Several buildings in Zadar and around show a combination of Romanesque and Gothic elements in architecture. In some cases this was because buildings were constructed when Romanesque traditions were still strong enough to dictate the overall appearance and method of construction, and yet there was an awareness of a new style, structurally more favourable or aesthetically more acceptable, which led to the incorporation of Gothic elements (Zadar Cathedral, Churches of St Peter in Diklo, St Nicholas in Crno, St Vitus and St Christopher on Pag). In other cases the combination resulted from the Gothic reconstruction of what had originally been Romanesque buildings (Churches of SS Cosmas and Damian on Pašman, St Ambrose in Nin, St Michael in Rogovo, St Michael in Zadar). There are also two special cases of Romanesque/Gothic combination. A Romanesque house was incorporated into the Gothic church of St Plato in Zadar, and the bell tower of St Mary’s in Zadar was pulled down in the fifteenth century and rebuilt in its original Romanesque form.

The interaction between tradition and innovation in the art of a period or a region usually reflects the overall spiritual climate that prevails within defined social structures. The dominant structural organization in the late Middle Ages, especially in the Mediterranean, was the city-commune (including the territory that fell under its jurisdiction). Communes developed in different ways as a result of differences in origin, size, geographical position, social and ethnic structure, and of their role in broader historical events. All this was reflected in their art life. Whether they would accept innovations or guard traditions in artistic, and especially in architectural expression, was primarily the result of the overall level of culture and civilization, and only then of the individual achievements of master artists. The artistic profile of an architect, but also the spiritual climate of an environment, can be evaluated from awareness of or unfamiliarity with specific architectural forms, and whether such forms were accepted or rejected.

Some examples of how traditional (Romanesque) architecture was combined with the new (Gothic) movement in late medieval Zadar illustrate how West-European art was received in a peripheral, and thus also a conservative environment.

Monuments in the Zadar region on which Romanesque architectural elements mingle with the newer Gothic taste can be divided into two basic groups from the aspect of how this combination came about.

The first group are monuments that were built in a transition period when Romanesque architecture was strong enough to dictate overall appearance, and sometimes also the method of construction, but when awareness of more modern architectural forms, structurally more favourable or aesthetically more acceptable, allowed a greater or lesser use of Gothic elements. These buildings were usually small village churches: St Peter’s in Diklo, St Nicholas’ in Crno, St Vitus’ on Pag, St Christopher’s on Pag. The second group are buildings of the Romanesque period which underwent major reconstruction in Gothic time, usually for functional reasons, so that the original structure and the new elements fused into a single whole. The most outstanding examples of this group are the churches of SS Cosmas and Damian in Čokovac on Pašman, St Michael’s in Rogovo, St Ambrose’s in Nin, and St Michael’s in Zadar.

* * * * *

The Church of St Peter in Diklo is a simple Romanesque village church of the usual type, with a rectangular ground plan and a semicircular apse. It has a barrel vault, a portal on the

Fig. 1. Church of St Peter in Diklo (photo P. Vezić)

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facade, and two small windows — one on the south-west wall and one on the apse. The ground plan and spatial arrangement are Romanesque, but there are nevertheless some new typically Gothic technical and structural elements. The frontal arch of the apse is pointed, and the barrel vault is also slightly pointed, although this was rather clumsily done. The building technique, although still in the Romanesque fashion using rows of dressed stone, features larger and more square-shaped blocks instead of the earlier long narrow ones. The arch in the bell cote is also Gothic in shape (pointed), but the windows, and especially the portal, are typically Romanesque. The church was probably built at the turn of the thirteenth century. This was a time when the new Franciscan and Dominican Churches in the town were being built in the Gothic style, but the much more conservative rural environment still kept to traditional forms. It seems that the Gothic elements on this small church should be ascribed to the inventivity of the builder, who used elements that were not strictly covered by the commission to show his knowledge and acceptance of the new style.

The Church of St Nicholas in Crno² seems to have been built later than St Peter’s in Diklo. Here Gothic elements have obviously triumphed over traditionally Romanesque forms, although the ground plan and spatial arrangement (rectangular nave with semicircular apse) are typically Romanesque. However, its large size, because of which there is no vault above the nave, is characteristic of mid-fifteenth century rural churches in the Zadar region. The careful building technique and the shape of the openings, especially the small narrow window with a pointed arch on the apse, show a much stronger Gothic influence than in St Peter’s. Thus it was probably built in the mid-fifteenth century.

On the island of Pag the remains of several small fourteenth-century churches show architectural links between a traditional Romanesque concept and Gothic structural, building and aesthetic elements. These are the Churches of St Martin near Povljana, St Vitus near Kolan, St Nicholas in Scalnizza and St Christopher in Barbat.

Fig. 2. Church of St Peter in Diklo, plan (taken from M. Domišan — I. Petričić — P. Vežić, Sjaj zadarških rimica, Zagreb 1990, p. 315)

Fig. 3. Church of St Nicholas in Crno, front (photo P. Vežić)

Fig. 4. Church of St Nicholas in Crno, apse (photo P. Vežić)
The small Church of St Vitus near Kolan is a characteristic Romanesque building with a rectangular ground plan and a semicircular apse. It has a barrel vault strengthened with a transverse arch resting on piers that divide the nave into two bays. Its upper part is unfortunately much ruined, especially the apsidal area, so there is no way of knowing whether the triumphal arch was round or pointed. The original appearance of the portal cannot be established, either. It is interesting that this typically Romanesque church was built in the mid-fourteenth century, as evidenced by a will dated 1348 leaving a chalice to the Church of St Vitus in Kolan "that is expected to be finished soon". The only Gothic element on this church, built during the Gothic period, is the exceedingly careful building technique using finely dressed stone blocks of a square section.

The Church of St Christopher in Barbat seems to have been built somewhat later, although in building technique it is more rustic and closer to the traditional Romanesque style. Its structural, technical and decorative elements, however, show Gothic features. Although the Romanesque concept was retained in the ground plan and spatial arrangement (rectangular ground plan with a semicircular apse), the barrel vault above the nave is pointed and the finely carved portal with a pointed arch shows pronounced Gothic influence.

* * *

The church of the Benedictine Monastery of SS Cosmas and Damian on Cokovac near Tkon on the island of Pašman is a Romanesque building. It was probably built in the mid-twelfth century with a simple rectangular ground plan, a barrel vault strengthened with three transverse arches, and a semicircular apse. It was badly damaged in the 1345-1346 war.
between Zadar and Venice and was radically reconstructed by Abbot Petar Zadranić in the sixties of the fourteenth century, as evidenced by the inscription in the lunette of the side portal. 

During reconstruction the ground plan of the earlier Romanesque building was honored and was more radically changed only in the apsidal part, where the shallow semicircular apse was replaced by a rather deep rectangular one, somewhat too big for the size of the church. It has a groin-rib vault with semicircular ribs that rest on corner consoles, and opens to the interior of the church with a simple pointed arch. The side windows “which have a round (Romanesque) arch, but whose inner frame has a Gothic silhouette” were reconstructed at the same time, and so was the south portal. The vault over the nave was replaced by an open wooden roof truss. The main portal dates from the time of Abbot Petar Malipiero in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. There must have been many reasons for the major reconstruction in the fourteenth century. The first was the war damage already mentioned. The second, probably more important reason, was functional. The somewhat oversized rectangular apse was almost certainly built for a choir, a constant element in fourteenth-century monastery churches which could not be accommodated in the confined space of the semicircular Romanesque apse. The third reason, to a certain degree connected with this functional change, was the overall modernization of the building and its adaptation to the taste of the new age. The Gothic elements were gracefully incorporated in the Romanesque church with no over-decoration and no basic changes in the original architecture.

The Church of St Michael in Rogovo (today St Roch’s) belonged to the same monastery and was modernized in a similar way at the same time. Here, too, the main reconstruction was made in the presbytery where the semicircular Romanesque apse was replaced by a somewhat oversized rectangular one. This was done on a smaller (and cheaper) scale than in the main monastery church. Instead of a groin-rib vault a simple pointed barrel vault was made, and the back wall has two slender Gothic windows with round arches on the outside, and a Gothic profile with a “nose” on the inside. The remainder of the building more or less completely retained its original Romanesque shape.

The church of the Benedictine Monastery of St Ambrose in Nin was reconstructed in a very similar way, and probably at the same time. Instead of a semicircular apse it, too, got an oversized rectangular one with a small window on the back wall. The original apsidal vault was not preserved but it was probably similar to the one in Rogovo, and the type of reconstruction indicates the same functional purpose of providing a place for the choir. The rest of the building completely retained its original Romanesque form, especially expressed in the shape of the portal and windows.

The reconstruction of the Church of St Michael in Zadar is documented by a contract dated 1389, in which the builder and sculptor Pavao Vuncućević from Salona was commissioned to build a square presbytery to the shape and measurements provided by the Chief Architect Andrija Desina. In function and in form the procedure was similar to that in the Church of SS Cosmas and Damian, but the dimensions were somewhat larger. The apse has an irregularly square ground plan, a groin-rib vault with ribs of a simple round profile resting on corner consoles. It opens into the nave with a simple pointed arch. The original shape of the new side windows has
not been preserved. The same master made a new portal with a characteristic pointed arch and a relief showing St Michael weighing souls and the figures of the Zadar patrons St Anastasia and St Chrysogonous, and several more small reliefs on the facade. The neo-Gothic reconstruction in 1869 changed the appearance of the church, especially of the windows on the south-west side wall, so that the harmony between the original Romanesque spatial arrangement of the church and the Gothic reconstruction has been partly lost.

These examples of combined Romanesque and Gothic architectural elements are by no means the only ones in the Zadar area, but they are certainly the most outstanding and best illustrate the way in which this was done.

There are three monuments in the town itself in which Romanesque and Gothic elements were joined in a completely specific way.

The Church of the Dominican Monastery of St Plato (later St Dominic) in Zadar was built in characteristic Gothic style in the second half of the thirteenth century, and with the Zadar Church of St Francis it is the oldest monument of Gothic architecture in Dalmatia.

It was built on the site of the Benedictine Monastery and Church of St Plato, which Archbishop Lovro Periandro of Zadar granted to the Dominicans through the mediation of Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254). Since the Church of St Plato was not exactly what the Dominicans wanted, in 1267 they decided to build a new one. This was quickly done, and the new church was dedicated in 1280.

The church has a rectangular ground plan and a rectangular apse with a groin-rib vault, joined to the nave with a simple pointed arch. The naos is very elongated (32.5 x 10 m) with three slender Gothic windows on each of the side walls. The window on the north-east wall of the apse is similar, but that on its back wall was made somewhat later (probably at the end of the fourteenth century). The church has two portals, one on the west facade, the other on the north-east side wall.

This building is an unusual combination. Its facade and part of the walls leading from it are Romanesque, and even the main portal is purely Romanesque in style, while the rest of the building is pure Gothic.

It would be logical to suppose that the church was started in Romanesque and continued in Gothic, but this does not allow for the fact that the whole church took less than thirty years to build. What is more, the front part of the church is almost pure Romanesque which contrasts with the clearly defined Gothic style of the rest of the building. It thus seems more probable that an already existing Romanesque building was simply incorporated in the body of the Gothic church.

The area around the Church of St Plato was completely urbanized in the Romanesque period. This can be seen from the remains of Romanesque houses to the south, west and northeast of the church, and from the structure of the wall and the appearance of the church portal on the facade, which are identical with those on Zadar Romanesque houses. That these were the remains of a secular building and not the original Church of St Plato is indicated by its dimensions, and also by the fact that the portal was "baptized" with as many as four crosses, a usual practice when elements of profane buildings were built into sacral ones.

The front part of the Church of St Plato was thus originally a Romanesque house. The present church portal probably stood on the wall built to separate the courtyard surrounded by three buildings (the present square in front of the church).
from the street. When the area was rearranged it was moved to its present position and raised about forty centimetres by moving one and adding another stone block.

One might ask whether the Romanesque house was incorporated in the body of the Gothic church when the church was built or later. I think it more probable that the Dominicans built their new church to fit into the given area and simply leaned its front on an already existing building, opening a side portal as the main entrance. Only later, when the number of friars and their popularity grew and a larger church was needed, did they purchase (or were donated) the neighbouring building, pull down its south-east wall, and extend the church by about ten metres. Besides the three windows on the north-east wall of the church they opened up three more on the south-west (probably more ruined) wall of the added space.

In this way a purely Gothic church was combined with a Romanesque house, resulting in a single functional area.

The Cathedral of St. Anastasia in Zadar is a monument that went through many reconstructions, additions and changes during its thousand years. It was built in the fourth century as an Early-Christian basilica with a nave and two aisles, richly adorned with marble pillars, mosaics and ornamented stone furniture. In the early Middle Ages it was reconstructed many times, and in the twelfth century almost completely rebuilt in the Romanesque style but largely retaining the spatial arrangement of the old Early-Christian basilica. In the next century the Cathedral was reconstructed again. Its entire body was extended by 14 metres and the old Romanesque facade was simply rebuilt on a new site. Several new elements were added (the large rose window, parts of the portal), but these were also made in the Romanesque style. This reconstruction was largely finished by 1285 when the Cathedral was dedicated again, although work did continue and in 1324 the Gothic relief of the Virgin and Child, SS Chrysogonus and Anastasia were placed in the lunette of the main portal. At the end of the fourteenth century another smaller rose window in mature Gothic was placed above the large Romanesque rose window, probably the work of the Šibenik stone-carver Petar, son of Matej from Padua. The same master carved the somewhat plainer rose window on the back wall of the apse, which is only partly preserved. It is very interesting that the new Cathedral facade retained its Romanesque style at a time when Gothic architecture was already known and present in Zadar. Only the two new windows on the extended part of the side wall, of the same size as the windows on the old part of the wall, have pointed Gothic arches. This shows that the builders who reconstructed the church in the second half of the thirteenth century knew how to build in the Gothic style, but nevertheless consistently reconstructed the facade in the Romanesque style, although they did not retain the old appearance completely. The main reason for this was probably the idea that the facade was only being moved, not reshaped, but also because those who commissioned the work wanted to avoid mixing traditional and new elements (a desire for purity of style?).
Since this is Zadar's most important church, the way in which its new facade was constructed clearly reflects the spiritual horizons of Zadar's leading people of the time. They obviously valued continuity with the traditional appearance of the Cathedral much more than any possible modernization. There is no doubt that the builders of the new facade were instructed to build "in the old way" even where it was no longer possible to reconstruct the old appearance. Only on the extension of the side wall where the overall impression could not be marred were they bold enough to make pointed windows, almost like information about the new style. At the end of the fourteenth century ideas about structural unity were not as important so the two new rose windows (one above the apse and the other on the facade, above the large Romanesque rose window) were made completely in the spirit of their time. Despite this, their insertion in the building did not mar its overall appearance.

The Bell Tower of the Benedictine Abbey of St Mary in Zadar was built at the very beginning of the twelfth century and financed by King Coloman of Hungary-Croatia. It is one of the most beautiful Romanesque buildings in Dalmatia.

This monument is interesting from the aspect of links between tradition and innovation in the late Middle Ages because it was completely rebuilt in the first half of the fifteenth century in its original appearance. Archive research shows that on 5 October 1438 Archbishop Lovro Venier of Zadar, in accordance with the wish expressed by the nuns of St Mary's, signed a contract on the rebuilding of the bell tower with the architect Nikola Grgurov Bilić. The contract says: Nikola will pull down the bell tower to the first vault (the first from the top). All the stone and wood that can still be used he will remove and place in a suitable place at his own expense. The ruined (ruinatum) material will be removed at the expense of the nuns so that the architect can work more easily. After that he will build a bell tower in the same shape above the vault, of white well-dressed stone. He will not make windows in the two lower stories (exceptis duabus positis inferioribus
of the bell tower as faithfully as possible was its sentimental and political importance (memory of the Hungarian-Croatian king). Perhaps the conservatism of the Benedictine nuns (or their sensitivity concerning their heritage) also played a role, but I think the crucial fact that made this project possible was the predominantly Romanesque appearance of Zadar at that time so that the use of Romanesque forms did not seem ostensibly archaic and were not aesthetically unacceptable.

In fact, the spirit in which the bell tower of St Mary’s was renewed definitely confirms what all the examples of combining the Romanesque and Gothic style in the Zadar region show: that accepting new forms certainly did not mean discarding old ones for the sake of fashion. Gothic architectural elements obviously appeared in Zadar (and in Dalmatia in general) somewhat later than they did in Western Europe, but even when the Gothic style did come to Zadar as a completely defined architectural expression (in the construction of the Dominican and the Franciscan Church) at the end of the thirteenth century, the appearance of new forms did not mean a break with traditional customs. Thus when Zadar architects built new buildings, they sometimes only used some obviously better Gothic structural-technical solutions, and sometimes added modern architectural and decorative elements but retained the traditional spatial arrangement and ground plan (St Peter, St Nicholas, St Christopher). In other cases, during functional reconstruction and addition, they freely combined elements of older buildings with new ones built in the new spirit (SS Cosmas and Damian, St Ambrose, St Plato). Finally, in the desire to pre-
serve harmony of style (for which the people of that time certainly had a sense), they went so far as to repeat old, traditional forms (the Cathedral, the bell tower of St Mary’s).

This relationship between tradition and innovation might at first glance be considered provincial conservatism, a stubborn clinging to what is old and resisting what is new, but the way in which Romanesque and Gothic architecture were combined shows a different spiritual climate, an environment in which innovations in architecture (both functional and aesthetic) were accepted but did not become a fashion at any cost, nor were they considered as a negation of what had gone before but were incorporated in existing architecture.45

In fact, we might say that the transformation from the Romanesque to the Gothic style in the architecture of Zadar (although an echo of broader European currents) did not happen as revolution, but as evolution.

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1 The concept of style is necessarily conditional and refers to the total architectural convention of a certain period. In the case of small provincial buildings, however, all the stylistic elements that characterize monumental architecture are reduced to several typical elements: a rounded or pointed arch, a semicircular or rectangular apse, traditional or modern manner of construction. Only in more ambitious or complex buildings (primarily those in Zadar) do other typical forms appear, like groin-rib vaults, stone window tracery, characteristic sculptural decorations, elements of architectural decoration, but even this is far from the wealth of forms that characterize West-European architecture, especially Gothic. It must also be borne in mind that the Gothic style appeared in Zadar (and in Dalmatia in general) at the end of the thirteenth century so that what was old and what new came somewhat later than in West Europe.

2 I. PETRICIOLI ("Tri romaniche gradevine u Diklo" /Three Romanesque Buildings in Diklo, Starohrvatska prosvjeta, 3rd series, Vol. 4, Zagreb, 1955, p. 17) says that the church was first mentioned in a document of 4 February 1284. However, this document referred to St Martin’s in Diklo, which, as the inscription on the portal lunette shows, has a triple dedication — to the Virgin, St Peter and St Martin. In the Middle Ages, St Peter’s was on the territory of Petrcani, and was first mentioned as such (Ecclesia Sancti Petri de Petrcanis) on 24 January 1304 (Historical Archives in Zadar /in the further text PZAD, Zadar notaries (in the further text ZNJ), Iohannes de Casulis, B un. I/12, fol. 74).

3 Work on the renewal of St Nicholas’ in Corno, damaged in the war, has just been completed. The most important element of the renewal is that the original appearance of the facade was restored (on the basis of old designs) instead of the ugly concrete appendage from the beginning of the twentieth century.

4 It was first mentioned in archive documents in 1361. An inventory from 5 June 1372 lists, among other documents, an instrument from 10 October 1361 that mentions "molendinum positum ad Ceranian in confinio Ecclesie Sancti Nicolai" (PZAD, Magnifica Communita di Zara, BI, FL, nr. 33, fol 3).

5 I wrote about those monuments in more detail in my master’s thesis Razvoj umjetnosti na Pagu u 14., 15. i 16. stoljeću (The Development of Art on Pag in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries), Zagreb, 1987 (manuscript).

6 ..."Item Ecclesia Sancti Vidalii cum fuerit expleta teneatur dare calyceum de ducale decem..." (Archives of the Benedictine Convent in Pag, Box. 2, no. 12 a).


8 At that time the Benedictine Monks moved from the destroyed Monastery of St John in Biograd to the island of Pašman (compare I. PETRICIOLI, Graditeljska djelatnost rogovskog opata Petra Zadravina /The Building Activities of Abbot Petar Zadravin in Rogovol, Biogradske zbornik I, Zadar, 1990, pp. 381-382.


12 Compare E. HILJE, "Zadarski protomajstor Andrija Desin" (The Zadar Chief Architect Andrija Desin), Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, 34, Split, 1996.

13 During the recent renewal a barrel vault was left in the apse, wrongly reconstructed about forty years ago.

14 Compare E. HILJE, op.cit., p. 12)

15 On Pavao of Sulmona and his work see in I. PETRICIOLI, Tragom srednjevjekovniti umjetnika (On the Trail of Medieval Artists), Zagreb, 1983, pp. 118-134.

16 On Chief Architect Andrija and his work see in E. HILJE, op.cit. (12)

17 The church was renewed in the neo-Gothic style in 1868 (compare M. STAGLJIĆ, "Neo-gotička obnova franjevačkih samostanu u Zadru" /Neo-Gothic Renewal of Franciscan Monasteries in Zadar/, Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Vol. 24(11), Zadar, 1965, p. 104).


19 See M. STAGLJIĆ, op.cit., p. 105.

20 Romanesque and Gothic elements were combined on more or less all the buildings built or reconstructed during the fourteenth century. However, most of them, especially those in the surroundings of Zadar (mainland hinterland and islands), underwent major reconstruction in later periods, or were in the passage of time greatly damaged, so they illustrate the relationship between tradition and innovation in only a small measure.

21 See N. KLAČ-1. PETRICIOLI, Zadar u srednjem vijeku (Zadar in the Middle Ages), Zadar, 1976, p. 272.

22 S. KRASIC, "Inventar umjetničkih predmeta u nekadajšjoj Dominikanskoj crkvi u Zadru" (Inventory of Works of Art in the Former Dominican Church in Zadar), Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, 27, Split, 1988, p. 228.

23 Compare N. KLAČ - I. PETRICIOLI, op.cit., p. 274.

24 The original Church of St Plato was probably a pre-Romanesque building, since it was first mentioned in 1070 (I. OSTOJIC, Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj /The Benedectines in Croatia/, Vol II, Split, 1964, p. 54).

25 There was probably another cross on the today damaged crown of the arch above the lunette.
Na području grada Zadra i njegove okolice sačuvan je određen broj spomenika kasnosrednjovjekovnog graditeljstva kod kojih je ujedno i spajan arhitektonskih elemenata karakterističnih za romaniku s onima koji predstavljaju odraz novijeg, gotičkog ukusa. Uvjetno je te spomenike moguće podijeliti u dvije grupe.


Drugu grupu čine građevine sagradene u potpunosti u romaničkim oblicima, koje su u doba gotike, najčešće zbog funkcionalnih razloga, doživjele znatnije pregradnje, pa su naslijedene arhitektonske strukture i novi elementi uklopljeni u jedinstvenu građevinu. Najizrazitijii primjeri te grupe su crkva Sv. Kuzme i Damjana na Pašmanu, Sv. Mihovila u Rogovu, Sv. Ambroza u Ninu te Sv. Mihovila u Zadru. Na svima je najizrazitija pregradnja izvršena u svetištu samom, gdje je umjesto polukružne romanicske apside, koja je u novim uvjetima postala nefunkcionalna, sagradena ponešto predinfiziranov pravokutna apsida, koja je omogućavala smještaj kora. Pri tom su sve te apside izvedene uz korištenje novih oblika svodena (krizno-rebrastog ili prelomljenog poluveljakastog svoda), a ponegdje su i otvori građevine izvedeni u gotičkim oblicima.


Zadarska Katedrala pak, sagradena u 12. stoljeću u romaničkim oblicima, produljena je koncem 13. stoljeća, u doba kada su u gradu već uvelike prisutni gotički oblici, no unatoč tomu, novo je pročelje u najvećem dijelu samo presiloženo od dijelova starog, a i novi su elementi na njemu također izrađeni u romaničkim oblicima. Tek na produženju bočnog zida
izrada su dva prozora šiljastolučnih završetaka koja svjedoče da su graditelji novog pročelja poznawali nove uzuse u graditeljstvu te da su sasvim svjesno pribjegli tradicionalnim, romaničkim oblicima.


Svi navedeni primjeri nedvojbeno ocrtavaju duhovnu klimu Zadra, grada koji, premda pomalo provincijski konzervativan, bez ustanja prihvaća (i to kao prvi u Dalmaciji) novine u arhitekturi, no ne pomodno, mehanički i po svaku cijenu, nego čuvajući i uvažavajući tradicionalne vrednote.