covered in. The south portal was also finished in 1213: in 1240 Master Radovan finished the main west portal, the walls were finished in 1251, and the nave vaults in about 1440, and the bell tower was added in the late 16th century.

The cathedral is a three-aisled basilica, with two ranges of four massive columns separate the nave from the two side aisles. each of the aisles terminating in an apse. Radovan's west porch is Romanesque, with the Nativity in the tympanum, figure subjects on the outer or vertical faces, and the Baptism on the proper left. The second order in on the jambs has the scenes from daily life - killing a pig, making sausages, &c. Inside the porch at the west end is the baptistery, the work of Andrij AleSi (1467), with fine reliefs of St Jerome and the Baptism of Christ.

- **Chapel of Blessed John of Trogir**

Alessi worked with Nicolo di Giovanni da Firenze and Ivan Duknovic on the Chapel of St John of Trogir between 1468 and 1497. The coffered ceiling is decorated with angels and a Christ Pantocrator. Niches around the walls contain statues of the Apostles by the three artists. The red marble sarcophagus of the 11th century bishop is in Gothic style. The carvings by Nicolo di Giovanni da Firenze (after 1467), a pupil of Donatello, owe much to the superb limestone of Trogir, for which it was famous in antiquity.

- **Sv Barbara [or Martino]**

The oldest church is St Barbara (originally dedicated to St Martin), which is hidden away at the back of the Loggia, with an insignificant entrance. It was
rebuilt in Romanesque style in the 11th century.\textsuperscript{1} Hall churches such as Sv Barbara are frequent along the Dalmatian coast.\textsuperscript{2} It has a tunnel-like nave only 2.7 metres wide (though 9 metres high), and aisles which are no more than passages. The columns, which are probably spoils from Salona, are surmounted by clumsy blocks of stone carrying piers reaching to the roof, giving an ‘uncouth and archaic’ effect. There is a timber roof over the first three bays and a Romanesque cross-vault over the next. The chancel has a half dome supported by arches or squinches spanning the corners of a rectangular compartment, rather than a curved apse.\textsuperscript{3}

There are several other churches in Trogir. The Benedictine Church of St John the Baptist is, like the Cathedral, built on the site of an earlier church and is in the Romanesque style. The Church of St Sebastian on the main square is noted for its well proportioned Renaissance loggia of 1471-77. The Cathedral is flanked by one of the fine public buildings of Trogir, the Town Hall, from the 14th and 15th centuries. This was extensively restored in the 19th century, but retains its Renaissance appearance and contains many original features in place.\textsuperscript{4}

Of the numerous palaces of the aristocracy of the town, the Cipico Palace, facing the west end of the Cathedral, is the most outstanding. It consists of a complex of structures covering an entire town block. Most of it dates back to the 13th century, but some elements of buildings from the late Roman period are incorporated in it. During the 15th century the then owner, Koriolan Cipico, brought in the three most celebrated artists of the period, Nicolo di Giovanni da Firenze, Andrija Alessi, and Ivan Duknovic, to embellish its facade and interior. Throughout the town, and in particular round the ramparts, are the palaces of other leading families - Cega, Vithui, Lucic, Garagnin Fanfogna, Paitoni, Statileo, Andreis. Many of these rise directly from the foundations of late classical or Romanesque structures and are in all styles from Gothic to Baroque. All that remains of the successive fortifications of the town are the Camerlengo [Kamerlengo] fortress and one of the bastions of the Venetian defences.\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{1} World Heritage documentation.
\textsuperscript{2} Krautheimer, \textit{Early Christian and Byzantine}, p 221
\textsuperscript{3} Stewart, \textit{Serbian Legacy}, pp 26-7.
\textsuperscript{4} World Heritage documentation.
\textsuperscript{5} World Heritage documentation.
SPLIT [SPALATO, SPALATRO]

Diocletian, acclaimed as a Roman emperor in AD 284, was the son of an Illyrian slave, and it was natural that he should return to his native territory when, in accordance with the new rules which he himself had established, he retired as emperor on 1 May 305. For ten years previous he had been building his palace, on one of relatively few suitable sites available between the limestone mountains and the sea, in open country five kilometres from Salona.¹

The plan is based on the rectangular castrum, or Roman military camp, like most Roman town settlements. It was surrounded by walls two metres thick and eighteen metres high, and divided by two main roads crossing at right angles (the cardo and decumanus of the castrum). The southern half, close to the sea, was the imperial residence, and the northern half accommodated the imperial household, just like the arrangement in the castrum of the headquarters buildings and the accommodation of the ordinary troops. At each corner was a large tower, and at the centre of each side an entrance. The south wall, fronting the sea, had a small port entrance at sea level, and an open gallery or promenade above at first floor level.

¹ Stewart, Serbian Legacy, p 21.
Diocletian's Palace, Split: reconstruction by Hébrard, 1912.

The walls were of uniform height, with corner towers rising only slightly higher. The main entrance is the Golden Gate on the north side. Above it is arcuated machicolation – that is, a projecting band of masonry with arches beneath, and openings through which missiles, boiling oil &c could be dropped upon any attacker. This is the earliest clearly identifiable example of this device. Here the arches do not just hang in the air, as in some of the later Lombardic architecture which partly derived from this source. They are carried upon classical shafts or colonettes, which in turn rest upon stones corbelled out from the wall. Whatever its origin this was soon to be a common north Syrian feature, and indeed the sixth century gateway at Resafe is not dissimilar. Locally, as has been mentioned, the Golden Gate was to influence the Palace of the Exarchs at Ravenna.

The main door is capped by a stone beam in the form of a joggled flat arch – that is, a horizontal series of tapered voussoirs in which the radiating joints are
slightly stepped so that one stone cannot slide past the next. A flat arch is far from the ideal form, but it can work so long as the abutting masonry is totally immovable, so that no spreading or sliding is possible. Its strength is approximately that of the shallow curved arch which might be inscribed within it. But if it cannot spread, then there is no need for the joggles. Whereas if there is spreading or movement, so that the joggles are brought into play, it ceases to function as a true arch and it imposes shear stresses on the joggles, such that in many surviving examples there is a crack from the joggle to the intrados or the extrados. These joggled flat arches, as has also been mentioned, are regularly found in Syria, and also occur in the sixth century Mausoleum of Theodoric, Ravenna.¹ The keystone of the architrave was originally decorated with relief of a Nike, but this was cut away by the Christians and replaced with a cross.²

![Peristyle, Diocletian's Palace, Split; Temple of Aesculapius, Diocletian's Palace, Split. Grabar, Origins of Christian Art, p 152; Jackson, Dalmatia, II, p 65, after Adam.](image)

Interesting though these details are, Perkins's position seems (to me) a little rash:

That an architect and workmen from the eastern provinces were amongst those employed in the building of Spalato there can be little doubt. Amongst the elements that can be seen to stem more or less directly from Syria or Asia Minor are the several instances of the use of the Syrian ‘arcuated lintel’ and the arcading of the columnar screens on either side of the so-called ‘Peristyle’. The whole treatment of the Porta Aurea is typically Syrian, with its characteristic combination of an open arch with a

¹ Jackson, Dalmatia, pp 35-6.
² Dyggve, History of Salonitan Christianity, p 7.
horizontal lintel, the bracketing out on consoles of its decorative arcade, and the deliberate ambivalence of the receding planes of the wall surface, just as in the Temple of Dionysius at Baalbek. The preference for fine, squared-stone masonry, extending even to the barrel-vaulting of the small temple, points in the same general direction. So too does the use of brick vaulting, which includes example of the same 'pitched' brickwork as at Thessalonike and an ingenious version of the same technique in the dome of the mausoleum, which is built up of superimposed, interlocking fans of brickwork, converging upwards towards the crown. For the immediate inspiration for all these features one would have had to look east of the Aegean, to Asia Minor or to Syria. ...\(^1\)

The problem with this account is that it evokes connections with a wide ranges of places and periods which are totally distinct from each other, and cannot represent a single strand of influence. The 'arcuated lintel', or flat arch, when found in Syria is generally (or always?) later in date than Spalato. The arcading on columns found in the Peristyle, which is discussed below, is not characteristically Syrian at all, but first appears in a crude form at Pompeii, and later in North Africa. Brick vaulting is completely unknown in Syria – a crude rubble concrete is characteristic of the Hauran, and in the north there seems to have been some lightweight roof construction such as cane. It is harder to be precise about Asia Minor, but the analogies are no more convincing.

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The Mausoleum of Diocletian is a pivotal monument in the development of late antique architecture. Inside it is circular, domed in brick and about 13 metres in diameter, or 10.6 metres clear of the columns, with eight niches opening out at ground level, alternately apsidal and rectangular. Between each pair of niches is a freestanding column: the lower columns are granite, the upper ones granite and porphyry in alternating pairs. These columns have no structural function except to carry a second tier of columns above. In what is in effect a two storey elevational treatment, an entablature runs around the wall at first floor level, but it steps out in little projecting blocks, each serving as the entablature to the lower column and the pedestal of the upper one. At the top of the upper columns the same form of entablature occurs, though it now carries nothing. The block of entablature projecting out from the wall is known as a *ressaut*, and is another innovative, though not totally unprecedented classical element.

The dome is built about to about half way up in a series of staggered relieving arches, but above that finished in concentric courses of brickwork. It seems certain that the upper columns and ressaunts carried something further, perhaps some sort of decorative and non-structural rib treatment below the dome, but this is pure speculation, for no evidence survives. Many of the original details show signs of hasty completion, and Jackson believed the upper columns, which have a height/diameter ratio of 7:1 rather than 10:1, to be clumsily used spoils.\(^1\)

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1 Jackson, *Dalmatia*, p 37.
An extensive restoration in 1882-4 damaged the authenticity of the building. The lower entablature almost entirely renewed, together with the eight Corinthian capitals. The cornice of the upper entablature, and part of the frieze and architrave, were renewed in Curzola stone. To do this it was necessary to cut out the brickwork. The upper capitals were been put in the museum and replaced by copies.¹

The external walls of the Mausoleum do not reveal the shape of the interior, with its alternate curved and rectangular recesses, for these are all concealed within a plain octagon – a plan type sometimes referred to as *inscribed*. Around the octagon, at ground floor level only, was an octagonal colonnade like a verandah. The interior treatment of a circular space with niches, and a represented system of trabeation, is broadly related to the much grander Pantheon, in Rome. The external form of an octagon surrounded by a colonnade resembles the Baptistery of St John Lateran in Rome. But most especially this plan, with curved and rectangular recesses relates to a whole family of Early Christian baptisteries in northern Italy and southern France. The Baptistery at Milan, the foundations of which are preserved below the Cathedral forecourt, was of almost exactly the same, with alternating niches inscribed in an octagon. The baptistery at Lomello, on the other hand, has the same interior form, but with the niches fully expressed on the exterior. The doorway of the mausoleum is capped by a lintel of classical form but with faces carved on the modillions, showing (as Rivoira points out) that this was not a later Lombardic innovation.²

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¹ Jackson, *Dalmatia*, pp 35-6.

Diocletian’s porphyry sarcophagus remained in place for 170 years before it was removed by the Vandals and lost.\(^1\) The pulpit is thirteenth century,\(^2\) and

\(^{1}\) Stewart, *Serbian Legacy*, p 23.  
\(^{2}\) McKelvie, *Dubrovnik*, p 22.
the wooden portal with twenty-eight square reliefs is Gothic in date. The doors are in two flaps, each containing fourteen panels with borders of Romanesque knotwork and scrolls. According to Farlatti, in his *Illyricum Sacrum*, it was carved in 1214 by Andrea Buvina, but this seems to be a mistake, and the reference should be to Andrea Guvina, a painter of Spalato.\(^1\) The subject matter is from the life and passion of Christ, as follows:\(^2\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>left leaf</th>
<th>right leaf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 the Annunciation</td>
<td>2 the Nativity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 the Three Wise Men travelling</td>
<td>3 the Three Wise Men worshipping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 the Massacre of the innocents</td>
<td>6 the Flight into Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 the Presentation</td>
<td>8 the Baptism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 the miracle at Cana</td>
<td>10 the Temptation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 healing the demoniac</td>
<td>12 Christ &amp; the woman of Samaria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>14 the raising of Lazarus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The campanile was built without any foundation directly on the old steps and platform of the Mausoleum. It is of differing but unknown dates, possibly started before 1323, interrupted by the death of Maria of Hungary, resumed in 1360 and finished in 1416 but for the upper octagon and spire, which are later still. There is evidence of restoration work in about 1472 and 1501, and it was further restored in the 1880s.\(^3\)

Upon the Avar conquest of Salona in 639 the displaced population fled to the islands, but then returned to the mainland and occupied Spalato as an intended stepping stone to the reconquest of Salona, which they never achieved. But ultimately a mandate from Constantinople restrained the Avars from harrassing them at Spalato, and normal relations developed. In 1105 the Spalatini

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1 Jackson, *Dalmatia*, II, pp 46-7. Modern sources, such as Oliver, *Croatia*, p 39, perpetuate the error.
2 Jackson, *Dalmatia*, II, p 49.
admitted the Hungarians on the condition that their privileges would be respected, but the relationship soured and the citizens revolted and destroyed the Hungarian garrison. The Tartars appeared outside Spalato in 1241 and killed all the citizens they found outside the wall, but moved on in pursuit of the Hungarian king, Bela. In the confusing period which followed there were episodes of Slavic, Venetian and Hungarian control, but in 1420 the Spalatrans invited the Venetians, who garrisoned the town, and henceforward its history was as part of Dalmatia generally.¹

Spalato exerted a great influence on the region throughout the medieval period: the barrel vault, as used in the Temple of Aesculapius, was popular, and doorways were commonly built with a semicircular lunette above a horizontal beam, as in the Porta Aurea and the Porta Ferrea.² But so far as the outside world was concerned the palace as a whole had sunk into oblivion until the ambitious young Scottish architect Robert Adam conceived the idea of recording it and thus establishing himself as the authority on Roman architecture. He visited in 1757, employing a French draftsman, Louis Clérisseau, to record the evidence. Adam made a point of keeping Clérisseau out of the way afterwards, so that there could be no question of his stealing Adam’s thunder. In 1764 there appeared Robert Adam’s *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia.*

- **Sv Trojica [SS Trinità]**³

Centrally planned churches, cross-shaped, trefoil and occasionally round, with six projecting niches, as at Sv Trojice, are common in 9th century Dalmatia.⁴

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³ Ref Vinski.

- Sv Juraj

- Sv Eufemija

**THE ENTABLATURE & THE DOSSERET BLOCK**

The peristyle at Split marks a major step in the evolution, or more accurately the decline, of the classical language of architecture. Classical Greek architecture was governed by strict conventions, and these were extended by the Romans to deal with the arch. They are not found in any written form.

1. the face of the entablature is roughly above the outermost edge of the column

2. the beam or lintel is supported by round columns, not by square piers, or by sections of wall, or anything else

3. the arch is a hole in a wall, and if two archways are next to each other, the piece in between is a piece of wall and is therefore rectangular in plan - that is, it is a pier, not a column

4. the pier and the arch, being both parts of the same wall, must be of the same thickness back to front

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1 Ref Vinski.
2 Ref Vinski.
5. the springing of an arcade must be of the same width as the pier (which is only logical when the openings are construed as being holes in a wall).

6. a beam or lintel, itself supported on columns, can support a wall (or pediment), and a wall is allowed to contain an arched opening, so you can have an arch above columns, provided that there is a lintel in between the column capital and the beginning of the arch.

7. if in accordance with the preceding principle you have two arches next to each other, there will be only a little cube of entablature on top of the common column (the name for this is impost block).

Although the impost block is implied by these classical principles, no clear example of it exists from classical times (the ressaute in the Mausoleum of Diocletian come closest to the appearance of impost blocks, but are not freestanding). It was seemingly invented by Odo of Metz at the Palatine Chapel, Aachen, and then independently reinvented by others, including Filippo Brunelleschi. But what happens at the Palace of Diocletian is an attempt – by no means the first - to evade the classical rules entirely.

Rule 6 provides a way in which an arch can be inserted into a pediment. But there is a lazier way, which is to pretend that it is not an arch at all, but a section of the lintel which just happens to have been bent upwards. For this to be even remotely convincing it means that the mouldings and profiles of the lintel must continue uninterrupted around the curve of the archivolt (as it is known). This was done at the Temple of Hadrian, Ephesus, in AD c 117-125, and the Temple of Dushara at Si' or Seeia, in Syria, AD late C1st,¹ an it was also done at the end of the peristyle at Split.

But this is the thin end of the wedge, for if you can have a non-arch of this sort, why can you not have two non-arches next to each other, or even a whole row of them? That is what happens in the sides of the peristyle, for the first time in Europe (though there is a slightly earlier example in North Africa\(^1\)). Thus, just before the Peace of the Church and the blossoming of Christian architecture, the new motif of the arch supported on columns has appeared. The complete breakdown of the classical language was to ensue.

Another aspect of the breakdown was the introduction of the dosseret block. When I said that there was no classical example of the impost block, I meant the true impost block, moulded like a section of classical entablature. For there were other elements introduced to effect the illegal transition between a column and an arch. One was a simple flat plate or abacus, a little wider than the column capital, which occurred in primitive example like the House of Amor & Psyche, Ostia. A more elegant form was a thicker plate with a classical ogee profile, such as occurs at Santo Stefano Rotondo, Rome, of 470-483, and later in the churches of the Florentine Proto-Renaissance. A third was to turn it into something shaped a bit like a basket or cushion, and this was to become the usual Byzantine type (known indeed as a *pulvino*, or cushion).

As some sources use the various terms interchangeably, and are very confusing, it may be helpful to recommend a sensible approach:

\(^1\) Arcades of the Severan Forum, Lepcis Magna [modern Algeria], AD C3rd.
- **dossoriet block** as the general term for a piece inserted between the column capital and the arch springing

- **impost block** for the specific case where it takes the form of a classical entablature

- **pulvin** or **pulvino** for the specific case where it is cushion-shaped

**SOLIN [SALONA]**

Topography of Salona
Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, I,2

Reconstruction plan of Salona
Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, I,5
Salona is the only sizeable early Christian site on the Dalmatian coast, and survived until conquered by Slavic Croatian tribes in the 640s. After Rome, it is the most important urban area on European soil for studies in archaeology of early Christianity. According to Dyggve the oldest quarter was of Greek origin, and it was extended twice in pagan times, to east and west, hence the common use of the plural, Salona. At the time of Caesar the town was separated from the Adriatic islands and raised to the status of Colonia Martia Julia. Greek was still widely spoken, and over half the Christian cemetery inscriptions are Greek. Roman remains include those of an amphitheatre, a theatre, public baths, and a covered aqueduct from the 1st century. Because the conquest of Christianity was quicker and more complete than in Rome, relatively few traces of pagan temples have been found, and those mostly relating to Mithraism and late cults.

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1 Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine*, p 221.
Of the thirteen known pagan cult sites, two Roman temples stood in the forum, and a third in front of the stage building of the theatre, which Dyggve has reconstructed.\(^1\) The Roman amphitheatre of the second century, destroyed by the Venetians in the seventeenth century, had been the scene of Christian martyrdoms under Diocletian. The Christians commemorated this by the construction of two chapels, of which the eastern one is the better preserved.\(^2\)

Dyggve speaks of Christian propagandists who came from the distant Syrio-Mesopotamian missionary schools and had started their propaganda in Salona during the pagan period.\(^3\) But the basis for this is somewhat vague. He says elsewhere that the first Christian missionaries at Salona come from the very country of Mithraism between Euphrates and Tigris and adjoining Syrian

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districts. In fact, however northern Syria, the apparent source of stonemasonry
details found at Salona, is a place very different from Mesopotamia.

Salona, memoria precinct, early fourth century and later; plan of buildings around a martyr’s

Salona was destroyed by the Avars in 639,¹ and no standing building remain,
so that little more than plan forms has been recorded. Numerous small martyria
precincts have been found in the cemeteries of Salona, of a great variety of
forms.² In Constantine’s time well-to-do families vied in building exedrae as
family tomb chapels near a martyr’s tomb, as in the cemetery at Manaštirine.³
(though Dyggve’s surmise that Manaštirine was the Arian cemetery would imply
a later date⁴). The Anastasius Mausoleum, Salona, 305-310,⁵ was particularly
early, and was a most interesting buttressed structure, which I believe to have
been influential in Ravenna.

¹ Jackson, Dalmatia, II, p 1.
² Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine, p 221.
³ Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine, p 30.
⁴ Dyggve, History of Salonitan Christianity, p 56.
⁵ Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine, p 14.
The merging of the martyrium and the basilica in the last decade of Constantine's reign is illustrated very clearly in the martyrium of about 350 in the graveyard of the Five Martyrs at Salona-Kapljuc. At Salona-Marusinač an elaborate tomb precinct was laid out: a long porticoed courtyard, terminated by an apse and two mausolea projecting sideways. Superficially the plan recalls a basilica with transept, and indeed the structure has been termed a 'basilica discoperta' and interpreted as the ancestor of all church building. Both the precinct's late date, 426, and the rarity of basilicas with transepts makes this thesis untenable. On the contrary it was old-fashioned by fifth century standards.

The Adriatic Sphere

Salona: three basilicas; Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, III: 11, 12 & 13

The churches drew upon both Latin and Greek sources. The putative offertory rooms of the Lateran Basilica (a sort of proto-transept) were reflected in the eastern basilica or *basilica orientalis*. Of the *basilica orientalis* only a small scale plan has been published by Dyggve, who dates it to the fourth century. However his proposed reconstruction of a cross transept is not borne out by the foundation walls, which are all that survives.¹

When the Manaštrine monastery complex was remodelled in about 400, the Roman basilicas of S Pietro and S Paolo fuori le Mura were taken as prototypes, and a continuous transept created to shelter the grave of the local martyr-bishop. The double cathedral, on the other hand, is linked to the Istrian tradition of double halls, though in this case they are true basilicas. The southern one, the *basilica episcopalis*, has a short bay between the nave and apse, which is a distinctively local feature. The building may be as early as 350, though the proportions are those of fifth century churches around the Adriatic, which suggests otherwise. The northern basilica, the *basilica urbana*, has mosaic flooring and a *synthronon*, inspired by Istrian examples.²

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By the beginning of the fifth century, earlier than elsewhere, the cemetery basilica at Salona becomes indistinguishable from city churches of the standard Aegean type. The Anastasius basilica at Salona-Marusinač was a normal basilica like any in Greece, including the mosaic carpets in nave and aisles, the altar directly in front of the apse, the atrium enveloped by porticoes. Only the short bay in front of the apse seems derived from the local basilica episcopalis. But the church is at a cemetery outside the town and has private mausolea at the four ends of the aisles.¹

Possibly about 530 the south basilica of the double cathedral [see above] was replaced by a cross structure with four basilican arms, in plan much like the Church of the Apostles at Gerasa, and presumably that of Porphyrius at Gaza. At times the apse of a basilica at Salona is flanked by rectangular rooms with one curved side – the plan known from the islands near the west coast and from the south coast of Asia Minor [the basilica in the south cemetery]. Or else, as in the churches of the Negev, the aisles of one of the Salonitan churches terminate in absidioles, which in turn are followed by regular pastophories [the basilica orientalis].

When the baptistery of the cathedral at Salona was rebuilt towards the end of the fifth century, columns in two tiers were placed against the walls, recalling Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine*, p 136.
the Mausoleum of Diocletian at Spalato, yet the mosaic decoration (of which only fragments have been found) must have been similar to that of the Orthodox Baptistry, Ravenna. The baptistery was completely excavated in 1846, and the interior had stucco reliefs, wall paintings and golden mosaics.

An interesting observation by Dyggve is that there appear to be two cathedrals, each with its own baptistery. His conclusion that one was Nicean or Orthodox and one was Arian, seems inescapable, as the same thing is found later at Ravenna. Salona and the whole of Dalmatia had come under Odoacer in 481 and from 493 under Theodoric and successive Ostrogoths. But it is remarkable that the Arian Goths were willing not only to allow Orthodox worship to continue, but to leave Orthodox churches intact and build their own from

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scratch. It is even more remarkable that they should have been content to use smaller and more austere cathedrals and baptisteries than their rivals. But this is consistent with their puritanism, for the Arians did not recognise the cult of martyrs, or of the Theotokos (Virgin).

Of the medieval buildings at Salona may be mentioned Sv Stjepan.

**THE SYRIAN CONNECTION**

Dyggve's repeated references to Syrian missionaries and others seem to be vague and unsubstantiated, but they are not baseless. We have already had occasion to mention a number of Syrian links with the Adriatic. The most striking of these are the stonemasonry details, especially the flat arch with joggled joints as used at the Palace of Diocletian. By the same token, the flat arch and the joggled joint appear in the Mausoleum of Theodoric, Ravenna, which we might attribute to the influence of Split, were not for the fact that the monolithic arch, a peculiarly Syrian feature, is found there as well. The relationship between the Porta Aurea and the gateway to Resafa could only be the result of influence in the reverse direction, given that Resafe is very much later, unless there is a common origin for the two.

A particularly Syrian form of decoration is a form of low relief based upon circles, all of the same radius, subdivided by drawing arcs of the same radius across them in various ways to create paterae and rosettes. This decoration (which I call *monoradial*) appears exactly on a Salonitan architrave Illustrated by Dyggve, and it seems to be the basis for some of the more three-dimensional carved rosettes at Cividale, referred to above.

We have already seen that the use of the triple apse form at Poreč Cathedral, as earlier at Qalat Si’man in northern Syria, caused Krautheimer to postulate a Syrian connection. We can add to this the unusual placement of the baptistery on the axis to the west of both churches. Other relationships seem a little doubtful – although stone slab construction is found in the Hauran it is very different from the arch and slab construction of the cathedral at Šibenik. In fact our other links are specifically with northern Syria, and it would be wiser to treat the Hauran as irrelevant. Nor can anything be made of the development of the bent-up archivolt at Split and at the Temple of Dushara at Seea in Syria, for such novelties were appearing right across the Hellenistic-Roman world.

At a less physical level, the fact that the early bishops of Ravenna were all Syrians is surprising, and must be more than coincidence.
KOTOR [CATTARO], Montenegro

The Bay of Kotor (Boka Kotorska), the ancient Rhizonicus Sinus, is one of the most indented parts of the Adriatic Sea is sometimes called the southernmost fjord in Europe (though it is actually a submerged river canyon). The nearly overhanging limestone cliffs of Orjen and Lovćen complete one of the great Mediterranean landscapes. The town of Kotor lies at the end of the fantastically beautiful fjord, on a narrow shelf of land below the towering mountains of Montenegro. Around are fortifications which run far up the mountain face to join a castle perched on a needle of rock 150 metres above.

In Roman times Kotor was Acruvium, Ascrivium, or Ascruvium. It has been fortified since the early Middle Ages, when Emperor Justinian built a fortress above Acruvium in AD 535, after expelling the Goths, and a second town probably grew up on the heights round it, for Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in

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1 The following derives mainly from Wikipedia, and from Jackson where indicated.
2 Jackson, *Dalmatia*, III, p 1.
the 10th century, alludes to Lower Kotor. The city was plundered by the Saracens in 840. Until the 11th century the Dalmatian language was spoken here.

In 1002, the city suffered damage under occupation of the First Bulgarian Empire, and in the following year it was ceded to Serbia by the Bulgarian Tsar Samuil. However, the local population resisted the pact, and taking advantage of its alliance with the Republic of Ragusa only submitted in 1184, while maintaining its republican institutions and its right to conclude treaties and engage in war. It was already an episcopal see, and, in the 13th century, Dominican and Franciscan monasteries were established to check the spread of Bogomilism.

In the 14th century commerce in Kotor, as the city was then called, rivalled that of the nearby Republic of Ragusa and of Venice. Kotor was part of the Venetian Albania province of the Venetian Republic from 1420 to 1797, except for periods of Ottoman rule between 1538-1571 and 1657-1699. The impressive city wall was built by Republic of Venice and the Venetian influence remains dominant among the architectural influences. Four centuries of Venetian domination have also given the city the Venetian baroque architecture which contributed to make Kotor a UNESCO world heritage site.

- **St Tryphon**

The Cathedral of Saint Tryphon [S Trifone; Montenegrin: Katedrala Svetog Trifuna / Катедрала Светог Трифуна] in Kotor is one of two Roman Catholic cathedrals in Montenegro. It is the seat of the Croatian Catholic Bishopric of Kotor which covers the entire gulf, currently led by Bishop Ilija Janjić. The first church on the site was built in 809 by Andreaccio Saracenis, a citizen of Kotor, to receive the bones of S Tryphon from Constantinople, bought from some Venetian merchants. It was rebuilt in its present form in 1123-66, and the high altar was reconstructed 1362. A former ciborium archivolt built in over the sacristy door was originally executed for the founder, Saracenis. The interior has the same alternation of clustered piers as at Zadar. The imposing two towered west front is unusual in the region.

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1 Jackson, *Dalmatia*, III, pp 38, 41.
3 Jackson, *Dalmatia*, III, pp 38, 41.
It was seriously damaged in the earthquake of 1667 and rebuilt, but there were not enough funds for its complete reconstruction, which is why its two towers differ in form. The carving of the porch and the rose window, which Jackson thought to be at least C16th, though still with some Gothic overtones, presumably date to this rebuilding. Another massive earthquake in April 1979, which completely devastated the Montenegro coast, also greatly damaged the cathedral. But it was saved and the careful restoration of parts of its interior was completed a few years ago. This formidable piece of Romanesque architecture is one of the oldest and perhaps the most beautiful monuments along the Adriatic Sea.

Kotor: ciborium archivolt, Duomo, 809, now built in over the sacristy door; plan of Sv Luka; plan of the Collegiata.


- **Sv Luka**

Within a toy city of tiny squares and pedestrian lanes is the church of St Luke, built in 1196, the same year in which Stefan was crowned and his capital established at Raš, 160 kilometres away. The Orthodox church of Sv Luka is one of many Croatian Slav churches in Dalmatia with a barrel vault into which a dome has been inserted. Externally it is no more than a stone box of about 9 by 4.5 metres, punctuated at the centre by a shallow cylinder of stone with a low conical roof. Internally it is more impressive, with the horizontal axis of the nave intersecting the vertical axis of the dome, and is the prototype Serbian church. However the pendentives are rough, creating a rude octagon to support a malformed dome, without the intervening drum of later and more sophisticated examples.

1  Jackson, *Dalmatia*, III, p 39.
Jackson refers also to the Franciscan church of Sta Chiara¹ and to La Collegiata, or church of S Maria Infunara, which like S Tryphon was originally built by Andreacci Saracenis, but then rebuilt in 1220, apparently on the same plan.²

**DUBROVNIK [RAGUSA]**

According to Rebecca West the name Ragusa was pure Illyrian, but was changed to Dubrovnik when it became a part of Yugoslavia, simply because it sounded Italian.³ The Roman Rausium was on the southern part of the present town site.⁴ The city withstood a Saracen siege for fifteen months in 867-8. By the later fifteenth century Renaissance influence was appearing in late Gothic structures.⁵ Ragusa was a republic which retained a degree of independence over a long period, but on 6 April 1667 an earthquake destroyed many houses and most of the public buildings, killing 5000 citizens. The cathedral required complete rebuilding and the churches of S Biagio, S Francesco and S Domenico lost their roofs.⁶ S Biagio was finally destroyed by fire in 1706, then rebuilt in Baroque.⁷ After the fall of Venice in 1797 Ragusa was taken by the

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¹ Jackson, Dalmatia, III, p 51.
² Jackson, Dalmatia, III, p 49.
³ West, Black Lamb and Grey Falcon, p 238.
⁴ Jackson, Dalmatia, II, p 287.
⁵ Oliver, Croatia, pp 40, 233.
⁶ Jackson, Dalmatia, II, p 304.
⁷ Jackson, Dalmatia, II, p 307.
French in 1806 and the Republic of Ragusa ceased to exist. In 1814 the English and Austrians ousted the French and the city, with the rest of Dalmatia, came and remained under Austrian rule. The architectural remains of Ragusa are from the Venetian rule or the period of independence: almost no trace of Byzantine remains.

The Sponza Palace, or Dogana [the former customs house and mint, now the National Archives], is an example of the mixed style, dating from the 16th century, though the ground and first floors of Cortile may be as early as 1312.5 The original building, already ancient in 1440, standing in 1312 when its completion was ordered – the ground floor with its arcades and warehouses surrounding the courtyard. This work was probably the first floor, but the date can’t be very different. The third storey or second floor is dated by inscription to 1520.7 The facade to the piazza has a handsome renaissance loggia, also doubtless of 1520.8

La Sponza, Dubrovnik. Jackson, Dalmatia, II, facing p 358.

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1 Jackson, Dalmatia, II, pp 308-9.
2 Jackson, Dalmatia, II, p 327.
3 Jackson, Dalmatia, II, p 357.
4 Oliver, Croatia, pp 40, 233.
5 Jackson, Dalmatia, II, p 315.
6 Jackson, Dalmatia, II, p 359.
7 Jackson, Dalmatia, II, p 360.
8 Jackson, Dalmatia, II, p 361.
The Palazzo del Rettore or Rector's palace was, repaired and partly remodelled by Michelozzo and Giorgio Orsini in 1464.¹ There was a castle here in the earliest days of settlement, and when the Roman and Vlach settlements were combined it became the seat of government, until 1388, when it was removed to make way for a new palace for the rector. This was destroyed by fire in 1435 and a grander palace was built by Onofrio la Cava, only to be in turn largely destroyed by fire in 1462. Michelozzo Michelozzi and Giorgio Orsini were engaged. Michelozzo was at Ragusa in 1463 superintending the construction of the city walls, and on 11 February 1464 the Consigli ordered that the rebuilding be to his design and advice. He seems to have been unable to stay on site, and in June Giorgio Orsini was appointed to carry on the work. This is essentially the design that survives, though it required extensive repairs after an earthquake in 1667.²

¹ Jackson, *Dalmatia*, II, p 315.
Onofrio di La Cava’s work of 1435 is to be distinguished from that of the remodelling.¹ De Diversis saw the Aesculapius capital (A on the elevation) in

¹ Jackson, *Dalmatia*, II, p 333.
the carver's hands in 1435, and it is undoubtedly Onofrio's work,¹ But the round arches of the loggia date from the Renaissance,² and so do the three capitals B, F,G, whereas capitals B, F,G are Gothic gems. Jackson located another of the Gothic capitals, removed because it was damaged, in private hands at Gravosa, not far away.³ The excessively deep abaci are all from the Renaissance, and Jackson concluded that they were to help make up the height of what has formerly been a pointed arcade. He also concluded that the solid panels at either end were the bases of towers, and other authorities concur in this.

- **Franjevacki Samostan [Franciscan Monastery]**

The Franciscan Monastery, at Placa 2, is reached by a narrow passage from St Saviour's Church. The south door, of 1499, is Venetian Gothic, with a fine Pieta in the tympanum. The friary church is dedicated to St Francis, and has a campanile, and inside the church is a fifteenth century marble pulpit. The fifteenth century cloister survived the earthquake of 1667 (though the upper level was built subsequently, in 1677). It is Romanesque with some incipient Gothic characteristics: on the paired columns are capitals with human, animal and plant themes, and at the centre of the garth is a fifteenth century fountain. Off the cloister is the pharmacy (*Stara Ljekarna*), which has been in use since 1317 and claims to be the oldest working pharmacy in Europe. Ancient laboratory instruments, mortars, measuring tools and beautifully decorated jars are displayed on old shelves. A Franciscan Museum (*Muzej Franjevackog Samostana*) is housed in another room within the monastery, displaying a collection of religious art and artifacts belonging to the Franciscan order. There is also a valuable library.⁴

¹ Jackson, *Dalmatia*, II, p 334.
² Jackson, *Dalmatia*, II, p 335.
Franjevacki Samostan [Franciscan Monastery]: south door, 1499; cloister, fifteenth century. Photos, D Danzig, Glenn Parker, Sacred Destinations

S Francesco, Dubrovnik: capitals in the cloister
Jackson, *Dalmatia*, II, pp 370, 371, 372

- **Dominican Monastery (Dominikanski Samostan)**

The Dominican monastery, at Sveti Dominika 4, in the Old Town, was founded in 1315, and was constructed against the city wall to strengthen its south-
eastern flank. It was severely damaged in the earthquake of 1667 and extensively rebuilt afterwards. A stairway leads to the Romanesque south church door, by Bonino of Milan. Above the door is a Romanesque statue of St Dominic, founder of the Dominican order, and an ogee arch surmounted by a statue of Christ, added in 1419. The single nave church dates from the fourteenth century, but was drastically remodelled in the 1970s, completely destroying old high altar and sanctuary. Hanging from the central arch is a rood cross by Paolo Veneziano (c 1300-62), given to the church as a votive offering in 1384. It is five metres tall and one of the largest painted crucifixes in Europe.

The cloister of 1456-83 was designed by the Florentine architect Maso di Bartolomeo, and in the centre of the garth is a fourteenth century well which still works, and during the 1991 war is estimated to have provided water to fifty percent of the city's bombarded population. The bell tower was begun in the 16th century and completed in the 18th century.

Within the monastery is the Dominican Museum (Muzej Dominikanskog Samostana), which contains religious art from Dubrovnik, Venice and elsewhere, including paintings, triptychs, silver church vessels, and a reliquary purportedly containing the skull of King Stephen I of Hungary. Among the paintings are St Blaise, St Mary Magdalene, the Angel Tobias and the Purchaser by Titian and a sixteenth century Annunciation by Niccolo Ragusino, of the Dubrovnik school.¹


• Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin (Velika Gospa)
The cathedral is at Kneza Damjana Jude 1. The original building on the site is believed to have been built in the sixth to seventh centuries, but was rebuilt between the twelfth and fourteenth, then severely damaged in the earthquake of 1667. It was then rebuilt in the Baroque by the Roman architects Andrea Buffalini and Paolo Andreotti, with a great dome. At the main altar is a painting of *The Assumption* by Titian of about 1552, and the side altars have paintings by various Italian and Dalmatian artists of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

Adjacent is the Cathedral Treasury (*Riznica Katedrale*), known for its collection of about two hundred reliquaries, among which are the arm, leg and skull of St Blaise, all plated with gold, and a fragment of the True Cross. There is also a copy of a *Virgin of the Chair* attributed to Raphael (the original is in Florence) and a large collection of sacred objects in gold, including a pitcher and basin, decorated with plants and animals of the Dubrovnik area.¹

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**Church of St. Blaise (Crkva Sv Vlaha)**

St Blaise, in Luza Square is an eighteenth century Baroque church dedicated to the patron saint and protector of Dubrovnik. It was built in 1706-14, replacing a fourteenth century Romanesque church which had been badly damaged in the 1667 earthquake and finally destroyed by a fire in 1706. Inside are numerous treasures saved from the earlier church, including a gold-plated
silver statue of St Blaise, holding a fifteenth century model of the city, on the main altar.\(^1\)

Jackson discusses other buildings, which may or may not remain: S Salvatore, and the Chiesa alle Danče on the outskirts of town.\(^2\) Apart from these special buildings, there is the townscape which so engaged Rebecca West:

'... it is good to turn for a minute from the main street into one of the side streets. They mount steep and narrow to the walls which outline the squarish peninsula on which the city stands; close-pressed lines of houses which are left at this hour to sleeping children, the old, and servant-maids, rich in carved portals and balconies, and perfumed with the spring. For it took the industrial revolution to make man conceive the obscene idea of a town as nothing but houses. These carved portals and balconies are twined with flowers that are black because of the evening, but would be scarlet by day ...'\(^3\)

Relief from S Stefano, Dubrovnik. Jackson, *Dalmatia*, I, facing p 214

**APULIA [PUGLIA]**

Romanesque architecture came to Apulia because of French adventuring. Except for the pilgrimage to Monte Gargano, and later to Bari, influences from the north were kept off by the Apennines, the Abruzzi and the stagnant Papal state. But Byzantine and Moslem civilisations were important through maritime and political connections. The Eastern Empire had lost Sicily to the Arabs, and

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the regions of Benevento and Salerno to local rulers, but retained control of Apulia, Calabria and the Basilicata. Then from about 1030 Norman bands led by the sons of Tancred rampaged through the area until in 1059 Robert Guiscard was recognised as Duke of Apulia and Calabria. After the Norman conquest of Sicily the mainland territories of the Normans were for a time united with the island in a single kingdom, but they later passed to the Holy Roman and then the Byzantine Empire. The church of S Nicola, Bari, which is the first significant work of Romanesque architecture in the area, stands at the head of a stylistic group in the region. Its relations are the cathedrals of Barletta (c 1139 onwards), Bitonto (begun 1175, portal 1200), Rufo (twelfth century) and Bitetto, roughly contemporary.¹

**BARI²**

Bari has an ancient history, but what we can see there derives almost entirely from the after the advent of the Normans. It underwent periods of rule by the Byzantines, the Dukes of Benevento and the Moslems, who were ousted by Louis II in 971, and again by Venice in 1002. This ended its long period of eastern affiliation, even though it was still under Byzantium. In 1025 the town became attached to the See of Rome, in 1040 the Byzantines made it a free principality, and it fell to Robert Guiscard, after a four year siege, in 1070. In 1156 it was razed by William the Bad, and it has since suffered other such episodes of destruction.

- **San Nicola**

St Nicholas was a miracle-working bishop of Myra, in Anatolia, and is generally better known as Santa Claus. His relics were brought to Bari in 1087, and the church to house them was being built by 1089, under Benedictine auspices. It was planned from the outset as a pilgrimage church, with a large groin-vaulted crypt, resembling the hall crypts of Tuscany and Lombardy.³ The crypt and the superstructure above were complete by 1098, but the building was not fully completed and dedicated until 1197.

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¹ Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque*, pp 214, 216.
² Hardy, *Puglia & Basilicata*, p 80.
³ Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque*, p 214.
Although probably first intended to have only two towers, at the eastern corners, there were ultimately four, one at each corner, though one was never completed. The division of the space into bays is reminiscent of S Miniato and other Florentine proto-renaissance churches.¹ It is domed, but the dome is now concealed by a timber ceiling, and only the supporting squinches can be seen.² The use of squinches is itself interesting, for these tend to reflect Islamic influence – they are found rarely in Europe, and are near always attributable to some identifiable exotic connection – but in Sicily, with its Arab heritage, they are common.

Problems with the western bays have resulted in the insertion of low diaphragm arches, spoiling the effect of the west end, which was intended to rise clear to

¹ Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque*, p 215.
the trussed roof as at the east. The triple arched chancel screen at the east end is apparently of the same date and for the same reason, but it is tempting to think otherwise, as it suggests interesting connections. This is a form which appeared in north Africa and then in Spain in Asturian and Mozarabic churches, such as Santa Cristina de Leña and San Miguel de la Escalada respectively.

The apse has a synthronon with a bishop's throne on the axis. The apse and absidioles are effectively inscribed, not by solid masonry but by the creation of compartments at the east. The 'Bari Throne' is by Guglielmus, the pioneer of Romanesque sculpture in Italy, and it is possible that he invented the motif of a portal with the columns carried on the backs of animals, which appears at S Nicola, with the animals in the form of corbels. The baldacchino is attractive, but inferior in design, proportion and execution to Roman examples.

• Cattedrale San Sabino

The present cathedral is the result of a rebuilding in 1170-8, in the Romanesque style and with a thirty-five metre high dome, but it was 'barbarously stuccoed and transformed' by Archbishop Gaeta in 1745. Nonetheless it retains thirteenth and fourteenth century fresco decorations in the north apse, and part of the mosaic pavement of the previous church, begun in 1034, has been excavated in the south apse. Rivoira illustrates a twelfth century apse window, as an example of Lombardic connections.

Bitonto

The cathedral of San Valentino, Bitonto, is one of the school following S Nicola at Bari, Bitonto, begun in 1175, and with a portal of 1200. The external decoration is fine, and there is a triple portal with the central arch carved with vegetable designs and scenes from the Old Testament. Inside are thirteenth

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1 Kunstler, Romanesque Art in Europe, p 136.
2 Conant, Carolingian and Romanesque, p 216.
3 Conant, Carolingian and Romanesque, p 226.
4 Hardy, Puglia & Basilicata, p 64.
5 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 9th ed, sv Bari.
7 Conant, Carolingian and Romanesque, p 216.
The Adriatic Sphere

century baptismal fonts,];¹ an ambo [pulpit] of 1229 by Nicolaus Sacerdotus, and in the crypt beneath some Byzantine frescoes and mosaic flooring.²

Trani

The cathedral at Trani is not closely related to Bari and is unusually tall, in part because it is built on top of the older Byzantine church of Santa Maria della Scala (which itself sits above the hypogeum of San Leucio, of the sixth or seventh century).³ The present church was begun in 1098 and dedicated to St Nicholas the Pilgrim, ‘an idiot boy unable to say anything but Kyrie eleison.’⁴ It has a complete crypt, a single bold western tower or campanile (rebuilt after 1952), a fine west porch,⁵ and three projecting apses, and detail which is largely Lombard.⁶ The original bronze doors were cast in 1179 by Barisano da Trani, who also made those at Ravello and Monreale, and they are now preserved inside the building. Fragments remain of the mosaic floor with large scale naive figures. In the crypt, where the relics of the saint are kept, are fifteenth century frescoes by the Venetian Giovanni di Francia (fl 1404-32).⁷

¹ Parisot, Italy, p 717\4.
² Hardy, Puglia & Basilicata, p 71.
³ Hardy, Puglia & Basilicata, p 74.
⁴ Conant, Carolingian and Romanesque, p 216.
⁵ Conant, Carolingian and Romanesque, p 217.
⁶ Hardy, Puglia & Basilicata, p 75
**Barletta**¹ [not on the itinerary]

As indicated above, the cathedral of Barletta (c 1139 onwards) is related to S Nicolà, Bari.²


**Canosa di Puglia** [not on the itinerary]

The cathedral of S Sabino in Canosa [1100 and later] has a five domed roof (comparable with Molfetta), and contains the domed classicizing tomb of Bohemond [Boemondo], son of Robert Guiscard,³ an eleventh century ambo by Acceptus,⁴ and an eleventh century bishop’s throne by Romaldo, carried on elephants.⁵

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² Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque*, p 216.
³ Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque*, p 217.
⁴ Hardy, *Puglia & Basilicata*, pp 80-1.
⁵ Parisot, *Italy*, p 717.
Castel del Monte

The Castel del Monte was begun in 1240 by Frederick II of Hohenstaufen for no obvious defensive or strategic reason. Few people other than prisoners ever lived in it, and it lacks the defensive devices typical of castles. It has been described as a hunting lodge, and it is suggested that it was designed in some central imperial drawing office.2

Although we cannot know Frederick's motives, we can reasonably put the castle in the context of those other great Italian polygons, the ideal towns, such as Palma Nova. But it is not without architectural interest. Frankl discusses the impact of classical forms surrounding the gateway, or rather the lack of impact, for he argues that this is not enough to make the building a Renaissance one when the gate is a relatively minor feature between two round towers. And by the same token the Gothic window above does not make the building Gothic.3

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1 Hardy, Puglia & Basilicata, p 80.
2 Kunstler, Romanesque Art in Europe, p 136.
3 Frankl, Gothic Architecture, p 246.
Matera¹

Matera is a World Heritage site noted for the 3000 cave dwellings and 150 churches cut into the tufa slopes of the Matera Gravina, in the two districts of Sasso Barisano and Sasso Caveoso.

Alberobello²

Alberobello is a World Heritage site and tourist trap, remarkable for (and only for) the Zona dei Trulli, which contains between 1000 and 1500 of these corbelled stone dwellings.

THE TRULLI

Trulli, view & detail. Beer, Italy, p 331

¹ Hardy, Puglia & Basilicata, pp 167-174.
² Hardy, Puglia & Basilicata, pp 123-7.

Trullo: sections of wall and dome; Pointed cabin of Provence, drawn by Pierre Martel. Lassure, 'Figuration en Coup', figs 10, 2.

Bories at Sireuil, near les Eyzies, Dordogne, France; Caselle Lotoise. Daryl McFall; Lassure, 'Figuration en Coup', fig 1.
A *trullo* (plural *trulli*) is a traditional beehive-shaped stone building of the Apulian region of southern Italy. They were built from limestone pieces gathered in the fields, placed stone by stone without any mortar, and gradually corbelling inwards. Examples remain in a dozen or so towns, including over a thousand in Alberobello, a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Dry stone cobelled construction dates back to neolithic times, and the Sardinian *nuraghi* and Mycenaean beehive tombs are similar in construction, while the French *bories* are another relatively modern vernacular type. The trulli themselves flourished in the 15th century under the Acquaviva family. To avoid the payment of a tax imposed by the King on buildings, they could be partially demolished prior to a royal inspection so that they would appear as structures unsuitable as dwellings.

Rising from vertical walls an average of 1.5 metres in height, the roof of a trullo is of corbelled construction, with each successive course narrowing until the roof can be closed with a single capstone. The dome is then faced with an outer layer of flat limestone slabs to shed water. Trulli finish in a pinnacle, mostly of a unique design and with a symbolic meaning, and the roofs often bear a painted symbol such as a cross, star or crescent.\(^1\)

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Martina Franca

According to Blunt, Martina Franca has had a long tradition of democratic government and distributed wealth, and this explains why the town is composed of small palazzi, or in fact town houses of three to seven bays, built on the street frontage, with no courtyard, whitewashed, and decorated with fine Rococo doors and windows cut in warm dark brown stone. The main church is by Giovanni Mariani, an unknown architect who may have built the church at Muro Leccese, but not the Rococo palaces, which appear to be by a single hand and in many cases have identical details.

The Arco di San Antonio is a Baroque gateway at one end of the Piazza XX Settembre. The Palazzo Ducale which Blunt considers to be of little architectural interest, is attributed to the architect Giovanni Andrea Larducci. and is only a fraction of its projected size of three hundred rooms, but includes the royal apartments, containing frescoes by Domenico Carella. There are two lavish Baroque church facades: the Basilica di San Martino and the Chiesa di San Domenico, the latter completed in 1750 for the Dominicans.

1  Hardy, Puglia & Basilicata, pp 127-9.
2  Blunt, Baroque and Rococo, p 105.
3  Blunt, Baroque and Rococo, p 105.
4  The Terra degli Ulivi site and others attribute the palace to Giovanni Andrea Larducci; Hardy, Puglia & Basilicata, p 128 attributes it to Giovanni Carducci, Parisot, Italy, p 710, says it is by the Caracciolo from designs by Bernini. This may be a mistaken reference to the painter Giovanni Battisti Caracciolo (c 1578-1635).
Ceglie Messapico [or Messapica]¹

This contains archaeological remains, including structures known as *specchie*, and trulli. According to Herodotus it was founded in the thirteenth century BC by the Cretan King Japige. It received the name of *Kailìa* (*Kaiλία*), and near the village were sanctuaries to Apollo (near the modern church of San Rocco) and Venus (on the Montevicoli hill). As the military capital of the Messapi (the civil capital being located in the nearby Orìa), it about 473 BC the town joined eleven allies and fought Taranto's attempt to establish a passage to the Adriatic, winning the final victory in 473. As *Caelia* it was flourishing in about 400 BC, but by Roman times it was already decaying. There is an eleventh century castle with a square keep and cylindrical towers.

Rose window of the Duomo, Ostuni. Beer, *Italy*, p 331

Ostuni

Ostuni is characterised by Baroque and Renaissance buildings overlying a more medieval defensive layout about the centre. The cathedral, completed about 1495 has a Gothic-Romanesque facade, with a 'frilly rose window'.²

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¹ Wikipedia; Encyclopedia Britannica on Line, &c.
Near the city are grottoes with Byzantine frescoes of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.¹

**Carovigno**

Carovigno is on the site of the ancient Messapian city of Carbina, and includes the remains of neolithic walls, as well as a restored castle of the fifteenth century.²

**Locorotundo**

Locorotundo is regarded as one of the most beautiful towns in Italy, sitting on a hill, gleaming white, and round in plan (hence the name).³ The houses, apparently, are characteristically pedimented in the classical manner.⁴

**BAROCCA LECCESE**

According to Anthony Blunt, although the term *Barocca Leccese* appears in every Italian textbook on architecture, it can be argued that there is not a single building in Lecce or the surrounding district, the Salento, which can properly be described as Baroque.

The churches of Lecce – and they are typical of the whole area - have almost no features in common with those of the Roman Baroque. In plan they are generally rectangular or in the form of a Latin cross, without any of the sophisticated adjustments which true Baroque architects applied to these forms. In a very few cases their designers venture on an oval or an elongated octagon, but they do so without extracting from these forms any of the liveliness which they take on in the hands of even a minor follower of Borromini. Their façades are flat, and Leccese do not seem even to have apprehended the innovations of Maderno.

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The charm of Leccese churches lies in their sculptural decoration, but even this has little to do with the Baroque. Its character is partly dictated by the qualities of the local stone, which is soft and easy to carve when quarried, but hardens after a short time when exposed to the atmosphere. It therefore allowed – one might almost say encouraged – architects to let their sculptor-assistants loose on the decoration of their buildings, and

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¹ Parisot, *Italy*, p 710.
³ Hardy, *Puglia & Basilicata*, p 126, 10-11.
⁴ Or 'with triangular tympana', according to Parisot, *Italy*, p 710.
both the façades and the altarpieces of the churches show a richness and gaiety of decoration which perhaps have no parallel, save in Sicily. The decorative motifs employed are, however, mainly derived from a sixteenth century vocabulary which had long been out of date in Rome or even Naples. The explanation probably lies in the fact that Apulia was a very remote province, forming part of the kingdom of Naples but cut off from its capital by the mountains, and separated politically from other provinces in the north, with which it might have communicated by sea. Leccese architects must, therefore, have relied primarily on decorative engravings or pattern books, and it seems that they continued to use those published in the late sixteenth or seventeenth centuries long after they had been abandoned elsewhere.

The above analysis is not intended to denigrate Leccese architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but only to show that it cannot properly be included in the category of the Baroque. Its charms are undeniable. The sculptural decoration is lively in conception, rich in detail – often symbolical and allusive – beautiful in colour, and skilful in execution, except where the human figure is involved, but the architecture would be better classified ..... under some such term as *Stile Salentino* rather than as a subdivision of the Baroque.¹

John Varriano, on the other hand, is in no doubt that the Baroque began in Lecce in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.² But his first example, *Il Sedile*, is not Baroque by any reasonable definition, as is further discussed below. In the case of *Il Gesù* at Lecce there can be no doubt that it is of the same school as *Il Gesù* in Rome – but whether the Roman church should be called Baroque or proto-Baroque remains a moot point.

LECCE³

Lecce is famous for its so-called *barocco Lecese* architecture of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, using the local stone, the *pietra leccese*.

¹ Blunt, *Baroque and Rococo*, pp 103-5.
² Varriano, *Italian Baroque and Rococo*, p 278.
• Santa Croce

Celestine Monastery and church of S Croce [engraving from C Yriarte]
Paone, Lecce, p 11.

Church of S Croce, Lecce (begun late C16th, finished 1646) and the Celestine Convent, second half of the seventeenth century, probably by Giuseppe Zimbalo; view of S Croce.
Blunt, Baroque and Rococo, p 103; Paone, Lecce, p 144.
The most famous example is the Basilica di Santa Croce, constructed by the Celestine order over a hundred years in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. The lower part of the façade is by Gabriele Ricardo in the Renaissance in style, but for the portal by Giuseppe Zimbalo (fl 1659-86).\(^1\) According to Blunt the

\(^1\) Hardy, *Puglia & Basilicata*, pp 146-7.
lower part of the façade probably dates from the late sixteenth century, and includes eagles, dragons, and lions which could be paralleled in the doors of Romanesque churches in many parts of Southern Italy and Sicily.\(^1\) The second level has an extraordinary rose window by Zimbalo and Francesco Penne in 1646, and above this again is the tympanum depicting the triumph of the cross.\(^2\) The rose window is a direct imitation of the Romanesque, and the balcony corbels also have strong medieval features. The massy columns of the lower floor are reminiscent of those of a Norman cathedral, and those above, which have low relief carvings and encircled with bands of lotus leaves, are of a type long out of fashion, but which one might expect to find in northern Italy in the early sixteenth century.\(^3\) The interior, though on a conventional Renaissance plan, is equally lavish, with a coffered and gilded ceiling, a lavish central altar with marble intarsia, and fourteen ornate chapels along the sides, including on the north Zimbalo's six-columned altar of San Francesco de Paola.\(^4\)

- Celestine Convent

The façade of S Croce is inked with that of the Celestine Convent, which dates from the second half seventeenth century and is probably by Zimbalo. While

4 Hardy, *Puglia & Basilicata*, p 147.
the broken and curved pediments derive ultimately from Borromini, they are thinned, according to Blunt, by being seen through engravings, and there is nothing else Baroque about the façade. In particular the little motifs in the corners of each rusticated bay have a typically Leccese characteristic quite antithetical to the Baroque, in that they look as though they had been cut out of plywood with a fretsaw.¹

- **Cathedral**

The cathedral, by Giuseppe Zimbalo in 1659-70,² has a pedimented west front, and also a dramatic false façade in the form of a triumphal arch facing the

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¹ Paone, Lecce, p 94.
² Blunt, Baroque and Rococo, p 103.
Cortile del Vescovato and a 68 metre campanile which is the highest in Italy. Inside are marble pavimenti, polychrome altars, and works of art dating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, created by Giuseppe da Brindisi, Giovanni Coppola and others.

- **Il Sedile**

Il Sedile, in the centre of town, was built in 1592 to serve various public functions, probably by Gabriele Riccardi. Varriano regards this as one of the first Baroque buildings not only in Lecce but in Italy, 'if by the term Baroque we mean spirited and self-assured.' But we don't. By that definition many Renaissance works, such as Alberti's Malatestiana, as well as anything at all by Michelangelo, would be Baroque. Il Sedile is Mannerist, and in fact Varriano himself uses the term to describe the capitals of the corner pillars. The pillars are also Mannerist in that, in a somewhat unusual way, they exemplify the Mannerist motif of the imprisoned column. Other aspects such as the anachronistic Gothic arch, are not so much Mannerist as simply naive.


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1 Varriano, *Italian Baroque and Rococo*, p 278.
• Church of il Gesù

Il Gesù, Rome: Vignola's façade design, c 1573; Giacomo della Porta's façade, completed 1584, engraving by Mario Cartaro, in Giacomo de Rossi, *Insignium Romae Templorum*, 1684; Scala 9111

Church of Il Gesù, Lecce, by Giovanni de Rosis 1575-7, view
The church of Il Gesù is interesting because it was designed by Giovanni de Rosis, who was a Jesuit priest and one of those involved in the design of the Il Gesù in Rome, but was actually completed before the mother church. It shows many similarities to the Roman church, and the façade, interestingly has concave scrolls like those which Vignola had proposed at Rome in about 1573, rather than the double curved ones actually executed by della Porta and completed in 1584. The plan is of the Jesuit type, in which the aisles are replaced by a series of compartmented chapels, and this must surely be one of the very earliest examples. The broken pediment, however, is more radically Baroque than either Vignola's or della Porta's designs, and must surely be later. In this respect the Theatine Church of H Irene at Lecce, by by Francesco Grimaldi in 1591-1639, remains closer to Il Gesù, Rome, and still has the Vignola scrolls.
In the city cemetery is the church of SS Nicolò e Cataldo, built in 1180 in a Romanesque Byzantine style in the Sicilian manner, with vegetable decoration in the portal: but the rest of the facade was remodelled in 1717 by Zimbalo's pupil Giuseppe Cino (1645-1722), and adorned with a multitude of saints.\textsuperscript{1} Blunt makes the point that the façade, apart from the twelfth century door, could pass as a typical product of the period. In other words, apart from the decorative detail, the flat façades of the Romanesque are not markedly different from those of the 18th century in this area, which are unmodelled and are not truly Baroque. Even the Romanesque rose window does not disturb the effect, because the motif was frequently used in the Salento in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{2} Internally the church is a three-aisled church with Gothic arcading, Romanesque capitals and a dome over the crossing.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1} Hardy, \textit{Puglia & Basilicata}, pp 148.  
\textsuperscript{2} Blunt, \textit{Baroque and Rococo}, pp 103-4.  
\textsuperscript{3} Hardy, \textit{Puglia & Basilicata}, pp 148.
The church of San Matteo, Via Perrone 29, is by Achille Larducci (c 1644- c 1712). Paone and Varriano compare it with Borromini's San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane in that in both cases the upper story reverses the curve of the lower one, but Varriano rightly sees San Matteo as a far more superficial exercise, more comparable to derivative works such as those of Guarini. Blunt doubts that Larducci was responsible for the façade added in 1700, which is entirely different stylistically from the interior. He suggests that the façade was built by an architect who had seen real Baroque works such as the churches of Gagliardi in Sicily and had attempted to imitate them. However Paone's account, which does give Larducci the façade, is the definitive one.

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surface treatment of fish scales and the cornice brackets covered with a dense carpet of tiny suckers, is unique.¹

- Church of the Rosary

![Church of S Giovanni Battista (Church of the Rosary), by Giuseppe Zimbalo, 1691-1728.](image)

The Church of the Rosary (S Giovanni Battista) by Giuseppe Zimbalo (1620-1710), was built in 1691-1728 and partially paid for by Zimbalo himself. The huge interior is on a Greek cross plan but is uninteresting. The exterior is essentially a flat facade with a pair of columns flanking the doorway. Above the columns are vases carved with massive fruit bushes and plump birds.²

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• other buildings in Lecce

There are a number of other barocco Leccese buildings, as well as the remains of a Roman amphitheatre, probably of the time of Hadrian, 2nd century AD;¹ a small Roman theatre uncovered in the 1930s, and a sixteenth century castle.

¹ In the ensemble of the church of S Marco, Piazza S Oronzo: Parisot, *Italy*, p 705.
Brindisi

Brindisi is of limited architectural interest, but for the Chiesa di Santa Maria del Casale of 1322, foolishly built next to the airport four kilometres north-west of the town. It is a Romanesque-Gothic-Byzantine hybrid, containing extremely well preserved Byzantine frescoes inside, by Rinaldo di Taranto.

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1 Hardy, *Puglia & Basilicata*, pp 137-143.


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