

## **2 The Architecture of Cathedral Churches on the Eastern Adriatic Coast at the Time of the First Principalities of South Slavs (9<sup>th</sup> - 11<sup>th</sup> Centuries)**

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Sacral objects are without doubt the most important segment of Early Medieval architecture in the first South Slavic principalities. Although rarely preserved in their entirety and in their original shape, and often devastated or considerably changed over time through various partitions and annexes, their sheer number makes them the main source of information on the overall architectural currents in the first South Slavic states in the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland. Given their essential liturgical function, but also a complex role that some of them played in particular political events within the first Slavic states in the region, they are the architectural creations of their epoch, which are also most familiar to us through written historical sources and epigraphic monuments. All of this has made the sacral architecture of the Early Medieval period the most studied segment of the overall architecture of that epoch in all of its fundamental aspects: function, form, construction and decoration.

Further on in our exposition, we will attempt to present the history of construction and the architectural features of the cathedral churches in Early Medieval episcopal centres on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, to the extent of the current scientific findings on them. We will take into consideration only the cathedral churches of those episcopal sees for whose existence we possess reliable historical information and whose urban centres have been clearly located. Moreover, we will also examine the churches of which we possess a solid knowledge on the visual appearance of their architectural configuration, gained through reliable archeological research and architectural examination of the monuments themselves or their remains.

We are aware that some known, historically documented Early Medieval episcopal centres in the eastern Adriatic will not be considered here. Among those, there are some cathedrals known only from written historical sources (sometimes of disputable content), as well as some important former episcopal urban centres whose early medieval layer has not been reliably documented (Skradin) or whose specific ubication is disputable (Makarska). Therefore, we will primarily focus on those cathedrals whose, often complicated, construction history reveals a clearly recognizable early medieval construction layer and which can be discussed in more detail. Given the urban character of episcopal service, we intend to perceive each of those cathedrals within the context of an episcopal see as a whole, as an urban settlement within which a cathedral grew and functioned, and not only from the viewpoint of the settlement's development and morphology, but also (whenever possible) from the viewpoint of the structure of the settlement's contemporary sacral *topoi* (sacral topography).

Among the mentioned churches, built or more often, rearranged, for the very complex role of a cathedral church, undoubtedly the most important one – given its exceptional prestige and the power of its metropolitan cathedra – was the cathedral church of the Metropolitan of Split. Grounding its right into the continuity of the ecclesiastical authority in the early Christian Metropolis of nearby Salona, since the first half of the tenth century and throughout the Early Medieval period, with its jurisdiction over eighteen dioceses at the peak of its power, the Metropolis of Split represented an exceptionally prestigious and important cathedra. It is therefore understandable that the cathedral church of the powerful Metropolitan of Split represented an important focal point of the Christian community that once lived under its jurisdiction. All of this makes it clear why the entire Split peninsula, whose centre it once occupied, today exhibits the highest concentration of entirely or partially preserved Early Medieval architectural works in the entire eastern Adriatic, which is, probably, one of the highest of its kind worldwide. In the history of settlement of the Split peninsula – which is the entire area of the present-day Split, bordering the Lower Žrnovnica in the east and the Mount Marjan in the west – the Late Antiquity was, so it seems, an especially important period. Although the first traces of settlements in this area date back to the Eneolithic, Emperor Diocletian's (284-305) decision to build a palace near the important, ancient city of Salona (i.e. on the site of the already existing settlement of Spalatum) strongly influenced the subsequent Early Medieval history of the new urban centre of

central Dalmatia. Namely, the palace (Fig. 2), where Diocletian retreated after abdicating the imperial throne in Nicomedia in 305 AD, was built on the heavily indented, southern coast of the Split peninsula, in the centre of the deepest cove, and would become the spatial framework of the early medieval city of Split. Formed after the diminishment of city life in the magnificent urban centre nearby, the antique Salona, most probably after grave Slavic and Avar attacks against it in the first half of the seventh century, the early medieval Split found its spatial frame within the strong walls of this late antique palace. Its structure offered elementary living conditions, but also satisfied all other needs of its new residents, including the religious ones.<sup>88</sup> Formed in such a way, the early medieval Split, since its very beginnings and during the entire time period under consideration here (except for a brief period at the beginning of the ninth century, when it was under Frankish rule, and the beginning of the eleventh century, when it was under Venetian rule) was under Byzantine rule. Only after 1068, the city would come under the reign of the capable Croatian King Petar Kreshimir IV, and afterwards under his heir, King Zvonimir.

The life of Christian communities on the Split peninsula (which, earlier on, had been developed within the strong ecclesiastical centre in the nearby ancient Salona), was characterized at the beginning of the Early Medieval epoch by effort to maintain and continue the erstwhile church organization. Hence the strong ecclesiastical effort in the early medieval Split of the second half of the ninth century to maintain the continuity with the former archdiocese of Salona. Several church councils held in Split during the tenth and eleventh centuries (in 925, 928, 1060 and 1075), the decrees of which witness to the fact that its authority spread far beyond Dalmatia proper, speak enough about the size and strength of the Metropolis of Split and the prestige and importance of its cathedral church.<sup>89</sup>

88 The most important historical source on the first years of the early medieval Split is work of the ecclesiastical historian Archdeacon Thomas of Split. Cf: *Thomae Archidiaconi Historia salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum Pontificum* (edd. O. Perić, M. Matijević Sokol, R. Katičić), Split 2003, 44-47; Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split* (edd. O. Perić, D. Karbić, M. Matijević Sokol, J. R. Sweeney), Budapest – New York 2006, 48-53.

89 The decrees of the church councils held in Split have been long available to the scientific community. Cf. *Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske s Dalmacijom i Slavonijom I* (ed. I. Kukljević-Sakcinski), Zagreb 1874, No. 26; No. 92.

Settled, in all probability, at the very beginning of the fifth decade of the seventh century, the early medieval Split rose in the southern segment of Emperor Diocletian's fortified palace, the one that had previously had a strongly residential character (Fig. 1). Initially commencing its life primarily through adaptation of the already existing premises of the ancient palace, the city would expand, already in the Early Middle Ages, by erecting its suburb immediately beside the palace's western wall. Within an early medieval city shaped in such a way – a city of pronounced monocentric structure – the seat of sacral and (most probably) secular power was centered around the erstwhile great open hall (peristyle) of the ancient palace that became the city's new central square. The cathedral church of the Metropolitan of Split was established on the square's eastern side.

Like many other Split churches from that era, this undoubtedly most prestigious cathedral church of the early medieval Dalmatia was made by reshaping a segment of Emperor Diocletian's palace. In fact, the church of St. Mary (St. Domnius), as the cathedral church of the Metropolitan of Split,<sup>90</sup> was created through minor adaptations of the erstwhile main city temple of Jupiter (and emperor's mausoleum,<sup>91</sup> at the same time), thanks to direct involvement of the first archbishop of Split, John of Ravenna.<sup>92</sup> This ancient temple (as well as the entire palace), dating back to the period between 295 and 305 AD, belonged to the type of peripteral temples (Fig. 3). It had an octagonal plan and a rectangular prothesis on the western side. Series of interventions were conducted in the Early Medieval period that did not alter much the original architectural structure, meaning that the

90 Although, as historical sources suggest, the actual dedication of this church to the patron saint St. Domnius (St. Duje) has been in place since the medieval times, the church's main altar has always been dedicated to the feast day of the Assumption of the Most Holy Virgin, its original and oldest dedication.

91 There are conflicting expert views about whether the Jupiter's temple was converted into the cathedral or into the baptistery, or was it, in fact, the emperor's mausoleum that was converted into the cathedral. Cf. J. Belamarić, *Split. Od carske palače do grada*, Split 1998, 24.

92 The only historical source on this personality and this episode is, again, Archdeacon Thomas of Split and his *Historia*: «He cleansed the Temple of Jove, a building that had been raised so as to tower above others within the imperial palace, of the deceit of its false idols, and filled it with doors and locks». Cf. *Thomae Archidiaconi Historia salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum Pontificum* (edd. O. Perić, M. Matijević Sokol, R. Katičić), Split 2003, 48-49; Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split* (edd. O. Perić, D. Karbić, M. Matijević Sokol, J. R. Sweeney), Budapest – New York 2006, 54-55.

existing building was only slightly modified in order to fulfill its new function of a cathedral church.

Thus, the already existing orientation of the building, with the entrance on the western side, came to completely satisfy the needs of the new sacral building. However, the opening of another door at the southern side, done for liturgical purposes, made it possible to use the external corridor of this peripteral temple for solemn liturgical processions and to interconnect with the church of St. Mathew (the mausoleum of the archbishops of Split, built precisely on the southern side of the cathedral church).<sup>93</sup> The interior of this late antique building of a central type (Fig. 5), with its interior made more intricate by alternation of rectangular and semicircular niches, and especially marked by two rows of columns (one above the other) along the temple walls, and with the upper cornice carrying a sculptural frieze that exhibits portraits of Emperor Diocletian and Empress Prisca, could have been completely adequate for the new function as well. With small interventions, three eastern niches were transformed into a relatively wide altar space. By placing particular elements of stone liturgical furnishings, most of all, the altar screen, in accordance with the liturgical needs of the new Early Medieval epoch, the existing opulently ornamented mausoleum from the Late Antiquity had finally been completely transformed into a building with a new function (Fig. 6).<sup>94</sup>

93 Experts have long been debating the time of the creation of the southern door of the Split cathedral (the seventh century; the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century; between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries). Two decades ago, T. Marasović stated that the jambs and the lintel of the southern portal of Split cathedral are unique works exhibiting pronounced pre-Romanesque features (the jambs cut into the lintel; the asymmetry of many ornaments on the jambs; a similarity of the executed decorative motifs with those present in Visigothic and Merovingian art). Based on that, the same author dated this portal back to the middle of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century, at the time of archbishop John of Ravenna. Cf. T. Marasović, *O južnom portalu splitske katedrale*, Prijatelj zbornik I, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 32, Split 1993, 165-180. For recently expressed different opinions about the history of the southern portal of Split cathedral, see: R. Bužančić, *Toma Arhidakon i njegove vijesti o Ivanu Ravenjaninu. Obnova Salonitanske nadbiskupije u novom sjedištu i pregradnje antičkih građevina u crkve*, Toma Arhidakon i njegovo doba (Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog 25-27. rujna 2000. godine u Splitu), Split 2004, 269-286; A. Piteša, *Predromanički kameni nameštaj iz crkve Sv. Petra Starog na Lučcu u Splitu*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku 100, Split 2007, 105-124.

94 Scholars have gathered a significant number of fragments of Split cathedral's stone liturgical furnishings from four chronologically different phases of the

Recent research has also indicated a possibility that early medieval construction and remodeling could have also been conducted on two additional segments of this sacral building. Namely, although the crypt of the erstwhile ancient temple (Fig. 4), located under the building's central space, was mentioned in the historical records as the church of St. Lucy only since the sixteenth century, it is possible that it had that function much before. This space, with a circular plan, additionally divided with niches and covered with a dome, could have been reshaped in the Early Medieval period as well, for the needs of Christian rite. This idea appeared because of the fact that St. Lucy's crypt is the place where several fragments of stone liturgical furnishings from the Early Medieval epoch were found.<sup>95</sup> Some experts have recently expressed that Split cathedral

Early Medieval times (the second half of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century; the second half of the eighth century until the end of the tenth century; different periods of the eleventh century; the late eleventh century). Cf. Bulić, *Iscrizioni inedite*, *Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata* 16, Split 1893, 36; L. Jelić, *Zvonik spljetske stolne crkve*, *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 1, Zagreb 1895, 29-93; Ž. Rapanić, *Kamena plastika ranog srednjeg vijeka u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu*, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 60, Split 1958, 107-108, br. 11; Ž. Rapanić, *Ranosrednjovjekovni latinski natpisi iz Splita*, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 65-67, Split 1963-1965. (1971.), 273-274; P. M. Fléche-Morgues, P. Chevalier, A. Piteša, *Catalogue des sculptures du haut Moyen-Age du Musée Archeologique de Split*, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 85, Split 1992. (1993.), 207-305; T. Burić, *Arheološki tragovi kasnobizantinske epohe na istočnoj obali Jadrana (Vladavina Emanuela I Komnena)*, *Diadora* 16-17, Zadar 1994. (1995.), 377, fig. 6; D. Marasović et al., *Istražni i konzervatorski radovi na oltaru Sv. Staša u splitskoj prvostolnoj crkvi*, *Obnova* 2, Split 1995, 72; V. Delonga, *Ranoromanički natpisi grada Splita*, Split 1997, 24-27; G. Nikšić, *Svjetlo u katedrali Sv. Duje u Splitu*, *Kulturna baština* 28-29, Split 1997, 38-46; T. Marasović, *O krsnom bazenu splitske krstionice*, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III/24, Split 1997, 7-56; V. Delonga, *Split, katedrala*, *Hrvati i Karolinzi II*, Split 2000, 133-134; G. Nikšić, *Novi nalazi u katedrali Sv. Dujma*, *Kulturna baština* 31, Split 2002, 139-162; P. Vežić, M. Lončar, *Hoc tigramen. Ciboriji ranog srednjeg vijeka na tlu Istre i Dalmacije*, Zadar 2009, 114-117; T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji, 3. Korpus arhitekture. Srednja Dalmacija*, Split – Zagreb 2011, 258-266.

95 For further information on the crypt that lies beneath the Split cathedral church of St. Mary (St. Domnius), see: A. Duplančić, *Arhivsko-bibliografski podaci o nekim splitskim spomenicima iz Arheološkog muzeja*, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku* 100, Split 2007, 189-192; T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji, 3. Korpus arhitekture. Srednja Dalmacija*, Split – Zagreb 2011, 266.

church could have also had a pre-Romanesque bell-tower in the Early Middle Ages. Namely, although the construction of the present-day Romanesque bell-tower began in the thirteenth century, some scholars have recently recognized, among the fragments of carved stone decoration from the Split cathedral, fragments of a carved cornice and capitals (ornamented with a carved motif of three-partite interlace), presumably belonging to a pre-Romanesque bell-tower that perhaps stood at the place of the prothesis of the erstwhile ancient temple. The presumed existence of only one axially placed bell-tower in front of the façade of Split cathedral would represent a rare example in contemporary European architecture and would stand as a very rare example of the pre-Romanesque architecture in Dalmatia.<sup>96</sup>

The Split cathedral church of St. Mary (St. Domnius), as the most solidly built structure of the erstwhile residential palace of Emperor Diocletian, is an architectural achievement that has been performing an exclusively sacral function for impressively long time: first as an ancient temple and mausoleum, then as an early medieval church, until this very day. By using the existing magnificent and opulently decorated late antique building, this important ecclesiastical centre obtained, even without new constructions, a church whose splendour has been remarked and pointed out, while almost certainly serving as a model for subsequent builders in the immediate and broader area. With its central plan, emphatically inherited from its late antique origins, this church is an ideal forerunner of a whole series of pre-Romanesque buildings of the central plan type in the early medieval Dalmatia. Namely, experts already noticed that this prestigious cathedral of the powerful Metropolis of Split could have served as a model for builders of churches of the same (but far

96 For further information on the bell-tower of Split cathedral, see: T. Marasović, *Tipologija predromaničkih i romaničkih zvonika u Dalmaciji*, Rapski zbornik, Rab – Zagreb 1987, 289-296; T. Marasović, *Zvonici u graditeljstvu ranog srednjeg vijeka u Dalmaciji*, *Adrias* 1, Split 1987, 197-206; I. Babić, *Zapažanja o zvoniku splitske katedrale*, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku* 100, Split 2007, 145-170; A. Milošević, Ž. Peković, *Predromanička crkva Sv. Spasa u Cetini*, Dubrovnik – Split 2009, 159-163; T. Marasović, *Aksijalni zvonici u hrvatskoj i europskoj predromanici*, Stjepan Gunjača i hrvatska srednjovjekovna povijesno-arheološka baština, Split 2010, 309-318; T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji, 3. Korpus arhitekture. Srednja Dalmacija*, Split – Zagreb 2011, 266-267.

smaller) plan, in the Mosor area.<sup>97</sup> If consideration of its architectural significance also took into account the presumed pre-Romanesque bell-tower that could have been a model in its idiosyncratic type for an identical solution of just one axially placed bell-tower in other Early Medieval churches in Dalmatia, the Split cathedral church of St. Mary (St. Domnius) would justifiably bear its prestigious name.<sup>98</sup>

- 97 C. Fisković, *Uticao Dioklecijanova mauzoleja na kasnije graditeljstvo*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku LIII, Split 1951, 181-196; T. Marasović, *Regionalizam u ranosrednjovjekovnoj arhitekturi Dalmacije*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/14, Split 1985, 148.
- 98 The cathedral church of St. Mary (St. Domnius) has long attracted attention of researchers, which explains copious literature that exists today: R. Eitelberger von Edelberg, *Die Mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens in Arbe, Zara, Traù, Spalato und Ragusa*, Wien 1861, 258; L. Jelić, *Zvonik spljetske stolne crkve*, Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 1, Zagreb 1895, 29-93; G. Nieman, *Der Palast Diokletians in Spalato*, Wien 1910; E. Hébrard, J. Zeiller, *Le palais de Dioclétien à Spalato*, Paris 1912; F. Bulić, J. Bervaldi, *Kronotaksa splitskih biskupa uz dodatak Kronotaksa splitskih nadbiskupa*, Zagreb 1912-1913; Lj. Karaman, *O datiranju dvaju sredovječnih reljefa na stolnoj crkvi i zvoniku Sv. Duje u Splitu*, Bulićev zbornik, Zagreb – Split 1925, 442-446; F. Bulić, Lj. Karaman, *Palača cara Dioklecijana*, Zagreb 1927; C. Fisković, *Novi nalazi u splitskoj katedrali*, Bulletin Instituta likovnih umjetnosti Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti VI/2, Zagreb 1958, 81-101; Ž. Rapanić, *Kamena plastika ranog srednjeg vijeka u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 60, Split 1958, 107-108, no. 11; Ž. Rapanić, *Ranosrednjovjekovni latinski natpisi iz Splita*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 65-67, Split 1963-1965. (1971.), 273-274; T. Marasović, *Najstarije vedute grada Splita*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/16, Split 1987, 187-194; K. Prijatelj, N. Gattin, *Splitska katedrala*, Zagreb 1991; D. Rendić-Miočević, *O uništenom središnjem motivu friza Dioklecijanova mauzoleja*, Prijatelj zbornik I, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 32, Split 1993, 99-116; T. Marasović, *O južnom portalu splitske katedrale*, Prijatelj zbornik I, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 32, Split 1993, 165-180; M. P. Fleche Morgues, P. Chevalier, A. Piteša, *Catalogue des sculptures du haut Moyen-Age du Musée archéologique de Split*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 85, Split 1993, 297-306; D. Marasović, *Istražni i konzervatorski radovi na oltaru Sv. Staša u splitskoj prvostolnoj crkvi*, Obnova baštine 2, Split 1995, 72; T. Marasović, *O krsnom bazenu splitske krstionice*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/24, Split 1997, 7-56; J. Belamarić, *Split. Od carske palače do grada*, Split 1997; V. Delonga, *Ranoromanički natpisi grada Splita*, Split 1997, 24-27; M. Matijević-Sokol, *Latinski natpisi, Hrvati i Europa I*, Zagreb 1997, 239-256; T. Burić, *Predromaničke oltarne ograde. Vijek uporabe i sekundarna namjena*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/24, Split 1997, 57-76; G. Nikšić, *Svjetlo u katedrali Sv. Duje u Splitu*, Kulturna baština 28-29, Split 1997, 37-48; V. Delonga *Pismenost karolinškog doba i njeni hrvatski odjeci. Latinska epigrafička baština*



The church of St. Anastasia (St. Stošija), the cathedral church of the bishop of Zadar, also represents a late antique structure that underwent certain modifications in the Early Medieval period, according to the tendencies imposed by the new age. The town originated on the very peak of a narrow, elongated natural peninsula that had been inhabited since the Iron Age (Fig. 8). In the fourth century, a diocese was founded in the town, the continuity of which can be traced throughout the Early Middle Ages, despite the inconsistency of historical sources. Its jurisdiction encompassed the immediate surroundings of Zadar, but also the islands lying in this Adriatic region, up to Biograd, and also the southern part of the island of Pag. Nevertheless, the diocese continued to exist throughout the Early Middle Ages, under the jurisdiction of the Metropoly of Split. In the middle of the twelfth century, it was elevated to the rank of metropoly, and thus gained a greater influence in northern Dalmatia.<sup>99</sup> Zadar remained the main stronghold of Byzantine power on the eastern Adriatic coast throughout the Early Medieval period. Apart from its cathedral

*u hrvatskim krajevima*, Hrvati i Karolinzi I, Split 2000, 216-249; V. Delonga, *Split, katedrala*, Hrvati i Karolinzi II, Split 2000, 133-134; T. Marasović, *La Spalato dell'epoca precarolingia e carolingia*, Hortus Artium Medievalium 8, Zagreb – Motovun 2002, 223-234; T. Burić, *Pluteji oplate splitske krstionice (vrijeme i okolnosti postojanja)*, Zbornik Tomislava Marasovića, Split 2002, 301-327; I. Fisković, *Krstionički zdenac splitske katedrale*, Kulturna baština 24, Split 2002, 33-78; G. Nikšić, *Novi nalazi u koru katedrale Sv. Dujma*, Kulturna baština 31, Split 2002, 139-162; G. Nikšić, *Obnova prezbitarija katedrale Sv. Dujma u doba Tome Arhiđakona*, Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo doba, Split 2004, 253-267; R. Bužančić, *Toma Arhiđakon i njegove vijesti o Ivanu Ravenjaninu*, Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo doba, Split 2004, 269-286; I. Babić, *Zapažanja o zvoniku splitske katedrale*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku 100, Split 2007, 145-170; A. Piteša, *Predromanički kameni nameštaj iz crkve Sv. Petra Starog u Lučcu u Splitu*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku 100, Split 2007, 116-117; A. Duplančić, *Arhivsko-bibliografski podaci o nekim splitskim spomenicima iz Arheološkog muzeja*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku 100, Split 2007, 171-220; P. Vežić, M. Lončar, *Hoc tigmen. Ciboriji ranog srednjeg vijeka na tlu Istre i Dalmacije*, Zadar 2009, 114-117; N. Jakšić, *Riflessi della „rinascenza liutprandea“ nei centri urbani dell' Adriatico orientale*, Hortus artium medievalium 16, Zagreb – Motovun 2010, 17-26; T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji, 3. Korpus arhitekture. Srednja Dalmacija*, Split – Zagreb 2011, 254-269.

<sup>99</sup> For further information on the history of Zadar in the Antiquity, see: M. Suić, *Zadar u starom vijeku*, Zadar 1981; On the medieval history of Zadar see the comprehensive work: N. Klaić, I. Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, Zadar 1981.

church, integral parts of the cathedral complex (Fig. 9) also included a baptistery, a catechoumena (today the church of St. Barbara), a episcopal palace and a cistern, together with a later erected church dedicated to the Holy Trinity (St. Donatus). This architecturally and functionally elaborate cathedral complex (Fig. 10), positioned in the north-west of the peninsula where the town grew, developed gradually, and in a rather lengthy timespan (Fig. 7). This process began at the end of the fourth or in the early fifth century, when a smaller church dedicated to St. Peter, with a rectangular plan and a synthronon in the altar space, was erected. The church was built in the northern part of the already existing ancient forum, partly stretching along the ancient street that followed the aligned taverns surrounding that area of the forum. In the middle of the fifth and in the sixth century, a church of far greater dimensions was erected on this site, with a basilica plan and two rows of eight pillars that divided the interior into three naves (Fig. 11). A semicircular apse, slightly wider than the central nave, ended the eastern side of it. On the southern side of this imposing structure, a baptistery<sup>100</sup> and a catechoumena (today the church of St. Barbara)<sup>101</sup>

100 The baptistery of the cathedral church of St. Anastasia (St. Stošija) in Zadar has the typical hexagonal form. The interior of this structure had a hexafoil form, with six radially arranged semicircular conchas. A cruciform baptismal basin situated in the centre was later replaced by a hexagonal Romanesque one. The church is covered by dome, with hexagonal tambour. Fragments of the liturgical furnishings of this baptistery have been discovered (segments of the original transene). This baptistery was ruined during the 1944 bombing, and restored in the 1980s. For further information on the baptistery of cathedral church in Zadar, see: P. Vežić, *Krstionica u Zadru*, Peristil 24, Zagreb 1991, 13-23; P. Vežić, *Zdenac krstionice u Zadru*, Peristil 35-36, Zagreb 1993, 17-24; P. Vežić, *Zadar na pragu kršćanstva*, Zadar 2005, 41-47; T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji, 2. Korpus arhitekture. Kvarner i sjeverna Dalmacija*, Split – Zagreb 2009, 288.

101 The catechoumena of the existing cathedral church of St. Anastasia (St. Stošija) in Zadar was a single-naved rectangular structure, with an apse on the east, pentagonal on the exterior and semicircular on the interior. It was connected to church of Anastasia (St. Stošija) and the area surrounding the baptistery through the entrances on the northern wall and western side. The interior of this structure was divided into two sections by parapet slabs or the wall. The front part was decorated with floor mosaic of a complex geometrical composition, depicting an Old Testament theme (The Source of Life). The hypothesis according to which this structure was uniquely used as a catechoumena has been debated recently, since it could have also represented a cathedral chapel in the Early Medieval period. For further information on the catechoumena of the Zadar cathedral church, see: P. Vežić,

were built, while a diaconion was built beside the west cornerstone. In the following period, this church changed its patron and was dedicated to the Sirmium martyr St. Anastasia, after the translation of the saint's relics with the approval of Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus I (802 - 811). Donatus, the bishop of Zadar, placed these relics in a sarcophagus made of marble kept at the cathedral church of Zadar.<sup>102</sup> This church kept its appearance but underwent architectural adaptations in the Early Medieval period: smaller lateral premises (*pastophoria*) were erected along the northern and southern side of the altar apse, with the crypt placed in the altar space. For this particular purpose, of storing the saint's relics, a chapel was placed at the end of the northern nave of the basilica, with the sarcophagus made of marble; on the western front of the church, the diaconion, dating from the Early Christian period was converted into the cistern. The early Christian basilica thus underwent modifications, and considerably changed its visual aspect by placements of the liturgical furnishings (ciborium, ambon, altar screen), which was, judging from its stylistic features, possibly made in different phases between the eighth and eleventh centuries.<sup>103</sup> Consequently, the cathedral church of Zadar

*Rezultati istraživanja u prostoru sakristije do katedrale u Zadru*, Diadora 12, Zadar 1990, 323-345; T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji, 2. Korpus arhitekture. Kvarner i sjeverna Dalmacija*, Split – Zagreb 2009, 289.

102 The local tradition ascribes the translation of St. Anastasia's relics, in the early ninth century, to a successfully accomplished mission undertaken by Donatus, bishop of Zadar. Einhart (c. 770 – 840), Carolignian court chronicler, provided information on this mission: Einhard, *Annales Regni Francorum*, an. 806. However, according to diverging opinions present in scholar community, relics of the saint were obtained as a gift from the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus I in the aftermath of the successfully accomplished military operation of the Byzantine fleet in 807 and 809, and the establishment of Byzantine power in the Adriatic, with its centre in Zadar. More extensively on this issue: *Constantine Porphyrogenitos De administrando imperio I* (edd. G. Moravcsik, R. J. H. Jenkins), Washington D.C. 1967, 29/136-139; *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије II*, Београд 1959, 23-24 (particularly under the footnote 52); Т. Живковић, *Црквена организација у српским земљама (Рани средњи век)*, Београд 2004, 60-63.

103 The cathedral church of Zadar was well known to the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos (913-959), who compared its monumental structure to the Chalkoprateia basilica of Constantinople. The emperor included thorough and detailed data in his accounts on this church, which confirms that he had been minutely informed on this issue ("The church of St. Anastasia is a basilica, like the church of Chalcopratia, with green and white columns, and all decorated with encaustic pictures in the antique style;

confirmed the early medieval practice reflected in moderate architectural adaptations of the already existing cathedral churches from the Early Christian period. These rather imposing and highly decorated edifices were thus equipped with liturgical furnishings fitting the stylistic demands of the new age, and continued to basically function as cathedral churches of important episcopal sees throughout the Early Middle Ages.<sup>104</sup>

its floor is of wonderful mosaic.“). More extensively on this issue: *Constantine Porphyrogenitos De administrando imperio I* (edd. G. Moravcsik, R. J. H. Jenkins), Washington D.C. 1967, 29/138-139; *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије II*, Београд 1959, 24; P. Vežić, *Po čemu je u 10. stoleću katedrala u Zadru mogla sličiti Halkoprateskoj bazilici u Carigradu*, Diadora 20, Zadar 2001, 301-314.

- 104 Extensive literature on the cathedral church of Zadar encompasses the following works: R. Eitelberger von Edelberg, *Die Mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens in Arbe, Zara, Traù, Spalato und Ragusa*, Wien 1861, 38; C. F. Bianchi, *Zara cristiana I*, Zadar 1877, 118-190; T. G. Jackson, *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istra I*, Oxford 1887, 267-288; G. Smirich, *Il Duomo di Zara*, Rivista dalmatica 4, Zadar 1901; G. Bersa, *L'arca e la cappella di S. Anastasia nel Duomo di Zara*, Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata, Split 1908, 81; W. Gerber, *Altchristliche Kultbauten Istriens und Dalmatiens*, Dresden 1912, 107; V. Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, Venezia 1913; C. Cecchelli, *Zara. Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità*, Roma 1932; Ć. M. Iveković, *Krstionica kod stolne crkve Sv. Stošije u Zadru i vrijeme gradjenja njezina i crkve Sv. Donata*, Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 258, Zagreb 1937, 1-13; I. Petricioli, *Fragmenti skulpture od VI do VIII stoleća iz Zadra*, Diadora 1, Zadar 1960, 185-186; J. Belošević, *Neobjavljeni ranosrednjovjekovni kameni spomenici s pletenim ukrasom iz Zadra*, Diadora 4, Zadar 1968, 271-280; I. Petricioli, *I più antichi edifici cristiani a Zadar (Zara)*, Arheološki vestnik 23, Ljubljana 1972, 332-334; P. Vežić, *Ranosrednjovjekovna cisterna episkopalnog kompleksa u Zadru*, Diadora 9, Zadar 1980, 517- 535; M. Suić, *Zadar u starom vijeku*, Zadar 1981, 332; I. Petricioli, *Contribution a la recherche de la plus ancienne phase de construction de la cathedrale de Zadar*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 77, Split 1984, 243-253; I. Petricioli, *Katedrala Sv. Stošije u Zadru*, Zadar 1985; P. Vežić, *Starokršćanska arhitektura u Zadru i na zadarskom području*, Godišnjak Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture Hrvatske 12, Zagreb 1986, 161-168; P. Vežić, *Starokršćanski sloj katedrale u Zadru*, Diadora 10, Zadar 1988, 165-183; I. Petricioli, *Ulomci ranosrednjovjekovnog ambona zadarske katedrale*, Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti 12-13, Zagreb 1989, 25-26; P. Vežić, *Klesarska radionica u kasnoantičkom Zadru*, Biogradski zbornik, Zadar 1990, 247-262; P. Vežić, *Prezbiterij katedrale u Zadru*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 30, Split 1990, 49-68; P. Vežić, *Rezultati istraživanja u prostoru sakristije do katedrale u Zadru*, Diadora 12, Zadar 1990, 301-326; I. Petricioli, *Pavimenti musivi paleocristiani della cattedrale di Zara*, Atti e memorie della società istriana di archeologia e storia patria 91, Trieste 1991, 7-16; P. Vežić, *Zdenac krstionice u Zadru*,

Another architectural unit of the cathedral complex in Zadar needs to be mentioned because of its immediate relation with the complex, and because of the specific purpose of such a type of sacral objects, unique for episcopal sees, despite the fact that it does not represent a cathedral church *stricto sensu*.

A particular type of sacral buildings was intrinsically related by its function to cathedral complexes in episcopal sees: these were sacral objects, built inside these complex architectural structures, in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral church, baptistery, catechoumena, or the episcopal palace, and whose function was not of any of these enumerated structures. These objects are considered, with a high degree of certainty, to be episcopal churches built for particular purpose (chapels). Nevertheless, the appearance of these structures, incorporated into the sacral units of the episcopal sees, was not a novelty introduced in the Early Medieval era. The practice of constructing such sacral objects has existed in history of the Christian sacral architecture since its earliest times, and continued to spread during the entire medieval period, including the Late Middle Ages as well. So at least one architectural unit of momentous importance was erected in the first South Slavic principalities of the eastern Adriatic coast and in the hinterland during the Early Middle Ages: the church dedicated to the Holy Trinity (St. Donatus) in Zadar, which could have been built for a specific purpose and incorporated into the dominant and imposing episcopal see.

Peristil 35-36, Zagreb 1993, 17-24; P. Vežić, *Zadar na pragu kršćanstva*, Diadora 15, Zadar 1993, 29-54; P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae I*, Rome 1995, 101-107; P. Vežić, *The Early-Medieval Phase of the Episcopal Complex in Zadar*, Hortus Artium Medievalium 1, Zagreb – Motovun 1995, 150-161; I. Petricioli, *Predromanički ambon iz zadarske katedrale i srodna skulptura*, Starohrvatska spomenička baština. Radjanje prvog hrvatskog kulturnog pejzaža, Zagreb 1996, 209-214; P. Vežić, *Zadar, katedrale*, Hrvati i Karolinzi II, Split 2000, 150-151; P. Vežić, *Po čemu je u 10. st. katedrala u Zadru mogla sličiti Halkoprateskoj bazilici u Carigradu*, Diadora 20, Zadar 2001, 301-314; P. Vežić, *Zadar na pragu kršćanstva*, Zadar 2005, 17-56; P. Vežić, *Luoghi di culto della cattedrale di Zara*, Hortus Artium Medievalium 11, Zagreb – Motovun 2005, 275-290; N. Jakšić, *Dalmatinski primjeri reljefa u stilu liutprandovske „renesanse“*, Renesansa i renesanse u umjetnosti Hrvatske. Zbornik dana Cvite Fiskovića II, Zagreb 2008, 395-400, 402-405; N. Jakšić, E. Hilje, *Kiparstvo, 1. Od IV do XVI stoljeća*, Umjetnička baština zadarske nadbiskupije, Zadar 2008, 84-108; P. Vežić, M. Lončar, *Hoc tigem. Ciborij ranog srednjeg vijeka na tlu Istre i Dalmacije*, Zadar 2009, 78-85; T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji, 2. Korpus arhitekture. Kvarner i sjeverna Dalmacija*, Split – Zagreb 2009, 280-291.

This church, originally dedicated to the Holy Trinity (Fig. 12), was erected on the eastern side of the Roman forum, south-east of the catechoumena of the cathedral church of St. Anastasia (St. Stošija), built in the Early Christian period. In the fifteenth century, the church was dedicated to St. Donatus, a ninth-century bishop, meritorious for the modifications and adaptations the church went through during the second stage of construction. The church of Holy Trinity (St. Donatus), along with other sacral buildings, baptistery and the episcopal palace, enhances the uniqueness of the cathedral complex of the episcopal seat of Zadar. Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos (913-959) was well aware of the existence of this church<sup>105</sup> that underwent several architectural modifications and reconstructions during its relatively long history. For an entire millennium, it was used for religious service; it was given a secular function by the end of the eighteenth century when it became a military storehouse. Its premises even served as a section of the Archaeological museum in the period between the last few decades of the nineteenth century and the end of the Second World War.

It seems that today we know much more about this building, mentioned by many scholars as one of the most monumental and representative building of the pre-Romanesque architecture on the eastern Adriatic coast. This church was built in two distinctive building stages. During the first one, that most probably occurred in the second half of the eighth century, the original church with a circular plan was erected as a free-standing rotunda, with three horseshoe-shaped apses on its eastern end (Fig. 13). Eight circularly aligned pillars separated the higher, interior area of this original structure from its lower, exterior side that surrounded the church. The interior wall section of the lower exterior area was divided with numerous semicircular niches. A tambour was erected above the elevated central area, whereas the possible existence of a calotte dome, placed on it, still remains uncertain (Fig. 15). The lower, ring-shaped exterior, surrounding the central part of the church, was covered with a wooden beam construction.

105 The Byzantine emperor has stated that two other churches had been erected in the vicinity of the cathedral church of St. Anastasia (St. Stošija): „Near it is another church, a domed one, Holy Trinity, and above this church again is another church, like a triforium, domed also, into which they mount by a spiral staircase“. More extensively on this issue: *Constantine Porphyrogenitos De administrando imperio I* (edd. G. Moravcsik, R. J. H. Jenkins), Washington D.C. 1967, 29/138-139; *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије II*, Београд 1959, 24.

These fragments of wooden construction were used in the second construction stage and in the upper floor construction works; apart from this, they also indicated that there was the first construction stage and confirmed its dating with the C-14 method to the eighth century. Stylistic analysis of the relief ornaments carved in the beams concurred with that dating, as did the stylistic features of the relief on the preserved cornices and liturgical furnishings. During the second construction stage (early ninth - mid-tenth century), the original building went through significant transformations of its original appearance (Fig. 14). The central area was elevated, as was the outer ring supporting the upper floor, in order to obtain a more balanced aspect. The interior thus acquired image of a two-storey structure. The eight circularly aligned pillars inherent to the original structure were replaced by six significantly more massive pylons and two pillars that would facilitate the realization of this complex construction process. The lower exterior floor of the ring-shaped area was covered with barrel vaults, and the upper one with a wooden roof. The original semicircular niches positioned in the interior walling of the outer, ring-shaped area, were immured during the second construction stage. Two-storey division of the interior, conducted during the second phase of construction, is not visible on the outside of the structure. The outer form of the church is cylindrical, with semicircular apses in the altar space, and an elevated tambour. The façade was divided by shallow, vertically-aligned lesenes, mutually connected by arches only on semicircular apses. Few other structures were annexed to the church in the second construction stage: a two-storey vestibule on the west, with the entrance to the ground floor and the access to the gallery; a rectangular, probably two-storey area on the south, connected to the openings on the gallery, and an exterior stairway on the north.

The question of the original cathedral church of Trogir is somewhat more complex. Known under this name (*Tragurion*, *Tragurium*) since its early beginnings as an Illyrian settlement, later inhabited by Greek colonists, and also as a Roman municipium in the later period, this town developed on a small island situated between the island of Čiovo and the mainland, to which the island was connected by an isthmus (Fig. 17). The early medieval town of Trogir, covering an area of an elongated, rectangular shape, was created gradually by silting from the western coast of this circular island (Fig. 16). The town development was relatively limited by the proximity of an important, ancient, administrative, urban centre in Salona but obviously gained importance during the Early Byzantine period.

Archaeological remains of the sacral structures showed that this ancient town could have a strong early Christian community in the last period of the Late Antiquity. This early medieval town, known to the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitos in the middle of the tenth century,<sup>106</sup> certainly had a diocese in the Early Middle Ages. Its beginnings could be traced to the second decade of the eighth century,<sup>107</sup> and could certainly be dated to the last years of the tenth century.<sup>108</sup> Nevertheless, the problem of its early medieval cathedral church still seems significantly more uncertain.

Although the visual aspect of the early medieval cathedral church of the diocese of Trogir remains considerably less clear than in other cases of episcopal sees of the eastern Adriatic, the issue of its location does seem more certain. The suggestion that the church of St. Martin (at the present time dedicated to St. Barbara) could have functioned as the cathedral church of this diocese in the Early Medieval period, with its jurisdiction

- 106 According to the above-mentioned Byzantine emperor and writer: „The city of Tetrangourin is a little island in the sea, with a very narrow neck reaching to the land like a bridge, along which the inhabitants pass to the same city; and it is called Tetrangourin because it is long-shaped like a cucumber. In this same city lies the holy martyr Lawrence the archdeacon.“ The mention of the saint’s relics remains dubious, since these have been kept in Rome, and not translated elsewhere. See: *Constantine Porphyrogenitos De administrando imperio I* (edd. G. Moravcsik, R. J. H. Jenkins), Washington D.C. 1967, 29/136-137; *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије II*, Београд 1959, 22-23.
- 107 The note made by primicerius Ivan Lučić in the sixteenth century points to this hypothesis. His reference to the construction of the church of St. Mary in Trogir, mentions bishop Peter, from the time of reign of Byzantine Emperor Theodosius III (715-717). See: Naučna biblioteka u Zadru, Ms. 617, fol. 122v; D. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, Venezia 1769, 306-307. Nevertheless, it is curious that the mention of the bishop of Trogir was not included in the narration of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos. This might indicate that in 949, at the time when the emperor was writing his work, the episcopal see had not been established in Trogir yet. More extensively on this issue: *Constantine Porphyrogenitos De administrando imperio II. Comentary* (ed. R. J. H. Jenkins), Washington D.C. 1962, 110.
- 108 The information provided by John the Deacon, the Venetian chronicler, indicate this. The mention of the bishop of Trogir was included in his narration on the visit of the Venetian doge Peter II Orseolo to Trogir in 998. More extensively on this issue: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Urb. 440, fol. 31v-32r i 37v; N. Klaić claims that diocese of Trogir was established in the eleventh century, and that its first bishop was John Ursini. See: N. Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira. 1. Javni život grada i njegovih ljudi*, Trogir 1985, 22-23; 29-33.



stretching from cape Planka to Kaštel, is more and more rejected in the scientific community.<sup>109</sup> It seems that after the establishment of the diocese of Trogir in the Early Middle Ages, a new structure that would serve as the cathedral church was not erected. Instead, the already-existing church of St. Laurentius (St. Lovro), built on the site of the present-day church dedicated to the same saint, was used to that purpose (Fig. 18). The site of the present-day cathedral church of the bishop of Trogir was used for sacral purpose for a long time. Apart from the unconfirmed information about the presumed existence of an Illyrian shrine on this site, it is now considered for sure that an ancient Greek temple consecrated to goddess Hera stood on this place, as did a Roman one dedicated to the Capitoline Triad. Information on the remains of the an early Christian sacral structure erected on the site of this ancient temple was published in the middle of the 1980s.<sup>110</sup> It is commonly believed that this structure, whose apse fragments were discovered under the apse of the modern church (Fig. 19), dates back to the fifth century, and was allegedly restored in the sixth century.<sup>111</sup> It served as the cathedral church of the bishop of Trogir in the Early Medieval period. Since neither this early Christian church nor the cathedral from the Early Middle Ages were preserved, only very limited conclusions can be made, apart from the fact that it had the same orientation as the modern church and most likely a longitudinal form. Due to the fact that the present-day cathedral was built on this site, we do not have more detailed information on the original aspect of the church. Apart from the archaeological excavations undertaken along the southern wall of the modern church at the close of the twentieth century, with results still not adequately presented, the early medieval layer of this structure has not been more comprehensively researched yet. The discovered fragments of its presumed liturgical furnishings could, nevertheless, yield information regarding the potential remodeling of the original early Christian church

109 R. Bužančić, *Predromanička pregradnja crkve Sv. Martina u Trogiru*, Petriciolijev zbornik I, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 35, Split 1995, 241-251.

110 I. Babić, *Starokršćanski ulomci u Trogiru*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 25, Split 1985, 25-47.

111 A copy of the charter dating from the year of 503 attests that the restoration of the church was most likely undertaken in the sixth century. This copy, made by Petar Lučić, father of the famous historian Ivan Lučić (1604-1679), is stating that Kvirin, a dignitary from ancient Salona, restored the church of St. Laurentius (St. Lovro) in Trogir. See: Naučna biblioteka u Zadru, Ms 617, list 125v. M. Ivanišević, *Trogir u povijesnim izvorima od 438. do 1097. godine*, *Mogućnosti* 10-11, Split 1980, 967.

that allowed its conversion into the cathedral church of the bishop of Trogir during the Early Middle Ages.<sup>112</sup> These fragments, dated to the period ranging from the second half of the ninth to the first half of the eleventh centuries, are now kept at the Museum of Trogir. During the presumed remodeling of the original early Christian church and its conversion into the early medieval cathedral, the original architectural structure may have been preserved, with instalation of new carved liturgical furnishings in several construction stages. In the later period, in such a way remodeled early medieval cathedral was replaced by the new late Romanesque church, erected for the same purposes in the thirteenth century.

The cathedral church of Trogir might also have represented a segment of a wider sacral complex. Namely, the early medieval Trogir displayed features of the typical monocentric urban structure, inherited from its ancient past; thus, the centres of its sacral as well as secular administration were placed on the main square, as was the case throughout the Middle Ages. Consequently, besides the church of St. Laurentius (St. Lovro), several other sacral structures were built on this square, according to historical sources, and confirmed by the recently conducted archaeological excavations. Some of these include churches dedicated to St. Stephen, St. Martin, and St. Mary. Among the destroyed buildings, whose foundations were discovered underneath the central square, the remains of a smaller rectangular structure with semicircular apse on the east were discovered south of the modern cathedral. More to the south, in the vicinity of the church of St. Mary de Platea, historical sources mentioned the former baptistery of the Trogir cathedral. A further and more detailed examination of these structures is still hoped-for; they were doubtlessly built to function as part of the episcopal complex, and attest the far more elaborate role these early structures could have played in the Early Medieval period.<sup>113</sup>

- 112 M. Ivanišević, *Neobjelodanjeni ranosrednjovjekovni latinski natpisi iz Trogira*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/11, Split 1981, 176, tab. I, 1, 2; J. Belamarić, *Novootkriveni zabat predromaničke oltarne pregrade u Trogiru*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku LXXV, Split 1981, 159, tab. XXIX, 2; T. Burić, *Predromanička skulptura u Trogiru*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/12, Split 1982, 127-160; T. Burić, *Trogir, katedrala*, Hrvati i Karolinzi II, Split 2000, 144.
- 113 For further information on history, architecture and carved ornaments of the cathedral church of St. Laurentius (St. Lovro) in Trogir, see: N. Cambi, *Trogir u antici*, *Mogućnosti* 10-11, Split 1980, 950-963; M. Ivanišević, *Trogir u povijesnim izvorima od 438. do 1097. godine*, *Mogućnosti* 10-11, Split 1980, 964-992; M. Ivanišević, *Neobjelodanjeni ranosrednjovjekovni latinski natpisi iz Trogira*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/11, Split 1981, 176, tab. I, 1, 2;

In three episcopal sees on the northern Dalmatian islands of Krk, Cres and Rab, former churches from the Early Christian times also acted as cathedral churches; newly-decorated and adapted to a certain extent, they preserved their function of cathedral churches. Examples of Early Medieval architecture and sculpture are observable in every major island of the northern Adriatic in the Kvarner archipelago area, lying between Istria and Velebit. The islands of this archipelago (Krk, Cres, Rab, Lošinj, Pag, and numerous small ones) had been inhabited since prehistoric times, and were important harbours in the Antiquity. Being a part of the Lower Dalmatia (*Dalmatia Inferior*), under Byzantine power throughout the early stages of this Empire, these islands offered refuge to the autochthonous population of eastern Adriatic in the aftermath of Slavic incursions.<sup>114</sup> During the reign of Emperor Basil I (867 – 886), due to the emperor's more active approach to political issues regarding the restoration of Byzantine power in the Balkans and eastern Adriatic (that eventually resulted in establishment of the thema of Dalmatia in 870s), the population of Kvarner was obliged to pay, with the emperor's approval, annual taxes to the Slavs who had heavily oppressed them.<sup>115</sup> The Kvarner islands fell

J. Belamarić, *Novootkriveni zabat predromaničke oltarne pregrade u Trogiru*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku LXXV, Split 1981, 159, tab. XXIX, 2; T. Burić, *Predromanička skulptura u Trogiru*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/12, Split 1982, 127-160; I. Babić, *Starokršćanski ulomci u Trogiru*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 25, Split 1985, 25-47; N. Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira. 1. Javni život grada i njegovih ljudi*, Trogir 1985, 11-48; V. Kovačić, *Prilozi za ranokršćansku topografiju Trogira*, Diadora 15, Zadar 1993, 291-294; V. Delonga, *Pismenost karolinškog doba i njeni hrvatski odjeci. Latinska epigrafička baština u hrvatskim krajevima*, Hrvati i Karolinzi I, Split 2000, 232-234; T. Burić, *Trogir, katedrala*, Hrvati i Karolinzi II, Split 2000, 144; T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji*, 3. Korpus arhitekture. Srednja Dalmacija, Split – Zagreb 2011, 116-119.

114 Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos confirms this in chapter 29 of his work *De administrando imperio*, and mentions, among others, the ancient towns of *Arba*, *Vekla* and *Opsara* (the present-day Rab, Krk and Osor, situated in the islands of Rab, Krk and Cres) as refuges. More extensively on this issue: *Constantine Porphyrogenitos De administrando imperio I* (edd. G. Moravcsik, R. J. H. Jenkins), Washington D.C. 1967, 29/124-125; *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије II*, Београд 1959, 13; N. Klaić, *Izvori za hrvatsku povijest do 1526. godine*, Zagreb 1972, 5.

115 *Constantine Porphyrogenitos De administrando imperio I* (edd. G. Moravcsik, R. J. H. Jenkins), Washington D.C. 1967, 30/146-147; *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије II*, Београд 1959, 36; N. Klaić, *Izvori za hrvatsku povijest do 1526. godine*, Zagreb 1972, 27.

under the dominion of the early medieval Croatian state at the end of the eleventh century, after being subject to Venetian rule in the early eleventh century.<sup>116</sup> The structure of the ecclesiastical organization of this region, established in the Late Antiquity, survived throughout the Early Middle Ages. Thus, the dioceses whose continuity go back to the Late Antiquity, with centres in ancient towns of Krk, Rab and Osor, continued to expand their precisely delimited jurisdiction over several Kvarner islands, while submitting to the jurisdiction of the dominant Metropolis of Split.

The island of Krk, of an irregular, triangular shape, with its mountainous south-eastern side, represents, besides Cres, one of the biggest islands of the eastern Adriatic. Krk was an important base of the Roman fleet during the Antiquity, a part of the Exarchate of Ravenna in the Early Byzantine period, and part of the thema of Dalmatia afterwards. Ever since the Antiquity, the administrative centre of the island was situated in the town of Krk (ancient *Curicum*, *Curicta*, *civitas Curictarum*, Byzantine *Civitas vetus*, *Vekla* in Porphyrogenitos' writings), settled down between the two bays, approximately in the central part of the south-western coast. The plan of the town was pear-shaped (Fig. 20); its ramparts and gates, built in the Antiquity, were restored and refortified in the Early Middle Ages, whereas the ancient street network underwent only insignificant reduction in size. The episcopal see was situated in this important ancient harbour centre of the northern Adriatic, with its jurisdiction encompassing the coastal stretch of land lying at the foothill of the Velebit mountain. The history of this diocese probably goes back to the sixth century, although it was only in the 680s that the name of its first known bishop was registered in relevant historical sources. The present cathedral complex (Fig. 21), erected on the low stretch of land at the foothill of a small mount overlooking the southern ramparts of the historical core, encompasses the cathedral church of St. Mary, the two-storey church of St. Quirin, dating from a later period, and the remains of the ancient thermae and an early Christian baptistery, situated next to the northern wall of the cathedral church. The current cathedral complex, preserved in its entirety and still in religious service, demonstrates all the complexity of this architectural structure, formed through different construction stages. The discovered remains lying next to the northern wall of the cathedral church of St. Mary reveal the existence of the ancient thermae with the first oratory built inside one of its premises, dating from

116 I. Goldstein, *Hrvatski rani srednji vijek*, Zagreb 1995, 31.

the earliest construction stage.<sup>117</sup> In the period ranging from the fifth to the sixth centuries, the church of St. Mary was built in the form of a monumental three-naved basilica, in the southern premises of the *thermae*, where a *palestra* once stood. It still seems uncertain how the lateral naves were executed on the eastern side; nevertheless, the vast semicircular apse of the main nave, beyond any doubt, put the main accent on the eastern segment of the building. The particularity of this apse was reflected in the fact that it was partially indented in the rectangular area of the main nave, which allowed extension of its lateral parts in the form of the characteristic, massive pylons that separated, together with seven pillars, the interior into naves and, by connecting to the archivolt, supported the walls covered with a wooden roof. A baptistery most likely stood on the northern side of the church, situated in one of the premises of the ancient *thermae*, whereas a *narthex* and an atrium were positioned in its western front, opening to the main side streets (*cardo*) of the ancient town. This architectural structure represented the first cathedral church of the diocese, with its see in the town of Krk, which probably continued with this function throughout the Early Medieval period as well. Despite the fact that traces of remodelling of the very structure of the church in the Early Middle Ages are absent, numerous discovered fragments of carved stone decoration confirm the fact that this church preserved its principal form of an original Early Christian basilica even in the afore-mentioned period (apart from the additional pre-Romanesque decoration of the church interior, by new liturgical furnishings). Stylistic features of the discovered fragments of the liturgical furnishings indicate that this church witnessed some interior adaptations at the end of the eighth or in the early ninth century. During this time, the high altar screen, with most likely a tripartite entrance, was built into this church. This basilica church underwent another transformation in the twelfth – thirteenth centuries, in the Romanesque period, when three new apses were constructed on its eastern side, together with the church of St. Quirin in the west.<sup>118</sup>

117 Fragments of the floor mosaic and frescoes were discovered and identified among the remains of the ancient *thermae*, lying north of the cathedral church of St. Mary in the town of Krk.

118 For further information about the cathedral church of St. Mary on the island of Krk, see: A. Mohorovičić, *Problem tipološke klasifikacije objekata srednjovjekovne arhitekture na području Istre i Kvarnera*, Ljetopis Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 62, Zagreb 1957, 490; A. Mohorovičić, *Novootkriveni nalazi antičkih terma, oratorija i starokršćanske bazilike u gradu Krku*, Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 360, Zagreb

Cathedral church situated on the island of Cres also represents an example of an older structure from the Early Christian times that also continued to function as a cathedral church throughout the Early Middle Ages. Since olden times, Cres has been one of the most important islands of the western area of the Kvarner bay; elongated, narrow and rugged in surface on the north, Cres was characterized by a lower and wider stretch of land on the south and formed a spatial unit with the island of Lošinj, to which it was connected by an artificial isthmus (Fig. 23). Many historical events confirm that the past of this island was rather analogous to the destiny of Krk. After the period marked by Germanic domination, the island fell under Byzantine rule in the first half of the sixth century. It was firstly encompassed by the realm of the Exarchate of Ravenna, and then, after its fall in 751, it entered the thema of Dalmatia, with the centre in Zadar. The core of administrative and ecclesiastical organization of the island was situated in the town of Osor (ancient *Apsoros*, *Apsarum*, *Opsara* in Porphyrogenitos' writings), where it seems that the episcopal see was founded at the end of the sixth century, with its jurisdiction expanding from the islands of Cres and Lošinj to numerous smaller southern Kvarner islands. Osor originated in the south-west of the island, enclosed by two bays, at the location where a natural isthmus stretched towards the neighbouring island of Lošinj (Fig. 22). Later, a channel was dug out through this isthmus, turning Osor into a small peninsula. In this town, only two important sacral structures from the Early Medieval period have been preserved: the cathedral church of St. Mary and the church of St. Peter (catholicon of the former Benedictine monastery), today almost entirely devastated. Their juxtaposed locations in the town reveal the fact that the early medieval

1971, 19-34; I. Žic-Rokov, *Kompleks katedrale. Sv. Kvirin u Krku*, Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 360, Zagreb 1971, 131-157; M. Jurković, „Doppelkapelle“ *Sv. Kvirina u Krku. Biskupska kapela dvostruke funkcije*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 32, Split 1992, 223-236; P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae I*, Rome 1995, 32-35; M. Jurković, *Krk, Katedrala Sv. Marije*, Hrvati i Karolinzi II, Split 2000, 125-126; S. Lulić, *Opus columnarum katedrale Sv. Marije u Krku*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/32, Split 2005, 113-122; M. Čaušević, *Les cités antiques des îles du Kvarner dans l'Antiquité tardive: Curicum, Fulfinium et Apsorus*, Hortus Artium Medievalium 12, Zagreb – Motovun 2006, 24-25; M. Skoblar, *Prilog proučavanju ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture na otoku Krku*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/33, Split 2006, 70-71, 85-87; T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji, 2. Korpus arhitekture. Kvarner i sjeverna Dalmacija*, Split – Zagreb 2009, 42-47.

Osor, apart from having undergone restorations, preserved the analogous form and the location that the previous ancient settlement once had. The urban surface was probably reduced in the Late Middle Ages, which led to the fact that the original early medieval cathedral church of St. Mary was erected outside of the ramparts; hence, the new episcopal church was built at a new location in the fifteenth century. The original cathedral church of St. Mary (today within burial ground area) was initially located at the easternmost part of the ancient Osor, in the immediate vicinity of the ramparts and the eastern city gate. The complex architectural structure became a cathedral unit in the sixth century. The church was built in several construction stages, but also suffered destruction (the Saracens demolished it in the ninth century, the Genoese burnt it down in the second half of the fourteenth century, and it was damaged in 1945 bombing) and restoration in the mid-eighteenth century. During the earliest construction stage (the fourth – the fifth centuries), the first single-naved church of a rectangular plan was erected on this location (Fig. 24), without an apse on its eastern end, which gave it appearance of a hall. On its north-eastern side, a smaller rectangular structure, equally apseless in the east, was identified as a baptistery with the discovery of fragments of a hexagonal concave-sided baptismal basin. In the second construction stage (the fifth – the sixth centuries), this simple architectural complex underwent significant adaptations and transformations in its entirety. The interior of the original single-naved church was converted into a three-naved basilica with two rows of pylons; in addition to this, the semicircular apses were erected on the church, as well as in the baptistery. A narrow single-naved rectangular area was annexed to the original architectural unit, with a semicircular apse on the eastern end. This annex was erected south of the original church, which gave a twofold aspect to the cathedral structure. The church of St. Mary in Osor on the island of Cres (Fig. 25) most likely existed in such form until the Early Medieval period, and functioned as the cathedral church of this diocese. According to recent scientific discoveries that revealed the role of this church in the Early Middle Ages, it represented an example of continuous usage of the previous, older Christian sacral structures that were functioning as episcopal churches in the eastern Adriatic during the Early Medieval times. In this period, repeated remodeling of its interior was conducted. Numerous fragments of the liturgical furnishings, ranging from different epochs, yielded proof of these undertakings (stylized capitals (the

seventh – the eighth centuries), fragments of the altar screen (the ninth – the tenth centuries), ambon (the eleventh century)).<sup>119</sup>

A similar process of using the older churches from the Early Christian period as cathedral churches throughout the Early Middle Ages is also observable in the case of Rab, a Kvarner island where an episcopal see was located since the beginning of the Early Medieval period. The island of Rab (ancient *Arba*, *Arva*, *Arbia*), situated between the islands of Krk and Pag, follows the Adriatic coast. In Rab, it seems that a diocese was founded in the first half of the sixth century. This diocese spread its jurisdiction to the neighbouring island of Pag and the coastal stretch of land at the foothill of the Velebit Mountain after the Council of Split, held in 928. The episcopal see was positioned in the town of Rab (Fig. 27), situated in the central part of the south-western coast, on a small peninsula triangular and narrow in shape, encircled by two bays. This town, known

119 Incorporated into the described St. Mary's cathedral complex in Osor, another single-naved rectangular structure exists, erected between the northern basilica and the baptistery, with semicircular apses on the eastern end. Different opinions regarding its construction time and function have been present among researchers, ranging from the hypothesis that this structure represented an early Christian martyrrium/memoria (M. Mohorovičić), to the opinion that it was a chapel, annexed in the Early Middle Ages (eleventh century) (B. Fučić). For further information on the cathedral church of St. Mary in Osor, see: T. G. Jackson, *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istra I*, Oxford 1887, 103-107, fig. 108; W. Gerber, *Altchristliche Kultbauten Istriens und Dalmatiens*, Dresden 1912, 83-84, fig. 100-102; A. Mohorovičić, *Sjeverozapadna granica teritorijalne rasprostranjenosti starohrvatske arhitekture*, Peristil 2, Zagreb 1957, 91-207; A. Mohorovičić, *Problem tipološke klasifikacije objekata srednjovjekovne arhitekture na području Istre i Kvarnera*, Ljetopis Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 62, Zagreb 1957, 486-536; A. Mohorovičić, A. Deanović, M. Filjak, *Osor, Sv. Marija na groblju*, 1977; B. Fučić, *L'antica cattedrale di Santa Maria di Oszero*, De Cultu mariano saeculo XVI, Acta Congressus Mariologici-Mariani Internationalis Caesar augustae anno 1979 celebrati VI, Roma 1986, 277-290; P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae I*, Rome 1995, 55-59; B. Fučić, *Terra incognita*, Osor, stara osorska katedrala, Zagreb 1998, 186-196; M. Čaušević, *Sain-Marie du cimetière d'Osor: état de la question et résultats des dernières fouilles*, Hortus Artium Medievalium 9, Zagreb – Motovun 2002, 205-212; M. Čaušević, *Les cités antiques des îles du Kvarner dans l'Antiquité tardive: Curicum, Fulfinium et Apsorus*, Hortus Artium Medievalium 12, Zagreb – Motovun 2006, 33-36; M. Jarak, *Prilog istraživanju porijekla predromaničke plastike na otocima Cresu i Rabu*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/34, Split 2007, 57-71; T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji, 2. Korpus arhitekture. Kvarner i sjeverna Dalmacija*, Split – Zagreb 2009, 86-93.



under its ancient name of Arba, was increasing its importance since the era of Augustus who, judging by the preserved epigraphic material, ordered the construction of the ramparts. At the beginning of the Early Middle Ages, Rab was under the Byzantine rule, after which it fell under the power of the Croatian King Petar Kreshimir IV in the second half of the eleventh century. The town covered the area of the previous settlement from the Antiquity, and thus inherited its urban features. The bicentric structure of the town was achieved in the Early Medieval period, when the secular centre separated from the sacral one: the sacral was transferred towards south-west, whereas the secular occupied the north-eastern part of the town.

Demographic movements significantly influenced the early medieval architectural tendencies attested on the island. In the tenth century, characteristic by decreasing trends in demography, and in which the pre-Romanesque style prevail, architecture was exclusively marked by adaptation of the already existing older structures. The Romanesque style of the eleventh century, characteristic by demographic growth, accentuated the need for new architectural construction projects. The cathedral church of St. Mary was erected in the farthest south-eastern part of the triangular peninsula where the town of Rab came to be (Fig. 26). The structure did not follow the pattern of ideal orientation ( $45^\circ$  towards south-east), due to the constructor's aim to adapt the church to the rugged peaks that dominated the south-eastern end of the peninsula. Although we know little about it, it is assumed that the church, in the shape of a three-apsed basilica with an eastern apse semicircular on the inner and polygonal on the outer side, was erected in the first construction stage (the fifth century) (Fig. 28). At the same time, a baptistery was built north of the basilica; today only partially preserved in the lower sections of the walls, the rectangular structure revealed the remains of a cross-shaped baptismal basin and an access stairway. This cathedral complex too, continued to function as an episcopal church throughout the Early Middle Ages, as usual having undergone only moderate transformations. Thus, the church was decorated with a new liturgical furnishings at the end of the eighth or in the early ninth century, with a semicircular apse that was annexed to the eastern side of the adjacent baptistery. The early medieval remodelling of this cathedral complex was carried out in the eleventh century, characteristic by demographical growth, when a new three-apsed, three-apsed basilica was erected on the place of an older church from the Early Christian times. This newly-constructed structure was probably of identical dimensions as the former one, but

decorated according to pre-Romanesque artistic tendencies. Today in altar, but in those days in baptistery, the hexagonal ciborium represents an example of the only early medieval structure of this kind preserved *in situ* that bears witness to the afore-mentioned early medieval reconstruction projects. Although the three posterior sides of this structure were erected most likely at the end of the fourteenth century, its three rear sides, together with a hexagonal pyramidal roof with an acroterium and stylistic features of the relief technique, all clearly indicate the transformation process of the interior that occurred in the older cathedral complex in the Early Medieval period, which nevertheless kept its previous function, even in the new era marked by altered political and cultural climate.<sup>120</sup>

The use of older, already-existing early Christian churches and their conversion into cathedral churches of episcopal sees in the Early Medieval period, attested in the realms of the first South-Slavic principalities, encompassed not only older episcopal centres, but also the newly-established dioceses, which were established in recently developed political and cultural nuclei. In such towns, with a long tradition of settlement and a temporary or more-less permanent seat of newly-introduced political authorities, dioceses were founded, whose jurisdiction and therefore influence, no matter of what nature, radiated the space where the sacral and often affiliated secular power expanded, but remaining focused on the cathedral church, which usually possessed its much older, historical layer of construction.

The early medieval town of Nin and the episcopal see in it could provide a sound example for the afore-mentioned process. This town, situated in the northernmost coastal Dalmatian region, represented the main

120 For further information on the church of St. Mary in the town of Rab, see: R. Eitelberger von Edelberg, *Die Mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens in Arbe, Zara, Traù, Spalato und Ragusa*, Wien 1861, 75; T. G. Jackson, *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istra III*, Oxford 1887, 202; D. Frey, *Der Dom von Arbe*, Wien 1912; N. Jakšić, *Tipologija kapitela 11. stoljeća u Dalmaciji*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/13, Split 1983, 208-209; P. Vežić, *I cibori a pianta esagonale risalenti all'Alto medioevo in Istria e in Dalmazia*, Hortus Artium Medievalium 3, Zagreb – Motovun 1997, 101-116; M. Domijan, *Rab. Grad umjetnosti*, Zagreb 2001, 89, 111; M. Domijan, *Rab u srednjem vijeku*, Split 2004, 9-15; M. Domijan, *Katedrala Sv. Marije Velike u Rabu*, Split 2005, 4-20; P. Vežić, M. Lončar, *Hoc tigramen. Ciborij ranog srednjeg vijeka na tlu Istre i Dalmacije*, Zadar 2009, 52-57; T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji, 2. Korpus arhitekture. Kvarner i sjeverna Dalmacija*, Split – Zagreb 2009, 138-143.

centre of the north-western area of Ravni Kotari in the Antiquity, but also during the Early Middle Ages. Archaeological excavations discovered traces of original settlements dated to prehistoric times in the town of Nin (ancient *Aenona*, *Nona* in Porphyrogenitos' writings). In the Antiquity, it seems that the Christian religion won its first believers among the inhabitants of this town in the third century, judging by the remains of the earliest local church (*domus ecclesiae*). With the changing circumstances in the fourth century, the first elaborate and complex Christian churches were established precisely by the transformation of the ancient sacral structures. This culminated in the construction of the first ecclesiastical centre, that was formed as an original architectural unit, erected in the sixth century, composed of two adjacent churches dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Nin withstood the first Avaro-Slavic incursions of the seventh century, unlike numerous neighbouring antique towns, thanks to its geographic position: difficult to access and connected to the mainland only by a narrow isthmus on the south side, the town occupied the area of almost round peninsula, located in the middle of lagoon bay in the north-western part of the northern coast of Dalmatia (Fig. 30). Along the establishment of the first political authorities among the inhabited Croatian tribes, the town became the centre of a župa, newly-introduced administrative unit. Along with it, the first episcopal see was founded in the town in the third quarter of the ninth century, with its jurisdiction encompassing the entire territory of the first Croatian state.<sup>121</sup>

The new episcopal see, initially placed under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical centre of Aquileia, was soon abolished, upon the decrees of the Council of Split, held in 928. It was restored in the last quarter of the eleventh century, but with a slightly smaller territorial jurisdiction. Nevertheless, the importance Nin had for the South Slavic principalities on the eastern Adriatic, never decreased. During the eleventh century and the reign of župan Godečaj, the church of St. Cross was probably connected to the royal complex. Nin became the residence of the Croatian ruler Petar Krešimir IV (c. 1055/1058 - 1074). In the Early Modern Era,

121 Nin and the surrounding župa were known to Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos. In *De administrando imperio*, he mentions Nin and the župa bearing the same name among the „inhabited towns“ of „Christianized Croatia“, among the eleven districts inhabited by the Croatian tribes. More extensively on this issue: *Constantine Porphyrogenitos De administrando imperio I* (edd. G. Moravcsik, R. J. H. Jenkins), Washington D.C. 1967, 30/144-145; 31/150-151; *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије II*, Београд 1959, 33, 44.

Nin lost the important role it once played when, destroyed in the aftermath of Venetian bombardment (preventing Nin from being used as one of the Turkish strongholds in the middle of the seventeenth century), it was reduced to a congregation of rural communities. Consequently, the episcopal see ceased to exist in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

The early medieval Nin occupied the area of the erstwhile settlement from the Antiquity; thus, the topography of Christian sacral structures was preserved. These did not originate in the ancient pagan cultic centre of the town, but in an expressly chosen new location south of the urban area, in the vicinity of the southern entrance to the town (Fig. 29). The first sacral structure rose in the fourth century, at about the same time the Edict of religious toleration was implemented, in the first meeting place of the persecuted Christian community, in the house of one of its eminent members (*domus ecclesiae*). This building with semicircular apses on the eastern end, was enlarged during the fourth century, which led to its transformation into two adjacent monumental structures in the sixth century (Fig. 31). The northern and larger one was a single-naved structure of a rectangular plan with semicircular apse on its eastern end, and lesenes on its façade. The southern church was smaller, but identically constructed. Archaeological excavations revealed remains of its outer walls only, which led to the hypothesis that it had been used as a baptistery. Having successfully overcome the first Avaro-Slavic incursions, these churches continued to have its significant function during the Early Middle Ages. By these sacral structures, with the church of Holy Trinity, later dedicated to St. Anselm, one of the seventy disciples who, according to tradition, became the first bishop of the town, after the foundation of the diocese of Nin, the cathedral complex was established in the last quarter of the ninth century. It was done by a well-known process: not by building anew, but only by remodeling the already existing ancient early Christian structures of a good reputation and prestige. Becoming the cathedral church of a very important newly-established diocese, the structure of the church of St. Anselm preserved the architectural form of the original church dating from the Early Christian period (Fig. 32). As we know now, the adaptation of this original church included remodelling of the upper parts of the wall surfaces around the opening, a new stylistically elaborate liturgical furnishings, and probably a new baptistery, annexed to the north-western end of the apse. The baptismal basin bearing a well-known yet often questionable inscription related to prince Višeslav (kept

at the Museum of Croatian archaeological monuments in Split) might have belonged to it as well. This church provided an example of another cathedral church that kept its function during the Early Medieval period, only with partial pre-Romanesque restoration.<sup>122</sup>

The diocese of Biograd was one of the episcopal sees of the early medieval northern Dalmatia, situated in the realm of the first South Slavic principalities. The town represented one of the pivotal administrative and economic centres of the early medieval Croatian state's administrative unit called Sidraga župa, which subsequently became the capital of the state. According to the documents issued by Croatian rulers, Biograd was referred to as a capital in the early tenth century. It was founded on a small peninsula, in the immediate vicinity of the south-eastern opening to the Pašman channel, opposite the Pašman Island (Fig. 34). Due to this favourable geographic position, which enabled control of the bay and partially of Ravni kotari, the town became the centre of the župa, mentioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos as one of the eleven Croatian districts in the tenth century.<sup>123</sup> The town of Biograd fell under Venetian rule in the early eleventh century; nevertheless, during the reign of Krešimir III, it again became the capital of the Croatian state, beyond the administrative system of župas. It preserved this status throughout the second half of the eleventh century, as confirmed by the charters issued by Croatian rulers in the following period. Finally, after the collapse of the early medieval Croatian state, the Hungaro-Croatian King Koloman was crowned in Biograd. The town was intentionally demolished by the Venetian authorities in the middle of the seventeenth century, during the war with the Ottomans.

122 For further information on the cathedral church of St. Anselm in Nin, see: M. Suić, M. Perinić, *Revizija iskopavanja ninskog baptisterija*, Diadora 2, Zadar 1962, 317-320; M. Suić, Š. Batović, J. Belošević, *Nin. Problemi arheoloških istraživanja*, Zadar 1968; P. Vežić, *Sklop župne crkve Sv. Anselma, bivše katedrale u Ninu*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/15, Split 1985, 201-216; N. Jakšić, *Nin. Hrvatska srednjovjekovna prestonica*, Split 1995, 11-12; P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae I*, Rome 1995, 83-86; P. Vežić, *Ninska crkva u ranom srednjem vijeku. Problem kontinuiteta i rezultati arheoloških istraživanja*, Starohrvatska spomenička baština. Radjanje prvog hrvatskog kulturnog pejzaža, Zagreb 1996, 87-99; T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji, 2. Korpus arhitekture. Kvarner i sjeverna Dalmacija*, Split – Zagreb 2009, 191-194.

123 More extensively on this issue: *Constantine Porphyrogenitos De administrando imperio I* (edd. G. Moravcsik, R. J. H. Jenkins), Washington D.C. 1967, 30/144-145; 31/150-151; *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије II*, Београд 1959, 33, 44.

At the beginning of the Early Medieval period, the Sidraga župa was, most likely, under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical authorities of Skradin. Subsequently, a new episcopal see was founded in the župa, as a consequence of the newly established political system of the župa administration. Some scholars consider the document issued by the King Krešimir I in 950 as relevant for determining the year of this diocese's foundation. However, numerous historical sources confirmed the existence of the episcopal see, and yielded names of several prelates who occupied the bishop's throne of this town in the eleventh century. This diocese whose jurisdiction encompassed the Sidraga župa and presumably the Pašman islands as well, remained under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Split until the middle of the twelfth century, and from then on, under the archbishop of Zadar.

Explicitly qualified as a town (*castrum*) by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, this settlement was doubtlessly solidly fortified, despite the fact that relevant information on the urban strata from the Antiquity are absent. An early medieval town expanded within ramparts, erected to match the circular shape of the peninsula that encompassed several sacral structures (Fig. 33). Although only the foundations remain, we know that besides the cathedral church of Biograd, most likely dedicated to St. Mary, the town had the churches of St. John the Evangelist and of St. Thomas, that were built within a Benedictine monastery's complex, within the city walls. Apart from these, the early medieval churches of St. Anthony (Sv. Ante) and Holy Sunday (Sv. Nedeljica) were built outside the city walls. Almost completely ruined today, the cathedral church, which was erected between the central area of the settlement and the southern ramparts, on the highest point called Glavica, represented the most significant sacral structure built inside the ramparts. This early medieval church continued to exist even after the destruction of the town in 1125 when it lost its episcopal function. Despite the fact that it was demolished, it was nevertheless well preserved in the Late Middle Ages as well. It suffered heavily in the destruction that befell the town in 1646, whereas its architectural structure was dismantled during the construction of a new parish church dedicated to St. Anastasia, built on the same location. Finally, the church was utterly demolished in the twentieth-century, as consequence of a new urban plan. The question of its original dedication still remains open. Several modern researchers consider that the early medieval cathedral church was dedicated to St. Anastasia (St. Stošija), based on the fact that

the new parish church, erected in the first half of the eighteenth century, was dedicated to the same patron saint. Nevertheless, as well as older, some new researchers share the opinion that the early Christian, as well as the early medieval cathedral church was dedicated to St. Mary. There is no scientific consensus on the dating of the church, either. Most researchers from previous periods dated this church to the eleventh century, contrary to I. Petricioli, whose opinion is by and large accepted today, that the church should be dated to the ninth century, on the basis of the analyses he conducted in person. The cathedral church of Biograd was erected in several construction stages, as was the case with other previously-mentioned cathedral churches. The earliest construction stage was characterized by a smaller church dating from the Early Christian period. It was a single-naved structure, with semicircular apses on its eastern end, most likely covered with a barrel vault. According to stylistic analysis of the fragments of its carved stone decoration, and revealing analogies with other stonemason artefacts from the Zadar region, the church was dated to the sixth century. Nonetheless, the lesenes in its architectural structure led several researchers to date it to the dawn of the Early Middle Ages (seventh – eighth centuries). It seems that the next construction stage took place in the middle of the ninth century, when the church was enlarged and transformed into an irregular, rectangular three-naved structure, whereas its interior was divided by two rows of six massive pylons, most of which have cylindrical cross section<sup>124</sup> (Fig. 35). Each of the naves have semicircular apse on its eastern end, with the central apse wider and deeper than the lateral ones. The foundations of the walls were revealed in the southern nave, indicating that its central area was partitioned. Remains of the cruciform baptismal basin unearthed in this area reveal that a baptistery was placed in this part of the church. The outer aspect of this building was dominated by massive buttresses, rounded on the exterior and densely placed along the western, northern and southern church wall. Traces of lesenes were discovered in the interior of the lateral walls, whose alignment did not correspond to the one of the buttresses on the exterior side. Thick walls, dense alignment of the buttresses, as well as the lesenes arranged along the interior of the walls indicate that the naves were vaulted. A roof

124 Deviations in the intersection of the pylon base were only observed in the second pair from the eastern side, which had a quadrilateral-prism base, and in one rectangular-based pylon in the southern row. See: T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji, 2. Korpus arhitekture. Kvarner i sjeverna Dalmacija*, Split – Zagreb 2009, 430.

construction, most probably barrel vaults that covered the naves, was supported by arches, stretched out between massive pylons. Uncovered fragments of liturgical furnishings bear similarities to those which originated in prince Trpimir's time and therefore allow dating this construction stage to the middle of the ninth century. The outer form of the church, characterized by rounded buttresses, also corresponds to the structures erected on the territory of the Early Medieval principality of Croatia (Fig. 36). This architectural project of enlarging the older church reflected the political importance Biograd had in that time, as administrative center of Sidraga župa and royal seat, particularly enhanced by the establishment of the episcopal see. Stylistically different fragments of liturgical furnishings could reveal the third construction stage of this church, dated to the middle of the tenth century, during which the church underwent smaller remodelings, including the closure of the opening in its southern nave. In the fourth construction stage, probably done in the second half of the eleventh century, a bell-tower, with an almost square plan, was annexed to the western front of the building. The ground plan of this church, drawn early on during the first systematic, only recently published research,<sup>125</sup> unveils that the original hypotheses regarding its axial position in this structure were not exact. The base of the newly-erected bell-tower did not correspond to the axis of the church. The remains of a stairway, discovered on the southern side of the bell-tower's ground floor, confirm that it served to enable communication with the upper floors. The architectural structure of this early medieval cathedral church led modern scientists to consider it as a specific example of church, demonstrating a substantially reduced idea of the Carolingian westwerk with axially erected bell-tower.<sup>126</sup> Consequently, the early medieval cathedral church of Biograd, which can be examined mainly because of the preserved archaeological and technical documentation dating from its first examination in the early twentieth century, still remains so enigmatic to modern science.<sup>127</sup>

125 F. Buškariol, *Istraživanja don Luke Jelića u Biogradu na moru na položaju Glavica*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 27, Split 1988, 21-56; F. Buškariol, L. Jelić, *O katedrali u Biogradu na moru*, Biogradski zbornik I, Zadar 1990, 351-372.

126 M. Jurković, *L'église et l'état en Croatie en IX<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Le problème du massif occidental carolingien*, Hortus Artium Medievalium 3, Zagreb – Motovun 1997, 23-39.

127 For further information on the cathedral church of Biograd, see: V. Škarpa, *Izvještaji muzejskih prijatelja i povjerenika*, Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva n.s. 3, Zagreb 1898, 230-231; L. Jelić, *Povijesne topografske crtice o*



The early medieval cathedral church of the diocese of Knin stands as an important and curious case among many cathedral churches constituted in the first Early Medieval South Slavic principalities of the eastern Adriatic region and its hinterland. By the end of the Early Medieval period, the diocese of Knin became the episcopal see of the Croatian state, previously held by the diocese of Nin. The jurisdiction of this diocese, founded in the first decades of the eleventh century, stretched over a significantly greater territory than the one in which the seat of the župa was situated. Its ecclesiastical authority covered the area up to the mouth of the river Cetina in the east and Lika and Bosnia in the north. The seat of its prelate was in the early medieval settlement of Kosovo, in the immediate vicinity of Knin. According to historical sources from the middle and the third quarter of the eleventh century, a royal court (*villa regalis*) stood in this settlement, as well as the see of the Croatian bishop, who accompanied the king with the royal suite.

*biogradskom primorju*, Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva n.s. 3, Zagreb 1898, 33-126; M. Vasić, *Архитектура и скулптура у Далмацији од почетка IX до почетка XV века. Цркве*, Београд 1922, 112; Lj. Karaman, *Iz kolijevke hrvatske prošlosti*, Zagreb 1930, 68; Ć. M. Iveković, *Istraživanja starina u Biogradu na moru i njegovoj okolini*, Ljetopis Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 44, Zagreb 1932, 146-156; J. Belošević, *Sv. Ivan u Biogradu*, Arheološki pregled 12, Zagreb – Ljubljana – Beograd 1972, 167-168; T. Marasović, *Prilog morfološkoj klasifikaciji rano-srednjovjekovne arhitekture u Dalmaciji*, Prilozi istraživanju starohrvatske arhitekture, Split – Zagreb 1978, 64-66; B. Juraga, *Srednjovjekovni kameni spomenici na području Biograda*, Diadora 9, Zadar 1980, 445-469; I. Petricoli, *Prilog diskusiji o starohrvatskim crkvama s oblim kontraforima*, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 8, Zagreb 1984, 221-226; V. Goss, *Early Croatian Architecture. A Study of the Pre-Romanesque*, London 1987, 154-155; F. Buškariol, *Istraživanja don Luke Jelića u Biogradu na moru na položaju Glavica*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 27, Split 1988, 21-56; F. Buškariol, L. Jelić, *O katedrali u Biogradu na moru*, Biogradski zbornik I, Zadar 1990, 351-372; T. Marasović, *Graditeljstvo starohrvatskog doba u Dalmaciji*, Split 1994, 78, 80; P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae I*, Rome 1995, 126-128; N. Jakšić, *Klesarska radionica iz vremena kneza Branimira*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/22, Split 1995, 141-150; N. Jakšić, *Croatian Art in the Second Half of the Ninth Century*, Hortus Artium Medievalium 3, Zagreb – Motovun 1997, 41-54; M. Jurković, *L'église et l'état en Croatie en IX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le problème du massif occidental carolingien*, Hortus Artium Medievalium 3, Zadar 1997, 23-39; *Biograd, ostaci katedrale na Glavici*, Hrvati i Karolinzi II, Split 2000, 195-196; T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji, 2. Korpus arhitekture. Kvarner i sjeverna Dalmacija*, Split – Zagreb 2009, 426-431.

The area enclosed by the valley of the river Krka, flowing from the western slopes of the Dinara mountain toward the bay of Šibenik and the region of Knin, and the neighbouring Kosovo polje, was the shortest route between the eastern Adriatic and the hinterland and Pannonia, giving it an important strategic position in this maritime region. Being a borderline zone of the northern and central Dalmatian land, this region has been inhabited since prehistoric times and was a military and communication center in the Roman period. Besides the Roman military stronghold erected in Burnum, on the very frontier between the Illyrian tribes of Liburni and Dalmati, the adjacent Ninia, situated on the present-day mount of Spas in Knin, gained on importance after the destruction of Burnum in the Late Antiquity. The Christian necropolis from the Late Antiquity, discovered at the outskirts of the town, attest the importance Ninia once had. Namely, this necropolis unveiled more than two hundred graves and numerous precious finds of Ostrogothic and Byzantine origin, thus representing one of the biggest graveyards in this area, dating from the Migration Period. The castrum erected on the mount of Spas (the present-day Knin) in the Early Medieval period (the antique *Ninia*, medieval *Tnin*, *Tenenum*, Porphyrogenitos' *Tenin*), became one of the most densely populated towns in the area and the centre of a Croatian župa. Despite the fact that this castrum has not been preserved, its position in the northern part of the present-day Knin fortress was nevertheless established, unlike its size and structure. It can be deduced, therefore that this complex had a multicentric structure, composed of the three following segments: 1) the nucleus of the castrum, erected on the northern mountain rim of Spas, where an early medieval church was located. The church was probably dedicated to Christ the Saviour, judging by the discovered fragments of liturgical furnishings decorated with interlace ornament; 2) the suburbs that gradually expanded southwards. The church of St. Stephan, erected in the oldest part of the suburbs in the Early Middle Ages, was converted into a mosque during the Ottoman period; nonetheless, its preserved liturgical furnishings bore features of the Early Romanesque style dating from the end of the eleventh and the early twelfth century; 3) Kaptol, situated on a smaller eponymous hill over the river Krka, where a royal monastery with the church of St. Bartholomew (Sv. Bartul) was built in the Early Middle Ages, today preserved only in fragments. A new cathedral church was built in its place in the thirteenth century. This Early Medieval castrum became more important since the first half of the tenth century and the reign of the Croatian King

Držislav, when the afore-mentioned royal monastery was constructed nearby. Its importance culminated in the eleventh century, during the rule of the Croatian Kings Peter Krešimir IV and Zvonimir, when in its vicinity, in the eastern part of Kosovo polje, the seat of Croatian rulers and bishops was established.

Written sources revealed more information on early medieval Knin than the discovered remains of the town. Most of its structures were destroyed, particularly during the Turkish expansion. During the Early Middle Ages, the centre of political and ecclesiastical organization was not situated in Knin, but in the settlement of Kosovo, only several kilometres away from the town. The historical sources and archaeological excavations confirm that in the area of the early medieval Kosovo settlement (*Villa Cossovo, Kosoua*), a very rich sacral topography was developed, on the site of the present-day village Biskupija, slightly elevated in the eastern region of Kosovo Polje, south-east of Knin, where traces of a settlement date back to the Eneolithic period and the Iron Age. Apart from significant discoveries dating from the Roman and Early Christian periods, as well as from the Migration Period, the Early Medieval period was the most important time for the development of this settlement. Despite the fact that the archaeological excavations could hardly yield more precise information regarding the shape and structure of this early medieval settlement, it seems unquestionable that it should be classified as a particularly elongated settlement type. It developed on the predominantly flat surface of the eastern bank of Kosovčica river, flowing through the western part of the settlement. Five pre-Romanesque churches of this settlement were mentioned in the historical sources, whereas remains of four were discovered in the archaeological excavations. So, the structures that were erected in the early medieval Kosovo, in order from north to south, are: 1) a single-naved church with three apses in its eastern end and a two-storey vestibule (westwerk) in the western front (dated to the middle of the ninth century); its dedication has not been confirmed yet; it was located on a mount Lopuska Glavica, overlooking the river Kosovčica; 2) a single-naved church with a semicircular apse on its eastern end (dating from the ninth century), of unknown dedication, erected on a site called Bukorovića Podvornici, in the proximity of the small village of Bukorovići (the so-called „fourth church“) 3) a domed church of a probably octagonal plan (dating from the end of the ninth century, destroyed in the eighteenth century), located in the Christian Orthodox graveyard, whose remains have

remained undiscovered; it could have been dedicated to the Holy Trinity, like the church existing today in that same location; 4) a three-naved church with three apses in the eastern end, a two-storey vestibule (westwerk), and a bell-tower in the western front (dating from the second half of the ninth century), erected on a mount called Stupovi, probably dedicated to St. Cecilia, judging by the toponym Cecela; 5) the church identified as the cathedral church of St. Mary, erected in the immediate proximity of the Croatian royal court, where the residence of the bishop most likely stood as well, who accompanied the king in the royal suite. The three necropolises, discovered at various locations (in the vicinity of the cathedral church and the royal court; next to the present-day church of the Holy Trinity; on the site Dolovi, near Lopuška Glavica, along the Kosovčica river) indicate the complexity of this settlement's structure.

The remains of the cathedral church of St. Mary, which occupied the southernmost point of the site where the pre-Romanesque churches of the Kosovo settlement stood, were discovered on the site Crkvine, within the Catholic cemetery (Fig. 37). A preserved fragment of the altar screen bears inscription attesting that this church (identified as the cathedral church of Croatian bishops) was dedicated to the Holy Mother of God and to St. Stephen. Segments of this complex architectural structure, unearthed in archaeological excavations, have been rather differently interpreted, after a century of research. Recently conducted research has proposed a new hypothesis, according to which these remains were attributed to the cathedral of Kosovo, the church of St. Mary, and to the residential royal court built in its immediate vicinity. It was in this very palace that Croatian King Zvonimir issued a charter to the nuns of Split in the period between 1076 and 1078, on the occasion of the reconsecration of the church. This complex architectural unit has been only fragmentarily preserved and is composed of the three following segments: 1) a sacral three-naved basilica erected in the south-east; 2) a structure of a rectangular plan, identified as the royal mausoleum, situated in the south-west; 3) a very complex architectural unit constructed in the north, aligned with the church and the mausoleum, and identified as the residential royal court (Fig. 38). This architectural complex was erected in several construction stages, stretching through a longer time period. The older cultural layer of this site is represented by necropolises, dating from the Early Christian and Early Medieval times, as confirmed by archaeological excavations. The rectangular object built in the south-west at the end of the eighth century, with massive pylons

dividing its interior into three sections, represented the most ancient structure of this architectural unit. The fact that a funerary chapel was founded in an existing necropolis and that ten graves were discovered that contained warrior equipment, weapons and other objects, as well as the fact that it included pits with child burials, led researchers to identify it as a mausoleum for rulers. During the next construction stage, east of the mausoleum, a church of a basilica plan was built. The massive pylons, erected along the eastern wall, together with two rows of four piers, divided its interior into three naves. Although the issue regarding the shape of the eastern end of the church was disputed by researchers for a long time, a hypothesis has recently been accepted according to which this three-naved basilica had a semicircular apse on its eastern end. These pylons formed a quasi separate lateral premises in the extension of the exterior naves. All the naves were covered with barrel vaults and with a basilical roof construction. In the early ninth century, after the erection of the church, the area stretching westwards that was used as a mausoleum, got transformed into a vestibule of the church. This older, western end of the church, covered with a barrel vault, changed its aspect into a two-storey vestibule (westwerk). It seems that its upper floor was used as the ruler's lodge, open towards the interior of the church. The applied patterns of Carolingian architecture led the researchers to assume the possibility of one or two bell-towers having been erected above this vestibule, or even another frontal vestibule, or a dome vaulting the eastern end of the central nave (Fig. 39). Numerous fragments of the liturgical furnishings, exceptionally carved and considered to be precious and rare, emphasize the fact that this church had a meticulously designed and lavishly decorated interior. Detailed analysis revealed that the liturgical furnishings underwent four transformations in the period from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. The adaptations it underwent in the eleventh century were seemingly directly related to the establishment of the episcopal see, as well as to the elevation to the rank of the capital church of the Croatian rulers during Zvonimir's reign. The final construction stage, undertaken in the eleventh century, was in all likelihood contemporaneous with the afore-mentioned events. A distinct architectural unit, with parts of building organized around a vast rectangular courtyard in the center, was erected along the northern lateral part of the cathedral church and a mausoleum (Fig. 40). Despite the fact that only sporadic information on this structure have been available, it has been assumed, judging by the remains of the narrow parallel stairway walls, that it was

composed of upper floors and porches situated on the ground floor. Judging by the results of a recently-conducted study, this object has been identified as the residential complex of the royal court, probably containing the residence of the Croatian bishop as well.<sup>128</sup>

- 128 For further information regarding the cathedral church of St. Mary in Biskupija, near Knin, see: F. Bulić, *Starinske izkopine u Biskupiji (pokraj Knina)*, *Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata* 9, Split 1886, 23-32; F. Bulić, *Hrvatski spomenici u kninskoj okolici uz ostale suvremene dalmatinske iz doba hrvatske narodne dinastije*, Zagreb 1888; F. Radić, *Hrvatska biskupska crkva Sv. Marije u Biskupiji i Kaptolska crkva Sv. Bartula na sadašnjem Kaptolu kod Knina*, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* I/1, Knin 1895, 150-156; M. Васић, *Архитектура и скулптура у Далмацији од почетка IX до почетка XV века. Цркве*, Београд 1922, 110; Lj. Karaman, *Iz kolijevke hrvatske prošlosti*, Zagreb 1930, 137-150; S. Gunjača, *Na ulomcima natpisa crkve Sv. Marije u Biskupiji nema traga spomena knezu Zdeslavu*, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* LI, Split 1940, 197-202; S. Gunjača, *Četvrta starohrvatska crkva u Biskupiji kod Knina i groblje oko nje*, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III/2, Split 1952, 57-79; S. Gunjača, *Revizija iskopina u Biskupiji kod Knina*, *Ljetopis Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 57, Zagreb 1953, 9-39; Lj. Karaman, *O reviziji iskopina u Biskupiji*, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III/4, Split 1955, 209-219; S. Gunjača, *Oko revizije iskopina u Biskupiji*, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III/5, Split 1956, 21-32; S. Gunjača, *Rad osnivača Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika i utemeljitelja Starohrvatske prosvjete (Povodom stogodišnjice rođenja fra Luje Maruna 1857-1957)*, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III/6, Split 1958, 20-21; I. Petricioli, *Pojava romaničke skulpture u Dalmaciji*, Zagreb 1960, 10-11; S. Gunjača, D. Jelovina, *Starohrvatska baština*, Zagreb 1976; T. Marasović, *Prilog morfološkoj klasifikaciji ranosrednjovjekovne arhitekture u Dalmaciji*, *Prilozi istraživanju starohrvatske arhitekture*, Split – Zagreb 1978, 64, 67; N. Jakšić, *Zabati oltarne pregrade iz crkve u Biskupiji kod Knina*, *Fiskovićev zbornik I, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 22, Split 1980, 97-110; V. Delonga, *Nekoliko ranosrednjovjekovnih latinskih natpisa s Crkvine u Biskupiji u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu*, *Gunjačin zbornik*, Zagreb 1980, 149-162; N. Jakšić, *Romanička klesarska radionica iz Knina*, *Peristil* 24, Zagreb 1981, 27-33; T. Marasović, *Projektne modeli u graditeljstvu ranog srednjeg vijeka*, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III/13, Split 1983, 139-144; M. Jurković, *Crkve s westwerkom na istočnom Jadranu*, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 26, Split 1987, 61-86; V. Goss, *Early Croatian Architecture. A Study of the Pre-Romanesque*, London 1987, 149-150; N. Jakšić, *O katedralama hrvatske kninske biskupije*, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 27 (14), Zadar 1988, 115-133; M. Budimir, *Arheološka topografija kninske općine*, *Arheološka istraživanja u Kninu i Kninskoj krajini*, *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 15, Zagreb 1990, 23-32; T. Marasović, *Graditeljstvo starohrvatskog doba u Dalmaciji*, Split 1994, 76, 79; N. Jakšić, *Knin. Hrvatska srednjovjekovna prijestolnica*, Split 1995; M. Jurković, *Sv. Spas na vreli Cetine i problem westwerka u*

The principality of Zachlumia was situated between the valley of Neretva and the western boundaries of Dubrovnik's surroundings, and encompassed within its borders the Pelješac peninsula, the Elaphiti islands early on, and the island of Mljet later on. This principality flourished in the tenth century, under the reign of daring and ambitious ruler Michael Višević.<sup>129</sup> In the following century, it fell under Diocleia, which particularly strengthened its political power during the reign of King Michael (ca. 1050 – 1082) and Bodin, his successor (1082 – 1101). Its episcopal see was situated in Ston, lying on a narrow stretch of land that connected the Pelješac peninsula with the mainland. Ston developed on a location that had been inhabited since prehistoric times. Nevertheless, it has been classified into a quasi-rural settlement type, due to its atypical spatial organization, despite its enhanced urban character.<sup>130</sup>

Ston developed on the foundations of the Stamnes (Stagnum) castrum, which was re-inhabited in the Early Middle Ages. That way, the town spread beyond its walls, and encompassed several smaller settlements (Prapatno, Darka, Vino, Zahumac, Gorica, etc.), situated on the slopes of the adjacent hills (Fig. 41). But two mounts proved to be the most suitable for habitation – Stari grad and Gradac (Sveti Mihajlo). The earlier late antique fortification erected on Gradac became a royal seat in the

*hrvatskoj predromanici*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/22, Split 1995, 55-80; V. Delonga, *Latinski epigrafički spomenici u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj*, Split 1996, 55-82; V. Delonga, *Dvorska epigrafika Zvonimirova doba i odjeci Grgurovih reformi*, Starohrvatska spomenička baština. Radjanje prvog hrvatskog kulturnog pejzaža, Zagreb 1996, 173-180; M. Jurković, *L'église et l'état en Croatie en IX<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Le problème du massif occidental carolingien*, Hortus Artium Medievalium 3, Zagreb – Motovun 1997, 23-39; M. Jurković, *Skulpture sa prikazom Bogorodice u Dalmaciji u okviru političkog programa reformirane crkve*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/25, Split 1998, 63-80; A. Milošević, *Crkva Sv. Marije. Mauzolej i dvori hrvatskih vladara u Biskupiji kraj Knina*, Split 2000; A. Milošević, *Dvori hrvatskih vladara na Crkvini u Biskupiji kraj Knina*, Zbornik Tomislava Marasovića, Split 2002, 199-207; A. Milošević, Ž. Peković, *Predromanička crkva Sv. Spasa u Cetini*, Dubrovnik – Split 2009, 155-159; T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji*, 2. Korpus arhitekture. Kvarner i sjeverna Dalmacija, Split – Zagreb 2009, 536-550.

129 For further information regarding this early medieval ruler, his role and political ambitions, see: T. Живковић, *Портрети српских владара (IX – XII век)*, Београд 2006, 59-66.

130 T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji*, 2. Korpus arhitekture. Kvarner i sjeverna Dalmacija, Split – Zagreb 2009, 124-125.

Early Medieval period, with the church of St. Michael built as a ruler's foundation, and a royal chapel. Ston represented a typical example of the urban bicentric structure, with its secular seat lying on the Gradac mount (Sveti Mihajlo), and the sacral one situated in an entirely different site, along with the cathedral church of St. Magdalene on Gorica, and suburban dwellings on the slopes of Humac, Gradac and Stari grad.

The afore-mentioned smaller settlements were located between these urban centres, on the slopes of the adjacent hills and in the fertile Stonsko polje, clustered around main resources – arable lands and numerous springs. It was not extraordinary if a sacral building was erected in the centre (or on some other convenient location) of these settlements, serving as a pivot and a symbolic nucleus. Ston had an atypical urban structure, due to the fact that its inhabited urban area expanded beyond the limits of the fortified castrum and encircled the settlements situated in its surroundings. Consequently, Ston was classified into a quasi-rural settlement type. The economy of these settlements benefited from the fertile lands. In the case of Ston, the favourable conditions were also the proximity of the sea, and the well-known saltern.

However, the cathedral church of the bishop of Ston, the church of St. Magdalene, as one of the numerous churches erected in Ston and the Pelješac peninsula, gave an urban character to the entire settlement.

Bishops were present in Ston since the sixth century, and their presence was attested in the Early Medieval period as well. The existence of ecclesiastical organization in this town was corroborated by the presence of Mihajlo Višević, daring ruler of Zachlunia, at the first church council of Split (held in 925), and by the explicit allusion to the bishop of Ston in the decrees of the second council of Split, held in 928. Consequently, the ecclesiastical organization, with the bishop at its head, existed in the early tenth century in Zachlunia. Relatively vivid architectural activity in the territory under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Ston, that spread from the valley of Neretva in the north to the maritime parts west of Dubrovnik in the south, including the Pelješac peninsula, indicates not only the increased political power of this relatively small southern principality lying in the southern Adriatic, but also the sphere of influence this ecclesiastical organization cast.

Nevertheless, the issues regarding the location of the cathedral church of the bishop of Ston has been highly debated among researchers. At least two hypotheses on its ubication were proposed half a century ago.



The hypothesis that the church dedicated to the Holy Mother of Lužine was the ancient cathedral church of Ston used to be rather dominant, but a more recent opinion pointing to the church of St. Magdalene on Gorica seems to prevail.<sup>131</sup>

The location inside the ancient nucleus of Ston makes this church easy to access, while its dimensions and expressiveness of the architectural composition distinguish it from the smaller and more distant church of the Holy Mother of Lužine, situated in the vicinity of the ancient saltern. Erected on the mount called Gorica, north-west of the ancient Ston, this church could have been situated along the important communication route connecting different parts of this atypical settlement. Built on a smaller elevated plateau, this cathedral church dominated above other urban churches in the spatial sense, too. Other churches, with an earlier layer from the Early Christian era, were erected in its immediate vicinity: the church of St. Stephen east of it, the church of St. John south of it and church of St. Peter even farther to the south.

A late antique construction layer most likely exists in the case of this church, which underwent significant remodelings in the Early Medieval period, i.e. during the ninth and the tenth centuries. The early Christian single-naved structure, with semicircular apse on the eastern end represents the core of the cathedral church of St. Magdalene (Fig. 42). It underwent transformations during the Early Middle Ages, when two rows, each containing three massive pylons, with rectangular cross section, were built into its interior. That way, this cathedral church was converted from a single-naved into a three-naved basilica. Furthermore, at the same time more delicate interventions regarding its architectural structure were performed on its western front, where a bell-tower was erected. The

131 The hypothesis according to which the church of St. Magdalene on Gorica represented a medieval cathedral church of the bishops of Ston was proposed by Pavo Glunčić, half a century ago. More extensively on this issue: П. Глунчић, *Из прошлости града Стона XIV - XIX вијека*, Београд 1961, 93. Vojislav Korać has in his earlier works explicitly supported the hypothesis according to which the church dedicated to Our Lady of Lužine had represented the cathedral church of Ston bishops. See: В. Кораћ, *Градитељска школа Поморја*, Београд 1965, 52-57. Nevertheless, the same author apparently accepted the hypothesis of P. Glunčić in his later works, or left this question unanswered, before new archaeological excavations took place. See: В. Кораћ, *Седишта двеју западних Савиних епископија: Стон и Превлака*, Свети Сава у српској историји и традицији, Београд 1998, 85-87.

church thus gained features of Carolingian Early Medieval architecture (westwerk), due to the position of the bell-tower, and to its function and structure. Numerous central Dalmatian churches were subjected to this specific architectural procedure, undertaken predominantly during the times marked by the strong Carolingian influence in this area, attested since the middle of the ninth century. The cathedral church of St. Magdalene on Gorica in Ston had an almost identical pattern applied to its western front, and thus represented the earliest example of such westwerk in Zachlunia.<sup>132</sup>

Dubrovnik, the town protected by St. Blaise (Sv. Vlaho), a third-century bishop from Cappadocia and its patron saint ever since the Early Middle Ages, was gradually coming into being.<sup>133</sup> It was founded on steep

132 For further information on the architecture of the cathedral church of St. Magdalene on Gorica, including the examples of westwerk attested in the Early Medieval architecture in the eastern Adriatic, see: I. Fisković, *Srednjovjekovna preuredjenja ranokršćanskih svetišta u dubrovačkom kraju*, Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području, Zagreb 1988, 197; M. Jurković, *Sv. Spas na vrelu Cetine i problem westwerka u hrvatskoj predromanici*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/22, Split 1995, 55-80; M. Jurković, *L'église et l'état en Croatie en IX<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Le problème du massif occidental carolingien*, Hortus Artium Medievalium 3, Zagreb – Motovun 1997, 23-39; M. Jurković, *Stonsko polje na poluostrvu Pelješcu, Gorica, Hrvati i Karolinzi II*, Split 2000, 336-337; Ђ. Јанковић, *Српско Поморје од 7. до 10. столећа*, Београд 2007, 121.

133 Copious literature exists on Dubrovnik, its origin, stages of development of its historical nucleus and its cathedral church. Consequently, only the most significant works will be cited here: V. Adamović, *O bedemima grada Dubrovnika*, Dubrovnik 1929; M. Medini, *Starine dubrovačke*, Dubrovnik 1935; N. Dobrović, *Urbanizam kroz vekove I*, Beograd 1950; L. Beritić, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika*, Zagreb 1955; I. Marović, *Arheološka istraživanja u okolici Dubrovnika*, Anali Historijskog instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku 4-5, Dubrovnik 1956, 9-30; L. Beritić, *Ubikacija nestalih spomenika u Dubrovniku*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 10, Split 1956, 15-83; A. Marinović, *Urbanistički razvoj starog Dubrovnika i potreba asanacije i rekonstrukcije*, URBS, Split 1958, 55-64; L. Beritić, *Dubrovačke zidine*, Dubrovnik 1958; L. Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*, Zagreb 1958; C. Fisković, *Starokršćanski ulomci iz Dubrovnika*, Starinar IX-X, Beograd 1958-1959, 53-57; Đ. Basler, *Jedan zid stare dubrovačke tvrđave*, Beritićev zbornik, Dubrovnik 1960, 19-23; L. Beritić, *Još jedan kasnoantikni kapitel u Dubrovniku*, Peristil 5, Zagreb 1962, 5-6; M. Prelog, *Dubrovački Statut i izgradnja grada (1272-1972)*, Peristil 14-15, Zagreb 1972, 81-95; M. Prelog, *Dubrovnik*, Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu I/1-2, Zagreb 1972; M. Suić, *Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu*, Zagreb 1976, 255; M. Prelog, *Urbanistički razvoj Dubrovnika*, Peristil 21, Zagreb 1978; A. Marinović, *Povijesna jezgra Dubrovnika u savremenim*

slopes of a natural peninsula linked to the mainland by a low isthmus (Fig. 44). Characterized by a particularly favourable geographic and strategic position of the peninsula that protected the entrance to the bay opened on the east, Dubrovnik is one of the early medieval towns that had a particular continuity with the Antiquity. Its urban development began after the colonization of late antique castrum of Ragusium by the refugees who fled from the nearby Epidaurum (the present-day Cavtat), after its destruction. That is the reason why the continuity of the early medieval Dubrovnik is not a literally spatial one, but is instead a particular continuity of both temporal and spiritual authorities and administration from the preceding urban whole of the Antiquity.

Despite the fact that the older, late antique cultural layer of the town remained insignificantly known compared to its medieval history, the opinion that the earliest nucleus of the future town was based in the late antique settlement of Ragusium - developed on the westernmost and highest point of this peninsula, for military reasons and in order to assure

*tokovima života grada*, Arhitektura, Zagreb 1978, 53-55; I. Fisković, *O ranokršćanskim spomenicima naronitanskog područja*, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 5, Split 1980, 213-256; M. Planić-Lončarić, *Planirana izgradnja na području Dubrovačke republike*, Zagreb 1980; I. Babić, *Naselja pod utverdama u Dalmaciji*, Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta Zadar 4, Split 1985, 7-25; J. Stošić, *Sažeti prikaz istraživanja pod katedralom i Bunićevom poljanom u Dubrovniku*, Peristil 12, Zagreb 1986, 241-248; *Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području*, Zagreb 1988; J. Stošić, *Prikaz nalaza ispod katedrale i Bunićeve poljane u Dubrovniku*, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 12, Zagreb 1988, 15-38; J. Stošić, *Istraživanja, nalazi i problem prezentacije pod Katedralom i Bunićevom poljanom*, Obnova Dubrovnika 1979-1989, Dubrovnik 1989, 326-335; Ž. Rapanić, *Arheološka istraživanja nakon potresa i počeci Dubrovnika*, Obnova Dubrovnika 1979-1989, Dubrovnik 1989, 339-345; M. Planarić-Lončarić, *Ceste, ulice i trgovi srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 29, Split 1990, 157-168; I. Stevović, „*Prospetto della citta di Ragusa*“. *Novi izvori za najraniju istoriju vizantijskog Dubrovnika*, Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta 29-30, Beograd 1991, 137-154; I. Principe, *Tri neobjavljene karte Dubrovnika iz XVI-XVII stoljeća*, Dubrovnik 1, Dubrovnik 1991, 191-202; Ž. Peković, *Developpement de l'ensemble de la cathédrale de Dubrovnik*, Hortus Artium Medievalium 1, Zagreb - Motovun 1995, 162-168; Ž. Peković, *Urbani razvoj Dubrovnika do 13. stoleća*, Dubrovnik 4, Dubrovnik 1997, 166-211; Ž. Peković, *Nastanak i razvoj crkve Sv. Vlaha u Dubrovniku*, Dubrovnik 5, Dubrovnik 1998, 43-78; Ž. Peković, *Dubrovnik. Nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnog grada*, Split 1998; Ž. Peković, *Nastanak i razvoj katedralnog sklopa u Dubrovniku*, Tisuću godina dubrovačke (nad)biskupije (998-1998), Crkva u svijetu, Split 2001, 517-576.

the control of navigation and commerce in this Adriatic area – prevailed. A natural harbour was situated at its foothill, in a bay protected from wind, not far from the modern cathedral. Therefore, the future urban agglomeration that was gradually growing, will not develop through a mere transformation of the oldest nucleus, but through the process of its enlargement by new construction projects (Fig. 43). The very nature of the terrain significantly predetermined the outlook of the town's further development.

In this manner the Kaštel sexterium – the original, oldest and smallest district of Dubrovnik – was founded above the earlier polygonal Byzantine castrum from the Late Antiquity, most likely erected in the sixth century, during the Byzantine domination of the Adriatic. It was built on the highest point of the inhabited peninsula, along the steep slopes of its southern coast, descending gently towards the north and east. It expanded through a new urban district, erected on the larger plateau of the peninsula descending towards the east. The oldest town gate stood in this district (the so-called Kaštel Gate), presumably positioned in the location where an older gate leading to the Byzantine castrum once stood; the first church, dedicated to St. Sergius and St. Bacchus was also built there.<sup>134</sup> Every new urban quarter (sexterium) was distinctively delimited and symbolically demarcated by new urban gates and numerous sacral buildings.<sup>135</sup>

134 The earliest church erected in the Kaštel sexterium, the oldest urban district, was dedicated to St. Sergius and Bacchus, and was probably located north of the later and larger church of St. Mary of the Benedictine monastery. The preserved smaller lateral building that stands even today north of the church of St. Mary could represent the former church dedicated to St. Sergius and Bacchus, later converted into a chapel. More extensively on this issue: Ž. Peković, *Dubrovnik. Nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnog grada*, Split 1998, 45.

135 During the Middle Ages, numerous churches were erected in Kaštel sexterium, the initially developed urban district. These churches have often thus born epithet „of Kaštel“: the church of St. Mary of Kaštel (church of the Benedictine monastery, whose construction began in the thirteenth century), the church of St. Foska of Kaštel (probably located on the narrow land adjacent to southern city walls; it was mentioned in the documents of the fourteenth century, and destroyed during the earthquake of 1667; its remains not having been discovered), the church of St. Peter – Klobičić (located in the south-eastern part of Kaštel; mentioned in 1281 for the first time, and destroyed in the earthquake of 1667), the church of St. Andrew of Kaštel (church of the Benedictine monastery, located outside Kaštel, probably erected next to its ramparts; it was first mentioned in 1234; it underwent complete reconstruction in 1542, achieved by the demolition of the old church

Symbolical sacral network, successively established by constructing many sacral buildings, gave to the medieval Dubrovnik a complex structure of a very distinctive urban sacral topography. Consequently, the second urban quarter, the St. Peter's sesterium, was named after the famous church built within its realm.<sup>136</sup> This district was attached to the eastern side of the Kaštel sesterium, where a smaller suburb of Kaštel had most likely already existed. St. Peter's sesterium originated during the influx of the population that fled from the already existing urban centres as a consequence of the Avaro-Slavonic incursions of the early seventh century. The newly-arrived population brought their urban culture with them, including the living pattern from their previous urban settlements to the recently-constructed quarter, which was apparent in the urbanization process that occurred, as it seems, already in the Late Antiquity. This quarter was also marked by the gates<sup>137</sup> and sacral structures erected in it.<sup>138</sup> Nevertheless, the urbanization of this quarter with a rectangular plan was marked by the establishment of the regular, orthogonal town grid only, and not of squares, which represent centres of public life. Because of this, the focus of Dubrovnik's town life was at that time probably still concentrated in the

and the construction of the new one; it was destroyed in the earthquake of 1667, and has not been rebuilt). More extensively on this issue: Ž. Peković, *Dubrovnik. Nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnog grada*, Split 1998, 45, 47-51.

136 The church of St. Peter the Great was the most significant sacral object of this urban district, as well as the most representative early Medieval building of Dubrovnik. For further information on this church, see: Ž. Peković, *Crkva Sv. Petra u Dubrovniku*, Starohrvatska spomenička baština. Radjanje prvog hrvatskog kulturnog pejzaža, Zagreb 1996, 267-277.

137 Several city gates existed in St. Peter's sesterium, the second urban district: three on the northern side (Celenga Gate, Menčetić Gate and Lion's Gate), and one in the east (St. Margerita's Gate, lying towards the adjacent Pustijerna quarter). More extensively on this issue: Ž. Peković, *Dubrovnik. Nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnog grada*, Split 1998, 51-52.

138 In the Middle Ages, church of St. Simeon was erected at the outskirts of St. Peter's quarter, next to the ramparts. This church was incorporated into the complex of the monastery Koludarica, located at the foothill of Kaštel. It was mentioned for the first time in 1108, and restored during the thirteenth century. The monastery was destroyed in the 1667 earthquake and has not been rebuilt. The church of St. Michael was built in St. Peter's district as well. It was erected on the ramparts overlooking the sea. This site was mentioned in 1345. The church changed its dedication to St. Lucia in the fifteenth century. It was destroyed in the earthquake of 1667, and its altar transferred to the church St. Blaise (St. Vlaho). More extensively on this issue: Ž. Peković, *Dubrovnik. Nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnog grada*, Split 1998, 63-64.

oldest quarter – the Kaštel. A two-hundred-metre long wooden bridge connected the northern walls of St. Peter's sesterium and the peninsula to the mainland, erected over the muddy bay of Dubrovnik.<sup>139</sup> The Pustijerna sesterium, as the third and last to be built in the south-east of the peninsula, surely by the middle of the tenth century, was also well protected by massive walls that surrounded it.<sup>140</sup> It encompassed several important urban objects, as the population of this urbanized surface dealt with shipbuilding, navigation and commerce. Apart from the ramparts and towers that facilitated the exploitation of the naturally favourable position of this quarter, lying on the uttermost end of the peninsula, thus protecting the town's harbour,<sup>141</sup> this quarter also obtained a special significance by a series of sacral objects erected in it. After the construction, the church of St. Stephen,<sup>142</sup> where the relics of St. Pancras were kept, was considered as one

139 The wooden bridge stretched over the shallow cove and separated the part of the bay that served as a harbour, from its more shallow, swampy area. This cove was gradually covered and inhabited in the following centuries during the medieval period. This process ended at the close of the thirteenth century, when the town experienced territorial and demographic expansion. That way, the cove entered the area delimited by the new walls that encompassed both the original urban districts lying on the peninsula and the settlements situated on the opposite coastal stretch of land, on the slopes of the Srđa mount (St. Nicolas' sesterium, or Prijeko), thus creating a unique urban unit. By this, the formation process of what we hold today to be the historical nucleus of Dubrovnik was accomplished.

140 According to the accounts of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos on the origin and development of the town of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), included in his work *De administrando imperio*: „They built it small to begin with, and afterwards enlarged it, and later still extended its wall until the city reached its present size, owing to their gradual spreading out and increase in population.“ Bearing in mind that this historical source undoubtedly originated in 948/49, it is obvious that the third expansion of the town in the direction of south-east of the peninsula (Pustijerna sesterium) must have been finished by the middle of the tenth century. See: *Constantine Porphyrogenitos De administrando imperio I* (edd. G. Moravcsik, R. J. H. Jenkins), Washington D.C. 1967, 29/134-135; *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије II*, Београд 1959, 20.

141 It would lead to the creation of smaller urban arsenals in the area delimited by the northern ramparts of Pustijerna district later in the Middle Ages.

142 The church of St. Stephen was built in the eastern part of the Pustijerna district, opposite to St. Margerita's Gate, connecting this quarter to St. Peter's sesterium. It most likely represented the central and particularly venerated sacral building of this quarter, erected on a crossroads of two main communication lines. It had probably been built before the Pustijerna district was created, as a smaller church in front of the town's gate, but has,

of the most important sacral buildings of this quarter, and the only one mentioned by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos. Also subsequently after the construction of the archbishop's court in this part of the town,<sup>143</sup> it seems that its centre could have been transferred to this urban quarter relatively early. Through time, numerous new churches were built in the Pustijerna sexterium, as was the case with other quarters.<sup>144</sup> Apart from these structures, very strong towers were erected

after the construction of Pustijerna sexterium, come to occupy the centre of this quarter. This church underwent archaeological survey in 1927. A smaller single-naved building lay inside the ruins from a later period, together with fragments of the liturgical furnishings decorated with interlace ornament, and showing pre-Romanesque stylistic features. For further information on this church, see: Lj. Karaman, *Iskopine u Sv. Stjepanu u Dubrovniku*, Dubrovnik, Dubrovnik 1929, 269; N. Gjivanović, *Otkopine razvaline crkve Sv. Stjepana*, Dubrovnik, Dubrovnik 1929, 278; Ž. Peković, *Dubrovnik. Nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnog grada*, Split 1998, 66.

143 The archbishop's palace lay next to the northern ramparts of the Pustijerna sexterium, encompassing two blocks of houses in this quarter, in the vicinity of the town's gates leading towards the cathedral. It was erected on the location of the former church of St. Vitus (Sv. Vid), in the aftermath of its demolition in the early eleventh century. The church was demolished in order to erect the archbishop's residence in the immediate proximity of the cathedral. The archbishop's palace existed until the nineteenth century. See: Ž. Peković, *Dubrovnik. Nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnog grada*, Split 1998, 66-68.

144 The following churches were erected during the Middle Ages in Pustijerna sexterium, in the vicinity of the church of St. Stephen: the church of St. Thomas (church of the Benedictine monastery, mentioned for the first time in 1234; the windows of the monastery were embedded in the ramparts overlooking the harbour), the church of St. Cosmas and Damian (situated on the location of the previously-existing tower that was oriented towards the cathedral complex; erected in the early eleventh century, it has recently undergone archaeological survey. Remains of the original tower and a single-naved church of a later date and early Romanesque stylistic features with semicircular apse and two lateral semicircular apsidioles have been discovered), the church of St. John (St. Ivan) (situated at the very end of the peninsula, on the easternmost point of the fortified cliff; the angular tower that defended the access to the harbour has been named St. Ivan's tower since 1436, after this church; the church dedicated to Our Lady of Carmel was erected above this church in 1628), and the church of St. Theodore (situated next to the former town prison, in the immediate vicinity of the southern Pustijerna ramparts; it was mentioned in 1281; the women's hospital was built in its proximity in the sixteenth century; it was probably destroyed in the 1667 earthquake, since its destruction was mentioned in 1782). For further information on these churches, see: Ž. Peković, *Dubrovnik. Nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnog grada*, Split 1998, 79-82.

on the southern side of the walls, stretching along the stone slopes towards the sea, and beside the city gates.<sup>145</sup> The northern St. Margarita's gate, next to which the archbishop's palace was later to be constructed, led towards the harbour and the location where the first cathedral church of the bishops of Dubrovnik was later erected.

Dubrovnik's urban whole gradually emerged through its own expansion and gained explicitly urban character, among other things, through the transfer of the episcopal see from its previous antique nucleus – Epidaurum – into this newly-established settlement. Although the bishop of Epidaurum was mentioned in the historical sources for the last time at the end of the sixth century, the episcopal continuity in the newly-founded urban settlement, that was gradually developing on the small peninsula, could have lasted through centuries to come, strongly loaded by obscure historical events. The diocese of Dubrovnik was mentioned in the decrees of the two church councils held in Split (in 925 and 928), which clearly indicates the existence of the firmly-established ecclesiastical organisation in this eastern Adriatic region in the early tenth century, that will finally led to its elevation to the rank of archdiocese at the end of the same century. Nevertheless, the ubication of the cathedral church remains questionable. Hence, the priority was to uncover the ubication of the original cathedral church of the diocese of Dubrovnik among the remains of a dozen pre-Romanesque churches, preserved inside the ancient nucleus.<sup>146</sup> Archaeological excavations undertaken in the 1980s on the site of the present-day cathedral and the adjacent square yielded evidence of an uncommonly complex architectural structure, and unearthed remains which, even before the preliminary results were publically announced,<sup>147</sup> provoked frequently-debated

145 Pustijerna sesterium, the third urban quarter, had two gates, situated in the west, opening towards the St. Peter's sesterium (St. Margarita's Gate), and in the north, towards the harbour and the area in front of the cathedral (Pustijerna Gate). See: Ž. Peković, *Dubrovnik. Nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnog grada*, Split 1998, 66.

146 More than a half a century ago, Lukša Beritić proposed the hypothesis that the church of St. Peter the Great could have been the first cathedral church of Dubrovnik. See: L. Beritić, *Ubikacija nestalih gradjevinskih spomenika u Dubrovniku*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 10, Split 1956, 15-83.

147 J. Stošić, *Prikaz nalaza ispod katedrale i Bunićeve poljane u Dubrovniku*, Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području, Zagreb 1988, 15-35.



reactions among the experts.<sup>148</sup> Approximately fifteen years ago, this conglomeration of archaeological findings discovered under the present cathedral was once again subjected to architectural analysis that identified the oldest layer of the cathedral church of Dubrovnik.<sup>149</sup>

These particularly complex archaeological remains lying under the present cathedral revealed a series of architectural interventions this cathedral church had undergone through its history. According to recent discoveries, the oldest church was dedicated to St. Blaise (St. Vlaho), the patron saint of the town, and was erected in the location of the currently existing cathedral. It originated outside walls of the Pustijerna quarter, next to the wooden bridge and the city gate. The oldest church of St. Blaise (St. Vlaho) was erected in 972, in honour of the new patron of the town, after his miraculous intervention that saved the town from Venetian siege the year before. It seems that the original church had cross-in-square plan (Fig. 45). The four massive piers divided the interior into nine bays; those positioned next to the lateral walls were elongated and rectangular. The apse in the eastern end was rectangular too, whereas the corner bays, adjacent to the altar, were characterized by semicircular niches built into the eastern wall. The four massive piers supported the roof construction revealing the cross-in-square plan. The central bay was covered by an ellipsoidal dome. Under the dome, the foundations were discovered, which were recently interpreted as the remains of the former cella, designed for the storage of relics.

Two other structures existed in the immediate vicinity of the church of St. Blaise (St. Vlaho), more precisely in its south-west: an object with the square plan erected in the principal axis of the Pustijerna Gate, perhaps even before the church was built, that could have represented the tower intended for the duke who was in charge of the defence system,<sup>150</sup> and a cruciform building with a quatrefoil plan that could have been connected to the adjacent tower. It probably served as a chapel (memoria), containing the relics of the saint and numerous pits.

148 Željko Rapanić minutely reported, in chronological order, the debate on these archaeological findings. See: Ž. Rapanić, *Marginalija o „postanku“ Dubrovnika*, Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području, Zagreb 1988, 39-50.

149 Ž. Peković, *Dubrovnik. Nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnog grada*, Split 1998, 90-146.

150 Nikola Ranjina, chronicler from Dubrovnik, mentioned the structure with this function. See: *Annales Ragusini Anonymi, item Nicolai de Ragnina*, Zagreb 1883, 201.

Among the archaeological findings unearthed underneath the present cathedral church of St. Blaise (St. Vlaho), only traces of two southern pilasters of the original church of St. Blaise (St. Vlaho), dating from the end of the tenth century, and its northern wall, perforated during the latter construction works, have been preserved. This church was of almost identical proportions as the church of St. Peter the Great in Dubrovnik and St. Tryphon (Sv. Tripun) in Kotor, which also had the cross-in-square plan. The church of St. Blaise (St. Vlaho) had a rectangular altar apse, as did the church of Transfiguration of Christ (Sigurata) at Prijeko, in Dubrovnik. Its extremely narrow bays built along the lateral walls made this structure suitable for additional construction works, undertaken during the next construction stage, by cutting through the lateral walls.

The elevation of the diocese of Dubrovnik to the rank of archdiocese, at the end of the tenth century, resulted in the necessity for citizens of this small community to construct a new cathedral church that would more adequately correspond to the newly-acquired high rank of this ecclesiastical centre. Due to the fact that the public life was mainly concentrated in the Pustijerna quarter, with its sacral centre at the church of St. Stephen, a convenient site for erecting a new cathedral church was not easy to find within the city walls. For this reason, this urge was reflected in the expansion and remodeling of the already existing church of St. Blaise (St. Vlaho). The fact that the relics of St. Blaise (St. Vlaho), its patron (more precisely, segments of the head and of a knee) were brought to Dubrovnik at the time of the archbishop Vitalis Gučetić (1023 – 1057), could also have led to this decision.

The cathedral church of the archdiocese of Dubrovnik was established in 1020, by expanding and remodeling the older, church of St. Blaise (St. Vlaho). The new cathedral church most likely preserved its previous dedication. This expansion and transformation was achieved by demolition of the western front and the altar apse, and by perforation of the lateral walls between the pillars. Thus the newly-erected cathedral gained additional surface area and was expanded eastwards, towards the altar space, and westwards, stretching up to the already-existing tower and chapel (*memoria*), that were reunited into a new architectural unit and changed their previous function. The width of the cathedral was enlarged by the newly-constructed lateral walls, parallel to the former ones. Two other rows of four massive piers were erected, beside the four already-existing piers. The easternmost newly-erected pillar was circular, whereas the

remaining ones were octagonal. That way, the church obtained a basilica plan, with the older church entirely enclosed within the new structure. The central nave of this newly-erected basilica ended with a new big and elongated altar apse, trapeziform on the outside, and semicircular on the inside. Subsellia and a simple monolithic cathedra of the archbishop of Dubrovnik were placed along the interior of the apse walls. The lateral naves (pastophoria) ended in the east with semicircular apses, and were separated from the naves by the altar screen with joist, whose traces have been preserved in the wall sections. Pastophoria were covered with vaults, constructed to support the large barrel vault, stretching above the altar space. The dome and the vault of the original church of St. Blaise (St. Vlaho) were entirely preserved in the centre of this newly-erected sacral building, while the remaining parts of the new church were covered with a wooden roof construction. Despite the fact that the traces of church gates were archaeologically detected only in the southern wall, the newly-built cathedral church certainly had entrances in its western, and probably even northern wall. The structures previously built in the south-west of the original cathedral of St. Blaise (St. Vlaho) – the presumed tower of prince and a chapel (memoria) – were, in the process of westward enlargement of the sacral building, probably attached to it, and changed their original purpose. The high tower of the presumed original tower was thus used as a bell-tower, whereas the former chapel (memoria) most likely became the baptistery of the newly-erected cathedral complex. Consequently, communication with it was established through the bell-tower.

The construction of the new cathedral church of the archbishop of Dubrovnik, in the unprotected area lying in the vicinity of the port outside ramparts, reflected the intention of the authorities to concentrate urban life around this sacral centre. Hence, the aim of building a square in its surroundings seems rather logical. Nevertheless, in contrast to other Dalmatian towns that possessed spatial continuity with their antique heritage (e.g. Split, Trogir, Zadar), the authorities of Dubrovnik could not proceed in the same manner when building the cathedral square, but accepted the concept of building the square on the location of the original church of St. Blaise (St. Vlaho), in the suburban area. As it was already stated, the original prince's tower became a part of the new cathedral complex, and most likely served as a bell-tower. Nonetheless, the new prince's tower (nowadays built into the south-eastern end of the prince's palace) was erected

in the north-eastern corner of the square that surrounded the church; this square gradually expanded northwards, towards the wall encircling this fourth urban area.

Only several decades after its construction, the first remodeling was undertaken on the cathedral church of St. Blaise (St. Vlaho). Furthermore, in approximately 1060, right after the schism between the Eastern and the Western church took place, the interior of the newly-erected cathedral church already underwent some moderate remodeling. It included adaptations of the altar space and the vault construction. During this construction stage, a two-level subselia (row of seats) was built in the altar space, and the archbishop cathedra situated in the centre of the altar apse underwent transformations as well. The altar apse was decorated with new frescoes, whose lower section are still partially visible on the apse, the outer walls and in the arcature. The transformation of the upper construction was achieved during this stage as well, when the barrel vault was erected above the central nave of this cathedral church, whereas a groin vault most likely covered the lateral naves. Along the front side of the remains of lateral walls of the original church, pilasters were erected, as well as along the interior of the lateral walls of the latter. This was done to strengthen the already existing lower parts of the church structure, and to support the reinforced thrust of the new vault construction. Although the architectural pattern of this church as well as the fragments of the liturgical furnishings show pre-Romanesque stylistic features, and its outward aspect shows inconsistency with its interior, the church could be classified as structure of the Early Romanesque architectural style. Its triple-apsidal form reflects the novelty that happened in the religious service of the Western church of the eleventh century, when static liturgy concentrated on the altar as the most sacred part of the church, replaced the previously stational one, concentrated on processions.<sup>151</sup> A partial adaptation of the western front of this cathedral occurred in the middle of the twelfth century, in a very small effort.

According to numerous chroniclers, the cathedral church of the archbishop of Dubrovnik, erected and re-modelled during the first half of the eleventh century (in 1020 and c. 1060), was demolished at the close of the following century. The earthquakes, frequent in this area, could have

151 More extensively on this issue: M. Jurković, *Crkvena reforma i ranoromanička arhitektura na istočnom Jadranu*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta III/20, Split 1990, 191-213.

led to its destruction, as could have the tumultuous consequences of the Venetian assault on Dubrovnik, which occurred in 1171. During the attack, the Venetians brought down the ramparts stretching towards the sea in vengeance, and probably at the same time the prince's palace and the cathedral church of St. Blaise (St. Vlaho) could have been demolished or severely damaged. The construction of a new cathedral church probably began at the end of the twelfth century, and lasted until the middle of the fourteenth century, judging from archival documentation. In 1204, the newly-erected cathedral was re-dedicated to St. Mary. Reasons that led to this might be sought in the explicit wish of its new founder, or in the possible Venetians demands to extinguish the cult of St. Blaise (St. Vlaho), cathedral's previous patron-saint, after the fall of Dubrovnik under the Venetian rule. Despite the fact that the new cathedral church was larger than the previous one, it was also built in the form of a three-naved basilica. Instead of the triple-apsidal eastern end of the older cathedral, the newly-erected cathedral was designed with only one semicircular apse built in the eastern end of the central nave. The six cruciform pairs of columns divided the interior into naves and supported the groin vaults covering each bay. The horizontal thrust of the vaults was alleviated by massive pilasters built into the outer side of lateral walls. A dome covered the second eastern bay, almost square in form and of wider dimensions. Apart from the main entrance to the western front of the church, the secondary entrances were cut through the lateral walls. Together with numerous other sacral objects lying inside the city walls, this Romanesque cathedral church was destroyed in the powerful earthquake that struck the town in 1667.

Yet another important episcopal see situated in the south of the eastern Adriatic established its ecclesiastical organization in a town whose origins resemble that of Dubrovnik. During the Middle Ages, Kotor most likely started to develop as a refuge of the previous antique settlement. The antique *Acruvium* was the ancient nucleus of Kotor, despite the fact that it remains imprecisely localized,<sup>152</sup> the medieval Kotor began to spread on the most south-eastern point of the Kotor bay, at the foothill of the narrow slopes of St. Ivan's mount, of the Lovćen mountain range.

Dubrovnik and Kotor, situated in southern Adriatic maritime region, experienced comparable situations, not only regarding their development.

152 For further information and bibliography on different scientific hypotheses relevant for the ubication of the antique *Acruvium*, see: М. Антоновић, *Град и залеђе*, Београд 2003, 31, notes 55-57.

Kotor is located in naturally protected surroundings, in the relatively restricted area at the bottom of the bay, located between the Škudra, a subterranean river in the north, and the spring of Gurdić in the south, between the sea and the natural stronghold in its hinterland at the St. Ivan mount (Fig. 47). Like Dubrovnik, Kotor also benefited from a particularly favourable harbour, adding to its economic, military and strategic influence.

The urban areas of Dubrovnik and of Kotor, most probably had a polycentric organization. With relentlessly small dimensions and irregularity in shape, they spread around sacral centres and were connected by main communication lines stretching along the direction in which these towns expanded. The early medieval Kotor (Fig. 46) was encircled by a river in the north and a spring in the south, which allowed it to spread westwards only, and abundant water resources gave it an advantage in difficult times when it had to defend its independence. With an insufficient amount of arable lands at its disposal, Kotor took its principal economic activities to the sea. In time, it established strong and complex relationship with its hinterland as well, especially in the aftermath of the Slavic colonization.

From the very beginning, the presence of Byzantine political and ecclesiastical organization was apparent in these maritime towns representing the strong foundation of Byzantine power in the south Adriatic region. Mentions of the bishops of Kotor in the historical sources since the sixth century, and throughout the Early Middle Ages,<sup>153</sup> despite the nearly inevitable presence of lacunas throughout the history of this diocese, yet witnesses the existence of a firmly established early medieval ecclesiastical organization with a see in Kotor. Numerous sacral objects erected in the town and its immediate vicinity (amounting to approximately fifty in

153 Apart from the first mention of the bishop of Kotor (in the sixth century), he was also present at the seventh Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (held in 787); bishop John was referred to in the inscription dating from the early construction stage of the original church of St. Tryphon in Kotor (in 809); bishop of Kotor was equally referred to in the decrees of the church councils held in Split (in 925 and 928); without omitting the information on bishop of Kotor as a shipwreck victim (ca. 1030). See: J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, Florentiae 1767, XIII, col. 373; *Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske s Dalmacijom i Slavonijom I* (ured. I. Kukljević-Sakcinski), Zagreb 1874, No. 26, No. 92; Thomas Archidiaconus, *Historia Salonitana* (ed. F. Rački), Zagrabiae 1894, 43; *Schematismus Dioecesis Catharensis*, Kotor 1911, 10; F. Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata u vrijeme narodnih vladara*, Zagreb 1925, 152, 171; Т. Живковић, *Црквена организација у српским земљама (рани средњи век)*, Београд 2004, 56, 147-148, 155.

the Middle Ages, of which several were built in the Early Medieval period) also yield information about the christian community's development.

According to available historical facts, the original church of St. Tryphon (Sv. Trifun) was, until recently, held to have represented its oldest sacral structure, erected in the beginning of ninth century and dedicated to the town's patron saint. Nevertheless, the results of archaeological research, conducted in various locations in Kotor during the early 1980s, depicted an entirely different picture of the earliest stage in the sacral architecture of this important episcopal centre, lying in the south of this eastern Adriatic region. Archaeological and architectural examination of the church of St. Mary Koledjata<sup>154</sup> provided crucial information that would shed light on the issues relevant for the earliest history of urban episcopal churches. This church from the early thirteenth century proves to be equally important in terms of reputation and function as the present-day cathedral church of St. Tryphon. Namely, under the sacristy of this single-naved domed church, which, by its size, decoration and construction pattern exceeds other similiary constructed churches of Kotor, the remains of a baptismal basin and fragments of the adjacent cruciform pier, recognized as segments of an older architectural structure, were discovered. Traces of the two previously-built altar apses with synthronon seats were also discovered in the altar space. Due to the fact that the mentioned architectural elements of the church structure (and particularly the baptismal basin) were predominantly incorporated into cathedral churches, it was assumed that this newly-discovered archaeological findings revealed fragments of the earliest cathedral church of Kotor. Despite the fact that the original form of the oldest cathedral church of St. Mary has not been yet established with certainty, this church most likely represented a basilica-based structure (Fig. 48). Two rows of six cruciform columns, built of regularly cut little stone blocks, divided the interior into three naves, most probably ending with semicircular apses in the east. The base of the cruciform pier points to the fact that it doubtlessly supported vertical and horizontal arches. Consequently, this

154 For further information on the construction stages undertaken on the church of St. Mary Koledjata in Kotor, see: М. Чанак – Медић, *Архитектура Немањиног доба II. Цркве у Полимљу и на Приморју*, Београд 1989, 201-232 (with full bibliography). For further information on the results of the archaeological excavations conducted in this church, see: J. Martinović, *Ranohrišćanska krstionica ispod crkve Sv. Marije od Rijeke u Kotoru*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 29, Split 1990, 21-32.

lateral nave was undoubtedly designed with a massive upper construction. These piers probably served as the construction supporting the roof of original church, covering its central nave. In the eastern apse of its northern nave, was a baptistery, but archaeological excavations revealed the remains of the basin only, built into the floor (Fig. 49). The bottom of the basin had a shape of a square stone slab, with a hole in its centre, whereas the four almost identical stone blocks arranged in the shape of a cross covered its surface. Due to the fact that these were the only preserved fragments of this baptistery, it would not be possible to make any conclusions regarding the upper parts of this structure. The form of this baptistery was frequent in the era when baptism by affusion replaced the previous form of baptism by immersion. According to other archaeological findings from similar, but more precisely dated monuments, it could be assumed that this earliest cathedral church of Kotor could have originated in the second quarter of the sixth century. The restoration of the maritime centres after the Gothic incursion in the fifth century and disastrous earthquake of 518 might also corroborate this hypothesis, as does the more intensive Christianization process immediately following the above-mentioned events, and the same holds for the first allusion to the bishop of Kotor, dating from the sixth century.

Besides this church, another one of a probably longitudinal plan was built in Kotor in the Early Middle Ages. Remains of this large three-naved basilica, including piers separating the central from the lateral naves, were discovered underneath the church of St. Michael. Nevertheless, the first church dedicated to St. Tryphon, the patron saint of the town, was erected in the beginning of the ninth century, after the translation of the saint's relics to Kotor. Based on the information provided by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, the church was presumed to have been a rotund for a long time.<sup>155</sup> Nevertheless, the archaeological excavations conducted in the late 1980s confirmed that the original church of the patron saint had a cross-in-square plan, probably with a quadrilateral dome over the central bay. Barrel vaults covered the arms of the cross, while the groin vaults stretched over the corner bays, supported by pillars or piers.<sup>156</sup> The form

155 *Constantine Porphyrogenitos De administrando imperio I* (edd. G. Moravcsik, R. J. H. Jenkins), Washington D.C. 1967, 29/136-137; *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије II*, Београд 1959, 23.

156 For further information on the results of archaeological excavation conducted on the church of St. Tryphon in Kotor, see: J. Martinović, *Prolegomena za problem prvobitne crkve Sv. Tripuna u Kotoru*, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti Dalmaciji* 30, Split 1990, 5-29.



and relatively modest dimensions of this church correspond to the martyrdom of the venerated saint, but could not answer the demands of the epoch and the function of a cathedral church. Approximately in the time of construction of the church of St. Tryphon, at the end of the eighth or in the early ninth century, the cathedral church of St. Mary underwent remodeling. Unfortunately, discovered archaeological findings have not yielded sufficiently precise or complete information regarding the form of this church in the aftermath of these re-modelings. At that time, its baptistery seems to have been already covered and the wall dividing the northern lateral nave from the central one erected over it. Certain elements indicate that the proportions of this church were moderately reduced, or that the spatial architectural solution of the central nave was different. Early Romanesque stylistic features of the fragments of carved stone decoration allow the chronological setting of this remodeling process. The rise of St. Tryphon's cult replaced, in the following centuries, the cult of St. George (Sv. Juraj), the former patron saint of the town. Therefore, the urban community was enforced to build a new cathedral church in the twelfth century, dedicated to St. Tryphon. Nevertheless, the importance of the former cathedral, church of St. Mary, did not diminish; instead, it continued to exist as a con-cathedral church, among other churches of Kotor and in its vicinity. Eventually, the original church was demolished in the early thirteenth century. In its place, a new church was built and dedicated to St. Mary in 1221, after having undergone a lengthy construction process.<sup>157</sup>

Among many settlements of different size, relatively densely clustered on the southernmost coast of the eastern Adriatic, two other settlements also had the status of episcopal sees at different stages of their early medieval history. Various sources also provide some information about the architecture of their cathedral churches. The town of Bar grew in one of the most convenient defence locations in this maritime region

157 Nevertheless, the newly-proposed datings of archaeological findings discovered beneath the church of St. Mary Koledjata have recently been presented. According to Đ. Janković, these findings should be dated to the tenth and the eleventh centuries. He did not exclude the possibility that another, older structure could exist under the church. His conclusions were based on an analysis of the presumed church plan, the discovered baptismal basin, as well as the fragments of the altar screen, inscription, and pottery findings, including amphoras and ceramics of the roof construction. More extensively on this issue: Ђ. Јанковић, *Српско Поморје од 7. до 10. столећа*, Београд 2007, 109-111.

(Fig. 50). Located in the centre of the small and easily approachable bay of Bar, with the monastery of the Holy Mother of Ratac on the northern cape, and a hill Volujica in the south, the medieval Bar was situated in the location that enabled it to spread safely thanks to its excellent geographic position, naturally suitable for defence. In contrast to other maritime towns lying on the very shore, medieval Bar was founded several kilometres away, on a flat plateau, rising approximately 150 metres above the sea level, secured with the mighty rocky massif of the Rumija mountain lying in its hinterland. Positioned on a vertically cut rock lying in its eastern and southern side, well-protected from the sea, with a panoramic view stretching over the coast and mainland, this town stayed beyond the grasp of any potential invader. Despite the fact that the town was detached from its immediate hinterland by the mighty mountain massif of Rumija, Lisinj and Sutorman, the town maintained contacts with it, thanks to its excellent and ramified road network (Fig. 51). Thus, an important urban centre of a considerable sacral and secular significance developed on this four-hectare plateau, located on a slightly descending slope.

The bishop of Bar was included in the list cataloguing the bishops under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Dyrrachium (Durrës, Drač) in the first half of the eighth century.<sup>158</sup> In the middle of the tenth century, the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos mentioned Bar as the southern frontier of the province of Dalmatia, and as a borderline castel occupying the northernmost part of the Byzantine thema of Dyrrachium.<sup>159</sup> It has recently been considered that the origin of the episcopal see of Bar should be chronologically associated to the foundation of this thema.<sup>160</sup> No mention was made of the bishop of Bar in the decrees of the

158 *Hierocles Synecdemus et Notitie Graece episcopatum* (ed. Parthey), Berlin 1866; *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (edd. A. Baudrillart, R. Aigrain, P. Richard, U. Rouzies), Paris 1924.

159 More extensively on this issue: *Constantine Porphyrogenitos De administrando imperio I* (edd. G. Moravcsik, R. J. H. Jenkins), Dumbarton Oaks 1967, 30/140-141, 144-145; *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије II*, Београд 1959, 27, 34.

160 Recent scientific research on the history of this sacral centre indicate that the precise time of its origin could correspond to the patriarch Photius' time and could be dated to the period after the church council of Constantinople, held in 879. More extensively on this issue: Т. Живковић, *Црквена организација у српским земљама (рани средњи век)*, Београд 2004, 148. For further information on the establishment of the Byzantine thema of Drač, see: J. Ferluga, *Sur la date de la création du thème de Dyrrachium*, Actes du XII<sup>ème</sup> Congrès international des études byzantines II, Beograd 1964,

church council held in Split in 928, but there were many references to the bishop in numerous papal bulls from the first half of the eleventh century whose authenticity has been debated for long time. The bishop of Bar was also one of the four clergymen from the southern Adriatic involved in a shipwreck that befell them on their voyage to the church council of Split, held in 1030, as described in Thomas the Archdeacon's work.<sup>161</sup> But regardless of the mentioned doubts pertaining to its ancient past, the second half of the eleventh century represents the apogee in the early medieval history of this episcopal see, when the prelate of this maritime centre was elevated to the rank of archbishop in 1089, by pope Clement III.<sup>162</sup> In the town, the title of the prelate of Bar was considered a proof of continuity of the ancient Roman archdiocese of Doclea, and the title of its prelate will be inflaming the rivalry between the archdiocese of Bar and its rival, the archdiocese of Dubrovnik in the following two centuries.

In the first half of the 1950s, archaeological excavations undertaken in the southernmost part of the high plateau of medieval Bar, in the site of Londža, revealed the remains of two structures dating from different periods (Fig. 52). Judging by their essential architectural forms, these were attributed to two separate sacral objects, successively erected one above the other. The foundations of these two churches overlap and are dislocated from each other. The foundations of the walls of a church of considerably bigger dimensions that was built later on, were not laid over the foundations of the older one, but were slightly traverse and moved northwards. Since the older church was completely destroyed, the later church was erected upon its remains. The remains of the older church have been preserved,<sup>163</sup> but their quantity is much smaller than the one belonging to the posterior

83-92; J. Ферлуга, *Драч и његова област од VII до почетка XIII века*, Глас САНУ CCCXLIII, књ. 5, Београд 1986.

161 *Thomae Archidiaconi Historia salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum Pontificum* (edd. O. Perić, M. Matijević Sokol, R. Katičić), Split 2003, 60-61; Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split* (edd. O. Perić, D. Karbić, M. Matijević Sokol, J. R. Sweeney), Budapest – New York 2006, 64-65.

162 For further information on this papal bull and its relation to the previous one, see: L. Thalloczy, C. Jireček, E. Sufflay, *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia I*, Vindobonae 1913-1918, 21-22.

163 The remains of the older church include the following: 1) the lower section of the southern wall; 2) the front of the pier, having rectangular or square cross sections, incorporated into the southern wall of the newer church; 3) scarce fragments of its northern wall (pieces of crushed stone and mortar); 4) fragments of the floor, placed on a lower level indicating that the church

structure.<sup>164</sup> Nevertheless, these have yielded some information regarding their possible original architectural structure.

The older church was reconstructed according to a basilica plan. Two rows, each with three smaller piers, formed the three naves in its interior. Each of the naves was thus divided into four bays, with a semicircular altar apse on the eastern end of the central nave. This church most likely faced destruction in fire, indicting it was covered with a wooden roof. Despite its rather imposing dimensions (it was at least 12 m long and 7.5 m wide), the church should be described as a relatively modest one, due to the fact that it was probably dug in and had an older, mosaic floor designed for secondary purposes. Finally, judging by the stylistic features of the discovered fragments attributed to the carved stone decoration, the remains of the older church were dated to the period ranging from the ninth to the eleventh centuries.<sup>165</sup>

The newer church was also reconstructed in a form of a three-naved basilica. Its lateral naves had smaller semicircular apses, incorporated into the walls, in the eastern end, while the central nave ended with a larger, semicircular apse.<sup>166</sup> A certain irregular pattern in its interior was

was slightly dug in, in regard to the surrounding terrain. Apart from the already-mentioned fragments, the following remains were attributed to this church: 1) diverse fragments of the older floor mosaic, considered to have been of secondary use; 2) carved stone decoration. See: Ђ. Бошковић, *Стари Бар*, Београд 1962, 11-12.

164 The following remains of the newer church have been preserved: 1) fragments of the lower section of the southern wall, of unequal orientation, firmness, depth and construction, which indicates it might have been built in stages; 2) the bottom of the western and northern wall section, and of the altar apse; 3) fragments of the western portal threshold; 4) fragments of the bottom of the piers, particularly those of the three southern piers, aligned at uneven distance; 5) fragments of the floor, in the western front. Numerous fragments of the substructure of the bell-tower have been discovered along the exterior of the south-west corner of the newer church. Apart from the mentioned remains, several fragments have also been discovered (of the vault ribs, leaf-shaped console, fragments of the doors, windows and liturgical furnishings). See: Ђ. Бошковић, *Стари Бар*, Београд 1962, 12-16.

165 Ђ. Бошковић, *Стари Бар*, Београд 1962, 12.

166 Two different presumed foundations of the newer church were published. Different opinions exist regarding the eastern segment of lateral naves. According to some, these ended with semicircular apses (V. Korać), and according to others, semicircular apses were incorporated into the wall (Ѓ. Вошковић). See: Ђ. Бошковић, *Стари Бар*, Београд 1962, 10; В. Кораћ, *Градитељска школа Поморја*, Београд 1965, 36.

marked by an unequal distance in the alignment of the square-shaped piers. It was also assumed that the older church had been covered with wooden roof. Its non-corresponding orientation and the thickness of its southern wall led to a conclusion that this church could have undergone certain re-modelings at a later stage. A hypothesis was put forward, that each nave originally contained three bays with its westernmost bays additionally built, or remodeled. In this rebuilding stage that probably included the western façade as well, a ribbed vault could have been built, too. Furthermore, a bell-tower was erected along the western section of the southern wall, as well as a door in the northern wall in the final construction stage. Judging by architectural features, the remains of the newer structure have been dated to the second half of the twelfth century or to the early thirteenth century, i.e. to the period corresponding to the re-establishment of the archdiocese of Bar, in the years following the church council held in 1199. Judging by the form of the preserved fragments of the ribbed vault, the restoration and remodeling could have taken place in the second half of the thirteenth or in the early fourteenth century. After the rise of the archdiocese in the fourteenth century, a bell-tower was erected, whereas the doors in the northern wall were built a century later. Upon the fall of the medieval Bar under Turkish rule in 1571, the church was converted into a mosque; in 1882, it was entirely destroyed from the explosion of ammunition that was kept in it.<sup>167</sup> The remains of the older sacral structure situated in the southern end of the flat plateau of medieval Bar should thus be attributed to the former cathedral church of the archbishop of Bar. Despite the fact that the dedication of the older church is not quite certainly confirmed historically, prevailing opinion is that the church was dedicated to St. Theodore.<sup>168</sup> But it should

167 Ђ. Бошковић, *Стари Бар*, Београд 1962, 19-20.

168 According to Daniele Farlati (1690-1773), a famous church historian, and his well-known work *Illyricum Sacrum*. Farlati probably obtained his information on the older church, dedicated to St. Theodore, that stood on the location of the newer church dedicated to St. George, from the report of Marko Đorđa, the archbishop of Bar, dated 1697. This probably represents the oldest document mentioning cathedral church of St. Theodore in Bar. See: J. Радонић, *Римска курија и јужнословенске земље*, Београд 1950, 247. The papal bull issued by Pope Alexander II in 1067 mentions St. George's day, and not St. Theodore's, as a ceremonious holiday, which justifyingly opens the question whether the older church was also originally dedicated to St. George. For further information on this papal bull, see: L. Thalloczy, C. Jireček, E. Sufflay, *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia I*, Vindobonae 1913-1918, 16.

be emphasized that different hypotheses have recently been proposed, questioning the aforementioned conclusions, put a half a century ago.

Consequently, the recently published annual reports on the results of systematic archaeological excavations, undertaken in the site of the medieval Bar in the last years, led to a re-evaluation of the existing hypotheses, and resulted in new ones. Because traces of settlements have not been discovered in the area of Barsko polje, the hypothesis that the original cathedral church of the bishop of Bar was the trefoil church in the site of Topolica, in the field adjacent to the modern town of Bar, has been rejected. During the 1980s, the hypothesis that the discovered fragments of the floor mosaic of the older church in Londža, might have come from the mentioned trefoil church in Topolica, whose transfer could be interpreted as a symbolic act – as a transfer of episcopal tradition to a new topos,<sup>169</sup> has been rejected, as an assumption that does not rest on solid archaeological evidence.<sup>170</sup> Instead, these fragments of floor mosaic could have come from another site in the closer surroundings of medieval Bar, and considering the nature of their decorative features, were presumably part of structure not necessarily sacral.<sup>171</sup> It is very probable that, judging by the early medieval carved stone decoration and inscription, a sacral structure, older than the newer church dedicated to St. George, existed in medieval Bar, but the assumption that the wall discovered south of the newer church was part of this structure remains a pure speculation.<sup>172</sup> In

169 For further information on this hypothesis, see: P. Mijović, *Kulture Crne Gore*, Titograd 1987, 119-120.

170 It is not certain what is the premise that brought remains of the floor mosaic into connection with the trefoil church on the site of Topolica in Bar. See: S. Gelichi, *Stari Bar. The Archaeological Evidence and the Settlement during the Ages*, The Archaeology of an Abandoned Town. The 2005 Project in Stari Bar, Firenze 2006, 21.

171 Namely, since a sacral structure from the Late Antiquity has not yet been discovered on the location of the medieval Bar, a hypothesis was proposed suggesting these might be attributed to a *villa rustica*, presumably situated on the slopes of the hill. See: S. Gelichi, *Stari Bar. The Archaeological Evidence and the Settlement during the Ages*, The Archaeology of an Abandoned Town. The 2005 Project in Stari Bar, Firenze 2006, 21.

172 Definite conclusions cannot be reached at this stage, due to the fact that these most important sacral structures of the medieval Bar have been insufficiently preserved, and already excavated in their entirety in 1950s. See: S. Gelichi, *Stari Bar. The Archaeological Evidence and the Settlement during the Ages*, The Archaeology of an Abandoned Town. The 2005 Project in Stari Bar, Firenze 2006, 24.

addition, another dating of the remains of the mentioned sacral structures has recently been proposed. The remains of the older church, presumably dedicated to St. Theodore, were dated to the period between the fifth and the sixth centuries. This church was restored in the early eighth century and replaced by a more recent church, erected on the same location and dedicated to St. George, the patron of the town, supposedly when King Michael won the recognition of his royal title in 1077.<sup>173</sup> But only the completion of the currently conducted systematic archaeological excavations on this site will yield more reliable conclusions on the cathedral churches of the archbishop of Bar.<sup>174</sup>

Like Bar, the medieval Ulcinj was also founded on a safe location, providing sound living conditions for its inhabitants. It developed on an elongated slope of sediment limestone descending towards the sea, with almost inaccessible peaks and sharp, vertical cliffs more than thirty metres high on both the land and sea side (Fig. 54). That is the reason why this site was convenient for habitation since the earliest times. Thanks to this position naturally suitable for defence, the settlement was fortified rather early on and gradually grew into a unique defence system. Consequently, the town of Ulcinj started expanding in an area delimited by two distinct, but organically linked parts, separated by walls (Fig. 53). The citadel (or the so-called Upper Town) was its first part, representing a stronghold raised for military purposes, in the location where an acropolis might have stood in the Early Byzantine period. This acropolis of a most likely irregular polygonal form was almost entirely destroyed during the deurbanization process of the sixth and the seventh centuries, but was restored in the re-urbanization of the early ninth century, by using the remains of older buildings and ramparts to construct new buildings. The second part of Ulcinj was the urban

173 The proposed dating for the remains of the churches situated on Londža has been provided in a summary overview of the history of the medieval Bar, presented in published reports on the recently conducted archaeological excavations. See: M. Zagarčanin, *Short Historical Overview of the Town of the Stari Bar*, Stari Bar. The Archaeological Project. Preliminary Report, Firenze 2005, 15-18.

174 The fundamental work on the architecture of the medieval Bar still remains the following: Ђ. Бошковић, *Стари Бар*, Београд 1962. For further information on the results of the most recent excavations undertaken in the same site, see: *Stari Bar. The Archaeological Project. Preliminary Report*, Firenze 2005; *The Archaeology of an Abandoned Town. The 2005 Project in Stari Bar*, Firenze 2006; *A Town Through the Ages. The 2006-2007 Archaeological Project in Stari Bar*, Firenze 2008.

settlement, fortified by defence walls and established on an area of approximately two hectares, along the entire length of the rock's slope. In the Middle Ages, the suburban area grew on the slopes under and around city ramparts, particularly towards the north and north-east.

The ancient Olcinium or Olchinium, whose origins should be traced to the fifth century BC, the time of the fortified urban settlement's foundation, grew in the location of the present-day Stari Grad (Old Town).<sup>175</sup> In the Roman period, this town had the status of *oppidum*. However, it was not included in the list of the towns that were built anew or were restored during the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I (527-565). The reference to Emperor Leo V (813-820) and his son Constantine, preserved in the inscription of the ciborium of the town's church, indicates that Ulcinj was under Byzantine administration in the early ninth century.<sup>176</sup> Despite the fact that Ulcinj was omitted from the lists of the dioceses lying under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Dyrrachium, similarly to Bar as well, the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos refers to Ulcinj in the middle of the tenth century as a borderline castel, erected in the northernmost part of the Byzantine thema of Dyrrachium.<sup>177</sup> According to the bull issued by Pope Benedict VII in 1022, the diocese of Ulcinj was placed under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Dubrovnik,<sup>178</sup> but judging from the bull issued by Pope Clement III in 1089, it lay under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Bar.<sup>179</sup> Throughout the following period, marked by disputes between the two mentioned rival archdioceses for supremacy over this area, the diocese

175 Hypothesis that the antique Olcinium should be identified with Old Ulcinj (a smaller agglomeration lying on the rock and separated from the mainland, halfway between Bar and Ulcinj) was also previously proposed.

176 This even helped determine the establishment time of the thema of Dyrrachium. More extensively on this issue: J. Ferluga, *Sur la date de la création du thème de Dyrrachium*, Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des études byzantines II, Beograd 1964, 86.

177 More extensively on this issue: *Constantine Porphyrogenitos De administrando imperio I* (edd. G. Moravcsik, R. J. H. Jenkins), Dumbarton Oaks 1967, 30/144-145; *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије II*, Beograd 1959, 34.

178 For further information on the authenticity of this charter, see: L. Thalloczy, C. Jireček, E. Sufflay, *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia I*, Vindobonae 1913-1918, 16-17.

179 L. Thalloczy, C. Jireček, E. Sufflay, *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia I*, Vindobonae 1913-1918, 21-22.



of Ulcinj was not always loyal to the ecclesiastical centre in Bar, albeit it was geographically closer.

In the 1950s, archaeological excavations discovered remains of two structures, successively built one above the other, in the same location in the southernmost part of the medieval Ulcinj, on a rock nineteen metres above the sea level (Fig. 55). As the remains of the older building lay entirely under the floor of the later one, it is clear that the later structure was built after the complete devastation of the older one. Almost identical as in the medieval Bar, these remains yielded fragments of the two churches of the medieval Ulcinj. Equally as in the medieval Bar, remains of the older structure are far less preserved. Its apse was preserved in a rather good condition, as was the northern segment of its eastern wall, and an approximately seven metres long segment of its northern wall. Above the southern wall of the earlier structure lays the southern wall of the newer one, whereas the remains of its western wall have not been preserved. Judging by the disposition of these remaining wall segments, it was concluded that the older church was a simple one, with a single nave of relatively modest dimensions, with the interior approximately seven metres long and four metres wide, ending in the east with a semicircular apse (Fig. 56). The discovered remains of walls built of roughly hewn limestone, sandstone, and pieces of crushed stone do not indicate that there was splitting. Judging by their shape, fragments of stone blocks might suggest that they may belong to angular sides of an octagonal dome, presumably attributed to the earlier church, because of their smaller size. Judging by fragments of inscriptions and of the carved stone decoration with distinct pre-Romanesque stylistic features, the earlier church was dated to the period ranging from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. If the existence of an Early Byzantine basilica in the citadel (i.e. in the Upper Town) is excluded, the aforementioned earlier church erected in the southernmost part of the medieval Ulcinj would represent the only preserved remains of the early medieval cathedral church of the Ulcinj diocese.<sup>180</sup> Consequently, several other fragments of pre-Romanesque stone ciborium might also be attributed to this church. The highly decorated relief of its arcade represents its most prominent segment, kept at the National Museum of Belgrade.<sup>181</sup>

180 For further information on the remains of the presumed cathedral church of medieval Ulcinj, see: Ђ. Бошковић, П. Мијовић, М. Ковачевић, *Улцињ I*, Београд 1981, 109-124.

181 Numerous articles have been written about the fragments of the pre-Romanesque ciborium of Ulcinj: Л. Мирковић, *Фрагмент киворија у цркви*

Nevertheless, relatively modest dimensions of this sacral structure produced some uncertainties. Namely, it would be reasonable to debate whether the church of such relatively modest dimensions could have matched the prestige or could have answered the needs of a cathedral church. Another problematic issue is that of the presumed placement of the ciborium in a rather limited altar area. Judging by the ratio between the dimensions of the ciborium, and those of the apse (approximately 3 m wide, 1.5 m deep), the rear side of the ciborium must have adjoined the top of the apse and therefore inaccessible, which would mean that the communication in the apse was almost impossible. If this ciborium was not placed in front of the altar apse, it might have been part of another early medieval church as well, one that has still remained undetected.<sup>182</sup>

The Early Medieval episcopal sees and their cathedral churches on the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland at the time of the first South Slavic principalities presented here, portray a more certain picture of spiritual life and the development of ecclesiastical organization in this region throughout the given period. The existence of the cathedral churches and their complex construction history, not seldom realized gradually and in several stages, confirm the information given by the historical sources on the development of ecclesiastical organization in the lands that were being settled permanently by Slavic tribes in the Early Middle Ages. The dating of certain architectural construction stages of the early medieval cathedral

*Светог Трифуна у Котору*, Старинар II, Београд 1951, 279-280; Ј. Стојановић-Максимовић, *О средњовековној скулптури на Црногорском Приморју*, Историјски гласник 3-4, Београд 1951, 75-76; I. Petricoli, *Ројава готаничке skulpture u Далмацији*, Zagreb 1960, 49; Ј. Ковачевић, *Маргиналије уз проблеме археологије и уметности раног средњег века*, Зборник Филозофског факултета VIII-1, Београд 1963, 148-151; *Историја Црне Горе I*, Титоград 1967, 367-370 (Ј. Ковачевић); П. Мијовић, *Трагом древних култура Црне Горе*, Титоград 1970, 158, fig. 13; Ј. Максимовић, *Српска средњовековна скулптура*, Нови Сад 1971, 26; Р. Мијовић, *Умјетничко благо Црне Горе*, Београд – Титоград 1980, 120, 137, fig. 71; Ђ. Бошковић, П. Мијовић, М. Ковачевић, *Улцињ I*, Београд 1981, 109-110, tab. LIX; П. Мијовић, *Улцињски циборијум*, Старинар XXXVI, Београд 1985, 91-104; Д. Прерадовић-Петровић, *Улцињски циборијум. Натпис и рељефне представе*, *Godišnjak Pomorskog muzeja u Kotoru I*, Kotor 2002, 247-264.

182 For further information on general architectural and urbanistic features of the medieval Ulcinj, see: Ђ. Бошковић, П. Мијовић, М. Ковачевић, *Улцињ I*, Београд 1981.

churches on the eastern Adriatic coast, conducted in some cases with a high degree of certainty, confirmed the existence of active spiritual life in these areas, as well as the existence of a hierarchical ecclesiastical organization that could initiate such construction endeavours or at least bring them into liturgical life through the liturgical order. As a consequence, the construction works were always realized for the sake of a specific community of believers existing in a specific area, while the erected structures were consecrated and brought into liturgical life by the church ministers – bishops, primarily. That way, the Early Medieval sacral architecture as a whole (especially the construction efforts dealing with erection and reconstruction of cathedral churches in episcopal sees) proves that the ecclesiastical organization, doubtlessly struck heavily during the penetration and settlement of the new ethnic element in the Balkans, was well on its way to re-establish itself already about 150 years later.

The intensive architectural activity associated with particular areas of the eastern Adriatic could also confirm the conjecture that there existed main centres from which the main wave of Christianization spread first, to be followed by the establishment of a firmer ecclesiastical organization system in the areas inhabited by the newly-arrived neighbours. It was not accidental, then, that the frequency of such construction efforts is particularly high in central and southern Dalmatia, whose episcopal sees accomplished powerful missionary work (Split, Dubrovnik, Kotor). The architectural models of the cathedral churches erected in these episcopal sees radiated their influence into the immediate surroundings in the artistic sense as well (Split).

The construction of cathedral churches in the urban areas that were secular centres as well – the Early Medieval *župas*, but also the residences of first Early Medieval rulers – shows that the established ecclesiastical organization was gradually being integrated into the foundations of the first political entities that were forming on the territories inhabited by the South Slavs; but also reveals the links between, no matter how simple, the ideology of rulership and only recently-accepted Christian ways of perceiving history and the world.

When it comes to ideas, the predominant notion that the role of cathedral churches, in both restored and newly-established episcopal sees, is almost exclusively given to the older churches that were built to play the identical role during the earlier organization of ecclesiastical life in the Late Antiquity, demonstrates a more than obvious intention of the newly-instituted ecclesiastical organization to inherit the older sacral tradition and ground its historical and divine legitimacy in it.

As the decrees of the church councils strictly forbade ordaining bishops in non-urban areas, the tradition of selecting the main urban churches for cathedrals also speaks about the preservation of the age-old arrangement behind the episcopal duty. Even if the morphology of the settlements containing episcopal centres and undertaking construction of new cathedral churches does not show such an urban image, the mere presence of such sacral structure would have improved the urban character of these settlements.

Dedications of the cathedral churches lying in the eastern Adriatic, offer precious insight into the course the development of spiritual life took in particular areas throughout the Early Medieval period. The choice of one particular patron saint was commonly observed. Namely, almost exclusive dedication of cathedral churches to the Holy Mother of God in the Early Middle Ages supports the theory of a firmly rooted cult of the Holy Mother of God in this area (in Krk, Osor, Rab, Biograd, Knin, Split, Dubrovnik and Kotor). Continuously transferred down, since the Early Christian days in some cases, for Her role in the Embodiment of God Logos, this choice (more widespread in the eighth and ninth centuries, i. e. during the earlier period of this epoch) is thought to represent a still present echo of the victory over the Christological heresies from the previous centuries. When a particular saint had been chosen and then consolidated as the local town's patron, the cathedral churches in episcopal sees would get dedicated: to this, another patron besides the Holy Mother of God (Split); or would be changing their dedication alternately (Dubrovnik); or, in the case of Kotor, the title of the cathedral was completely re-oriented to a new patron saint. The case of Knin was peculiar, since the Holy Mother of God was the patron of the cathedral church, together with St. Stephen. This peculiarity is explained by the very character of this saint, being a protector of the ruling dynasty, and by the fact that the mentioned cathedral church was in the domain of the ruler. The influence that the patron saint's cult had on the dedication of early medieval cathedral churches can be observed in the example of the old Zadar church, that changed its original dedication (despite the fact that it had previously been dedicated to St. Peter) and was re-dedicated to St. Anastasia (St. Stošija), the saint whose relics were translated to the town. The example of the cathedral church of Nin is seldom encountered: this church was dedicated to St. Anselm, one of the saints from Milan (the remaining two were St. Ambrose and St. Marcello), whose cult flourished

in this ecclesiastical centre during its rise in the Carolingian era. That is the reason why it could be interpreted as a reflection of the political and cultural influences that disseminated from the Frankish state.<sup>183</sup>

Everything aforementioned presents the cathedral churches of episcopal sees in the early medieval eastern Adriatic not only as a significant testimony about the paths of architectural thinking, about the ways of creative efforts and the strength of specific construction techniques, but also as a source of knowledge that enables us to make conclusions about the wider currents of the cultural development as a whole, about the peculiarities of mentality in the spiritual life of these communities and, finally, about the ever growing presence of the ecclesiastical organization in these lands in the Early Middle Ages.

183 For further information on the frequency of particular dedications, as well as the nature and origins of their cults, see: T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji, 1. Rasprava*, Split – Zagreb 2008, 164-179.

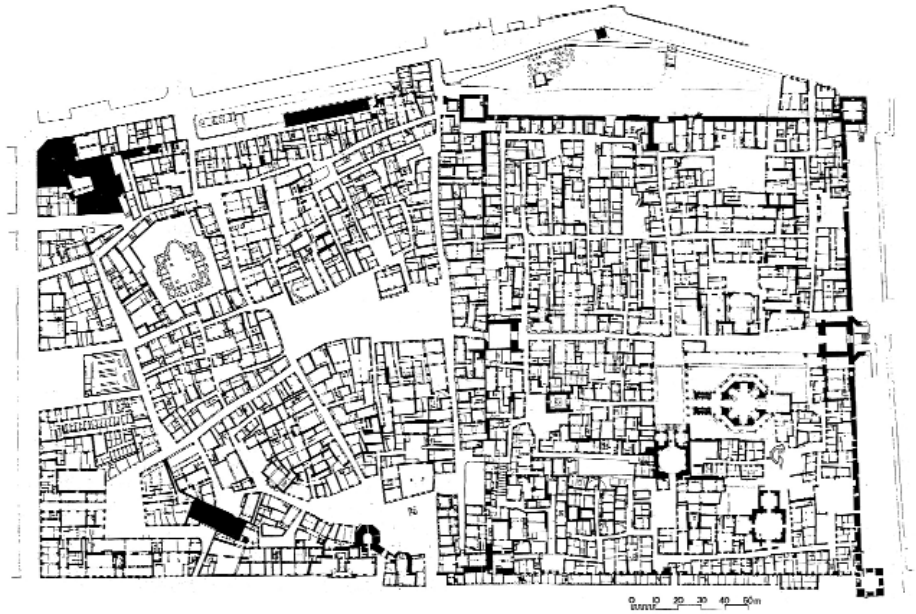


Fig. 1. Split. Diocletian's Palace and It's Early Medieval Western Suburb (Ground Plan)



Fig. 2. Split. Diocletian's Palace (Aerial View)

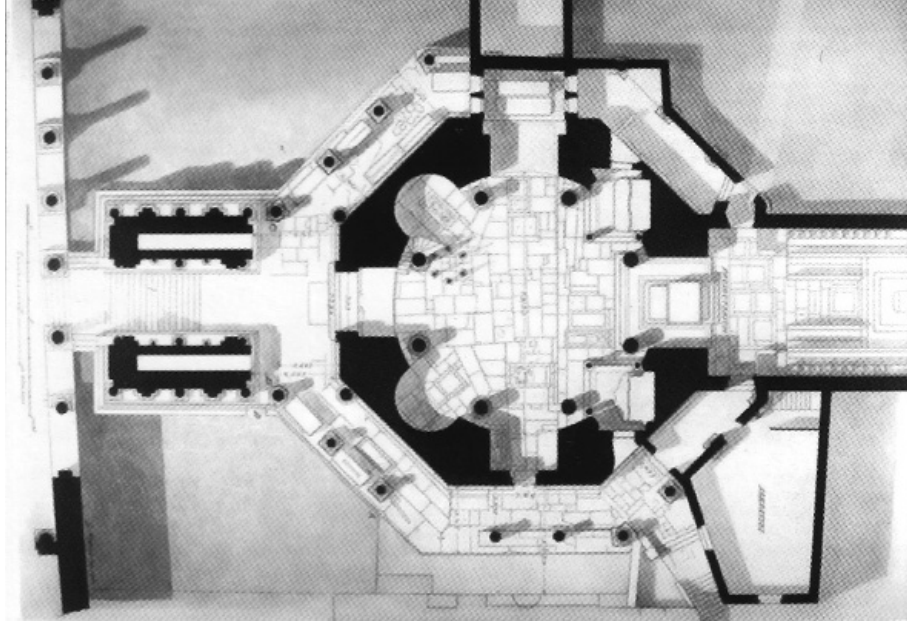


Fig. 3. Split. The Cathedral Church of St. Mary (St. Domnius) (Ground Plan)

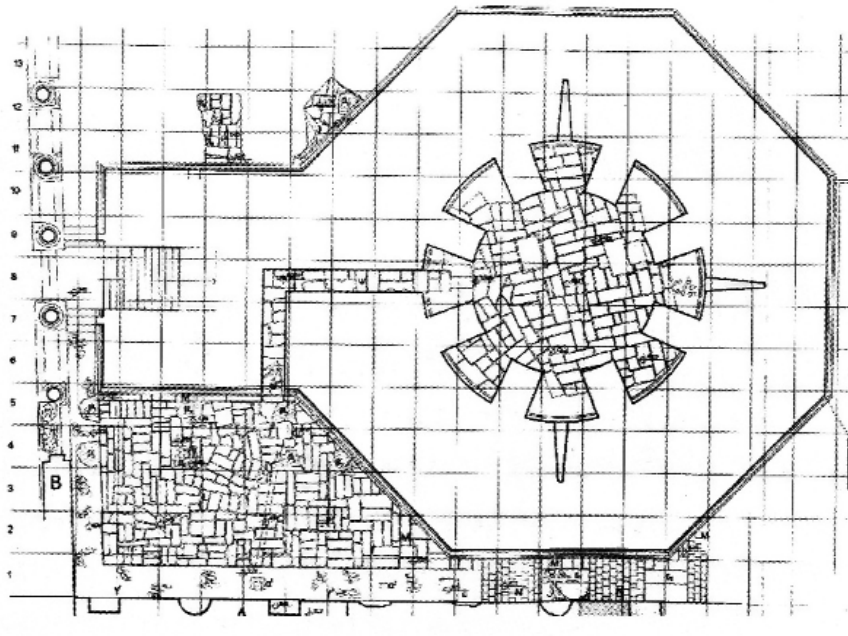


Fig. 4. Split. The Cathedral Church of St. Mary (St. Domnius), Crypt (Ground Plan)

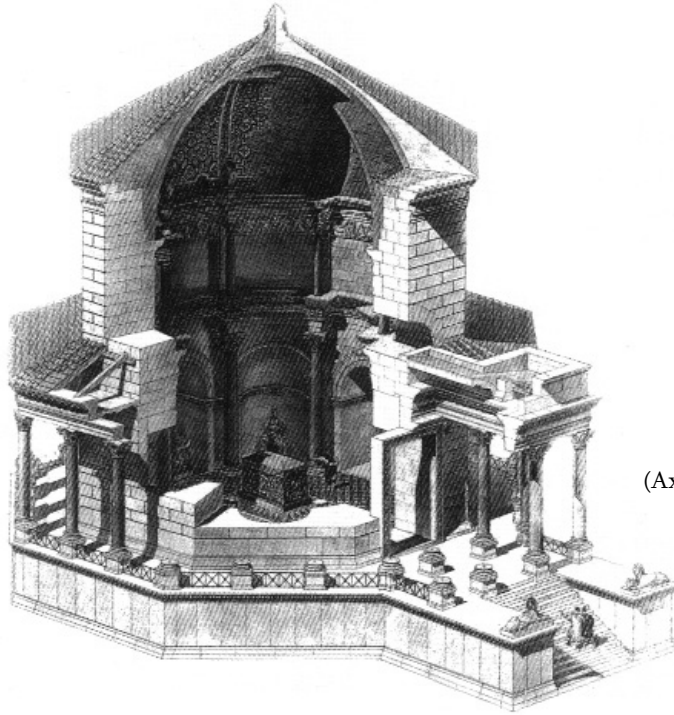


Fig. 5.  
Split. Temple of Jupiter  
(Diocletian's Mausoleum)  
(Axonometric Reconstruction)

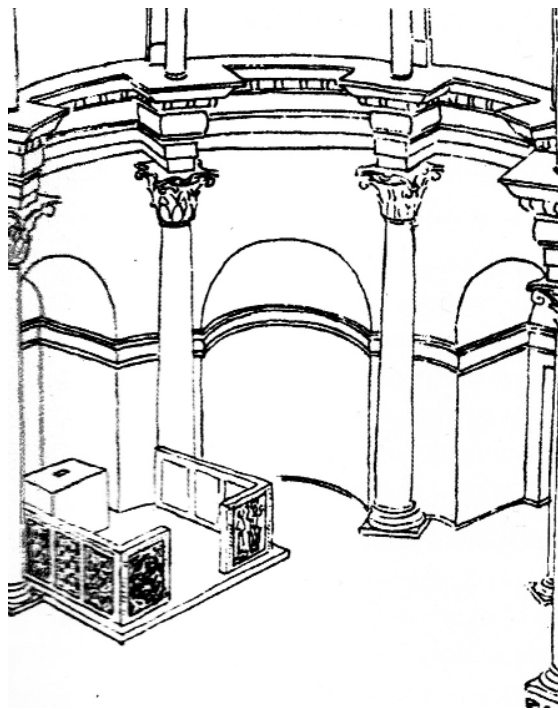


Fig. 6.  
Split. The Cathedral Church of  
St. Mary (St. Domnius),  
Early Medieval Interior  
(Reconstruction)



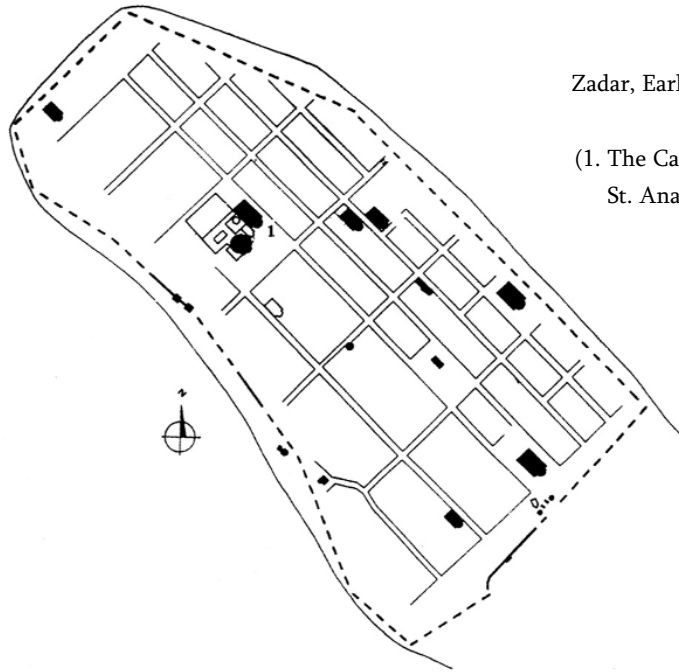


Fig. 7.  
Zadar, Early Medieval Town  
(Town Plan)  
(1. The Cathedral Church of  
St. Anastasia (St. Stošija))



Fig. 8. Zadar, Early Medieval Town (Aerial View)

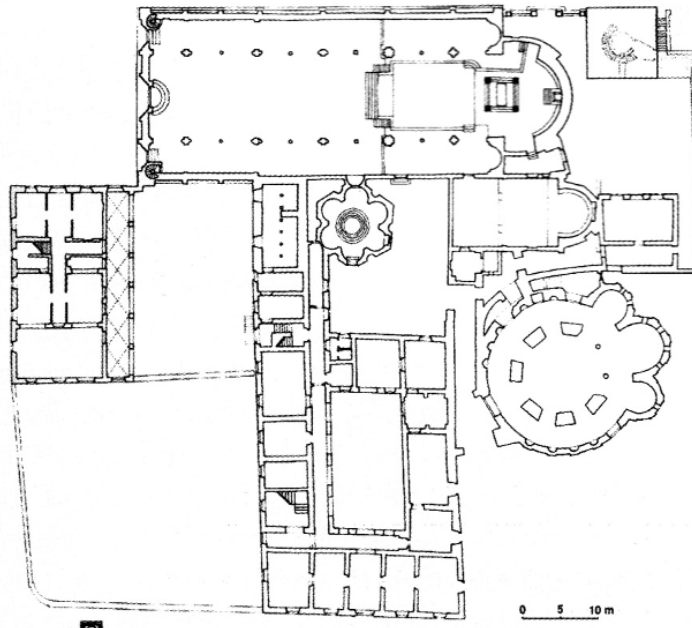


Fig. 9. Zadar. The Cathedral Complex (Ground Plan)

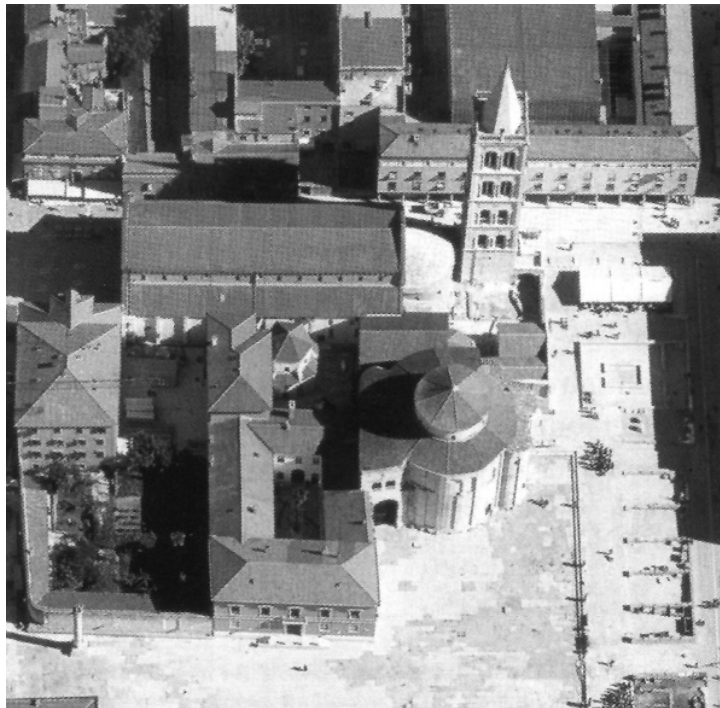
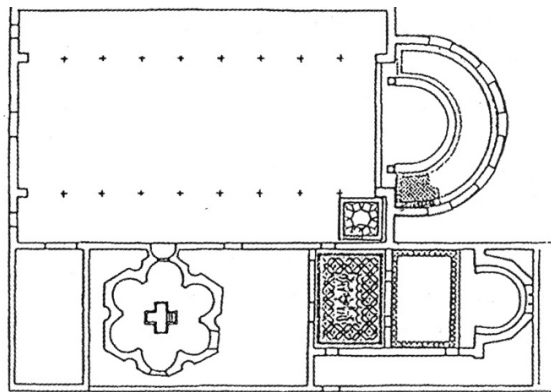
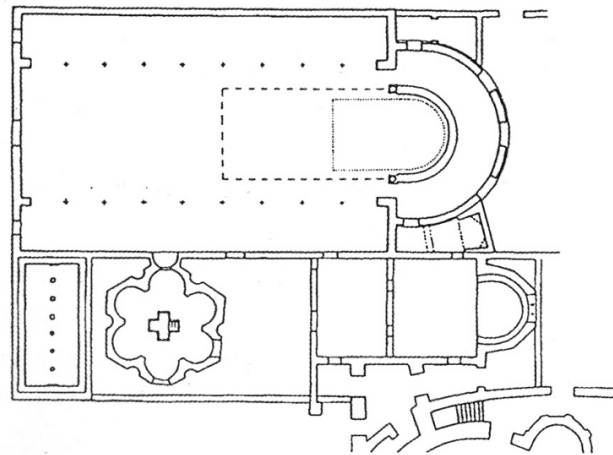


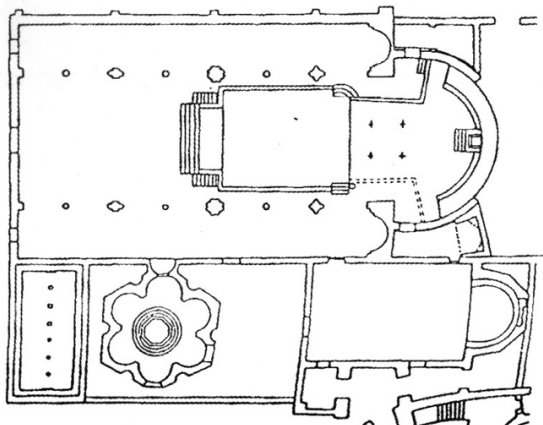
Fig. 10. Zadar. The Cathedral Complex (Aerial View)



a. Early Christian Basilica,  
with Baptistry  
and Catechoumena  
(5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> Century)



b. Early Medieval Church  
(10<sup>th</sup> Century)



c. Romanesque Church  
(12<sup>th</sup> Century)

Fig. 11. Zadar. The Cathedral Church of St. Anastasia (St. Stošija) (Ground Plans)



Fig. 12. Zadar. The Church of Holy Trinity (St. Donatus) (Exterior from the South-East)

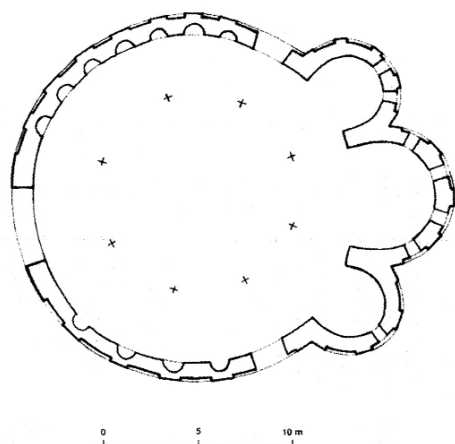


Fig. 13.  
Zadar. The Church of Holy Trinity  
(St. Donatus) (8<sup>th</sup> Century)  
(Ground Plan)

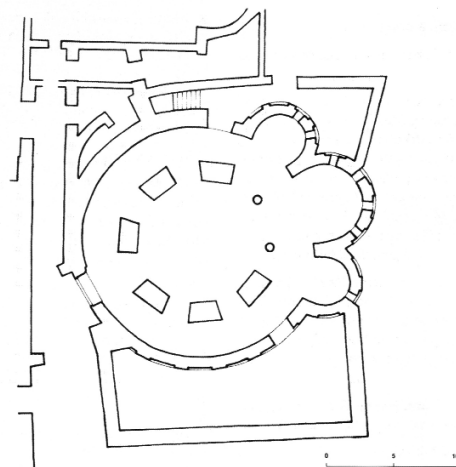


Fig. 14.  
Zadar. The Church of Holy Trinity  
(St. Donatus) (9<sup>th</sup> Century)  
(Ground Plan)

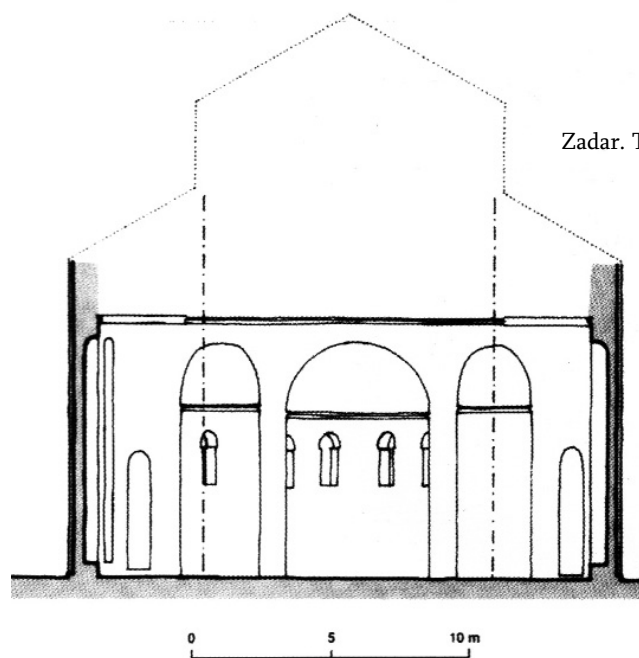


Fig. 15.  
Zadar. The Church of Holy Trinity  
(St. Donatus) (8<sup>th</sup> Century)  
(Transversal Section)



Fig. 16. Trogir. Early Medieval Town (Town Plan)  
(1. The Cathedral Church of St. Laurentius (St. Lovro))

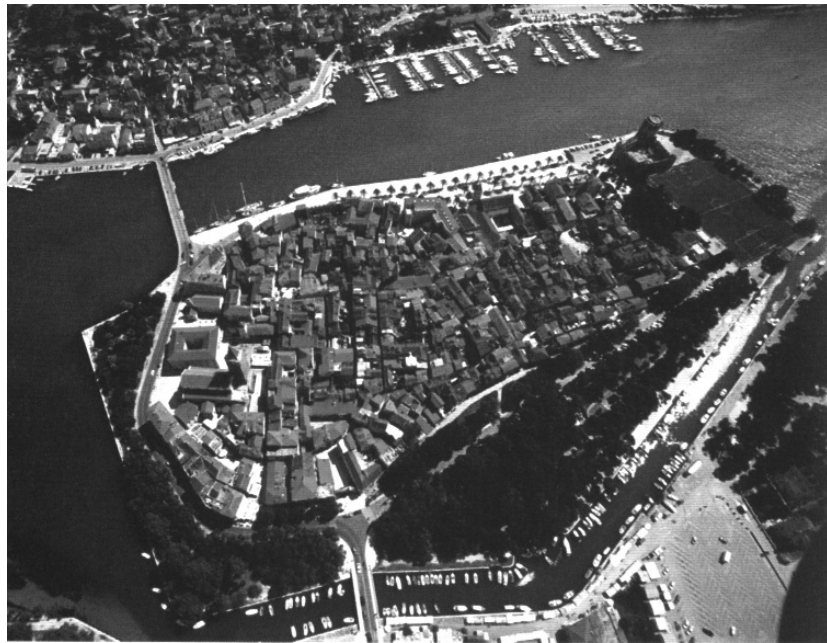


Fig. 17. Trogir. Early Medieval Town (Aerial View)

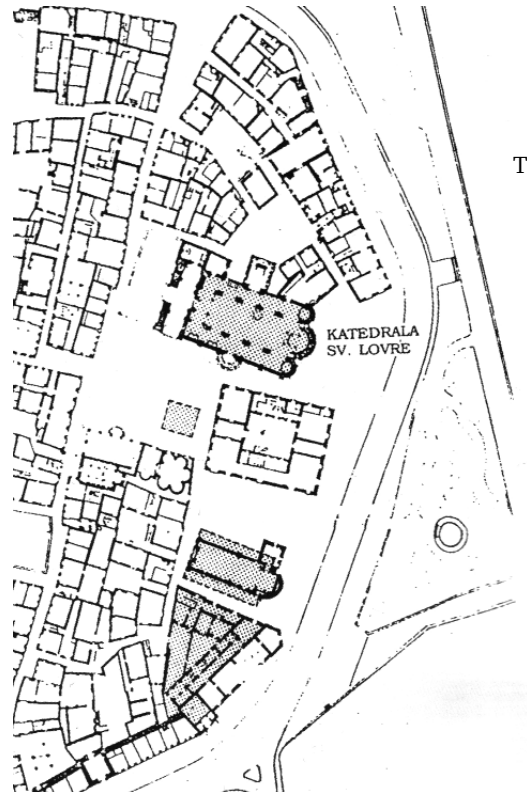


Fig. 18.  
Trogir.  
The Cathedral Church of St. Laurentius  
(St. Lovro) (Ground Plan)



Fig. 19. Trogir. The Cathedral Church of St. Laurentius (St. Lovro) (Exterior of Apse)



Fig. 20.  
Krk. Early Medieval Town (Town Plan)  
(with the Cathedral Church of St. Mary)

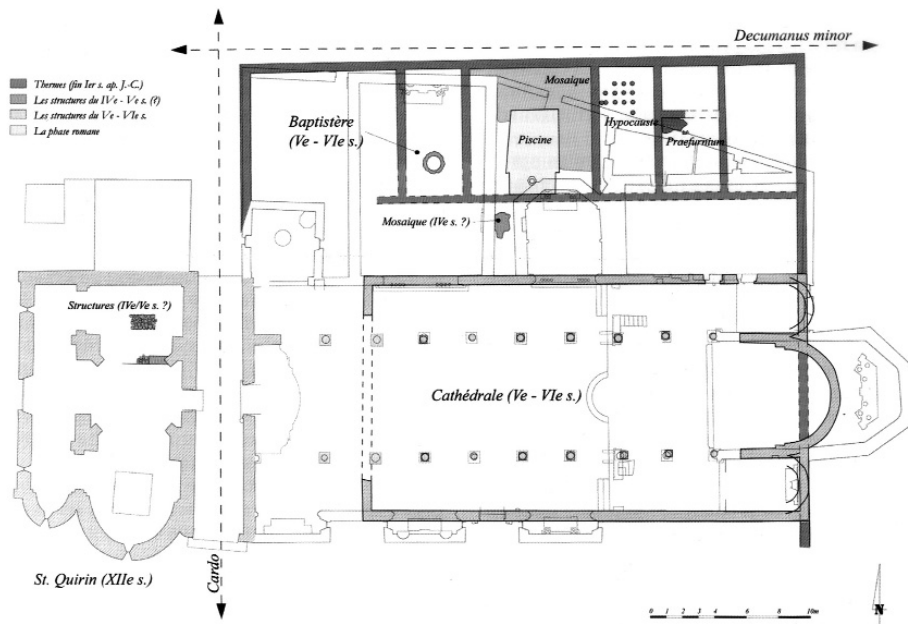


Fig. 21. Krk. The Cathedral Complex (Ground Plan)



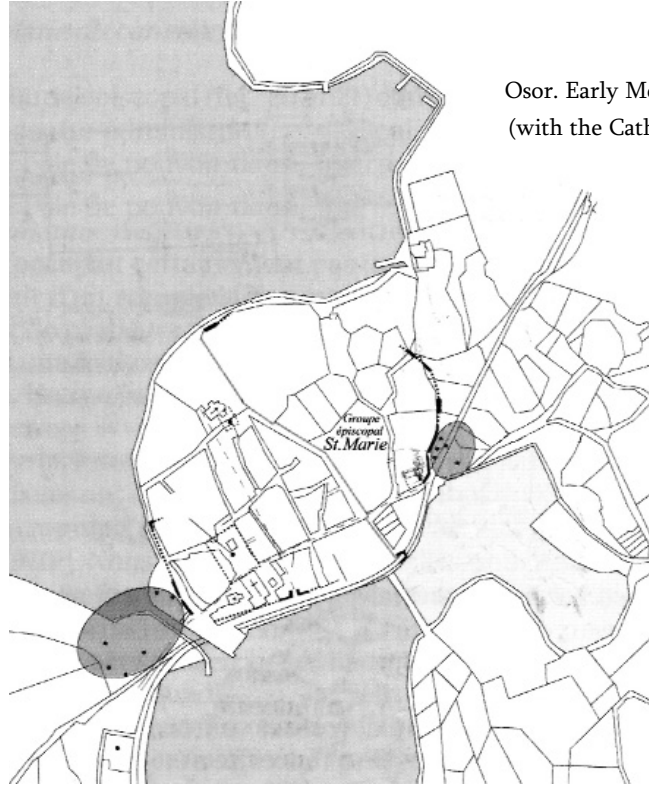


Fig. 22.  
Osor. Early Medieval Town (Town Plan)  
(with the Cathedral Church of St. Marie)



Fig. 23. Osor. Early Medieval Town (Aerial View)

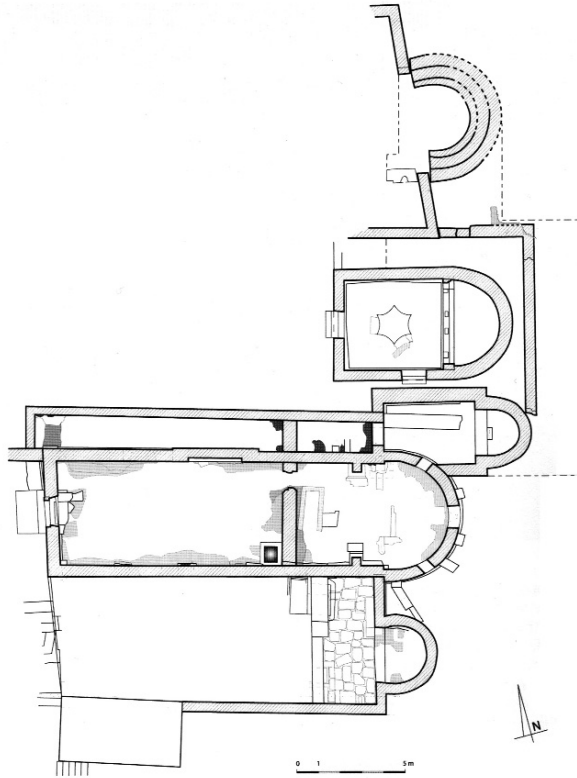


Fig. 24.  
Osor.  
The Cathedral Complex  
(Ground Plan)



Fig. 25.  
Osor.  
The Cathedral Church  
of St. Mary  
(Aerial View)

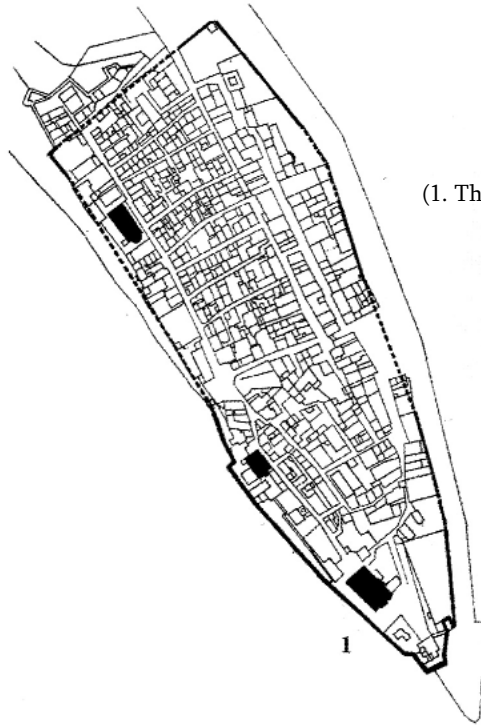


Fig. 26.  
Rab. Early Medieval Town  
(Town Plan)  
(1. The Cathedral Church of St. Mary)

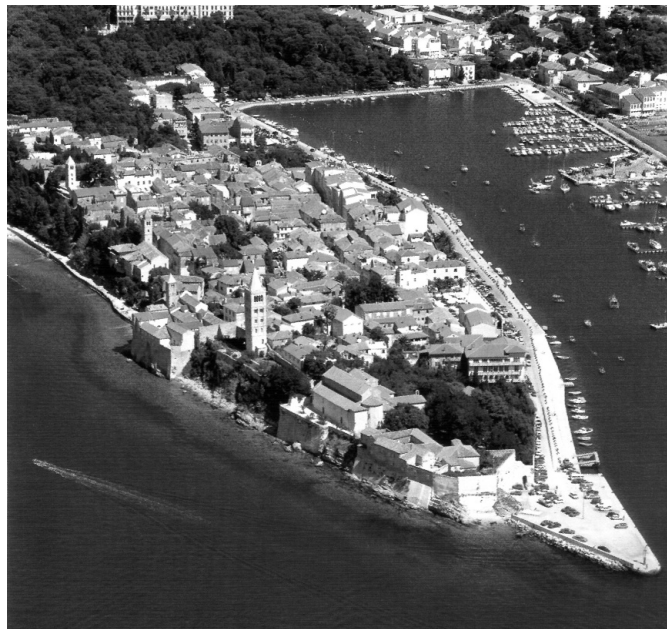


Fig. 27. Rab. Early Medieval Town (Aerial View)

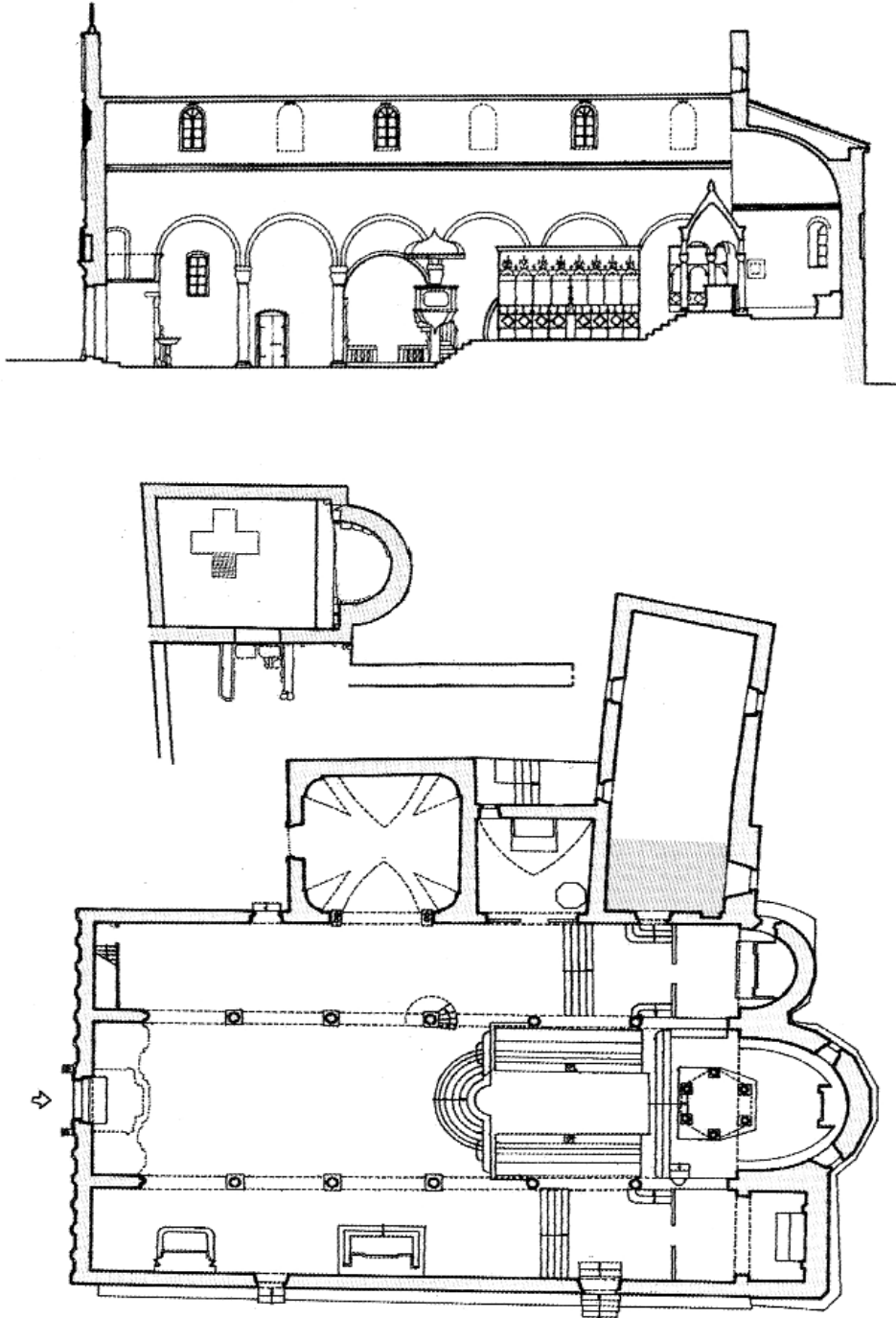


Fig. 28. Rab. The Cathedral Church of St. Mary (Longitudinal Section and Ground Plan)

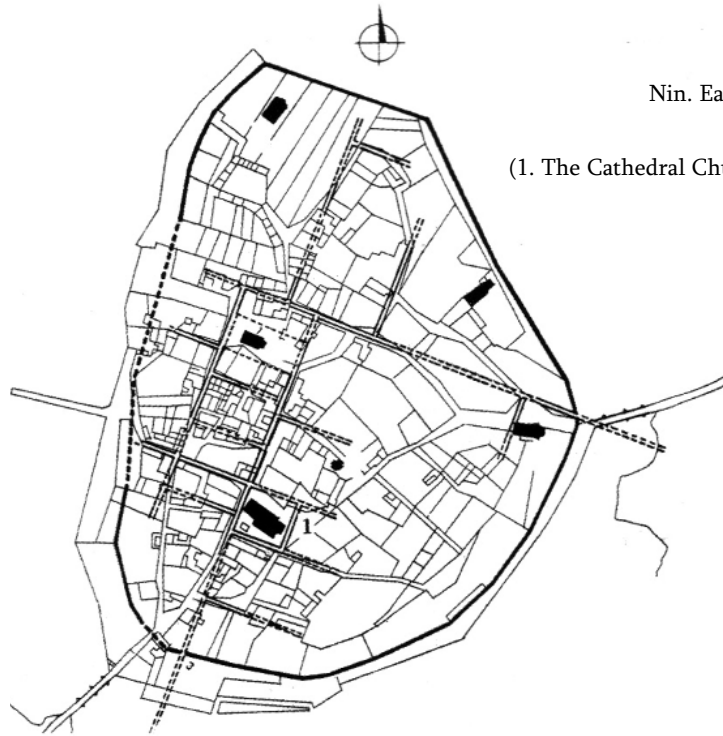


Fig. 29.  
Nin. Early Medieval Town  
(Town Plan)  
(1. The Cathedral Church of St. Anselm)



Fig. 30. Nin. Early Medieval Town (Aerial View)

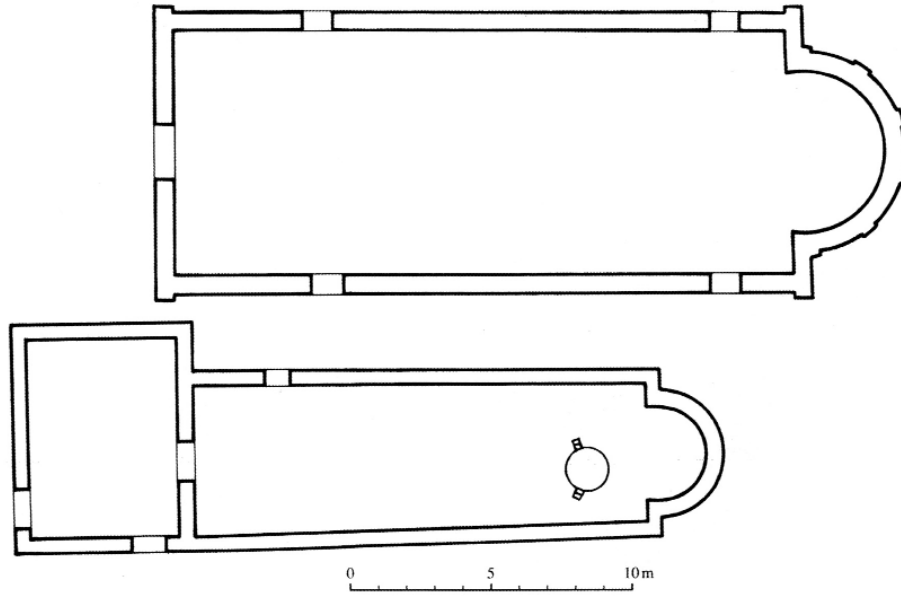


Fig. 31. Nin. The Cathedral Church of St. Anselm. Early Christian Church (Ground Plan)

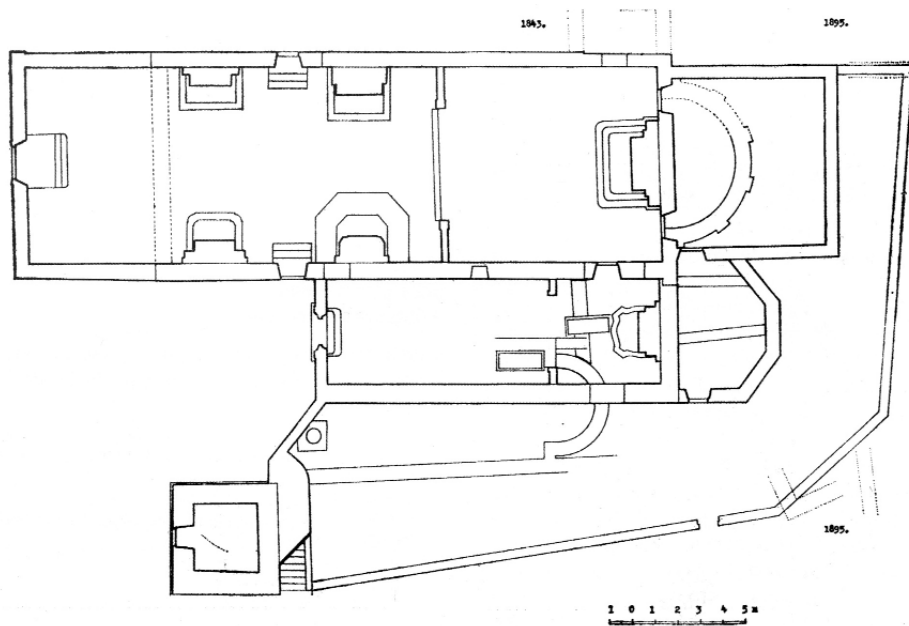


Fig. 32. Nin. The Cathedral Church of St. Anselm (Ground Plan)

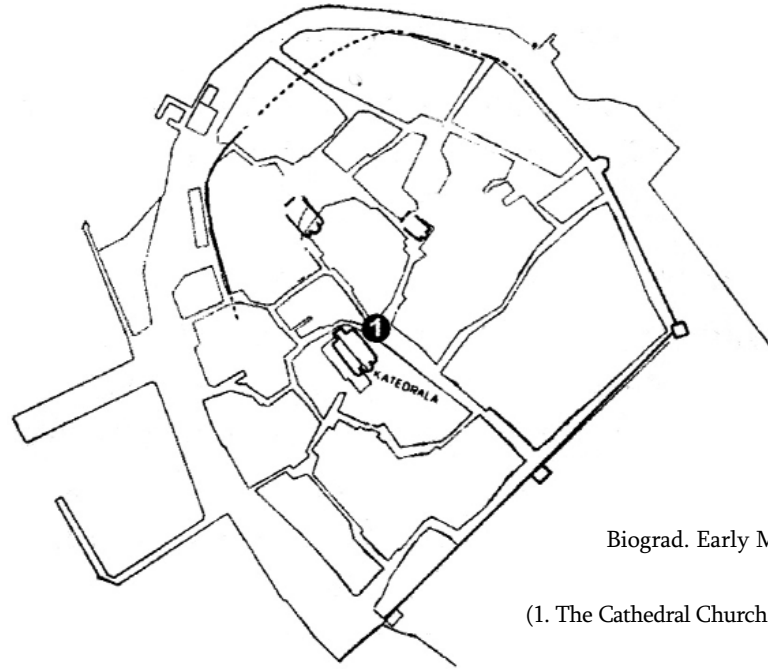


Fig. 33.  
Biograd. Early Medieval Town  
(Town Plan)  
(1. The Cathedral Church of St. Mary (?))



Fig. 34. Biograd. Early Medieval Town (Aerial View)

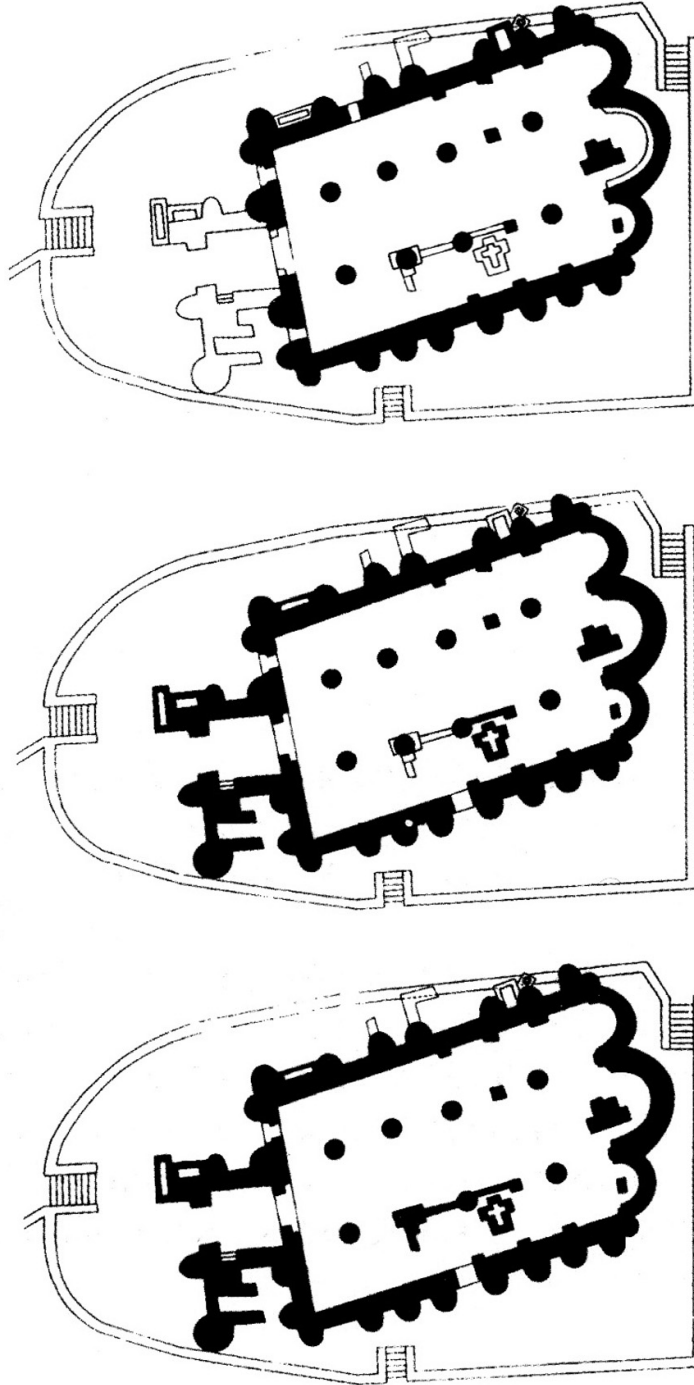


Fig. 35. Biograd. The Cathedral Church of St. Mary (?) (9<sup>th</sup> - 11<sup>th</sup> Century)



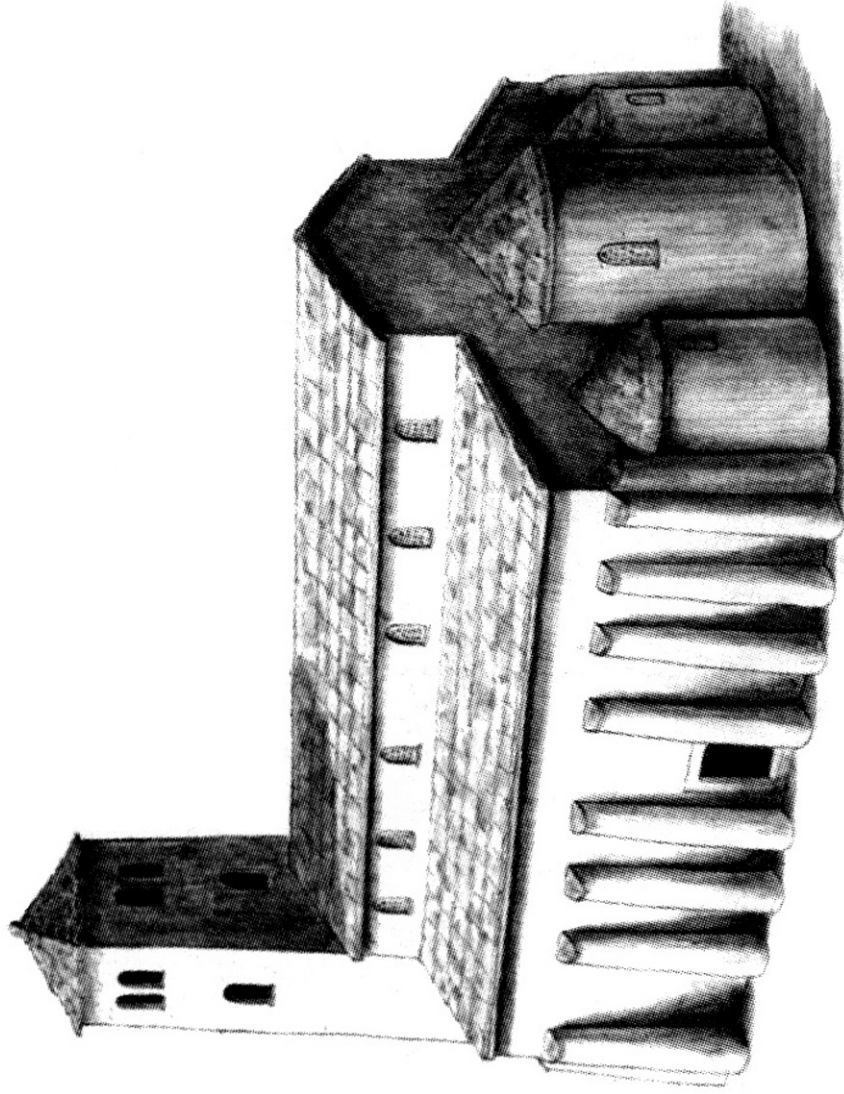


Fig. 36. Biograd. The Cathedral Church of St. Mary (?), Exterior (11<sup>th</sup> Century) (Reconstruction)



Fig. 37.  
Biskupija, near Knin.  
The Cathedral Church of St. Mary  
(Aerial View)

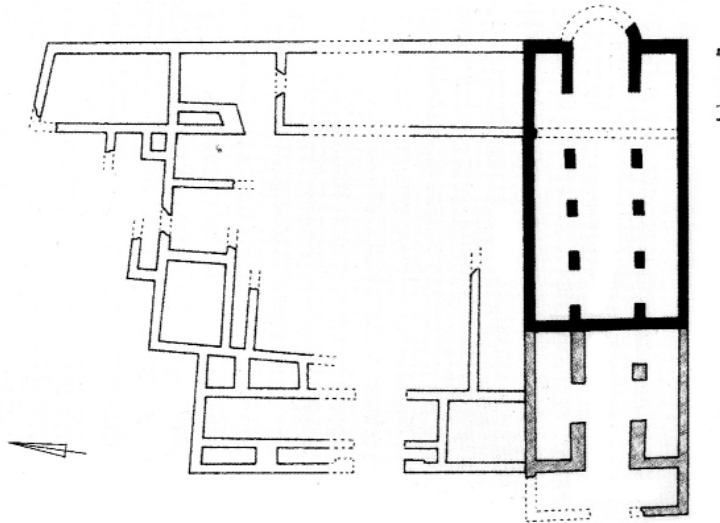


Fig. 38. Biskupija, near Knin. Royal Court and the Cathedral Church of St. Mary (Ground Plan)

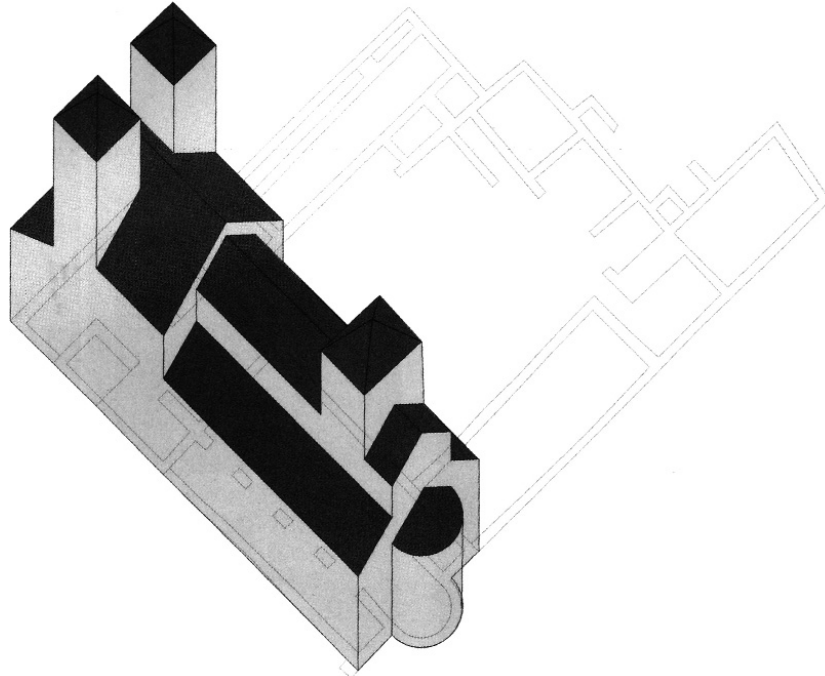


Fig. 39. Biskupija, near Knin. The Cathedral Church of St. Mary (Axonometric Reconstruction)

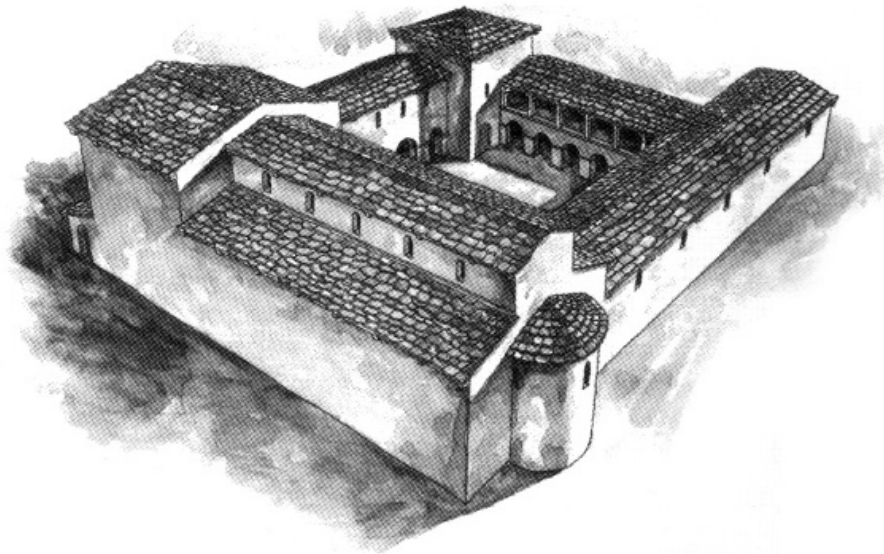


Fig. 40. Biskupija, near Knin. Royal Court and the Cathedral Church of St. Mary, Exterior (Reconstruction)



Fig. 41. Ston. Early Medieval Town (Aerial View)

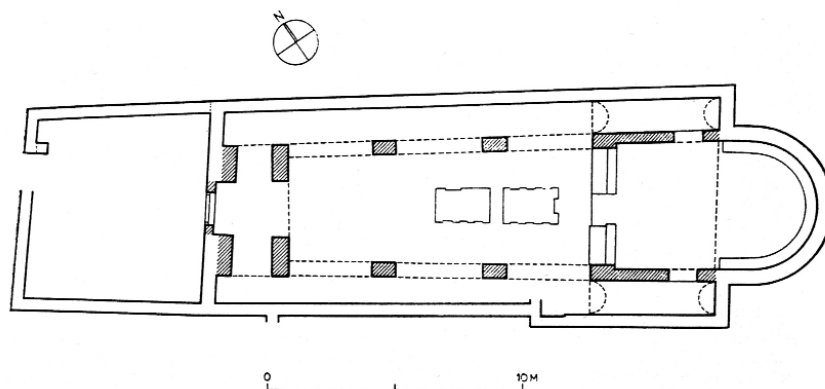


Fig. 42. Ston. The Cathedral Church of St. Magdalene (Ground Plan)

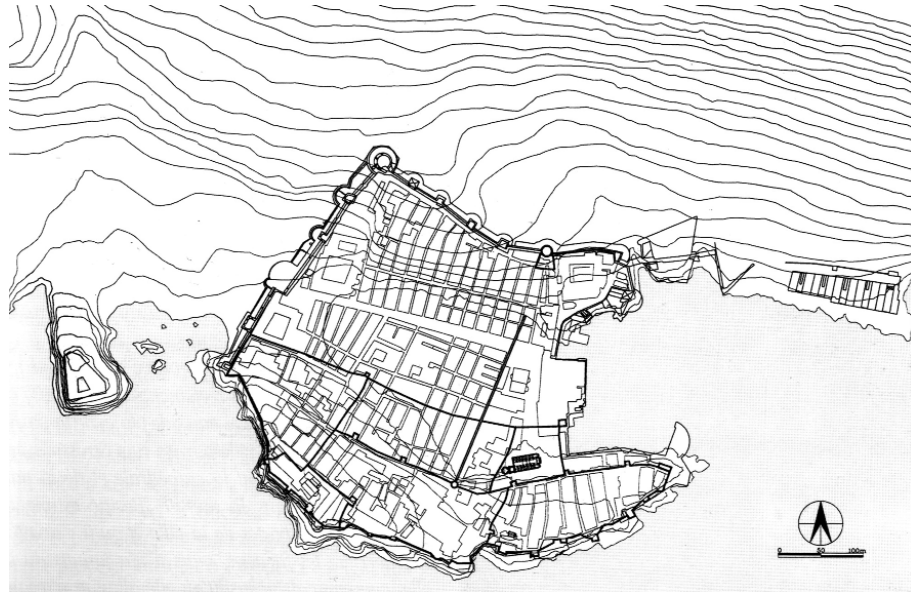


Fig. 43. Dubrovnik. Medieval Town (Ground Plan)  
(The Cathedral Church of St. Blaise (St. Vlaho))



Fig. 44. Dubrovnik. Medieval Town (Air View)

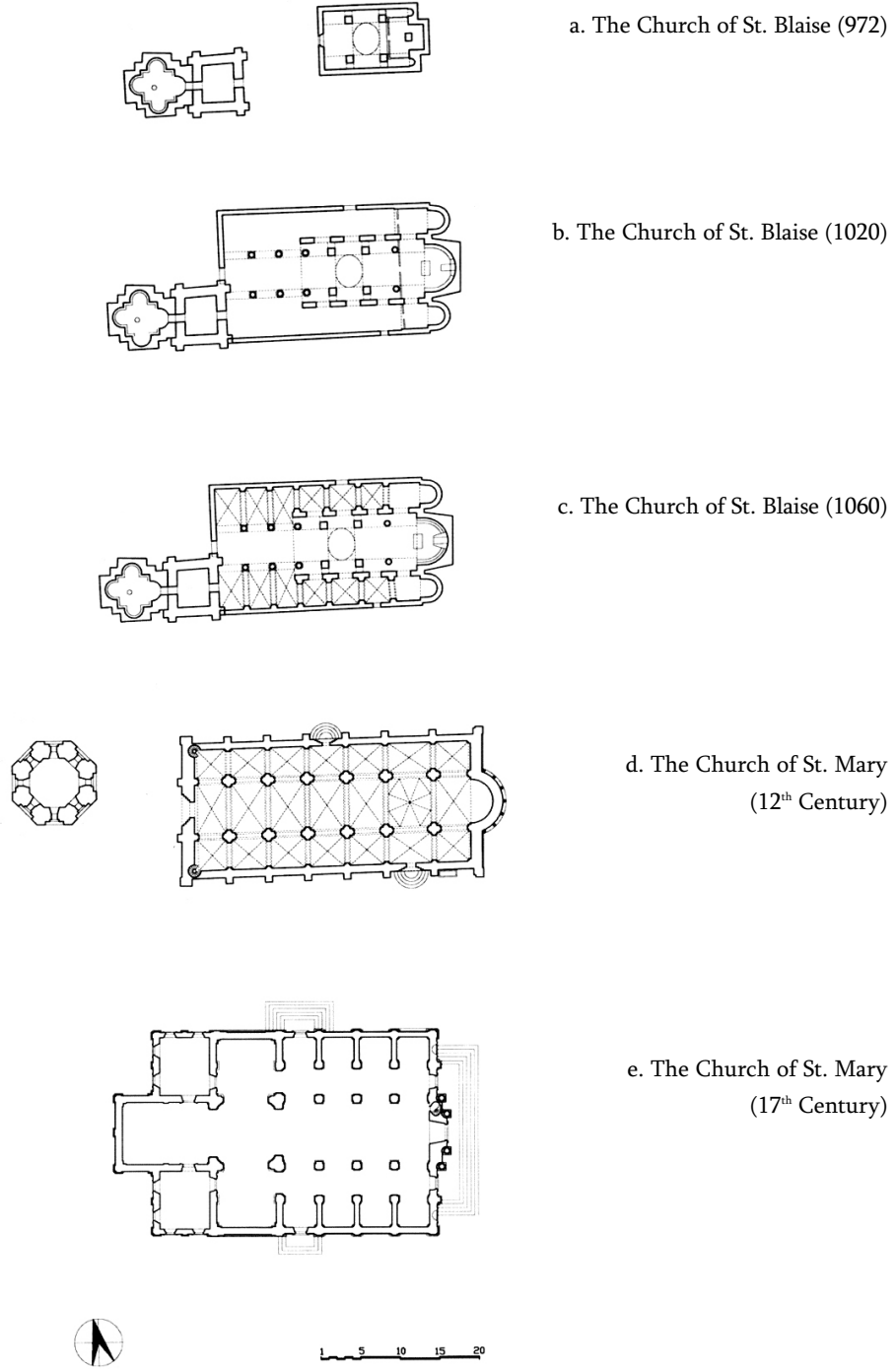


Fig. 45. Dubrovnik. The Cathedral Church of St. Blaise (St. Vlaho) (Ground Plan)

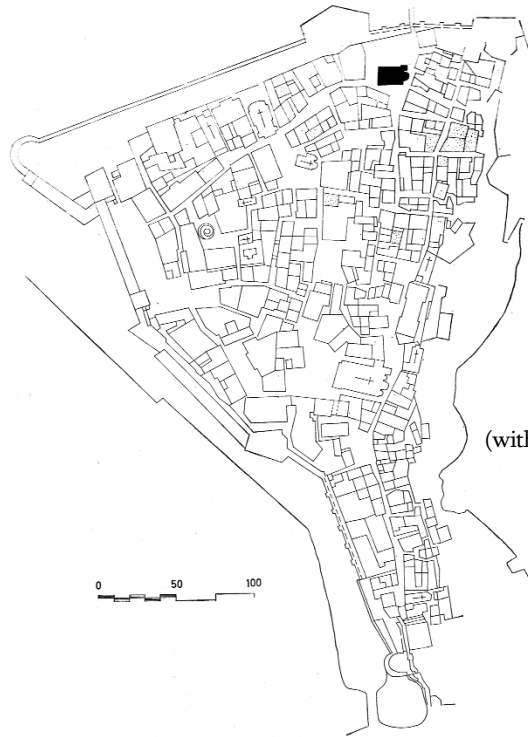


Fig. 46.  
Kotor. Medieval Town  
(Ground Plan)  
(with the Cathedral Church of St. Mary)

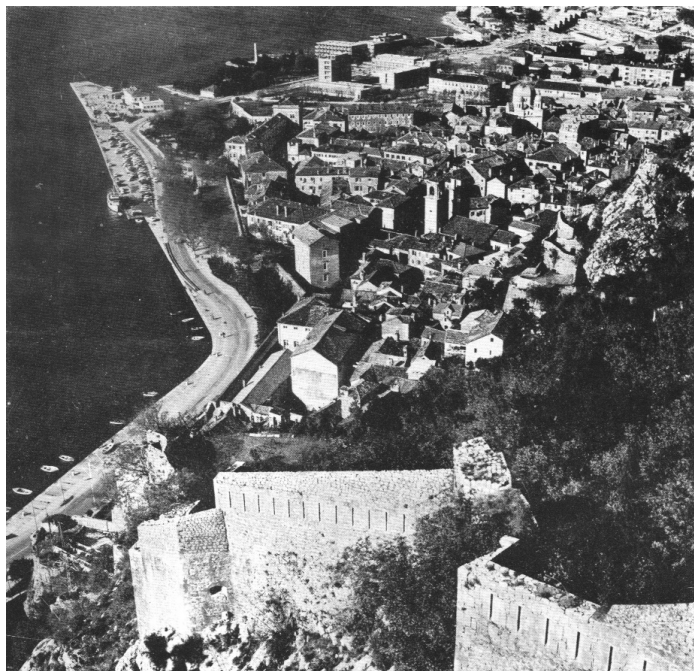


Fig. 47. Kotor. Medieval Town (Aerial View)

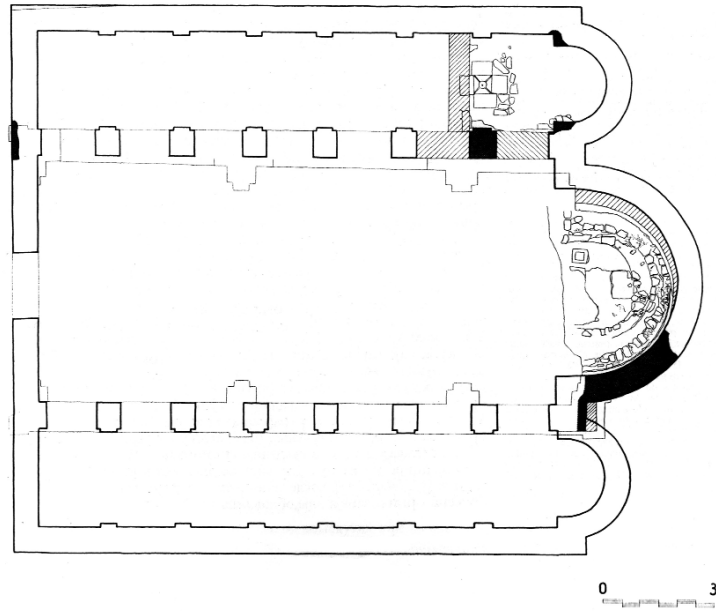


Fig. 48. Kotor. The Cathedral Church of St. Mary (Ground Plan)



Fig. 49.  
Kotor.  
The Cathedral Church of St. Mary,  
Baptistry



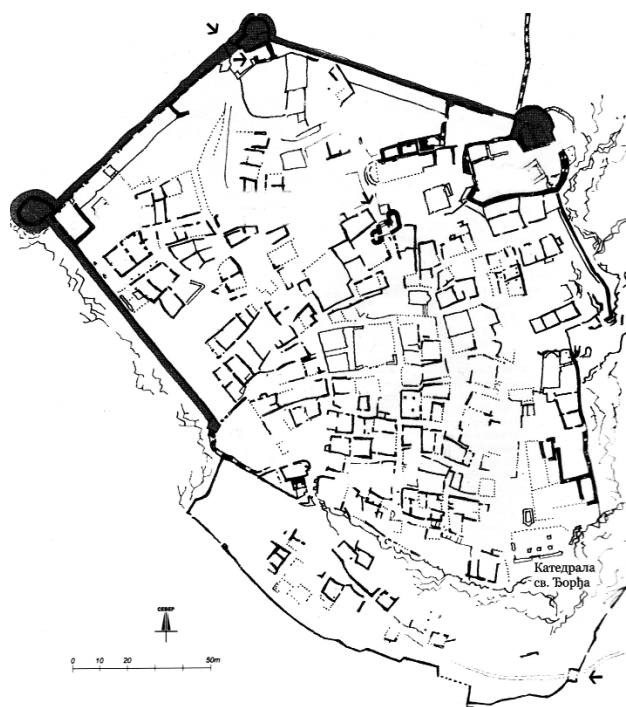


Fig. 50.  
Bar. Medieval Town (Ground Plan)  
(with the Cathedral Church of St. Theodore (St. George))



Fig. 51. Bar. Medieval Town (Air View)

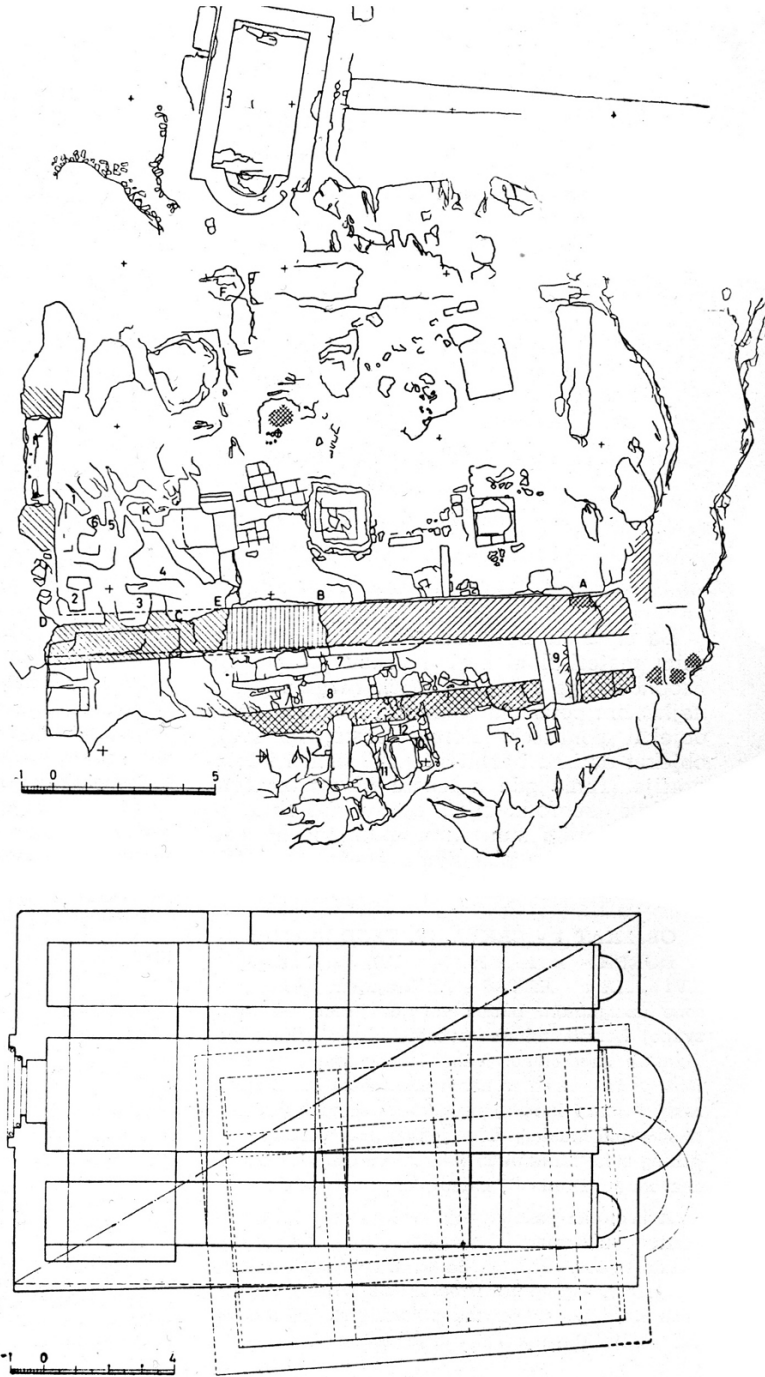


Fig. 52. Bar. The Cathedral Church of St. Theodore (St. George) (Ground Plan)



Fig. 53.  
Ulcinj, Medieval Town (Ground Plan)  
(with the Cathedral Church of St. Mary)



Fig. 54. Ulcinj, Medieval Town (Aerial View)

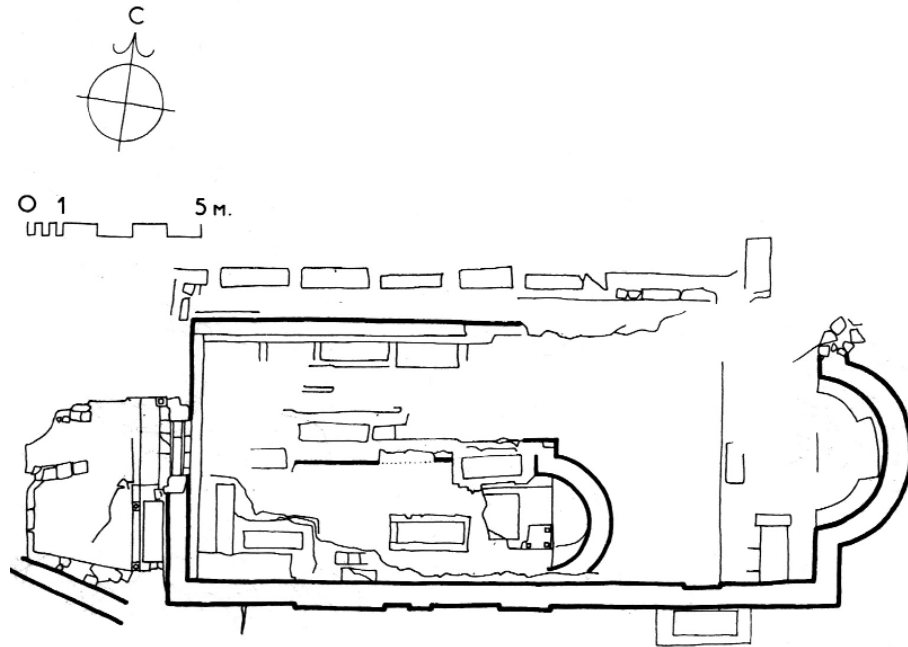


Fig. 55. Ulcinj. The Cathedral Church of St. Mary (Ground Plan)



Fig. 55. Ulcinj. The Cathedral Church of St. Mary, Interior of Apse