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Modelling the experience

Virtual restoration of the Benedictine monastery of Ss. Ilario and Benedetto

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INTRODUCTION

In the collective imagination, the birth of Venice often evokes a legendary dimension, engrossed in a temporal situation that is suspended, elusive, and sometimes evanescent. A city par excellence symbol of Byzantium, the heir of Byzantium, the one who, sheltered and protected by the waters, managed to survive and thrive in such a hostile environment as the lagoon. Because of its elusive nature, it found in the Virgin Mary its greatest protector, as Duke Nicolò Contarini declared on October 1630, publicly vowing to build and dedicate a church to the Blessed Virgin, naming it S. Maria della Salute if she would cease the pestilence that had gripped the Republic since July of that same year. This is the story we have been told by the founding myth of Venice, augmented by chroniclers, and visual and literary production from the 9th century onward, whereby Venice wanted to convey a precise image of itself to the foreigner. Ironically, it could be said that it succeeded fully in its intent since even today the city is shrouded in the aura of the great and 'heroic' Serenissima Republic: culture has become nature, in the biological sense of the term, and 'knowledge of the hand', as it would be called in anthropology.

But Venice is not only the city of stone, now a memory and shadow of itself. Venice is above all a holistic and living organism, until the last century in perpetual change, where men live - and do not survive - on water.

It is precisely on this distinction, that is, between the historicization of myth and historical reality, that the present thesis opens. The monastic reality that will be analyzed in the following paragraphs is in fact part of the larger phenomenon related to the birth of what is usually called 'the urban' Venice, to distinguish it from the previous assessment where Venice was identified as a settlement of islands where the power-related institutions were scattered on. In the first decades of the 9th century, Agnello, Giustiniano, and Giovanni Partecipazio promoted the transfer of the institutions of power to a single center, *Rivo Alto*: here the ducal palace, the primitive palatine Chapel dedicated to St. Marco, and not far away the female monasteries of S. Zaccaria and S. Lorenzo, found lodging. Furthermore, Agnello and Giustiniano took care to secure the control and administration of their property on the mainland, consequently guarding the border of the duchy with the *Regnum*, through an additional monastic foundation named after St. Ilario and St. Benedetto. The following elaborate will focus on the latter monastic reality, located nowadays in the hamlet of Dogaletto di Mira (VE), with the aim of tracing its historical, constructive, and material history, developing research and interpretation also by means

of digital tools and solutions, thus aligning itself with the new research methodologies born within the contemporary *digital paradigma*. Specifically, the first chapter investigates the historical experience of the coenobium, whose founding act constitutes the earliest known written document (although preserved in later copies) of the newly created governmental structures of Venice that replaced the tribune in the 8th century.

Revolving around the experience of the Benedictine monastery were the dukes Agnello and his sons Giustiniano (and Giovanni), Fortunato, Patriarch of Grado, and Giovanni, the Abbot to whom is granted the family Chapel of St. Ilario, owned by the Partecipazi, and the annexed territories on the mainland with the aim of relocating the monastic community previously settled at St. Servolo. In early medieval Western society, the symbiotic relationship between members of the *èlites*, namely the ruling bodies, and the monastic and religious dimensions as instruments of control and protection of the territory, allowed such realities to become places of aggregation and identity symbols for the population, as well as a form of self-representation of the ruling classes. From this point of view, the monastery of St. Ilario and its relationship with the Venetian rulership does not deviate from such a model, presenting itself as a religious institution, strengthened by privileges and exemptions, capable of administering lands, increasing its possessions, and entering into conflict with the surrounding jurisdictions fulfilling, at the same time, a strategic, political, ideological, economic, and identity position.

The second chapter presents the methodology of research adopted, especially read within the changed conceptual framework derived from the *digital paradigma*. This new practical and theoretical environment leads the scholar to focus on the collaborative and processual dimension of the research project, where the published and finished product is no longer the priority. In this dynamism, the adoption of digital solutions and tools within the workflow must first and foremost recognize the digital tool as a research tool, with scientific and philological dignity able to improve the humanistic reasoning and drive interpretation and hypothesis, and not as a pure and mere nice visualization toy. This new methodological framework, not to be understood as a surrogate to the traditional methodologies of research but as an independent and innovative solution, requires a clear explication of the research process and the interpretive choices adopted, so as to ensure the readability, trustworthiness, and consistency of the work done while avoiding black-boxes and palimpsest effects. Thus, starting from the above assumptions, in the first part of the second chapter an attempt was made on the one hand to present a

list regarding the excavation documentation and published productions realized between the 1870s and 1880s, when the area where the monastic structures once existed was subjected to archaeological investigations. From such documentation, information concerning the archaeological records was then isolated and extrapolated in order to establish the state of material knowledge, the *state of facts*, during and at the end of the diggings, which constituted the starting point for the review of the subsequent scientific literature, in particular the hypotheses elaborated by scholars over the last century. The latter elaboration was conducted in the second part of the chapter alongside an attempt to present new contents capable of framing part of the structural and cultural experiences related to the monastery and its structures. The ultimate goal of this project is to provide the necessary cognitive tools to be exploited to undertake the subsequent development of visual simulation models, as well as to demonstrate the usefulness of digital and visual solutions as pivotal and imperative parts of the research process from its earliest stages, as scientific tools that add quality and density to the research activity.

CHAPTER 1

In 1581, a printed volume of fourteen books was published in Venice with the aim of creating a reasoned and measured presentation of the image of the city that Serenissima Republic wanted to convey to the outside world. The publication consisted of both a guide to a great holistic organism where politics, society, culture, and art are related as intertwined and unbreakable entities, as well as a commendation to a City-State born to be *nobilissima et singolare*¹.

In his work, Francesco Sansovino consolidates a centuries-old literary tradition, so deeply rooted as to become an integral part of the Venetian cultural system in which uniqueness and *Venezianità* are presented as proud sources of distinction and emancipation.

Venice is Unique is indeed the affirmation that a contemporary tourist, resident, or student find written potentially everywhere in Venice, on the Vaporetto tickets, a poster hung on a wall, the city's website. However, the genesis of this universally agreed statement is far older, deeper, and more articulated than the mere adjective used by all to describe the city's exceptionality and beauty. Its roots, *de facto*, plunge before the year 1000: it was indeed within the newly born Venetian institutions of the 9th century that the cultural and ideological foundations of the myth of Venice as a unique and free city were created as part of a process that reached full maturity in the Venetian chancelleries of the 12th century².

1.1 The Venetian sense of the past: an escape that became Identity

The Venetian identity, as well as its sense of the past, was grounded in a perceived lack: the absence of a Roman foundation³. The Venetian territory was the product of the gradual emergence of lands (automatically belonging to the imperial demesnes) from the water and their slow process of colonization and organization into small settlements of fishermen, cultivators, sailors, and salt miners, employed by the imperial aristocratic

¹ F. Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare. Con le aggiunte di Giustiniano Martinioni*, edited by L. Moretti, 2 voll., Venezia, Filippi, 1968 (ed. or 1663).

² A.M. Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci. Il Monastero Dei Santi Ilario E Benedetto Di Venezia Fra Laguna E Terraferma Nei Secoli IX-X*, *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 18 (2), 2017, pp. 3-28: 4.

The article is available online at the following link: <<https://doi.org/10.6092/1593-2214/5321>>

³ P. Fortini Brown, *The historical imperative: inventing a civic past, in Venice and antiquity. The Venetian sense of the past*, Yale University Press, 1996, pp. 3-31: 6.

élites to administrate and cultivate the 'land', that eventually gained more and more control and independence with the disintegration of the Roman Empire⁴. The necessity to invent a civic past to build a dignified and ancient heritage and lineage, and hence to earn respect⁵, has been a social and cultural need since the formation of the 'urban' Venice: Venetian sense of identity was shaped – one could dare to use the word *made* – by a complex and articulate narration that calls into question textual and monumental strategies as sources of political and institutional legitimization⁶. The direct consequence is a distorted vision of the city place grounded in the general idea of conflict and antagonism, a dichotomy that counterposes the previous flourishing and progressive, then wrecked, *Lombard* mainland, and the harsh and unwelcoming lagoon. The latter is pictured as a prodigious place of shelter where the communities found refuge from the devastating Barbarian 'invasions' – Attila, Alboin, Agilulf, the enemy chances according to the version one chooses to read, at the head of the Huns and the Lombards⁷. The lagoon, surrounded and defended by the waters, was later ennobled by the creative force of the new *Byzantine* citizens. Thanks to their noble spirits, they were able to give birth to a city ruled by the same noble values shared among its creators: freedom and independence. Such monumental perspective is conveyed by the late medieval chronicles, philologically

⁴ For a general overview concerning the historical, social, and geomorphological events regarding the formation of the lagoon communities see: D. Calaon, *Ecologia della Venetia prima di Venezia: uomini, acqua e archeologia*, Hortus Artium Medievalium, 20, 2014, pp. 804-816; Idem, *Età tardo-antica e altomedioevo: magazzini, élites e insediamento in Torcello scavata. Patrimonio condiviso. Lo scavo 2012-2013*, tomo 2, edited by D. Calaon, E. Zendri, G. Biscontin, Regione del Veneto, 2014, pp. 209-224.

The article is available online at the following link: <<https://iris.unive.it/handle/10278/3715395>>

Idem, *La Venetia marittima tra il VI e il IX sec.: mito, continuità e rottura*, in *Dalla catalogazione alla promozione dei beni archeologici*, 2014, pp. 53-66.

The article is available online at the following link: <<https://iris.unive.it/handle/10278/3715458>>

G. Cuscito, *La chiesa aquileiese*, in *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, I, *Origini-Età ducale*, edited by L. Cracco Ruggini, M. Pavan, G. Cracco, G. Ortalli, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992, pp. 367-407.

⁵ P. Fortini Brown, *The historical imperative* cit., p. 11.

⁶ There are several theories about the genesis of the Myth of the Origin. According to Antonio Carile, the origin of the myth could be dated to the second half of the 10th century since this timeframe corresponds to the formation of 'urban' Venice: A. Carile, *Il problema delle origini di Venezia*, in *Le origini della Chiesa di Venezia*, edited by F. Tonon, Venezia, 1987, p. 77-100: 77.

According to Diego Calaon, the myth was created within the Venetian chancelleries from the 11th century onwards: D. Calaon, *Ecologia della Venetia prima di Venezia* vit., p. 805.

According to Stefano Gasparri, the *terminus post quem* has to be found in the mid-9th century/first half of the 10th century, when the poem on the destruction of Aquileia was written with an already self-consciousness of the *Venetiarum gens*: S. Gasparri, *The Formation of an Early Medieval Community: Venice between Provincial and Urban Identity*, in *Three empires, three cities; identity, material culture and legitimacy in Venice, Ravenna and Rome, 750-1000*, edited by V. West-Harling, Brepols Publishers, Turnhout (Belgium), 2015, pp. 35-50.

The article is available online at the following link: <<https://iris.unive.it/handle/10278/3665192>>

⁷ D. Calon, *La Venetia marittima tra il VI e il IX sec.* cit., pp. 53-56.

complex texts, where finding out what is authentic and what has been instrumentalized is not easy⁸.

Beyond any narrative device, the slow and gradual process of populating the lagoon, as well as the progressive changes in the socio-political-administrative structure, turn out to be the result of geographical contingencies – lagoon society was as dynamic and changeable as the environment in which it was born and grew – and economic choices that from the imperial age onwards aimed to exploit the environmental resources of the area by choosing to live and thriving, rather than surviving, on water⁹. Waterfronts, jetties, shores, docking slips, harbours, artificial canals, landing points – all strictly built of wood¹⁰ – and then salt water, seawater exchange, fresh water, forests, mud, and fish¹¹, populated the anthropic and natural landscape of the lagoons. In conclusion, the actual experience of the lagoon environment was quite different and far apart from the negative connotation given by the ‘palace tales’.

According to archaeological and historical evidence¹², landed estates in the lagoon area and surrounding territories tended to agglutinate into large latifundia starting from the imperial age¹³ and specifically between the 2nd and 5th centuries. The appeasement of emerged lands was granted to members of the army at the end of their careers according to a practice that likely continued with the Gothic and Byzantine ages¹⁴, and their development depended on the actions and investments of such local aristocratic *élites* in the social, economic, and political organization of the early lagoon settlements.

⁸ For a general overview of the chronicles and narratives related to the myth of Venice and the related issues see: G. Fedalto, *Le origini della diocesi di Venezia*, in *Le origini della Chiesa di Venezia*, edited by F. Tonon, Venezia, 1987, pp. 123-42; Carile, *Il problema delle origini di Venezia* cit., pp. 77-100; D. Calaon, *Tecniche edilizie, materiali da costruzione e società in Laguna tra VI e X secolo. Leggere gli spolia nel contesto archeologico*, in *Pietre di Venezia. Spolia in se, Spolia in re* (Venezia, 17-18 ottobre 2013), edited by M. Centanni, L. Sperti, Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2015, pp. 85-111, note 57; Idem, *La Venetia marittima tra il VI e il IX sec* cit., pp. 53-56.; S. Gelichi, M. Ferri, Moine, *Venezia e la laguna tra IX e X secolo: strutture materiali, insediamenti, economie*, in *I tempi del consolidamento. Venezia, l'Adriatico e l'entroterra tra IX e X secolo*, VIII Seminario del Centro Interuniversitario di Storia e Archeologia dell'Alto Medio Evo (Venezia, 29-30 ottobre 2015), Turnhout, 2017, pp. 79-128. The article is available online at the following link: <<https://iris.unive.it/handle/10278/3699379>>

For a deeper insight into Venice sense of the Past see: Fortini Brown, *The historical imperative: inventing a civic past* cit., pp. 3-29.

⁹ Calaon, *Ecologia della Venetia prima di Venezia* cit., p. 807.

¹⁰ Regarding the building techniques and the construction materials adopted in the lagoon in the early medieval age and the administration of land resources see: Calaon, *Ecologia della Venetia prima di Venezia* cit., pp. 804-816; Idem, *Tecniche edilizie, materiali da costruzione e società in Laguna tra VI e X secolo* cit., pp. 75-111.

¹¹ Calaon, *La Venetia marittima tra il VI e il IX sec* cit., pp. 56-57.

¹² For examples of imperial settlements and evidence in the lagoon territory cfr. note 4.

¹³ Landforms affecting lagoon islands related to delta systems did not exist in the Republican age: Calaon, *Ecology of Venetia before Venice* cit., p. 807.

¹⁴ Calaon, *Ecologia della Venetia prima di Venezia* cit. p. 807.

Consequently, there was a gradual and slow transfer of masses of workers (slaves and free laborers) engaged in the exploitation and administration of lagoon resources and in maritime and commercial activities¹⁵: the Roman official Cassiodorus around 537/538 described small settlements of fishermen where rich and poor lived side by side in similar houses placed on the outlying island of the lagoon¹⁶.

By the time the Lombards arrived on Italic soil in 569, these societies were thus already characterized by a dense fabric of economic and social realities, pertaining to the subordinate classes of mariners, salt workers, and perhaps peasants, with a growing maritime and commercial vocation. In that very historical moment, such places were about to further change their structure by welcoming de-localized masses of military *élites* and members of the Byzantine administration because of the increasing militarization of the lagoons due to enemy 'invasions'¹⁷. Eventually, by the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century, due to the gradual and slow withdrawal of Byzantine control, the area was reduced to military strongholds installed on the islands of the lagoon¹⁸ characterized by new political-administrative balances and an original form of government, the duchy, that replaced the tribune in the second decades of the 8th century¹⁹. From that moment on, the lagoon began its development detached from the Byzantine structures whose echoes can be found in the government offices of the newly created Venetian magistracies²⁰ - *tribunus, magister militum, ipato* - and within the formal documents, that began with the naming of the Emperor of Byzantium²¹.

The dynamic and contradictory experience of the fledgling Venetian state occurred under these particular historical settings. Moreover, Frank's victory over Lombards in 774, Charlemagne's coronation and the consequent changes in the European political framework, including the creation of a Rome-Aachen axis that had never existed between Rome and Pavia, and the promotion of the Carolingian Renaissance, turned upside down

¹⁵ Calaon, *Tecniche edilizie, materiali da costruzione e società in Laguna tra VI e X secolo* cit., p. 104.

¹⁶ Fortini Brown, *The historical imperative: inventing a civic past* cit., p. 6, note 20.

¹⁷ Carile, *Il problema delle origini di Venezia*, cit. pp. 85-86; Gasparri, *The Formation of an Early Medieval Community* cit., pp.39-40.

¹⁸ Gasparri, *The Formation of an Early Medieval Community* cit., pp.39-40.

¹⁹ The newborn duchy's territory was extended from Caorle to Brondolo and included Torcello islands, Treporti, Jesolo, S. Erasmo, Burano, Murano, Rialto and the central group of islands with Malamocco, Loreo and Cavarzere: L. Gallo, *Mestre, Marghera, Abbazia di Sant'Ilario*, Venezia, 1964, p. 36-37; D. Rando, *Una Chiesa di frontiera: le istituzioni ecclesiastiche veneziane nei secoli VI-XII*, Bologna, Il mulino, 1994, pp. 53-70: 48.

²⁰ Calaon, *Ecologia della Venetia prima di Venezia*, cit., p. 805.

²¹ G. Ortalli, *Il ducato e la 'civitas Rivoalti': tra carolingi, bizantini e sassoni*, in *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, I, *Origini-Età ducale*, edited by L. Cracco Ruggini, M. Pavan, G. Cracco, G. Ortalli, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992, pp. 725-761: 738.

unaltered ideologies and canons like the notion of imperial Byzantium, which was complemented by the newly emerging idea of the unity and ecumenicity of the Frankish empire²². Within this ambivalent scenario, it took a little less than a century to transform the lagoon area, marginal and initially disputed between the Frankish and Byzantine empires²³ into an urban nucleus with independent and autonomist drives and a political system projected towards the sea and dedicated to trade, capable of carving out a strategic space for itself in the general equilibrium and in the upper Adriatic chessboard.

In the midst of an unstable century full of contradictions and rifts, the nascent Venetian power was able, with astuteness and patience, and difficulty, to grasp *Kairos* and to define itself as a reality with specific connotations, capable of aligning itself with the events while maintaining its structural integrity; an urban nucleus dedicated to military engagement on the Adriatic routes now neglected by Byzantium and threatened by Saracens and Slavs²⁴. A newborn government with a lagoon ecclesiastical horizon, freed from both the metropolitan authority of Aquileia, the bishopric of Olivolo, and the papal authority²⁵. An institution that saw the 'popular' initiative being encouraged over the local aristocratic initiative, with the progressive restriction of the power of the tribune and its exclusion from the administrative structure²⁶. The latter, which identified the military and bureaucratic aristocracy that had governed lands and lagoons between the 7th and 9th centuries²⁷, came to an end in the 9th century due to the intense social and political changes that occurred as a consequence of the emergence of new families, conventionally known as *maiores* or *nobiles*, who took on a decisive role in specific public events, favouring the consolidation of unitary structures and the acquisition by the duchy of territories previously owned by tribune families who were consequently excluded from every kind of position²⁸.

By the 9th century, Venice was structuring itself as an autonomous political entity interposed between the eastern deployment, with which it entered a relationship first of

²² *ivi*, pp. 725-726.

²³ *ivi*, pp. 725-761.

²⁴ *ivi*, pp. 739-742.

²⁵ A. Tagliaferri, *Le diocesi di Aquileia e Grado*, in *Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, tomo X, Spoleto, Arti Grafiche Panetto & Petrelli, 1981, pp. 11-16; Ortalli, *Il ducato e la 'civitas Rivoalti'* cit., pp. 736-739.

²⁶ *ivi*, p. 758.

²⁷ Carile, *Il problema delle origini di Venezia*, cit. pp. 89-92.

²⁸ A. Castagnetti, *Famiglie e affermazione politica*, in *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, I, *Origini-Età ducale*, edited by L. Cracco Ruggini, M. Pavan, G. Cracco, G. Ortalli, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992, pp. 613-644: 618-619.

subordination and then, at the end of the century, of loyalty and alliance²⁹, and the western one: an attitude of mutual respect and support that some scholars³⁰ define as formally pro-Byzantine in its manners and concretely pro-Carolingian in its constraints. Not only Venice was capable to weave trade and military relations with the two greatest powers of the Mediterranean and medieval Europe, but it did emerge as a natural bridge between continental Carolingian Europe and the Levant, placing itself at the centre of an economic area with extraordinary potential, linked to the development of commercial logic favoured both by the centralized power of the Amorian and Macedonian dynasties in Byzantium (9th-11th centuries)³¹, which made possible to extend navigation to the shores of the Black Sea, and by the *Pactum Lotharii* (840), which allowed for a fluid and unhindered transalpine commercial activity³². Spices and textiles, oil, wine, lumber, weapons, stones, relics, slaves, ceramics³³: their exchange was guaranteed by a very high level of navigation technology that, as early as the 8th century, allowed the Venetian arsenals to build vessels capable of plying the entire Mediterranean on regular and seasonal trading voyages³⁴. The Venetian commercial activity seems to be oriented not only towards an economic response to the demand of the Byzantine Adriatic *élites*: as early as the 8th century and throughout the 9th, trades and routes tended to be directed mainly towards the Arab coasts of the southern Mediterranean, with Alexandria and

²⁹ Ortalli, *Il ducato e la 'civitas Rivoalti'* cit., pp. 739-752.

³⁰ S. Bettini, *Saggio introduttivo*, in *Venezia e Bisanzio*, edited by I. Furlan, exhibition catalogue (Palazzo Ducale, 1974), Venezia, Electa editrice, 1974, pp. 24-27; Anna Antonelli mentions the topic within her essay: A. Antonelli, *Le vicende costruttive dell'Abbazia di Sant'Ilario presso Fusina*, *Arte Veneta*, 37, 1983, pp. 151-156: 156, note 5; D. Calaon, M. Ferri, *Il monastero dei Dogi. SS. Ilario e Benedetto ai margini della Laguna veneziana*, in *Missioni archeologiche e progetti di ricerca e scavo dell'Università Ca' Foscari – Venezia*, VI Giornata di Studio (Venezia, 12 maggio 2008), edited by S. Gelichi, Venezia, 2008, pp. 185-198.

The article is available online at the following link: <<https://iris.unive.it/handle/10278/40566>>

D. Calaon, M. Ferri, C. Bagato, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto (IX secolo). Un monastero del nascente dogato veneziano tra terra e laguna*, *Atti del V Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, edited by G. Volpe, G. Flavia (Firenze, 30 settembre-3 ottobre 2009), pp. 498-504.

The article is available online at the following link: <<https://iris.unive.it/handle/10278/40396>>

S. Riccioni, *I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario. Orditi 'venetico-carolingi' di una koinè alto Adriatica*, in *I tempi del consolidamento. Venezia, l'Adriatico e l'entroterra tra IX e X secolo*, VIII Seminario del Centro Interuniversitario di Storia e Archeologia dell'Alto Medio Evo (Venezia, 29-30 ottobre 2015), Turnhout, Brepols, 2017, pp. 279-336.

The article is available online at the following link: <<https://doi.org/10.1484/M.SCISAM-EB.4.201801>>

³¹ *La Seta e la sua via*, edited by M.T Lucidi, exhibition catalogue (Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 1994), Roma, edizioni de Luca, 1994, p. 53.

³² R. Cessi, *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriori al Mille*, 2 voll., Padova, 1942, doc. 55, pp. 101-108; Ortalli, *Il ducato e la 'civitas Rivoalti'* cit., p. 747.

³³ Calaon, *La Venetia marittima tra il VI e il IX sec* cit., p. 62; Idem, *Tecniche edilizie, materiali da costruzione e società in Laguna tra VI e X secolo* cit., p. 91.

³⁴ Calaon, *Ecologia della Venetia prima di Venezia*, cit., p. 809.

present-day Israel (at that time Arab properties), following a specific need for 'contacts' with the Arab and Byzantine Mediterranean³⁵. The evidence of such exchanges is an Arab dirham found in St. Marco's Square and dated after 750, and a small group of coins discovered near the current church of St. Tomà, consisting of a Baghdad dinar and six Byzantine solids, dated around 839-842³⁶.

To testifying the increasing importance acquired by the city during the 9th century as a well-institutionalized and well-known *emporium*, the dukes Agnello and Giustiniano, at the head of the lagoons during the first half of the century, patronised the birth of the very first coin forged in the area, a Frankish *denaro* that on its left side contains information about the place where it was emitted, *Venecias*, while on the other side, it represents the broadcasting authority, Ludovico il Pio king of Franks³⁷.

1.2 The Dukes Partecipazi's institutional and political experiments³⁸

After the «red-hot first decade of the 9th century³⁹», between the end of 810 and the beginning of 811 Agnello Partecipazio, a nobleman from *Civitas Nova* (the site also known as Eraclea in the late medieval and modern venetian historiography. Today it corresponds to the hamlet Chiesanuova, in the municipality of Eraclea) who belonged to one of the families linked to the tribune aristocracy⁴⁰, was nominated Duke (810/11-827) after the deposition of the pro-Frankish dukes Obelerio and Beato (804-810) by the will of the Byzantine commander Arsafo⁴¹, whose fleet received the order to intervene in the Adriatic waters at the behest of the Byzantine emperor Niceforo to stop Frank's claim to the Upper Adriatic domains of *Venetia* and *Dalmatia*⁴². In fact, after years of increasing tensions, the conflict between the Frankish and Byzantine empires formally ended in 812, with the *Pax Nicephori*, commonly known as the Peace of Aachen. However, if the Franks

³⁵ *ivi*, p. 805-806.

³⁶ Gelichi, Ferri, Moine, *Venezia e la laguna tra IX e X secolo* cit., p. 99.

³⁷ S. Gelichi, *Venezia tra archeologia e storia: la costruzione di una identità urbana*, in *Le città italiane tra la Tarda Antichità e l'Alto medioevo*, Atti del Convegno (Ravenna 26-28 febbraio 2004), Augusti, Firenze, 2006, pp. 137-183: 173. Calaon, *Ecologia della Venetia prima di Venezia*, cit., p. 805.

³⁸ The surname Partecipazio/Particiacio was attributed to the family that died out after Giovanni in 836 by 19th and 20th century historiographical scholarship: in fact, it is not attested in the chronicle of Deacon Johannes, nor in the public and private documentation, which attributes the form Particiacio only to Orso II (921-932): A. Carile, *La formazione del ducato veneziano*, in *Le origini di Venezia*, edited by A. Carile, G. Fedalto, Bologna 1978, p. 231.

³⁹ Ortalli, *Il ducato e la 'civitas Rivoalti'* cit., p. 727-732.

⁴⁰ Calaon, Ferri, Bagato, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto (IX secolo)* cit., p. 498.

⁴¹ Johannes Diaconus Venetus, *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 44, translated by L.A. Berto, Bologna, 1999, pp. 112-113.

⁴² Ortalli, *Il ducato e la 'civitas Rivoalti'* cit., p. 727-732.

formally renounced the area, the Byzantines did so practically: after 810, no Byzantine fleet sailed the Upper Adriatic waters and for both empires the lagoon became a marginal area; this allowed the territory to slowly begin and develop its own independence⁴³.

Venice begins to take on an urban connotation with the duchy of Agnello, and his sons Giustiniano and Giovanni, and their ambitious and articulated political agenda. Their role was so pivotal that one could state that «the take-off of the city of Venice may have taken place in the space of a single generation⁴⁴».

Agnello and Giustiniano had the merit of having fostered the formation of the lagoon *civitas* and having established the foundations of the basic structures that governed the future Venice: the 'places of power' were indeed no longer dislocated on modest settlements on the various islands or at the edge of the lagoon, but gathered in the area around the *insula* of Rialto, already inhabited since the 5th century and operative as a port⁴⁵. This consequently favoured the foundation of a real urban core where all functions - military, religious, political, administrative, and economic - were brought together: from this moment onwards, we can address Venice no longer as a province but as a city with its own civic and political identity⁴⁶.

The *palatium*, the Ducal Palace, overlooking the present-day St. Marco's basin, was perhaps built on the site of a pre-existing *castellum*⁴⁷ and within it, the first chancellery and the first ducal Chapel were established. The latter was built during Giustiniano's duchy (827-829) and was initially intended to house the remains of the evangelist Marco, which were transferred – or should one say *stolen* - from Alexandria of Egypt by duke Giustiniano's will in 828⁴⁸. Not only Giustiniano promoted the *Translatio* of the body of the holy founder of Aquileia, but he did support the construction, next to the ducal palace, of a church named after the Saint and intended to contain his remains⁴⁹. This building, begun and finished during Giovanni's duchy⁵⁰ (829-836), became the centre of the national religious worship by performing the functions of a palatine Chapel, the sacred place

⁴³ Riccioni, *I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario* cit., p. 286.

⁴⁴ Gasparri, *The Formation of an Early Medieval Community* cit., p. 43.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*; Calaon, Ferri, Bagato, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto (IX secolo)* cit., p. 498. Regarding the occupation dynamics of Rialto see: Gelichi, Ferri, Moine, *Venezia e la laguna tra IX e X secolo* cit., pp. 79-128.

⁴⁶ Ortalli, *Il ducato e la 'civitas Rivoalti'* cit., p. 732.

⁴⁷ G. Lorenzoni, *Espressioni d'arte: i principali monumenti architettonici*, in *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, I, *Origini – Età ducale*, a cura di L. Cracco Ruggini, M. Pavan, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992, pp. 865-891: 871-875.

⁴⁸ Johannes Diaconus Venetus, *Istoria Veneticorum* cit., pp. 118-119.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

associated with the ducal palace and thus the seat of the Republican government, subjected to the direct control of the duke, who also had the task of appointing the members of the clergy. In this way, the Chapel was freed from both the jurisdiction of the episcopate of Olivolo and that of the metropolitan of Aquileia, at that time a Frankish territory to which Venice refused to be bound as much politically as religiously⁵¹. St. Marco was indeed named the city's cathedral only in 1807 by Napoleon's will, while the church of St. Peter of Castello in Olivolo – with the attached bishop's palace first, patriarchal from 1451 – was planned to be the cathedral of the city till the beginning⁵².

From the year 828 onward, St. Marco took on a politically determined role in state iconography and civic symbolism as protector and patron: his relics became the symbol of the spiritual unity of the lagoons and the fulcrum of the creation and strengthening of an independent and autonomous national church⁵³.

The 'state miracle' performed by Giustiniano represented a clear political gesture and stance toward the synod of bishops held in Mantua in 827. On that occasion, in fact, Aquileia claimed its origins to be related to St. Marco and its supremacy over the patriarchate of Grado⁵⁴. The *Carmen de Aquilegia numquam restauranda*, an anonymous poetic text probably written between 844 and 855, well conveys the lagoons' perception of the event by calling for the intervention of the two sovereigns Lothario and Louis II regarding the decision to deprive the church of Grado of its patriarchal title, thwarting independence acquired over two and a half centuries⁵⁵ and recognized by Charlemagne himself⁵⁶. Giustiniano took up the defence of the small city of Grado, which extended its jurisdiction over the dioceses of the lagoon⁵⁷: how could Aquileia, which gloried in having been founded by the evangelist Mark, claim any rights to Grado, if the Saint himself had chosen Venice, a city within Grado's jurisdiction, as his final resting place⁵⁸? Even more important, Grado itself, as well as Olivolo, was closely linked to the duchy territorial policies, so deeply as to allow the latter to intervene in the election of the patriarch and

⁵¹ Ortalli, *Il ducato e la 'civitas Rivoalti'* cit., p. 736-739; Calaon, Ferri, Bagato, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto (IX secolo)* cit., p. 498.

⁵² In 1451, the Venetian diocese of Castello and its bishop Lorenzo Giustiniani, who was consecrated Saint of State in 1690, granted the patriarchal title: Tagliaferri, *Le diocesi di Aquileia e Grado* cit., p. 14.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Ortalli, *Il ducato e la 'civitas Rivoalti'* cit., p. 732.

⁵⁵ Gasparri, *The Formation of an Early Medieval Community* cit., p. 43.

⁵⁶ Tagliaferri, *Le diocesi di Aquileia e Grado* cit., p. 12.

⁵⁷ *Ivi*, pp. 12-13.

⁵⁸ Rando, *Una Chiesa di frontiera* cit., p. 63.

cause his eventual escape or death in case the cleric's political or administrative positions had no longer been aligned with those of the duchy. And so it was that in 802 the pro-Frankish patriarch of Grado, Giovanni, was thus assassinated, perhaps crashed from a high tower of his residence, while at the same time the Venetian fleet captained by Maurizio II, son of duke Giovanni, sailed to Grado to close once and for all the quarrels with the patriarch⁵⁹. Another emblematic episode involves the patriarch Fortunato, whose openly pro-Frankish positions twice forced him to abandon the episcopal seat and seek refuge in Frankish territories. Between 806 and 810, still, in the midst of the Franco-Byzantine conflict, Fortunato took shelter in France to escape from the Byzantine expedition commanded by Niceta and was replaced by Giovanni, pro-Byzantine⁶⁰. He then regained the title and retained it until presumably the years immediately following the Peace of Aachen and 826, when the documents record the presence of his successor, Venerio⁶¹. Fortunato was again removed by the dukes because he was too sympathetic to the empire and repaired again to France where he died⁶².

The Partecipazi's commitment to the main religious ruling bodies of the lagoon did not concern only Olivolo and Grado: the birth of a network of monastic foundations was indeed patronised as well. Before talking about the pivotal rules that monasteries fulfilled during the very first years of 'urban' Venice, it is important pointing out that the ancient

⁵⁹ Ortalli, *Il ducato e la 'civitas Rivoalti'* cit., p. 727.

⁶⁰ *ivi*, p. 729-730; D. Rando, s.v. 'Fortunato', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Volume 49, 1997 – Enciclopedie on line, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana.

The article is available online at the following link:

https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/fortunato_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/

⁶¹ Ortalli, *Il ducato e la 'civitas Rivoalti'* cit., p. 736.

According to Giovanni Diacono, the abbot Giovanni from St. Servolo was ordered patriarch of Grado by the Venetians after his predecessor had been too friendly with the Franks. Once he voluntarily renounced the seat, he obtained the territories and the Chapel of St. Ilario (819) from Agnello and Giustiniano Partecipazio: Johannes Diaconus Venetus, *Istoria Veneticorum* cit., pp. 116-117.

Since Fortunato appears as one of the signatories of the document dated 819, it seems perhaps more likely that his replacement occurred a time after that date. This consideration, however, would be contradicted by Luigi Gallo in his monograph, where he states that Fortunato was already in exile at that date and that the signing of the document took place with his consent but not in his presence: Gallo, *Mestre, Marghera, Abbazia di Sant'Ilario* cit., p. 43.

Daniela Rando talked about a certain Giovanni Iuniore, an occasional usurper of the seat of Grado: Rando, *Una Chiesa di frontiera* cit., p. 63, note 113.

According to a Carolingian version quoted by Marco Pozza, around 821 Agnello, after a decade of contrasts, removed the patriarch Fortunato and leaned again on the abbot of St. Servolo, imposing him as patriarch: M. Pozza, s.v. 'PARTICIACO, Agnello', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Volume 81, 2014 – Enciclopedie on line, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana.

The article is available at this link: https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/agnello-particiaco_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/

This problem is also addressed by Anna Rapetti: A. Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., pp. 16-17.

⁶² Johannes Diaconus Venetus, *Istoria Veneticorum* cit., pp. 116-117.

history of Venice is full short of documents⁶³. The very first document, that survived in a later copy⁶⁴, is the *carta privilegii* written by the tribune Demetrio in 819⁶⁵ regarding the transfer of the ducal Chapel of St. Ilario and annexed territory by will of the dukes Agnello Partecipazio and his son Giustiniano to the abbot Giovanni, at the head of the monks at that time placed at the island of St. Servolo.

This religious community was one of the eight dioceses founded in the lagoon area around the beginning and the end of the 9th century⁶⁶(**Fig. 1.1**), and it constitutes one of the three 'urban' monasteries together with the female monasteries of St. Zaccaria and St. Lorenzo. The former was founded by the dukes Partecipazi during the first decades of the IX century, while the latter was established shortly before 853, when the bishop of Olivolo, Orso, bequeathed the family-owned basilica to his sister Romana, former abbess of the Benedictine community⁶⁷. In this context, the holy community symbolised the political success of the doge and the city at the same time, being dedicated to the liturgical memory of the dukedom's political heart⁶⁸.

The appearance of religious guilds in the lagoon is indeed attested only by the mid-eighth century, with the foundation of the abbey of Brondolo⁶⁹, dedicated to Archangel Michael, and the bishopric of Olivolo which was established by the ducal will around 775⁷⁰. Even if their genesis is uncertain and poorly documented till the second half of the 12th

⁶³ S. Gasparri, *Venezia fra i secoli VIII e IX. Una riflessione sulle fonti*, in *Studi veneti offerti a Gaetano Cozzi*, Venezia, 1992, pp. 3-18: 3; Idem, *The Formation of an Early Medieval Community: Venice between Provincial and Urban Identity* cit., p. 35.

⁶⁴ The document survived in a later copy: L. Lanfranchi, B. Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, Venezia, 1965, p. 1.

⁶⁵ Gasparri, *Venezia fra i secoli VIII e IX* cit., pp. 8-12; Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., doc. 1, pp. 8-12. The documents are also available online: Documenti veneziani, edited by A. Pazienza, in Saame. Centro interuniversitario per la storia e l'archeologia dell'alto medioevo <<http://saame.it>>

⁶⁶ According to Daniela Rando, all the religious guilds in the lagoon area were well-established by 876 and 877: D. Rando, *Le strutture della chiesa locale*, in *Storia di Venezia dalle Origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, I, *Origini-età ducale*, edited by L. Cracco Ruggini, M. Pavan, G. Cracco e G. Ortalli, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, pp. 645-675: 645-646. For an insight on the eight monastic foundations see: Gelichi, Sauro, Moine, Cecilia, *Peregrinazioni in sconfinati deserti. Quale archeologia per i monasteri della laguna veneziana?*, Hortus Artium Medievalium, 19, 2013, pp. 133-154.

⁶⁷ Gelichi, Moine, *Peregrinazioni in sconfinati deserti* cit., p. 141.

⁶⁸ S. Carraro, A. Rapetti, *Female monasteries in Venice: religious dynamics and political power*, in *Life and Religion in the Middle Ages* edited by F. Sabaté, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2005, pp. 219-233: 221-222.

⁶⁹ M. Pozza, *Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani nei secoli VIII-XII*, in *Il monachesimo nel Veneto medioevale*. Atti del convegno di studi in occasione del millenario di fondazione dell'abbazia di Santa Maria di Mogliano Veneto (Treviso), 30 novembre 1996, edited by F.G.B. Trolese, Badia di Santa Maria del Monte (Cesena) 1998, pp. 17-38: 19-20.

⁷⁰ Ortalli, *Il ducato e la 'civitas Rivoalti'* cit., p. 727.

century⁷¹, and it does not seem to be related to a certain late antique or Byzantine act of foundation⁷², these ancient communities happened to be crucial in the development and the construction of a new geographic and symbolic territory orbiting the islands around *Rivo Alto* and characterized by a natural projection towards the sea, albeit not unfamiliar to the mainland where public commitment and private patrimonial interests were intertwined.

The relationship between these religious bodies and the new political core formed in Rialto was in fact dualistic: monasteries constituted a strong factor of institutionalisation within the fluid society *in fieri* of the time, offering effective organisational models and contributing to the formation of the religious, social, and political urban identity⁷³; on the other hand, they constituted political and cultural tools created by the ruling *élites* within the duchy – dukes, secular and ecclesiastical aristocracy, the urban community⁷⁴ – playing an important role in the construction of an institutional network between the lagoon and the Adriatic mainland, strengthened the ties between Venice and the *Regnum* with the aim of establishing an area of economic and political influence⁷⁵. These private and independent networks were extended beyond the ducal borders⁷⁶, incorporating the territories around the area of Treviso and Padua causing misunderstandings and conflicts, especially from the 11th century onwards⁷⁷.

Nevertheless, monasteries were dynamic institutions that, fortified by their wide autonomy from the bishopric and the protection and privileges from the emperor and the government⁷⁸, managed to develop their own identity and consolidation within the urban community by engaging in a dialogue with the other stakeholders without closing themselves off to external influences⁷⁹.

⁷¹ Pozza, *Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani* cit., pp. 17-19; A.M. Rapetti, S. Manganaro, *Tra Mare E Terra: Monasteri E Processi Di Istituzionalizzazione in Laguna (Venezia, IX-X Secolo)*, in *L'abbazia altomedievale come istituzione dinamica*. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Abbazia benedettina di Farfa, 13-14 marzo 2015), edited by S. Manganaro, Roma, nella sede dell'istituto Palazzo Borromini, 2020, pp. 121-144: 125.

The article is available online at the following link: < <https://iris.unive.it/handle/10278/3730799> >

⁷² G. Spinelli, *I primi insediamenti monastici lagunari nel contesto della storia politica e religiosa veneziana*, in *Le origini della Chiesa di Venezia*, edited by di F. Tonon, Venezia, 1987, pp. 143-166: 153; Pozza, *Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani* cit., p.17.

⁷³ Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., pp. 4-5.

⁷⁴ Rapetti, Manganaro, *Tra Mare E Terra* cit., pp. 121-122.

⁷⁵ *ivi*, pp.124-127.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., p .6.

⁷⁸ Pozza, *Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani* cit., p. 17.

⁷⁹ Rapetti, Manganaro, *Tra Mare E Terra* cit., p. 121.

Such a practice was not a complete novelty in the western territories, although the Carolingians should be acknowledged for having institutionalized and regulated the so-called early medieval European model diffused among the Merovingians, Lombards, Anglo-Saxons, and Visigoths⁸⁰. The victory and stabilization of the Franks on Italic soil took place, in fact, without huge drastic discontinuities with the Lombard model: the reuse of the previous structures was encouraged, among other things the existing relationship between *élites* and monasteries⁸¹. By the time the Franks arrived, monastic foundations were in fact already an imperative tool for the organization, administration, and control of the landed estates of Lombard dukes and rulers, as well as a safe and welcoming harbor where they could find refuge whenever the political arena became dicey. By way of illustration, the monasteries of Nonantola and Monte Amiata were founded in the second half of the 8th century, at the same time as the rise to the throne of Ratchis and his brother Astolfo, as a consequence of the desire of Lombard kings and dukes to create centers capable of organizing and administering the most sensitive areas of the Lombard kingdom, in this case, the borders with the Duchy of Rome and the Exarchate of Ravenna⁸². Under Carolingian domination, this model was further expanded and such institutions became more and more pivotal in structuring the political power: monastic buildings became an indispensable instrument and presence for the health of the realm, and they were granted immunity and tax exemptions, independence from bishop's decisions – the latter could therefore not interfere and influence the life of the communities –, in an increasingly symbiotic association with strategic purposes between spiritual and temporal power⁸³. The direct consequence of the political need to break free from episcopal authority, coupled with the conviction that prayer was vital to the stability of the realm, was the institutionalization and reorganization of such monastic entities, according to the rule of St. Benedetto, which became 'law' subsequently the synods held in Aachen in 816 and 817⁸⁴. The close symbiotic relationship between spiritual and

⁸⁰ M. De Jong, P. Erhart, *Monachesimo tra i Longobardi e i Carolingi*, in *Il futuro dei Longobardi: l'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno: saggi*, edited by C. Bertelli, G.P. Brogiolo, Milano, Skira, 2000, pp. 105-127: 119.

⁸¹ For an overview of the Lombard conversion following the efforts of the sovereigns Teodolinda and Agilulfo see: De Jong, Erhart, *Monachesimo tra i Longobardi e i Carolingi* cit., pp. 105-107.

⁸² *ivi.*, p. 109.

⁸³ For an overview regarding the relationship between *élites* and monasteries during the Frankish domain see: *ivi.*, pp. 118 ss.

⁸⁴ G. Cantino Wataghin, *Monasteri tra VIII e IX secolo: evidenze archeologiche per l'Italia settentrionale*, in *Il futuro dei Longobardi: l'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno: saggi*, edited by C. Bertelli, G.P. Brogiolo, Milano, Skira, 2000, p. 129-141:129.

temporal power resulted also from a centuries-old perception of the figure of the monk and monasticism and of the religious dimension in general, as pacifying centers between the world of the living and that of the spirits within the territory and thus the *civitas*⁸⁵. In the early Middle Ages, in fact, monasteries constituted, to quote Giuseppe Sergi, the aristocracy of prayer: the monk, precisely because of his ability to know himself and the ultimate meaning of things and the world thanks to an endless process of individual asceticism and self-improvement, became taken as a 'superior,' 'pure,' and 'wise' model to whom one could turn in order to balance the urgencies of the society. Monks are not only humble but are the representatives of *élites* invested with authority by rulers and lords, landowners, stewards of the land, and goods received as gifts for the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of their prayer. Monks pray for personal salvation and that of society, and for this reason, they hold an indispensable position in political and social formation and management.

In 829, Giovanni Partecipazio succeeded Giustiniano who died without heirs – his son Agnello II died in 820 in Constantinople⁸⁶ during the coronation of the emperor Michele II – and the title passed to his brother who was just returned in the lagoons called back to duty⁸⁷. However, the transfer of powers was far from being pacific and highlighted the deep divisions within the ruling class. Actually, the relationships between the two brothers had never been appeasing and gentle: since the very beginning of Agnello's duchy, Giovanni, deprived by the father of his co-regent status⁸⁸, was exiled first in Zara and then, escaped, he sought refuge and protection in Bergamo⁸⁹. However, Ludovico il Pio, who did not want to unsettle the recent good relationship with Byzantium, welcomed Agnello and Giustiniano's request to give them the fugitive back and forced Giovanni to

⁸⁵ For insights regarding the figure of the monks and the role of the religious dimension within the territory see: M. Eliade, *Lo spazio sacro: tempio, palazzo, centro del mondo*, in *Trattato di storia delle religioni*, edited by M. Eliade, Torino, Boringhieri, 1976, pp.377-399; F. Remotti, P. Scarduelli, U. Fabietti, *Centri, ritualità, potere. Significati antropologici dello spazio*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1989.

⁸⁶ Johannes Diaconus Venetus, *Istoria Veneticorum* cit., pp. 116-117.

⁸⁷ *ivi*, pp. 118-119.

⁸⁸ According to Giovanni Diacono, Agnello deprived Giovanni of his title in favour of his favourite son Giustiniano who refused to come home disappointed by his father's decision, preferring to take refuge with his wife in the church of St. Severo. Agnello, who cannot stand having his son away, exiled Giovanni and made Giustiniano co-regent: Johannes Diaconus Venetus, *Istoria Veneticorum* cit., pp. 114-115. However, Antonio Carile and Giorgio Fedalto described Giovanni's action as an attempt to steal the co-regency taking advantage of the fact that Giustiniano was far away in Constantinople where he received the title of *ipato* by emperor Leone V: Cairle, Fedalto, *Le origini di Venezia* cit., p. 236.

⁸⁹ Johannes Diaconus Venetus, *Istoria Veneticorum* cit., pp. 114-115.

leave. After that, Giovanni and his wife were immediately sent to Constantinople⁹⁰, where they stay till Giustiniano's death.

According to Giovanni Diacono, Giustiniano was Agnello's favourite son⁹¹.

Giovanni's duchy was far more long-lived than Giustiniano's, but it was not so fortunate: not only Giovanni struggled against Saracens and Slavs, who threatened the Adriatic commercial routes⁹², but he strived to maintain and protect his title since his ruling positions had been frightened more than once. A few years later Giovanni's rise, maybe around 831 or even during the unstable days of succession between Giustiniano and Giovanni in 829⁹³, Obelerio, one of the two dukes overthrown by the Byzantine in favour of Agnello, supported by the people of the waterfronts, especially Malamocco, tried to usurp Giovanni's throne without being successful⁹⁴. The latter defeated the insurgents, partially destroyed Malamocco, and ruthlessly placed Obelerio's head on a pole near the border with the *Regnum*, near St. Martino, as a warning⁹⁵. After that ruinous episode, Giovanni was successfully dethroned twice: first by the tribune Caroso and his followers, who forced the duke to hide at the Frankish court of Carlo il Calvo for a year before returning to his homeland⁹⁶; eventually, the turning sudden attack took place in 836 when Giovanni was taken and forced to undergo tonsure, take vows and spend his last days in Grado, where he died⁹⁷. With Giovanni's death and the entrusting of the duchy to Pietro Tradonico, the Patrtecipazi's attempts to make the ducal title dynastic came to an end⁹⁸; on the other hand, Venice officially established itself as an autonomous power, both politically, with a tailor-made governmental structure, and religiously, with its own and well-supervised national church.

1.3 Through the gates of the monastery of St. Ilario

As previously said, within the nascent Venetian state the attempts to make the ducal title dynastic were pursued not only by associating the heirs to power but also by creating, controlling, and organizing the estates in the mainland, in an early attempt to create an

⁹⁰ *ivi*, pp. 116-117.

⁹¹ *ivi*, pp. 114-115.

⁹² *ivi*, pp. 120-121.

⁹³ Ortalli, *Il ducato e la 'civitas Rivoalti'* cit., p. 736.

⁹⁴ Johannes Diaconus Venetus, *Istoria Veneticorum* cit., pp. 120-121.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ivi*, pp. 120-123.

⁹⁷ *Ivi*, pp. 122-123.

⁹⁸ Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., p. 6.

extended sphere of political influence, anticipating an inclination which was common in the following century⁹⁹.

The act of foundation of the monastery of St. Ilario and Benedetto needs to be read under this perspective since the coenobium was strongly related to the territorial politics of the first line of dukes, that can be seen as feudal lords, owners of land and lagoons, aimed by the will of consolidating their social status through a monastic foundation within a relationship of mutual support and help¹⁰⁰.

St. Ilario was the most unusual of the three urban monastic foundations since it was not placed in the city, but on the mainland, on the western border of the duchy, not far from the edge of the lagoon¹⁰¹, located on an island near the delta of the river *Une* that, together with *Tergola*, *Clarino*, and *Cornio*, was one of the resurgence rivers connected to the ancient *Medoacus-Brenta* (**Fig.1.2**) along the routes that linked Padua with the lagoons and the Adriatic Sea¹⁰². According to a recent reconstruction¹⁰³, the ancient territory at the time of the donation in May 819, had the shape of a wedge whose vertex was placed along the river *Clarino*. In doing so, an immaterial protective belt was ideally completed, which from south-east to north-east surrounded Rialto and, thanks to the intercession of the cenobia of St. Michele Arcangelo in Brondolo, St. Stefano in Altino, St. Giorgio in Pineto, and St. Ilario, protected Venice through prayer and the control of landed estates¹⁰⁴.

The foundation act was signed in the presence of the Dukes Agnello and Giustiniano, the patriarch of Grado, Fortunato, the bishop of Olivolo, Cristoforo, the abbot of the monks of San Servolo, Giovanni, and the «*universis Venecie populis habitantibus*¹⁰⁵». The latter consisted of the members of the major families from the different localities of the duchy who were therefore ideally supposed to represent all the people belonging to the lagoon area who would thus recognise themselves, or should have to, in the political and religious

⁹⁹ Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., p .11.

¹⁰⁰ Calaon, Ferri, Bagato, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto (IX secolo)* cit., p. 499; Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., p .12.

¹⁰¹ Pozza, *Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani* cit., pp. 21,26; Rapetti, Manganaro, *Tra Mare E Terra* cit., p. 131.

¹⁰² Calaon, *Ecologia della Venetia prima di Venezia* cit., p. 806; E. Corro, C. Moine, S. Primon, *Reazioni uguali e contrarie. Evoluzione paleoambientale e trasformazioni storiche intorno al monastero dei Sant'Ilario e Benedetto (Dogaletto di Mira)*, in *Costruire territori/costruire identità: lagune a confronto tra antichità e medioevo*, edited by S. Gelichi, *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 16(2), 2015, pp. 103-150: 113.

¹⁰³ L. Fersuoch, *Codex publicorum. Atlante. Da San Martino in Strada a San Leonardo in Fossa Mala*, Venezia, Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere e arti, 2016, pp. 318-326.

¹⁰⁴ Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., p .16.

¹⁰⁵ Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., doc. 1, pp. 8-9.

intentions of the authority, in an ideal unity of economic, political, and symbolic intentions between state and community¹⁰⁶.

Abbot Giovanni and his monks thus saw their needs met, obtaining from the dukes to settle at the family Chapel dedicated to St. Ilario, far from the unhealthy island of St. Servolo, «*in loco angusto constituti et infra paludes manentes*» and continually threatened by the tides that made it impossible to administer and cultivate the land so to meet the needs of the community¹⁰⁷. The new seat of the monastery, which from this point onwards would take the name of SS. Ilario and Benedetto, according to the Rule adopted by the monks¹⁰⁸, was located on a territory discontinuously occupied from the imperial and late antique age onwards¹⁰⁹. Moreover, the area had already been used as a burial site during the 6th and 7th centuries, as evidenced by Roman and Christian burial inscriptions and sarcophagus fragments found during archaeological excavations. One of them, the funerary inscription of *Lantfridus* (dating to the 9th century), which is currently on display in the Archaeological Museum of Venice, is thought to be an illustration of the progressive variation of the script Flavia de Rubeis referred to as a "Lombard type," which starts to display elements indicating the entry of epigraphic capital of Carolingian recovery¹¹⁰.

Although some scholars propose as many as four alternatives¹¹¹, the naming of the monastery could either be referred to the holy bishop of Padua¹¹², whose cult began to spread in the southern part of the lagoons between the 4th-5th century¹¹³, or to the holy bishop of Poitiers, protector of the Frankish people¹¹⁴.

¹⁰⁶ Rando, *Una Chiesa di frontiera* cit., p. 54; Pozza, *Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani* cit., p. 26; Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., pp. 13.

¹⁰⁷ Until 1109 San Servolo housed a number of monks governed by a prior and dependent on the abbot of St. Ilario. The island and buildings were ceded by Abbot Pietro to the women's monastery of the SS. Leone and Basso of Malamocco: Pozza, *Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani* cit., p. 21.

¹⁰⁸ Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., doc. 1, pp. 8-9.

¹⁰⁹ Gasparri, *Venezia fra i secoli VIII e IX* cit., p. 17; Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., p. 13; Rapetti, Manganaro, *Tra Mare E Terra* cit., p. 131.

¹¹⁰ F. de Rubeis, *Scrittura longobarda, bizantina o carolingia? Retaggi, modelli e imitazioni tra Ravenna, Venezia e l'Istria nei secoli VIII-X*, in *I tempi del consolidamento. Venezia, l'Adriatico e l'entroterra tra IX e X secolo*, VIII Seminario del Centro Interuniversitario di Storia e Archeologia dell'Alto Medio Evo (Venezia, 29-30 ottobre 2015), Turnhout (Belgio), 2017, pp. 323-348: 340-342.

¹¹¹ A. Niero, *Sull'intitolazione 'Monasterum Beati Yllari e Benedicti'*, in A. Niero, et alia, *Culto dei santi nella terraferma veneziana*, Venezia, Studium cattolico veneziano, 1967, p. 28-31: St. Ilario Bishop of Padova, St. Ilario of Poitiers, bishop and protector of the Frankish people, St. Ilario from Aquileia and St. Ilario from Galeata.

¹¹² Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., *Prefazione*, IX, note 2.

¹¹³ L. Gallo, *Mestre, Marghera, Abbazia di Sant'Ilario*, Venezia, 1964, p. 30-31.

¹¹⁴ Spinelli, *I primi insediamenti monastici lagunari* cit., p. 144.

When the monks moved in, the pre-existing building was probably renovated, or entirely rebuilt with expanded building structures, to accommodate the Benedictine community¹¹⁵. Moreover, the documents attest that before 839 an additional ecclesiastical building dedicated to St. Benedetto was built next to the Chapel dedicated to St. Ilario: in fact, the two churches appeared in the privileges of Emperors Lotario I (839)¹¹⁶, Carlo II (883)¹¹⁷, and Ottone II (981)¹¹⁸. In 1100, when Enrico V took the monastery and its lands under his protection, the two churches still seemed to exist side-by-side¹¹⁹ as well as, contrary to what Marzemin said¹²⁰, in the document dated 1136¹²¹ where Lotario III confirmed the monastery's assets. The latter date turns out to be the *terminus post quem* for circumscribing the events related to the building of the new basilica dedicated to Saints Ilario and Benedetto, whose construction took place probably in the 12th century and was aimed by the monk's necessity to build a church perhaps more suitable for liturgical or ritual needs, or just larger, during a century when the monastery enjoyed considerable wealth and fortune. The two early medieval buildings dedicated to St. Ilario and St. Benedetto disappeared, either because they were partially demolished or because they were incorporated by the large basilica¹²². In 1247, Prosdocimo, in his last will, granted a bequest of one hundred *lire* of Venetian *denari*, destined for the exclusive rebuilding of the illustrious church: this date is considered the *terminus ante quem* for the building of the first church since in that occasion the consolidation of the unsafe structure(s) and the raising of the floor level probably took place, as the building was covered by a layer of alluvial material following the progressive swamping of the area due to the 'cuts of the Brenta'.

¹¹⁵ Riccioni, *I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario* cit., p. 288.

¹¹⁶ Lanfranchi, Strina, SS. Ilario e Benedetto, doc. 3, pp. 25-26.

¹¹⁷ *ivi*, doc. 4, pp. 26-29.

¹¹⁸ *ivi*, doc. 5, pp. 29-31.

¹¹⁹ *ivi*, doc. 16, pp. 55-58.

¹²⁰ The mistake in G. Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio. Notizie storiche artistiche archeologiche*, Venezia, Tipografia Libreria Emiliana Editrice, 1912, p. 58, was due to the incorrect transcription of A. Gloria (edited by), *Codice diplomatico padovano dall'anno 1101 alla pace di Costanza (25 giugno 1183)*, Venezia, 1879, no. 285, pp. 220-1.

¹²¹ *ivi*, doc. 19, pp. 66-70.

¹²² G. Lorenzoni, *Espressioni d'arte: i principali monumenti architettonici* cit., p. 870.

1.4 The monastery's privileges: a life enjoyed far from the ordinary

Within the *carta privilegii*, several concessions were granted to the monastery with the goal of freeing the community from any kind of public, ecclesiastical, and private subordination.

From a public perspective, the monastery administered the lands, benefiting both from the ducal concession on agricultural, milling, and fishing rights, and a tax exemption from public tributes¹²³: public officials, such as *gastaldi* and palace messengers, were in fact forbidden to intervene directly in the monastery's property collecting *exenia*, *angaria* or *prandia*, and thereby disturb the serenity of the monks¹²⁴.

Under an ecclesiastical point of view, the opportunities for the patriarchs of Grado and the bishops of Olivolo to interfere and intrude on the internal life of the community were severely limited in favour of the strict Venetian civil control, although their authority was never questioned and most of the time the ruling classes acted in communion (and in opposition) with the other religious bodies¹²⁵. The monastery was granted the possibility of participating in the diocesan and provincial synods of its own free will, as well as the freedom of exercising any right of welcome and defence towards the monks, cleric or familiar, which was strictly forbidden to the bishop¹²⁶.

This situation was possible due to the already-mentioned tendency of the ruling classes to put their family members or their well-trusted fellows at the head of the most important public offices, a practice that disappeared from the 1140s onwards due to the appearance of the Municipality¹²⁷. On that occasion, monasteries became subordinate to the episcopate of Olivolo¹²⁸.

Eventually, with regards to the private dimension, the expression «*absque omni nostram vel heredum nostrorum contrarietate aliqua*¹²⁹» seems to suggest the exclusion of every kind of control over the monastic goods by Partecipazi and their family members¹³⁰. This interpretation is strengthened by two historical events: between 828 and 829 the monks were granted the right to freely elect their abbot¹³¹ and during the same years, Giustiniano

¹²³ Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto*, doc. 1, pp. 9-10.

¹²⁴ *ivi*, doc. 1, pp. 8-9.

¹²⁵ Pozza, *Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani* cit., p. 27; Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., p. 8.

¹²⁶ Rando, *Una Chiesa di frontiera* cit., pp. 54-55; Pozza, *Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani* cit., pp. 26.

¹²⁷ Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., p. 8.

¹²⁸ *ivi*, p. 16.

¹²⁹ Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., doc. 1, p. 10.

¹³⁰ Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., p. 9.

¹³¹ Rapetti, Manganaro, *Tra Mare E Terra* cit., p. 131.

wrote his last will where he demanded that the monasteries of St. Ilario and St. Zaccaria together with their possessions remained in full freedom, without being subject to tribute and enjoying the *tuicio* and *defensio* already granted¹³². He also forbade his wife and daughter-in-law from exercising any *potestas* over the monastery of St. Zaccaria¹³³. Such concessions might suggest an ‘administrative’ detachment by the ruling families regarding the internal administration of the monastic institutions, although a close and lasting link was always maintained between the two bodies¹³⁴.

The document signed in 819 also stated that the previous *Regula magistri*¹³⁵ would have been substituted by the Benedictine rule¹³⁶ – recently integrated with the version of Benedict of Aniane¹³⁷ – aligning the new institution to the monastic reform promoted by Ludovico il Pio and commonly adopted by all monasteries belonging to the Carolingian empire from 816/817 onwards¹³⁸.

The adoption of a Carolingian monastic rule, the granting of a tax exemption that appears to be based on the form of the Frankish-Lombard one¹³⁹, the use of Frankish terminologies such as *gastaldo* or *cappella* in the written documentation – the latter referring to a private church owned by the ruling class and provided with a relic – the exploitation of the religious community in order to control and organize the private land, the minting activity, as well as the development of economic logics connected with a transalpine trade, would confirm a specific inclination and openness of the duchy towards the political experiences coming from the Frankish world¹⁴⁰. Apparently, the act of foundation – born with the approval of the political authority on one hand and the silent agreement of the

¹³² Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., doc. 2, pp. 17-24: 19.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ Rapetti, Manganaro, *Tra Mare E Terra* cit., p. 131.

¹³⁵ Giustiniano’s last will testify that in both St. Ilario and the monastery of St. Zaccaria the *Regula magistri* was in force: Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., doc. 2, p. 19.

¹³⁶ Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., doc. 1, pp. 8-9.

¹³⁷ Our sources do not allow us to understand the rule adopted by the monks of San Servolo before the Partecipazi’s involvement: the hypothesis of an earlier, always Benedictine rule seems to be also considered: V. Piva, *Il patriarcato di Venezia e le sue origini* I, Venezia, Tip. San Marco, 1938, p. 289; Luigi Gallo shared the same hypothesis: Gallo, *Mestre, Marghera, Abbazia di Sant’Ilario* cit., p. 38; According to Anna Rapetti, the specification of the rule does not imply a different prior order: Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., pp. 8-9, note 22.

¹³⁸ Rando, *Una Chiesa di frontiera* cit., p. 55.

¹³⁹ A. Castagnetti, *Insedimenti e ‘populi’*, in *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, I, pp. 577-612: 608, note 70; Rando, *Una Chiesa di frontiera* cit., p. 56.

¹⁴⁰ *Ivi*, p. 55.

religious one on the other – was based on the observance of an early medieval and Western model promoted by Western sovereigns¹⁴¹.

1.5 The role of the monastery between Public and Private

The Chapel and the monastery of St. Ilario were invested with a multiplicity of duties and meanings that gravitated around public, private, and familiar interests, as well as territorial and economic ones. The coenobium location eventually suggests that the ruling class of the Venice of the origins followed a social and organizational model quite common within the mainland elites between the VIII and the IX century¹⁴²: the will of consolidating and affirming their social *status* through the foundation of religious private buildings identified the Partecipazi as «feudal lords within the kingdom¹⁴³» with the (awful) goal to create a political lordship on a dynastic basis¹⁴⁴.

Within St. Ilario, civic and ecclesiastic freedom and private acts were intertwined, both fulfilled with public repercussions¹⁴⁵. St. Ilario performed as much the role of private space related to the ducal family, as well as a public ‘monastery of the city’ where the interests of the ruling class and the community met up with the duchy’s attempt of creating a pedagogical and identarian unity. The Chapel and the monastery were born to be first of all a familiar – before than ducal – oratory where the monks should have guaranteed the day and night office: the territory was indeed part of the Partecipazi’s estate, and the Chapel was intended to be also their burial place. Together with the dukes Agnello and Giustiano Partecipazi, Pietro IV Candiano (959-972) and Vitale Candiano (978-979), and perhaps Pietro III Candiano (942-959), some important people from aristocracy found in St. Ilario their resting place¹⁴⁶. The palatine Chapel was thus chosen as the burial place of those who traced the genesis of urban Venice in the 9th century, emerging as a symbolic funerary space representing political power¹⁴⁷.

¹⁴¹ Rando, *Una Chiesa di frontiera* cit., p. 57; Pozza, *Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani* cit., pp. 26; Calaon, Ferri, *Il monastero dei Dogi. SS. Ilario e Benedetto ai margini della Laguna veneziana* cit., p. 188; Riccioni, *I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario* cit. p. 287.

¹⁴² Calaon, Ferri, Bagato, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto (IX secolo)* cit., pp. 498-499; Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., p. 3.

¹⁴³ Calaon, Ferri, Bagato, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto (IX secolo)* cit., p. 499.

¹⁴⁴ Rando, *Una Chiesa di frontiera* cit., p. 60; Rapetti, Manganaro, *Tra Mare E Terra* cit., p. 130.

¹⁴⁵ Rando, *Una Chiesa di frontiera* cit., p. 59.

¹⁴⁶ M. Cornaro, *Scritture sulla laguna*, edited by di G. Pavanello, Venezia, Off. grafiche C. Ferrari, 1987, p. 77.

¹⁴⁷ D. Calaon, *L'intreccio della nascente Venezia. Sculture e marmi dei primi Dogi conservati presso i Musei di Piazza St. Marco*, in *Dalla catalogazione alla promozione dei beni archeologici. I progetti europei come occasione di valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale veneto*, Venezia 2014, p. 240, pp. 233-343: 239.

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The decision of settling the monks into that specific space was associated with territorial and economic interest: with its eccentric position at the western edge of the lagoon, the monastery stood 'guard' over the duchy, playing the role of Venice's gateway to the mainland and vice versa¹⁴⁸. Before listing the tasks performed by the coenobium, it is important to remember that between the 6th and 8th centuries, the Adriatic centres of Comacchio, Torcello, and Cittanova – to name only some – seem to have acted as receivers and distributors of goods towards the interior of the Po Valley. From the second half of the 8th century and with the establishment of the Venetian fleet, these centres, arose along pivotal communication routes, at the mouth of navigable rivers, in places open to the inland Po Valley Road system, became true *emporia* open to long-range trade. In Early Middle Ages, the Venetian lagoon was based on a system of navigable rivers (Po, Adige, Sile, Piave, Livenza, Tagliamento) and included a wide strip of low-lying land that was seasonally or permanently covered by lagoon waters that communicated with the outer shores by means of canals, partly relicts of riverbeds, partly lagoon tidal channels. This strip of water and land stretched from Ravenna to Aquileia, occupying the low coasts of today's Veneto and Friuli Venezia Giulia, and partly continuing the rocky shores of Istria¹⁴⁹. The monastic territory, located within the basin of the *Medoacus major*, was hence furrowed by innumerable waterways and land routes that connected the mainland to the lagoons, thus linking it with the Po Valley and the Frankish domain¹⁵⁰.

Within these systems of *emporia*, rivers, lagoons, and lands, the religious community controlled a vast inland area crossed by several freshwater rivers that naturally evolved into swamps, flowing into lagoon channels¹⁵¹. It fulfilled the important role of managing and administrating the estate, gradually exercising more and more control over the area¹⁵² and becoming crucial in the administration of the commercial routes and the economic and human interchange between the mainland and the lagoon¹⁵³. The coenobium was given the task of acting as a commercial hub, the outpost of the city on the

¹⁴⁸ Rapetti, Manganaro, *Tra Mare E Terra* cit., p. 126.

¹⁴⁹ Calaon, *La Venetia maritima tra il VI e il IX sec* cit., p. 56.

¹⁵⁰ Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., p. 14.

¹⁵¹ Gelichi, Sauro, Ferri, Margherita, Moine, Cecilia, *Venezia e la laguna tra IX e X secolo: strutture materiali, insediamenti, economie*, in *I tempi del consolidamento. Venezia, l'Adriatico e l'entroterra tra IX e X secolo*, VIII Seminario del Centro Interuniversitario di Storia e Archeologia dell'Alto Medio Evo (Venezia, 29-30 ottobre 2015), Turnhout, 2017, pp. 79-128: 107.

The article is available online at the following link: <<https://iris.unive.it/handle/10278/3699379>>

¹⁵² Rapetti, Manganaro, *Tra Mare E Terra* cit., p. 126.

¹⁵³ Rando, *Una Chiesa di frontiera* cit., p. 56-57; Pozza, *Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani* cit., pp. 27; Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., pp. 19-20.

mainland, a lagoon and a river port for goods traveling from the East to the West and vice versa. Consequently, the coenobium started an intense activity of hydraulic works, the construction of warehouses and hospices¹⁵⁴, together with the rights of docking and passage connected to the navigation of the resurgence rivers (*ripatici* and *telonei*) that connected the lagoon (the port mouth of the so-called 'Malamocco') with the hinterland of Padua¹⁵⁵. It is also remembered as a stopping place for dukes, bishops, and administrators traveling from Venice to the Po Valley and the opposite¹⁵⁶.

The arrival of the monks, together with the flourishing surrounding conditions, would entail the beginning of a considerable building project, which in 829 was still unfinished, as can be seen from the provisions made by Giustiniano Partecipazio in his famous last will, where it is stated to use the stones he owned in Equilo (the current Jesolo) to finish the work¹⁵⁷. It was indeed impossible to extract the materials directly from the caves as it happened in the past and neither was thinkable making bricks since their production in the Adriatic area and the Po Valley had been no longer active since the 6th century¹⁵⁸. The only solution consisted in reuse the material from another building, following a common practice throughout the early Middle Ages in Europe¹⁵⁹.

Giustiniano's last will constitutes an important document to outline the attitudes and the role that the first Dukes accomplished during the city's genesis since it represents a private document of a secular man¹⁶⁰. The last will makes a list of both material goods such as fields, vineyards, gardens, houses, mills, courts, and pastures located in the lagoon and on the mainland (Rialto, Equilo, Torcello), and immaterial ones, which are referred to the proto-feudal rights such as riparian rights, taxation on passages, tithes et alia¹⁶¹.

Giustiniano anticipated the idea of the merchant as a gentleman capable of juggling both government affairs and the administration of finances. He is presented as an anomalous figure detached from the contemporary hegemonic classes: a powerful gentleman at the

¹⁵⁴ Rando, *Una Chiesa di frontiera* cit., p. 56-57; Pozza, *Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani* cit., pp. 27.

¹⁵⁵ Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., *Prefazione*, XI-XII; Spinelli, *I primi insediamenti monastici lagunari* cit., p. 154; Pozza, *Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani* cit., pp. 21; Calaon, Ferri, Bagato, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto (IX secolo)* cit., p. 499; Rapetti, Manganaro, *Tra Mare E Terra* cit., p. 130.

¹⁵⁶ We can recall the horseback journey of Duke Pietro Orseolo and his companions to Milan and Vercelli which set off from St. Ilario. The duke and his fellows fled from Venice on the night of 31 August 978 following a mystical crisis in the duke that prompted him to leave the office and become a monk: Johannes Diaconus Venetus, *Istoria Veneticorum* cit., pp. 166-167.

¹⁵⁷ Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., doc. 2, p. 23.

¹⁵⁸ Calaon, *Tecniche edilizie, materiali da costruzione e società in Laguna tra VI e X secolo* cit., pp. 87.

¹⁵⁹ *ivi*, pp. 86-87.

¹⁶⁰ Ortalli, *Il ducato e la 'civitas Rivoalti'* cit., pp. 748-752.

¹⁶¹ Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., doc. 2, pp. 22-23.

top of the political hierarchy who participates in financial, business, and commercial dealings where money is unusually employed at risk and thus invested in favour of commercial interests and overseas trading¹⁶².

With the rise to power of the Dukes Agnello, Giustiano, and Giovanni, and the unfolding of their self-promotional, familiar, and dynastic program of political, economic, urban, and religious developments, the cultural and ideological foundations of the Venetian identity awareness began to be shaped. The complementarity between commercial interests, land ownership, and a projection outside the duchy¹⁶³ was embedded within a newly born mixed-frontier reality, where Lombard-Frankish elements coexisted with the Byzantine structure¹⁶⁴, and where even institutions had taken on a hybrid nature.

1.6 High-tides and low-tides: the years of prosperity and decadence

The strong and steady relationship between St. Ilario, the duchy, and the city, became more and more stretched during the following two centuries; furthermore, the strategic position of control and coordination of important and pivotal territories fostered the economic and patrimonial growth of the monastery, which assumed a feudal guise, resembling the great monastic institutions of the *Regnum*¹⁶⁵: the abbot possessed the *curia vassallorum*, he was flanked by a lawyer – most of the time chosen by a feudal family – and he was protected by squires and armed men¹⁶⁶. Often in conflict with civil and religious authorities, but strong in ducal and imperial protection, since the 10th century – but with the possibility of backdating it to the 9th century¹⁶⁷ – the monastery is occupied with the breeding of horses for transport and the management, especially during the XII century, of an increasing number of ports and river rights that allowed it to collect fees from monks and ferrymen in transit to Venice on boats¹⁶⁸. Moreover, the monastery provided protection for passing merchants and pilgrims by possessing the *xenodochia* of St. Pietro and St. Vito in Treviso¹⁶⁹. Furthermore, the agrarian revolution that occurred on

¹⁶² Carile, *Il problema delle origini di Venezia*, cit. p. 92.

¹⁶³ Ortalli, *Il ducato e la 'civitas Rivoalti'* cit., p. 727.

¹⁶⁴ Gasparri, *Venezia fra i secoli VIII e IX. Una riflessione sulle fonti* cit., p. 17.

¹⁶⁵ Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., *Prefazione*, XI-XV; Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., p. 20.

¹⁶⁶ Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., *Prefazione*, XV.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶⁸ *ivi*, *Prefazione*, XII-XIII.

¹⁶⁹ Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio* cit., pp. 11-12; Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., *Prefazione*, XIV; Calaon, Ferri, Bagato, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto (IX secolo)* cit., p. 499.

the mainland during the 11th and 12th centuries allowed the coenobium to guarantee certain and regular supplies to the city¹⁷⁰: it was during these two centuries that the monastic community reached the peak of prosperity and wealth¹⁷¹. On the other hand, the proactive institution entered the city's flourishing urban real estate market, promoting from the 11th century and throughout the 12th century the reclamation of plots of land owned in Dorsoduro, between the Grand Canal and the Viganò canal, which may have been part of the monastery's assets since the community resided in St. Servolo¹⁷². The islet of St. Gregorio, previously occupied by hunting marshes and abandoned salt pans, underwent a radical and rapid transformation that enabled it, as early as the 11th century, to accommodate the continuous flow of monks from St. Ilario¹⁷³.

Nevertheless, since the beginning of the 12th century, the territory was subjected to numerous war, social and environmental changes that turned the area into an inhospitable and desert territory, forgotten under layers of mud.

Because of its strategic position and the tendency to expand its wealthy estate, the monastery entered a conflict with the cities of Treviso and Padua. The disagreements with the former ended during the beginning of the 11th century, punctuated by the appearance of imperial documents later revealed to be fake or falsified¹⁷⁴ – the latter implies deliberately made changes to the authentic deeds to favour the addressee: the monastery of St. Ilario, like other monasteries of the same era, conducted a 'policy of forgeries' to define its role and identity in territorial, patrimonial, and jurisdictional terms. The production of forged imperial diplomas, patrimonial deeds, and investitures was linked on the one hand to the geomorphologically changing environment where new lands were constantly emerging and disappearing, and on the other hand to justifying the monastery's land projection on the territories outside the duchy¹⁷⁵. All of this raises serious doubts about the monastic documentation until the 12th century¹⁷⁶.

The hostility between Venice and the surrounding cities, especially Padua which had long claimed the territories on the mainland as its own, took the form of violent conflicts that

¹⁷⁰ Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., p. 21.

¹⁷¹ Pozza, *Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani* cit., p. 27; Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., p. 21.

¹⁷² According to a document dated 1075, the monastery already possessed some estates before that date: Lanfranchi, Strina, *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., *Prefazione*, XIV.

¹⁷³ Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci* cit., p. 21.

¹⁷⁴ More on this subject: A. Sopracasa, *Sui falsi del monastero veneziano dei Ss. Ilario e Benedetto (secc. IX - XIV)*, *Storia di Venezia*, 2, 2004, pp. 127-146.

¹⁷⁵ *Ivi*, pp. 128-134.

¹⁷⁶ *Ivi*, p. 128.

affected the area around St. Ilario and the present-day Chioggia on several occasions, between 1107 and the early decades of the 13th century¹⁷⁷. The monastery and its territories, closed within a cage with no way out, became the theatre of warfare by families that were hostile to the duchy, who saw in it not only an opportunity for robbery but also the symbol of the enemy power in the mainland¹⁷⁸. During the first half of the 13th century, the coenobium was occupied and ransacked because of the bellicose actions of the «heavy hand¹⁷⁹» of Jacopo from Sant'Andrea and the «bloodthirsty stain¹⁸⁰» of Ezzelino III from Romano. The latter attacked the monastery around 1242 forcing the monks to leave and find refuge in S. Gregorio in Venice, first temporarily and then permanently, despite the attempts to restore the ecclesiastic buildings from 1247¹⁸¹. These events highlighted the vulnerability of the monastery, now deprived of the protection of the duchy: its permanence in that area had been made increasingly precarious after the rise of the Municipality in the 1140s and the consequent downsizing of the ducal influence on governmental offices¹⁸².

Permanent damages to the monastery were not only caused by the aggressive conflicts between the cities but above all by the progressive swamping of the area, subject to continuous flooding and river overflows after the so-called 'Brenta cuts' carried out by the Paduans at the level of Noventa between 1142 and 1443¹⁸³. The diversion of the Brenta disrupted the hydrographic system of the *Medoacus* since the course of the river, which in its final stretch had lapped the boundary of the monastic lands, was diverted north-eastwards, and flowed into the Ilario delta¹⁸⁴. The monks tried to stem and divert the arrival of the waters away from the monastery with dikes and ditches, especially in the Mazor canal, a surviving trunk of the ancient *Medoacus*. Precisely because of the extensive damage suffered, the peace pact drafted in 1144 granted to increase in the toll of the boats that were brought into the lagoon from inland through a system of chains and

¹⁷⁷ Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio cit.*, Prefazione, XVI.

¹⁷⁸ *Ivi*, XVII; Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁷⁹ Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio cit.*, Prefazione, XVII.

¹⁸⁰ *Ivi*, p. XVIII.

¹⁸¹ Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio cit.*, Prefazione, XVI. According to Tommaso Temanza, the main goal of this action was to obtain water, which was taken away from Vicenza, and to and benefit from a new and easy navigation of the river: Temanza, Tommaso, *Dissertazione sopra I 'antichissimo territorio di sant'Ilario nella Diocesi di Olivolo, in cui molte cose si toccano all'antico stato della Vezia marittima appartenenti*, Venezia, 1761, p. XXXVII.

¹⁸⁴ Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci cit.*, p. 15.

conveyor belts, according to a mechanism very similar to that used in Fusina in later centuries, the so-called Fusina carriage or machinery (**Fig.1.3**)¹⁸⁵. The peace treaty also granted the right to build mills along the waterways in its territory as far as Noventa. However, it was not long before that waterway was abandoned, by then submerged by the mass of water of the Brenta that opened its ways towards the current Mira and Oriago¹⁸⁶. Every road or water route became unusable, making impossible any economic and administrative operations, as well as the possibility of welcoming human settlements of the area, both components on which the monastery's wealth depended¹⁸⁷. The coenobium's decline, already heralded from the 12th century, ended around the middle of the 15th century when it was suppressed by a papal decision and turned into a commendam while its buildings fell into ruin¹⁸⁸. Witnesses say that as early as 1327, salsa water was beating in the walls of the church of St. Ilario¹⁸⁹.

St. Gregorio had become the new seat from the 13th century: here the monks demonstrated a remarkable ability to adapt to the new climate, on one hand by maintaining their institutional and spiritual identity intact and on the other hand by aligning themselves with the new economic needs of the city¹⁹⁰.

Before the Republican dominions of the *Stato da Mar* and the *Stato da Terra*, the soul of Venice already embodied an ambivalent attitude that from its earliest beginnings led it to project itself both toward the sea and toward the mainland, according to an attitude well aligned to the feudal experiences of the *Regnum*. From this perspective, the monastery of Saints Ilario and Benedetto can be interpreted as a symbol of Venice on the mainland, an outpost guarding the duchy and standing for its landed interests, that became one of the main actors within the deep changes that affected the developing Venetian duchy. The long interval leading up to the 12th century saw its extraordinary consolidation in the shadow of the ducal power, until council pressures redefined its role and place. A large and wealthy monastery, *longa manus* on the dry land, St. Ilario ended up becoming what it had originally shunned, overwhelmed by lagoon encroachments and the accumulation

¹⁸⁵ Cornaro, *Scritture sulla laguna*, p. 128.

¹⁸⁶ *ivi*, pp. 131-132, note 4.

¹⁸⁷ Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio cit.*, Prefazione, XV.

¹⁸⁸ Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio cit.*, pp. 17s., Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio cit.*, Prefazione, XLVIII.

¹⁸⁹ Cornaro, *Scritture sulla laguna*, p. 135-136, note 5.

¹⁹⁰ Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci cit.*, p. 15.

of river deposits, doomed once more to become a marshy and unhealthy environment. Fossilized alder and ash tree trunks are all that remain of the prosperous and flourishing forest that covered the area from the fifth to the ninth centuries, protecting it from Brenta's threats¹⁹¹. Beginning in the 9th century, however, the advancement of the lagoon, the clearing of trees, the shifting of the margin to an area that was getting closer to St. Ilario, and ultimately the diverting of Brenta, severely undermined the monastic heritage's foundations.

Senator Marco Cornaro bemoaned the passing of such a distinguished basilica when he visited the location in 1443 and saw that not even the columns supporting the arches could be found¹⁹².

1.7 Critical history

The site of the monastery of Saints Ilario and Benedetto lies, devoid of any ancient evidence, in the hamlet of Dogaletto di Mira, between Malcontenta and Gambarare, and it has been the subject of archaeological investigations since the late 19th century.

As a result of the digging undertaken by the Piovego superintendents of Venice in the area of Moranzani and Fusina to implement the plumbing system in 1756/1757, the Venetian architect Tommaso Temanza was the first to produce, after centuries of silence, a written dissertation regarding the Benedictine monastery, tracing historical and hydrological developments and providing a reconstruction of the coenobium's territories extension (**Figs.1.4-1.5**)¹⁹³.

Afterward, in the second half of the 19th century, Marquis Lorenzo Saibante accumulated a large estate around the territories of Mira, Oriago, and the southern lagoon¹⁹⁴, and a few years later, in 1783, he promoted a solo 'excavation campaign'. Such activities were brought to the attention of the Advisory Commission on Conservation, which established a Sub-commission of three of its members to visit the site on April 19, 1874¹⁹⁵. During the following years, arrangements were made to seek funds to promote a 'controlled'

¹⁹¹ Corro, Moine, Primon, *Reazioni uguali e contrarie* cit., pp. 112-114.

¹⁹² Cornaro, *Scritture sulla laguna*, p. 77.

¹⁹³ T. Temanza, *Dissertazione sopra l'antichissimo territorio di sant'Ilario nella Diocesi di Olivolo, in cui molte cose si toccano all'antico stato della Vezia marittima appartenenti*, Venezia, 1761.

¹⁹⁴ C. Moine, E. Corrà, S. Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia: archeologia e geologia nelle terre del monastero di Sant'Ilario tra alto Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, p. 83.

¹⁹⁵ *Raccolta di scritti ed atti uffiziali relativi agli escavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abazia di sant'Ilario*, stab. tipo-litografico municipale di Gaetano Longo, Mestre, 1880, pp. 5-9, 25 April 1874.

excavation campaign, which finally began in 1881. The Marquise turned out to be very accepting regarding the decision to entrust public institutions with the management of that slice of land he owned, also agreeing on allocating the finds inside the Museo Civico di Venezia¹⁹⁶. Animating this initiative was also the wish to make the land cultivable¹⁹⁷, to recover materials for the construction of a new building on the Marquis' properties in Oriago¹⁹⁸, as well as the desire to select some valuable objects, most likely with the intention of selling them¹⁹⁹.

The diggings, as well as its outcome and the reasons that prompted the marquis to finance it, were extremely ambiguous, cluttered, and «miserable²⁰⁰». On the other hand, this should not be too surprising considering the historical context in which the excavations were undertaken: the cultural and practical environment in which archaeology was moving in the late 1800s was in fact slowly beginning to break free from what is known as the Speculative and First Excavations Phase²⁰¹, whose main objective consisted in finding valuable ancient masterpieces and decorations. It was only from 1860 onwards that the first modern excavations with scientific purposes slowly began to be practiced in strong relation to geology principles like the stratification of rocks: from this point of view, geology helped to conceptualize the antiquity of humankind and the concept of evolution. Although at that time archaeology became an established discipline, it would be necessary to wait until the 1960s for the archaeological process, as well as reasoning, to become explicit and documented in detail in all its phases. Besides, in the very years that affected the excavations conducted at St. Ilario, after the incorporation of Venice into the Kingdom of Italy in 1866 and starting especially from the second half of the 1870s embracing the following ten years as well, a heated debate was taking place in Venice about restoration practices and techniques that were ideally triggered by the restoration work undertaken at St. Marco's Basilica. That debate involved John Ruskin, who together with William Morris established in the 70s the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), and especially his brilliant protégé, the architect and archaeologist

¹⁹⁶ Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, II versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis, 5 August 1876.

¹⁹⁷ *Raccolta degli scritti ed atti ufficiali*, 1880, p. 21-24, 7 [February or March] 1877.

¹⁹⁸ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 19 May 1976.

¹⁹⁹ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 9 December 1878.

²⁰⁰ Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio* cit., p. 54.

²⁰¹ For an overview of the history of Archaeology see: C. Renfrew, P. Bahn, *Archaeology Essentials*, London, Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2018, pp. 10-38.

Giacomo Boni²⁰². It was precisely the latter's activity that turned out to be crucial in the spread of Ruskin's conservative ideas within the cultural context of Venice in the late 1800s, although Boni undertook a radicalization of his own thought, influenced also by Viollet-le-Duc's theories in favor of an idealistic reconstruction on a supposed philological basis. Such positions could be said to have been materialized, or to be the cause of the present-day appearance and perception of Venice. Venice was indeed seen by Ruskin as one of the most important cities for the Romantics' collective imagination, whereby it was necessary to take sides against the umpteenth attempt at "modernization" – which he strongly condemned as the origin of the corruption of arts and societies – in the name of safeguarding and maintaining the city's Authenticity and so preserving its past glory, in the perspective that everything is doomed to die. The most obvious manifestation of this debate is perhaps the present-day perception of Venice as a city-museum crystallized and made of stones and monuments, rather than a Venice made of people: after the 19th century, Venice became Venice's memory, a historic place full of past and lack of present. The documentation concerning the excavation campaign that took place from 1873 to 1885 is kept in almost its entirety at the Central State Archives in Rome, with the exception of reports dated April 25, 1874 and November 23, 1875, and other later dispatches instead preserved in a printed publication of 1880, *la Raccolta degli scritti e degli atti ufficiali relativi agli escavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abazia di S. Ilario*²⁰³. The latter contains only a small portion of the bureaucratic correspondence between the landowner, the General Directorate of Excavations and Monuments, and the municipal bodies of Mira, Padua and Venice, Verona, and Rome: it presents only 8 reports with eulogistic content, with the propaganda aim of appeasing public opinion and obtaining additional funding for excavations. Attached to the dispatches were also drawings and sketches of some Roman, Christian, and Medieval inscriptions²⁰⁴, together with the

²⁰² For insight regarding this topic see: M. Pilutti Namer, *Safeguarding Venice. Giacomo Boni and John Ruskin in Change Over Time*, 6, 2016, pp. 24-37.

²⁰³ *Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali relativi agli escavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abazia di sant'Ilario*, stab. tipo-litografico municipale di Gaetano Longo, Mestre, 1880.

²⁰⁴ Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, II versamento, I parte – busta n. 9 – fascicolo 475, 19 May 1876, 31 August 1882, 28 April 1883.

The graphic attachments were out of consultation for digitization and viewable only in the form of photocopies at the time of the inspection in March 2023.

related sheets of cast paperwhite²⁰⁵. A brief overview of the excavations was also published in the *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* in 1883²⁰⁶.

Within the *Raccolta*, along with the Roman and Christian inscriptions, other drawings were published, namely the planimetric survey of the late medieval Church along with the stratigraphic description and the sketches of the mosaics, and other sculptural fragments (**Figs.1.6-1.9**).

The last evidence related to the excavation campaign conducted in the late 19th century is a picture, usually dated around 1880, depicting the excavations where can be seen the perimeter walls, the column bases and their foundations, and the transenna that separated the naves from the presbytery; in addition, a section of mosaic pavement can also be glimpsed at the second and third column bases of the left aisle (**Fig.1.10**).

Thirty years later, in 1912, Giuseppe Marzemin published what is thought to be the only reasoned publication closest to the date of the excavations: *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio. Notizie storiche artistiche archeologiche*²⁰⁷. In his book, Marzemin performed a synthesis and a review of some notes, pertaining to the first years of excavations and belonging to Cav. Eugenio Gidoni, which were delivered to him by Gidoni's son-in-law, Carlo Paluello, at the time Inspector of Monuments and Excavations of the Dolo district²⁰⁸. Unfortunately, the original notes have been lost, making it impossible to verify some of the sources that Marzemin used for his book. Also presented within Marzemin's publication is a planimetry (**Fig.1.11**), complete²⁰⁹ with a legend, measurements, and stratigraphy, which appears to be much more detailed than the one from the *Raccolta* and also very similar to another one depicted in a watercolour drawing showing the status of the work by December 22, 1873 (**Fig.1.12**).

Eugenio Gidoni's own presence as the director of the first digging campaign is controversial and debatable: it is difficult to confirm with certainty his participation because he was never mentioned directly in the official documents, neither as a signature nor indirectly as a consultant²¹⁰. Recent analyses would seem to suggest that the notes

²⁰⁵ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 27 May 1882.

²⁰⁶ G. Fiorelli, *Mira: notizie degli scavi di antichità, Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Atti della reale Accademia dei Lincei, anno CCLXXX, vol. XI, serie terza, Roma, 1882-83, pp. 267-268.

²⁰⁷ G. Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio. Notizie storiche artistiche archeologiche*, Venezia, Tipografia Libreria Emiliana Editrice, 1912.

²⁰⁸ *ivi*, Introduzione.

²⁰⁹ Marzemin himself acknowledged having finished the planimetry: Moine, Corrò, Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia*, p. 118.

²¹⁰ *ivi*, p. 83.

may not have been written by Gidoni but by someone who attended the first excavation, and that he likely got them as a result of his duties as Inspector of the excavations in that region between 1887 and 1896²¹¹.

When the work was completed, the land was levelled and put under cultivation²¹², only to be forgotten once more for almost the entire next century until the 1980s, when a revived interest in one of the key monastic institutions of 'urban' Venice sparked new publications and an excavation campaign.

The scholarly production between the 20th and the 21st centuries can be gathered into two main groups according to two different approaches to the topic. The first group includes scholarly works relating to the monastery's historical parabola as well as printed transcriptions of the related Venetian documents, the majority of which are preserved in late copies. Printed publications containing the Documents transcription and the related critical apparatus were published by Roberto Cessi in 1942²¹³ – with a focus on the Early Middle Ages documents – by Luigi Lanfranchi e Bianca Strina in 1965²¹⁴ – including also an introduction to the history of the Benedictine monastery, tracing its development and highlighting its functions – and eventually they have been made freely available on the SAAME – *Centro interuniversitario per la Storia e l'Archeologia dell'Alto Medioevo* – website since 2010²¹⁵. Alessio Sopracasa further distinguishes between records that include reliable information and those that were falsified or completely made up to support the territorial and economic ambitions of the institution²¹⁶.

The monastic experience of St. Ilario, as well as its historical parabola, was contextualized by some scholars within the larger phenomenon of the monastic foundations that took root in the lagoon territories and on the mainland between the late 8th and early 9th century, and that saw the development of eight monasteries, four on the mainland and

²¹¹ *ivi*, p. 118.

²¹² ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 21 January 1885.

²¹³ R. Cessi, *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriori al Mille*, 2 voll., Padova, 1942.

²¹⁴ L. Lanfranchi, B. Strina, *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, Venezia, 1965.

²¹⁵ *Documenti veneziani*, edited by A. Pazienza, in Saame. Centro interuniversitario per la storia e l'archeologia dell'alto medioevo. Link: <<http://saame.it>>

²¹⁶ A. Sopracasa, *Sui falsi del monastero veneziano dei Ss. Ilario e Benedetto (secc. IX - XIV)*, Storia di Venezia, 2, 2004, pp. 127-146.

four in the lagoon. Giovanni Spinelli²¹⁷, Sante Bortolami²¹⁸, Daniela Rando²¹⁹, Marco Pozza²²⁰, Stefano Gasparri²²¹, Anna Maria Rapetti, and Stefano Manganaro²²² – just to name some – have devoted entire books and articles trying to highlight the fundamental economic and symbolic function of monasteries in medieval European societies as political, cultural, and institutional hotspots, as well as locations for the management of resources on behalf of the duchy *élites*. Over and above, none of these factors prevented these religious communities from forging their own monastic and institutional identities, or from taking the initiative in shaping the rise of urban aristocracies and the creation of new lagoon identities within a changed political and geographic context. Anna Rapetti describes the monastery as a pawn within the chessboard of experiences and experimentations carried out by the first generation of dukes and their political and familiar program of establishing both a dynastic government and feudal control over their domains on the mainland²²³.

The monograph published in 1964 by Luigi Gallo presents a merely historical analysis of the area and the monastery, starting with the spread of the cult of St. Ilario in the territories surrounding the lagoons between the 4th and 6th centuries, emphasizing particularly the conflicts and their consequences on the monastery and its activity, while the final chapters are dedicated to the 19th-century excavations and the major

²¹⁷ G. Spinelli, *I primi insediamenti monastici lagunari nel contesto della storia politica e religiosa veneziana*, in *Le origini della Chiesa di Venezia*, edited by F. Tonon, Venezia, 1987, pp. 143-166.

²¹⁸ Bortolami, Sante, s.v. 'L'agricoltura' in *Storia di Venezia (1992)* – Enciclopedie on line, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana. The article is available at the following link:

< https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/l-agricoltura_%28Storia-di-Venezia%29/>

²¹⁹ D. Rando, *Le strutture della chiesa locale*, in *Storia di Venezia dalle Origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, I, *Origini-età ducale*, edited by L. Cracco Ruggini, M. Pavan, G. Cracco e G. Ortalli, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, pp. 645-675; D. Rando, *Una Chiesa di frontiera: le istituzioni ecclesiastiche veneziane nei secoli VI-XII*, Bologna, Il mulino, 1994, pp. 53-70.

²²⁰ M. Pozza, *Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani nei secoli VIII-XII*, in *Il monachesimo nel Veneto medioevale*. Atti del convegno di studi in occasione del millenario di fondazione dell'abbazia di Santa Maria di Mogliano Veneto (Treviso), 30 novembre 1996, edited by F.G.B. Trolese, Badia di Santa Maria del Monte (Cesena) 1998, pp. 17-38.

²²¹ S. Gasparri, *The Formation of an Early Medieval Community: Venice between Provincial and Urban Identity*, in *Three empires, three cities; identity, material culture and legitimacy in Venice, Ravenna and Rome, 750-1000*, edited by V. West-Harling, Brepols Publishers, Turnhout (Belgium), 2015, pp. 35-50.

The article is available online at the following link: < <https://iris.unive.it/handle/10278/3665192>>

²²² A.M. Rapetti, S. Manganaro, Stefano, *Tra Mare E Terra: Monasteri E Processi Di Istituzionalizzazione in Laguna (Venezia, IX-X Secolo)*, in *L'abbazia altomedievale come istituzione dinamica*. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Abbazia benedettina di Farfa, 13-14 marzo 2015), edited by S. Manganaro, Roma, nella sede dell'istituto Palazzo Borromini, 2020, pp. 121-144.

The article is available online at the following link: < <https://iris.unive.it/handle/10278/3730799>>

²²³ A.M. Rapetti, *Il Doge E I Suoi Monaci. Il Monastero Dei Santi Ilario E Benedetto Di Venezia Fra Laguna E Terraferma Nei Secoli IX-X*, *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 18(2), 2017, pp. 3-28.

archaeological finds that were discovered and are now on display in the eastern and western yards of the National Archaeological Museum of Venice²²⁴. A brief booklet prepared by Bruna Forlati-Tamaro in 1953 included a catalogue of all the items kept in the Museum and made notice of the sculptures and mosaics²²⁵. However, comprehensive cataloguing of the Museum's sculptural works was carried out in 1980 by Renato Polacco and several students²²⁶: the publication, also accompanied by a photographic campaign, documents the state of preservation and provides art-historical insights for each object. The latter three authors introduce the second category, which welcomes archaeological and art-historical-oriented approaches to the topic. Attempts to identify the monastic structures and to speculate on their extent and location, as well as their chronology, have been done by Maurizia Vecchi²²⁷, Anna Antonelli²²⁸, and Giovanni Lorenzoni²²⁹.

The former focused the attention on the ducal Chapel in an attempt to provide a chronology: according to the chronicler Matteo Corato, the first church dedicated to St. Ilario was founded by Agnello in the year 784 however, the original text containing this information has been lost; in addition, Agnello was only a nobleman of Eraclea at the time. These two assumptions led the researcher to postdate the building of the ducal Chapel to the second decade of the 9th century, following Agnello's ducal election. In his essay on the major architectural monuments formed and constructed during the Partecipazi duchy, Lorenzoni supported this theory and expressed curiosity regarding the mosaics' location, the function of the bell/defensive tower, and their purpose and chronology. Anna Antonelli also made assumptions about the tower's history and use, suggesting that it served as a defence building against Hungarian incursions between the 9th and 10th centuries. She also provided a brief but dense depiction of the monastery's construction history, presenting a detailed analysis of the excavation levels based on a comparison of the several witnesses, and identifying the possible location of the two 9th-century ecclesiastic buildings.

²²⁴ L. Gallo, *Mestre, Marghera, Abbazia di Sant'Ilario*, Venezia, 1964.

²²⁵ B. Forlati-Tamaro, *Il Museo archeologico del Palazzo Reale di Venezia*, Roma, La Libreria dello Stato, 1953.

²²⁶ R. Polacco, *Marmi e mosaici paleocristiani e altomedievali del Museo Archeologico*, Roma, G. Bretschneider, 1980.

²²⁷ M. Vecchi, *La cappella Palatina di Sant'Ilario: un problema di datazione*, Rivista di Archeologia, III, 1979, pp. 117-121.

²²⁸ A. Antonelli, *Le vicende costruttive dell'Abbazia di Sant'Ilario presso Fusina*, Arte Veneta, 37, 1983, pp. 151-156.

²²⁹ G. Lorenzoni, *Espressioni d'arte: i principali monumenti architettonici*, in *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, I, *Origini – Età ducale*, edited by L. Cracco Ruggini, M. Pavan, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992, pp. 865-91.

Since the turn of the millennium, beginning in the fall of 2007, several surface investigations and an excavation campaign directed by Sauro Gelichi (Ca' Foscari University, Venice) and funded by the Veneto Region have rekindled interest in the coenobium. Between 2008 and 2015, several essays edited by professors and researchers from the same university have been published: Diego Calaon, Margherita Ferri, and Corinna Bragato²³⁰ discussed the initial findings of the 2007 investigation, which showed a complex stratigraphic situation that had been significantly impacted by land retrieval and agricultural activities. The survey investigation revealed layers and artifacts from various ages, from Roman to early medieval, that were mainly gathered within a small area, which was consequently determined to be the likely location of the monastic buildings (**Fig. 1.13**). Additionally, the pro-Carolingian and pro-Byzantine attitudes of the first generation of Dukes were contextualised within the monastic experience and the hybrid and ambivalent environment of the Venice of the origins²³¹. The ecclesiastical structures highlighted by the excavations in the 19th century were not detected by the last excavation campaign and so not acknowledged in the related papers written by Sauro Gelichi, Cecilia Moine, Sandra Primon, and Elisa Corro²³²; however, the investigations successfully defined the location of the monastic structures, which was probably surrounded by a moat and built on two different bumps separated by a canal. Several fragments of 'Glazed White Ware' ceramic from Constantinople, as well as numerous transport containers, globular amphorae, and light-body ceramics²³³, show how intense the monastery's commercial activity was. Additionally, a sizable cemeterial area, incremented from the 10th century, was discovered.

²³⁰ D. Calaon, M. Ferri, *Il monastero dei Dogi. SS. Ilario e Benedetto ai margini della Laguna veneziana*, in *Missioni archeologiche e progetti di ricerca e scavo dell'Università Ca' Foscari – Venezia*, VI Giornata di Studio, a cura S. Gelichi, (Venezia, 12 maggio 2008), Venezia, 2008, pp. 185-98.

The article is available at the following link: <<https://iris.unive.it/handle/10278/40566>>

D. Calaon, M. Ferri, C. Bagato, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto (IX secolo). Un monastero del nascente dogato veneziano tra terra e laguna*, Atti del V Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale, edited by G. Volpe, G. Flavia (Firenze, 30 settembre-3 ottobre 2009) pp. 498-504.

The article is available at the following link: <<https://iris.unive.it/handle/10278/40396>>

²³¹ D. Calaon, *L'intreccio della nascente Venezia. Sculture e marmi dei primi Dogi conservati presso i Musei di Piazza San Marco*, in *Dalla catalogazione alla promozione dei beni archeologici. I progetti europei come occasione di valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale veneto*, Venezia, 2014, pp. 233-343.

The article is available at the following link: <<https://iris.unive.it/handle/10278/3715457>>

²³² S. Gelichi, C. Moine, *Peregrinazioni in sconfinati deserti. Quale archeologia per i monasteri della laguna veneziana?*, Hortus Artium Medievalium, 19, 2013, pp. 133-154; E. Corro, C. Moine, S. Primon, *Reazioni uguali e contrarie. Evoluzione paleoambientale e trasformazioni storiche intorno al monastero dei Sant'Ilario e Benedetto (Dogaletto di Mira)*, in *Costruire territori/costruire identità: lagune a confronto tra antichità e medioevo*, edited by S. Gelichi, Reti Medievali Rivista, 16(2), 2015, pp. 103-150.

²³³ Gelichi, Moine, *Peregrinazioni in sconfinati deserti* cit., p. 140.

Although the written production relating to the monastery has sporadically mentioned the mosaic fragments, dating them to the 9th century – brief considerations in this regard have been made by Marzemin, Gallo, Polacco, and Gelichi²³⁴, while Xavier Barral I Altet provides a more in-depth reading by focusing on technical and iconographic features²³⁵ – only in 2015 a specific and reasoned article was published with the aim of introducing the depicted bestiary not only by identifying the (fantastic) creatures but also by suggesting a (double) symbolic reading of the fragments: exegetical and funerary. Stefano Riccioni²³⁶ also suggested a possible location for the churches of St. Ilario and St. Benedetto; he also provided a hypothesis regarding the role of the bell tower/defence tower inscribing it within the larger framework of churches characterized by a *tour-porche* on the façade and owned by members belong to aristocracy; this phenomenon was particularly widespread in Croatia along the eastern coast of Adriatic Sea.

Ultimately, the last written production regarding the monastery dates back to 2017, when Elisa Corrà, Cecilia Moine, and Sandra Primon sought to collect all previous writings about the coenobium into one book²³⁷. The book, which prioritizes an exquisitely archaeological approach, tackles the topic from multiple perspectives, retracing the themes mentioned above while also presenting the geomorphological aspects of the area, the relevant historical cartography, as well as an in-depth analysis of the vicissitudes related to the 19th-century excavations and the associated documentation, highlighting issues and inconsistencies.

²³⁴ S. Gelichi, *Venezia tra archeologia e storia: la costruzione di una identità urbana*, in *Le città italiane tra la Tarda Antichità e l'Alto medioevo*, Atti del Convegno (Ravenna 26-28 febbraio 2004), Augusti, Firenze, 2006, pp. 137-183.

²³⁵ X. Barral I Altet, *Les mosaïques de pavement médiévales de Venise*, Murano, Torcello, Picard editeur, Parigi, 1985.

²³⁶ S. Riccioni, *I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario. Orditi 'venetico-carolingi' di una koinè alto Adriatica*, in *I tempi del consolidamento. Venezia, l'Adriatico e l'entroterra tra IX e X secolo*, VIII Seminario del Centro Interuniversitario di Storia e Archeologia dell'Alto Medio Evo (Venezia, 29-30 ottobre 2015), Turnhout (Belgio), 2017, pp. 279-336.

The article is available at the following link: <<https://doi.org/10.1484/M.SCISAM-EB.4.201801>>

²³⁷ C. Moine, E. Corrà, S. Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia: archeologia e geologia nelle terre del monastero di Sant'Ilario tra alto Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 Methodology of research

The following project aims at organising, presenting, and verifying as clearly and rigorously as possible, the (well)-established knowledge together with new additional information and considerations regarding the monastic complex of SS. Ilario and Benedetto with the goal to become, on its whole, a starting point for further research: like a toolbox, the work tries to define some key points and to provide some tools in order to better read and comprehend the phenomenon being covered. Moreover, the present elaborate aims at demonstrating the pivotal use of digital modelling and visualization tools as scientific tools applied since the very beginning of the project to improve the research, drive and build interpretation, and show complex and twisted patterns in an intuitive, friendly, and familiar way, making visually represented and clear contents otherwise difficult to visualize using only words.

Therefore, the research activity was not conducted exclusively by consulting archival documents and bibliographic sources, but it was equally accompanied by an ongoing modelling activity consisting of 2D visualizations of contents, also by taking care to keep track of the interpretative and research process in an empirical way in order to provide the project and the reader with adequate mechanisms to explain and justify the process of modelling and interpretation so as to cope with the black-box effect and the palimpsest effect, and at the same time be able to show the complexity beneath the investigated phenomenon.

With the aim of aligning the project as much as possible to the internationally compatible standards for the production of FAIR data for the study, conservation, enhancement, and security of cultural heritage, it has decided to exploit a well-established software that, even if expensive and not tailor-made or open-source, guarantees long-term sustainability by reducing maintenance costs²³⁸.

Moreover, it has been opted for the creation of Excel sheets and tables capable of keeping track of the research and interpretative process and of linking 2D models to *data* – the actual information, e.g. surveys and documents, findings, what in the workflow is usually called quantitative data –, *metadata* – information that describes the data, e.g. objective

²³⁸ T. Mancinelli, E. Pierazzo, *Che cos'è un'edizione scientifica digitale*, Roma, Carocci editore, 2020, pp. 80-87.

technical information such as date, place, author, notes, sources what is usually called qualitative data – and *paradata* – explanation of the research and the interpretive choices applied. In this way, the digital medium allows to read text and volumes alongside each other through a system of attribute tables and 2D models so as to properly exploit and make digital tools and methods suitable for the humanities' necessity of creation and construction of knowledge. In fact, one of the main debated issues in the field is whether scientific and humanistic methodologies can be merged, even if based on two different approaches: quantitative and numerical the former, where the knowledge is given (*data*), qualitative and dynamic the latter, where the knowledge is taken and built (*capta*)²³⁹.

Working on documents of different natures – here the word *document* is intended in its broader sense, as every type of non-abstract object that represents the subject of the research –, and translating them into a computer-based visualization and a visual narration required the employment of an interdisciplinary and broader digital and theoretical context, as well as a collaborative dimension to consciously visualize and address specific questions that imply (virtual) archaeology, art history, IT, 2D modelling, history of architecture, material history.

The extremely nebulous beginning panorama – we are dealing with a highly fragmented context and equally uncertain and ambiguous documentation, and we are referring to an immaterial place whose structures are completely disappeared except for a few fragments housed within the courtyards of the Archaeological Museum of Venice – together with the necessity of defining a list where all the original records regarding the diggings could have been clearly gathered and defined, required first of all the research and subsequent in-depth examination of these documents. The need to clarify the state of knowledge resulting from the excavation activities conducted the writer first to Central Archive in Venice, where a copy of the publication *Raccolta degli scritti e degli atti ufficiali relativi agli escavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abazia di S. Ilario* is kept and later to the Central State Archive in Rome, where the dispatches of the royal inspectors who were in charge with the financing and excavation activities at the site of St. Ilario are preserved. Subsequently, an attempt was made to trace the pictures pertaining to the diggings and

²³⁹ J. Drucker, *Humanities Approaches to Graphical Display*, Digital Humanities Quarterly, 5(1), 2011.

The article is available at the following link:

<http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/5/1/000091/000091.html>;

E. Doukarakidou, *Reframing Art History*, International Journal for Digital Art History, 1, 2015.

The article is available at the following link: <https://doi.org/10.11588/dah.2015.1.21638>

recorded by the dispatches, three of which were sent to the Ministry of Education in Rome, with skimpy results: two pictures were identified, which nevertheless provide unpublished information about the mosaic fragments and their on-site position.

By reading the documentation, specific information was identified and isolated in order to establish the state of material knowledge during and at the end of the excavation, which then constituted the starting point for the review of the subsequent scientific literature, in particular the hypotheses elaborated by scholars over the last century. Eventually, in the last part of the research, an attempt was made to present new contents capable of framing part of the structural and cultural experiences related to the monastery and its structures, with the aim of providing useful tools to be exploited to undertake the subsequent development of restoration models.

The work has been carried out exploiting processual and post-processual methodologies, scientific and semantic perspectives accordingly to the latest established principles concerning the use of virtual solutions in the field of Cultural Heritage and specifically archaeology, the London Charter²⁴⁰, and the Principles of Seville²⁴¹, accordingly with the Faro Convention²⁴². The new *digital paradigma* has indeed changed the arena where humanists, and specifically digital and public humanists, conduct their research: the new environment, extremely quick, dynamic, and fluid, implies new approaches and methodologies to the humanities where digital solutions and visualization should be considered philological tools and transformative agents for the creation of new practices and new methodologies of research to be applied to the scientific activity from the very beginning of the *process*, and not merely fancy and aesthetically appealing solutions used to display the final *product* and conceived as mere additional tools to apply within an established workflow and a traditional environment. In this perspective, the output loses its recognisability as an authoritative final statement, the research is no longer *media-oriented* – which means oriented to publication – or at least not only, but *data-oriented*, where the process, and not the product, is central while the publication and research are fluid ongoing documents. Patrick Shale defines this ontological shift whose focus is on

²⁴⁰ *The London Charter for the computer-based visualization of cultural heritage*, draft 2.1, 7 February 2009. Url: <https://www.londoncharter.org/>

²⁴¹ *The Principles of Seville. International principles of virtual archaeology*, Ratified by the 19th ICOMOS General Assembly in New Delhi, December 2017. Url: <http://sevilleprinciples.com/>

²⁴² *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (CETS No. 199). Url: <https://www.coe.int/it/web/venice/faro-convention>

abstraction, modelling, and complexity with the designation of *trasnmedialization*²⁴³; the object in itself is read as a social living agent whose interpretation and observation have changed according to the cultural environment in which it existed and exists²⁴⁴.

Within this new paradigm, the modelling activity acquires a new and essential role²⁴⁵: such a term indicates both the process and the product: we usually talk about *model of* and *model for*²⁴⁶. Modelling is indeed one of the central practices in the field of Digital Humanities as it refers on one hand to data modelling, meaning the whole process of knowledge management (research, interpretation of sources) with a focus on making this process explicit, transparent, readable and consistent to scholars and anyone by stemming the so-called black-box effect as much as possible. On the other hand, the term is also associated with the actual modelling activity and the related obtained digital visualization.

The new paradigm where scholars find themselves to operate acquires a specific shape within the framework of digital and public archaeology, which is characterized by an ongoing and decades-long discussion regarding the role and the nature of computer-based visualizations since the very first time the term *virtual archaeology* was coined by Paul Reilly at the beginning of the 1990s²⁴⁷, and the first virtual reality modelling software was implemented by Mark Pesce during the same years. From this time on, IT development brought enormous progress in graphic rendering and realism also affecting scholars and public perception regarding digital visualization: riding the wave of technological speculation and aesthetic endeavour, the terminology applied by Reilly to describe virtual simulations as illusions and restoration models to illustrate monuments has been quickly replaced by the term *reconstruction*.

There is indeed power in words, and using the term reconstruction is dangerous since it may convey a false and fake sense of knowledge with the risk of mistaking for ‘truth’ what is actually nothing more than a hypothetical simulation of past realities, or the result of

²⁴³ Shale, *What is a Scholarly Digital Edition* cit., p. 32.

²⁴⁴ M.J. Driscoll, *The words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New*, in *Creating the Medieval Saga: Versions, Variability and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature*, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 111(3), 2012, pp. 394–396.

The article is available at the following link: <https://doi.org/10.5406/jenglgermphil.111.3.0394>

²⁴⁵ For an introduction to data modelling see: J. Flanders, F. Jannidis, *Data Modelling*, in *A New Companion to Digital Humanities*, edited by S. Schreibman, R. Siemens, J. Unsworth, Wiley Online Library, 2015, pp. 229-235; T. Mancinelli, E. Pierazzo, *Che cos'è un'edizione scientifica digitale*, Roma, Carocci editore, 2020.

²⁴⁶ *ivi.*, pp. 48-50.

²⁴⁷ P. Reilly, *Towards a virtual archaeology*. In *Computer Applications in Archaeology; British Archaeological Reports*, Oxford, UK, 1990, pp. 133–139.

subjective interpretation²⁴⁸. This perception was also exacerbated by the fact that early 3D digital models were not transparent and they did not allow for the verification of information, presenting themselves as absolute and peremptory statements of reality. This situation coerced scholars to enter a still ongoing discussion regarding the better and more suitable terminology to adopt to describe visual models as well as addressing the scientific, aesthetic, and disseminating role of digital solutions within the field.

Computer-based visualizations can be described as simulative models²⁴⁹, 3D approximations²⁵⁰, digital simulation and visualizations²⁵¹ that are user-generated, data-driven, and subjective, since they are produced by the interplay between empirical observation, assumption, logical interpretation, and creative imagination. To be completely honest, we should speak of actual *constructions*²⁵². However, to encompass and embrace the whole phenomenon these definitions are not enough: computer-based visualizations can be indeed defined as cognitive and scientific tools with their own philological dignity. Thanks to their dynamic nature, they can help the researcher, as well as the user, to think about and better understand complex phenomena and information, support interpretations and data modelling, and visually create and test complex hypotheses and dynamics to produce new insights into the past²⁵³. According to these statements, digital visualization does not represent an illustration of an idea following a

²⁴⁸ E. Pietroni, D. Ferdani, *Virtual Restoration and Virtual Reconstruction in Cultural Heritage: Terminology, Methodologies, Visual Representation Techniques and Cognitive Models*, Information, 12 (4), 167, 2021, pp. 1-30: 5.

The article is available online at the colloguing link: <https://doi.org/10.3390/info12040167>

²⁴⁹ J.T. Clark, *The Fallacy of Reconstruction*. In *Cyber-Archaeology*, edited by Forte, M., Archeopress, Oxford, UK, 2010, pp. 63-73.

²⁵⁰ R.P. Barratt, *Defining a Methodology for 3D Approximations in Archaeology: The Issue with Alternative Models*. In *Proceedings of the 23rd International Conference on Cultural Heritage and New Technologies*, Vienna, Austria, 12–15 November 2018, pp. 1-12.

The article is available online at the following link:

https://www.chnt.at/wp-content/uploads/eBook_CHNT23_Barratt.pdf

²⁵¹ S. Hermon, J. Nikodem, *3D Modelling as a Scientific Research Tool in Archaeology*, in *Layers of Perception, Proceedings of the 35th International Conference on Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology (CAA)*, Berlin, Germany, 2–6 April 2007; Posluschny, A., Lambers, K., Herzog, I., Eds., Springer: Berlin/Heidelberg, Germany, 2007, pp. 1–6.

The article is available online at the following link:

https://proceedings.caaconference.org/files/2007/38_Hermon_Nikodem_CAA2007.pdf

Pietroni, Ferdani, *Virtual Restoration and Virtual Reconstruction in Cultural Heritage* cit., pp. 1-30.

²⁵² Clark, *The Fallacy of Reconstruction* cit., p. 71.

²⁵³ Sanders, Donald H., *Why Do Virtual Heritage?*, in *Digital Discovery: Exploring New Frontiers in Human Heritage, Proceedings of the 34th Conference CAA2006*, Fargo, ND, USA, 18–22 April 2006, Budapest, 2007, pp. 563–572.

The article is available online at the following link:

https://proceedings.caaconference.org/files/2006/CD59_Sanders_CAA2006.pdf

mere communicative and disseminating purpose, but it is also a data analysis environment, a work of philological interpretation and interdisciplinarity where the collected information is cross-referenced and organized in order to satisfy the empirical necessity to be open to critical evaluation and deconstruction of their primary data²⁵⁴. In order to satisfy the latter necessity, finding solutions and methods to trace and map complexity and uncertainty is pivotal to addressing the problem of hyperreality in computer-based visualization, where real and fake news is so intertwined as to become indistinguishable²⁵⁵.

As a result of the scientific debate on virtual reconstruction, numerous projects and documents aimed at creating efficient guidelines and good practices in the field of scientific visualization of the past have been implemented over the years: alongside the *Principles for the recording of monuments, groups of buildings and sites* written in 1996²⁵⁶, *The London Charter* and the *Principle of Seville* aims respectively at establishes broad principles for the use, in research and communication of cultural heritage, of computer-based visualization, and at providing practical applications of the previous principles in order to improve its implementation in the field of archaeological heritage, considering the extraordinary potential of computer-based visualization but also its many weaknesses and inconsistencies.

According to the guidelines, the computer-based visualization method should normally be used only when it is the most appropriate available method for a specific purpose or goal and one should also not forget to choose and implement sustainable technological solutions. Moreover, particular attention should be given to the way in which visual sources may be affected by ideological, historical, social, religious, aesthetic, and other factors, since the chosen medium represents in itself the message and drives the way a document is perceived or thought to be perceived by the public, changing the experience of the object itself²⁵⁷.

Furthermore, the research and interpretative process must be readable and transparent in all its steps, the sources identified, the possibility of querying the model given as well

²⁵⁴ Hermon, Nikodem, *3D Modelling as a Scientific Research Tool in Archaeology* cit., p. 2.

²⁵⁵ Barratt, *Defining a Methodology for 3D Approximations in Archaeology* cit., p. 4.

²⁵⁶ *Principles for the recording of monuments, groups of buildings and sites* (1996) - International Council on Monuments and Sites.

Url: <https://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/387-principles-for-the-recording-of-monuments-groups-of-buildings-and-sites-1996>

²⁵⁷ M. McLuhan, *La galassia Gutenberg. Nascita dell'uomo tipografico*, Roma, Armando, 1985.

as understanding the criteria applied; besides, the level of authenticity must be defined in order to identify and distinguish the reality-based model from the source-based model²⁵⁸. The former is based on primary sources, meaning the exact and measurable archaeological context (excavation records, surveys, findings), while the latter exploits secondary sources that are not numerically measurable in order to convey the lost archaeological context. Eventually, defining the proper granularity approach – where granularity indicates the level of detail data is stored – so as to produce scientific rigorous documentation is required in order to achieve scientific and academic rigour.

Despite the guidelines, nowadays there are not yet universally accepted methods and tools to manage *data*, *metadata* *paradata*, and *capta* and to display uncertainty and conflicting or alternative 3D reconstruction. Concerning the prototype hereby presented, and looking at the methodology and choices applied by scholars to some case studies²⁵⁹, it was chosen to divide and organize the workflow into three general phases, which themselves contain further steps, according to the principles expressed in the previous pages (**Fig.2.1**).

²⁵⁸ E. Demetrescu, *Virtual Reconstruction as a Scientific Tool: The Extended Matrix and Source-Based Modelling Approach*, in *Digital Research and Education in Architectural Heritage: 5th Conference, DECH 2017, and First Workshop, UHDL 2017, Dresden, Germany, March 30-31, 2017, Revised Selected Papers*, edited by Münster, Sander, Friedrichs, Kristina, Niebling, Florian, Seidel-Grzesińska, Agnieszka, Springer, 2018, pp. 102-115: 106-108. The article is available online at the following link:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323703757_Virtual_Reconstruction_as_a_Scientific_Tool_The_Extended_Matrix_and_Source-Based_Modelling_Approach

²⁵⁹ The semantic and practical structure adopted for managing and organizing the workflow has been created according to the following case studies: E. Demetrescu, D. Ferdani, *From Field Archaeology to Virtual Reconstruction: A Five Steps Method Using the Extended Matrix*. Appl. Sci. 2021, 11(11), 5206, pp. 1-23.

The article is available online at the following link: <https://www.mdpi.com/2076-3417/11/11/5206>;

D. Ferdani, B. Fanini, M.C. Piccioli, F. Carboni, P. Vigliarolo, *3D reconstruction and validation of historical background for immersive VR applications and games: The case study of the Forum of Augustus in Rome*, Journal of Cultural Heritage, 2020, 43, pp. 129-143.

The article is available online at the following link: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2019.12.004>;

E. Demetrescu, *La ricostruzione dei paesaggi antichi attraverso l'integrazione di dati, metodologie e tecniche: Presente e futuro dagli esempi della Metro C a Roma*, in *Archeologi Nelle Terre di Bonifica. Paesaggi; Stratificati e Antichi Sistemi da Riscoprire e Valorizzare*, 2, TerrEvolute, Università Degli Studi di Pavia, Pavia, 2020, pp. 135–151;

Broeckmann, Andreas, *Image, Process, Performance, Machine: Aspects of an Aesthetics of the Machinic*, in *Media Art Histories*, edited by O. Grau, MIT Press, Massachusetts, 2007. pp. 193-207.

The article is available online at the following link: <http://95.216.75.113:8080/xmlui/handle/123456789/299>;

Kensek, Karen M., Swartz Dodd, Lynn, Cipolla, Nicholas, *Fantastic reconstructions or reconstructions of the fantastic? Tracking and presenting ambiguity, alternatives, and documentation in virtual worlds*, Automation in Construction, 2004, 13(2), pp. 175-186.

The article is available online at the following link: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.autcon.2003.09.010>;

Pietroni, Ferdani, *Virtual Restoration and Virtual Reconstruction in Cultural Heritage* cit., pp. 1-30.

2.2 Project workflow and activities

The 'Pre-production' phase: data collection.

This preliminary phase consisted in gathering and storing qualitative and quantitative data to acquire specific knowledge and information regarding the treated subject. The former consists of written material, visual material, and surveys, while the latter implies on one hand the study of the archaeological and historical, cultural and environmental, context, and the economic and political identity role of the coenobium, alongside the research of new material and contents to be used as new terms of comparison to provide new insights and knowledge regarding the topic.

The Production phase: implementation actions and digitalization

Within this section, 2D modelling has been used as a research tool applied to improve cognitive and interpretative processing by transforming raw data into visual information alongside the adoption of solutions for ensuring source mapping, transparency, and readability. The creation of an Excel file where all the sources (primary and secondary) and their relation with the models are explained consisted of an attempt to follow as much as possible the FAIR general principles for the management and dissemination of scientific records: within this context, the table could be intended to be a readable and transparent solution to show, organize, and normalize information. Specifically, the main agents and variables are identified and categorized into rows and columns and divided into three sheets, which correspond to the three parts the entire workflow is divided into. Moreover, each table is assigned a specific group of numbers for ID:

The *Sources Table* stores the information regarding the original documentation; their IDs are included in the numbering 1000-100*n*

The *Hypothesis Table* gathers all previous interpretations given by scholars; their IDs are included in the numbering 2000-200*n*

The *Cultural Context Table* provides new contents and terms of comparison for the comprehension of the treated phenomenon; their IDs are included in the numbering 3000-300*n*

In this regard, it is deemed necessary to point out that only excavation records and later studies were analyzed here. Consequently, and intentionally, no analysis and in-depth investigation was made of the materials preserved today at the archaeological museum, as they were not considered functional at this first stage of the research.

Within the *Sources Table* (**TABLE I**), the documents have been sorted following a chronological order; therefore, it was chosen not to divide the documents by type (dispatches from the ACS, *Raccolta*, *Atti*, pictures, graphic drawings) so as to facilitate a holistic reconstruction and a better understanding of the events. In any case, each document is provided with a common identifier depending on whether it belongs to a specific group of documents, specifically:

ID 0: the written documentation referring to historical documentary sources;

ID 1: the written documentation making reference to the dispatches;

ID 2: the written documentation referring to *Raccolta* and *Atti*;

ID 3: the graphical annexes;

ID 4: the pictures;

ID 5: secondary sources;

Each record is provided with a unique identifier (ID), which is the common link between the table, the facsimiles, and the 2D models. For each record is specified date and place, the type of document (printed edition, manuscript document, graphic elaboration, et alia), and its nature (original, copy, draft, et alia); each record is then provided with a title that identifies whether it is a dispatch, a picture, a drawing, a privilege; the writer is identified as well. If certain information is not known, the cell is marked with n.i. (not identified). In addition, since most of the documentation consists of dispatches, and with the aim of gaining more and more clarity on the dynamics of excavation, a column is defined in which specifying whether the document is in response to a previous dispatch.

The time available did not allow for a global transcription of the documents; consequently, it was decided to create an entry within the table that would contain the summary of the record's contents, while the essential information for visual processing and interpretation and the related considerations regarding the excavated structures were partially transcribed and collected under the attribute *Salient Points*. Finally, each record is accompanied by general considerations and notes resulting from the interpretation of the document; any annexes attached are then specified, and the source or bibliography is also mentioned. Finally, the link between the record and the corresponding folder in Google Drive is provided.

Within the *Hypothesis Table* (**TABLE II**) the records have been sorted according to the topic. In fact, from the reading of the excavation records, a series of visible or deducible architectural components have been isolated: the Partecipazi family Chapel dedicated to

St. Ilario, the early medieval churches of St. Ilario and St. Benedetto, the mosaic fragments, the early medieval church of SS. Ilario and Benedetto, the rectangular room, the foundations of the tower, the monastic structures. For each group, the hypotheses made by scholars in past years are presented and arranged in chronological order of publication. Specifically, for each interpretation, the chronology proposed by the scholar, and any terms of comparison he or she used in his or her statements with the relevant bibliography of reference are highlighted. Obviously, the table does not lack the bibliographical reference of the essay examined and the images selected to be included in the present thesis.

Within the *Cultural Context Table* (**TABLE III**) are grouped the new investigations carried out and related to the cultural context in which the Ilario monastery experience is seamlessly embedded. These are mostly considerations on the nature of the relationship between *élites* and monasteries in the Lombard and Carolingian traditions, as well as further specifics on the Benedictine order and its Rule. Remaining still within the Lombard-Carolingian cultural sub-context, the subject of private funerary Chapels and oratories between the 7th and 9th centuries in the areas of northern Italy and the Dalmatian and Croatian shores of the Adriatic is then addressed together with the phenomenon of towers, and their functions, located in monasteries alongside or in front of Chapels and churches. Building techniques adopted in the lagoon and on the shores of the upper and middle Adriatic Sea are also introduced. For each macro-topic, the author, the related bibliography, as well as buildings used as terms of comparisons are reported. The visual comparison and modelling, meaning the structural and urban representation (tables with sections, stratigraphy, surveys, planimetry, simulations, hypothesis), have been handled by a semi-automatic drawing software, AutoCAD, here adopted for implementing 2D (semantic) modelling, managing images, and developing the stratigraphic analysis and the visual comparison between the records; it has been used also for visually tracing and showing the evolution of the excavations, to place part of the surviving mosaics into their original location and position, and to implement and simulate hypothesis affecting effectively the interpretation and the results.

To make 2D models produced by AutoCAD transparent, readable, and communicating with the Tables, within the worksheet (in AutoCAD it is called *model*, **Fig.2.2**), it was decided to assign each element a different layer, which is identified by means of a set of recognizable characteristics: in order to make the data modeling process explicit (make

the documents involved and their content recognizable) so as to align it to the transparency and scientific requirements specified by the guidelines, we exploited the layer properties table. This table collects all the information relating to each layer which is identified by a name, a color, specific features related to the type of line, and a description (**Fig.2.3**). In this specific case, it was decided to categorize certain elements by grouping them according to thematic cores which are assigned a common identifying number followed by the name. This, when modeling and viewing the model helps its better and faster understanding and reading.

Specifically, the elements belonging to the original documentation, in this case, the plans, stratigraphy, and pictures have been assigned the label 00_NAME; the elements returned in 2D but still bound to the surveys are grouped in the 100_NAME, these include the graphic restitution of the plans and elevations. The identified places and individual elements present on site (structural and non-structural, e.g., rectangular room, low medieval church, mosaics, wooden fence, transenna, walls, et alia) detected from the written and visual documentation are grouped 200_NAME. Up to this point, the groups refer to a series of elements found and visible on-site at the time of excavation, while the subsequent numberings concern all the elements belonging to a further stage of the interpretation process, namely studies and sources. The photo-rectification of the picture taken during the diggings is collected under 300_NAME, while source-based models and simulations regarding the early medieval churches of St. Ilario and St. Benedetto are gathered in 300_NAME group. Some elements, such as section lines or written text, represent independent entries and therefore are grouped within the generic 01_NAME. Each layer is then assigned, under the item description, a set of information that allows each element to be linked to the relevant written and visual documentation by means of unique identifiers. Transparency and readability of the 2D model are thus ensured through the visual mapping of the sources used for the hypothesis, making the archaeological and historical background transparent and enduring to distinguish the reality-based model from the source-based model, eventually enabling the scientific community to query the model as well as evaluate and track the workflow and the process.

In addition, to address the problem of hyperreality in digital simulation the use of brighter colours such as yellow, orange, purple, blue and green was favoured to identify simulated elements, such as the extension of the Chapel and the early mediaeval churches, while

settled elements were kept in grey shades. The use of transparencies, as well as different line thicknesses, were also elements employed to help distinguish between certain and uncertain, but also existing or non-existing, structures.

Eventually, an attempt was made to photo-straighten the picture showing the diggings, which, due to its extremely perspective viewpoint, produced a discrete but in any case, acceptable result. After an unsuccessful attempt at photo-rectification using Photoshop and QGIS – surely due to the lack of technical knowledge on the part of the writer – it was chosen a software, RDF, which is more rudimentary and certainly not as accurate as a photo-rectification made using QGIS, but still capable of providing a result that was at least significant.

During this phase, one or more virtual reconstructive hypotheses of the archaeological context have been proposed together with a ‘report’ of visual activities representing the textual discursive version concerning the interpretation whose contents are disclosed in Chapter 2 of the present thesis.

Communication phase: communication and dissemination actions

The modelling activity was exploited to create public contents by means of explanatory plates²⁶⁰. Lastly, since the presented research has been conceived to be a sort of toolbox to use as a starting point for further research, a specific section dedicated to the *Limits and possible future developments of the research* has been presented as well.

The publication of the whole dataset and documents and files is gathered within a repository platform, GoogleDrive.

²⁶⁰ Ferdani, B. Fanini, M.C. Piccioli, F. Carboni, P. Vigliarolo, *3D reconstruction and validation of historical background* cit., p. 131.

PART I

Let the documents talk: the archaeological records amid comparisons and new findings²⁶¹

In 1874, the (Provincial) Advisory Commission for the Preservation of Monuments established a Sub-commission composed of three of its members with the task of visiting the site where the monastery of SS. Ilario and Benedetto once arose, at the time part of the territory belonging to Marquis Saibante²⁶². In fact, in that location and until the year before, the man, an engineer of the railroads and therefore equipped with practical workers and equipment, was conducting solo excavations that today we would call illegal. Subsequently, the Commission wanted *Cav.* Tomaso Luciani, at that time Royal Inspector of the excavations and monuments of Venice, to visit the site²⁶³: the goal was to establish the possibility or not of starting a 'controlled' excavation activity in order to uncover the structures and perhaps bring part of the material evidence to Venice. *Comm.* Nicolò Barozzi, a member of the Advisory Commission for the Conservation of Monuments and Curator of the Civic Museum Correr in Venice, was consequently asked to do the same²⁶⁴. The Sub-commission's opinion, as well as Luciani's and Barozzi's, was positive: the excavations can be undertaken, and Venice can finally see part of that very nebulous piece of history, and identity, regarding its origins, returned, perhaps even in material terms. The sum needed to begin the excavations was around 3,000 liras; the Marquis also seemed willing to lend himself to the immediate direction of the work by employing laborers and resources²⁶⁵: as said before, the man was moved by the desire to clear the land and recycle the material for private purposes. Indeed, it is not coincidental that after four years of dispatches and silences involving the districts of Venice and Padua, and the Ministry of Education located in Rome, when finally in 1878 the Province and the

²⁶¹ The analysis of the documents was focused specifically on gathering information related to archaeological findings and excavation. For further insights regarding other issues that emerged from the documents see: Moine, Corrà, Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia* cit., p. 85-118: 107-118.

²⁶² *Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali*, pp. 5-9, 25 Aprile 1874.

²⁶³ *Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali*, pp. 10-13, 23 November 1875; Moreover, the following year Luciani wrote a further dispatch addressed to the Ministry of Public Education in Rome to inform the latter about the situation: ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 19 May 1876; See also: *Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali*, pp. 14-18.

²⁶⁴ Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Archivio Generale (1860-1890) – Scavi e monumenti antichi (Divisione seconda) I versamento – busta n. 166 – fascicolo 341.14, 7 February [1877]; The same document is recorded within the *Raccolta* but the date is different: *Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali*, pp. 5-9, 22 [February/March] 1877.

²⁶⁵ *Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali*, pp. 10-13, 23 November 1875.

Municipality of Venice agreed to allocate 1,000 liras each respectively in a competition of expenses with the Ministry for the continuation of the diggings²⁶⁶, one of the most discussed issues within the meetings concerned the need (or not) to define exactly which objects would have been allocated to the Civic Museum, to stem as much as possible their eventual dispersion and sale to private individuals by the Marquis²⁶⁷. On the other hand, by September 1877 the perimeter walls of the basilica, as well as those of the Chapel, turned out to have already been removed²⁶⁸. The Province and the Municipality themselves had at first refused, or had not expressed a clear willingness, to devolve the sum in favor of the diggings despite the ongoing pressure of the Prefect of Venice, Luigi Sormani Moretti, and the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Public Education in Rome, *Comm.* and *Senatore* Giuseppe Fiorelli. The game changer was the request by the municipality of Padua and its mayor Francesco Piccoli, backed up by the opinion of Pier Paolo Martinati, at the time Royal Inspector of Excavations and Monuments of Verona, to be able to accommodate the finds of St. Ilario in the Civic Museum of Padua given the Monastery's connection, as well as its co-dependence, with the city's territory. The municipality also declared its willingness to finance the prosecution of the excavations in concurrence with expenses with the Ministry, taking the place of the Province and the Municipality of Venice²⁶⁹. Faced with such a threat, the Venetian entities took steps to agree to the allocation of the necessary sum and to establish the contract with Marquis Saibante for the proceeding of the diggings, which would not be signed by the parties involved until April 6, 1881²⁷⁰. From what can be deduced from the reports of the Royal Inspector of Excavations and

²⁶⁶ The correspondence between the Venetian institutions and the Ministry in connection with the allocation of subsidies for a total sum of 3,000 liras ended on March 21, 1880. The major documents are listed below.

The municipality of Venice offers to contribute with 1.000 liras, with the government and the province, to the expense required for the excavations of St. Ilario: ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 10 December 1877.

The Provincial Deputation decrees a subsidy of 500 liras for the prosecution of excavations in St. Ilario: ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 28 January 1878.

The province approves an additional grant of 500 liras for the prosecution of excavations at St. Ilario: ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 15 March 1880.

The Ministry confirms the provision of 1,000 liras to contribute to the expense for the excavation prosecution in St. Ilario: ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 19 March 1880.

²⁶⁷ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 13 December 1878.

Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia cit., p.100: with reference to the current document, in the volume it is stated that in December 1878 some of the findings were displayed at the Grande Loggia of the Civic Museum of Venice.

²⁶⁸ This information is recorded within the report dated January 10, 1878, written by the Royal Inspector of Verona: ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 10 January 1878.

²⁶⁹ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 9 October 1877.

²⁷⁰ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 7 April 1881.

Monuments in the Dolo district, Luigi Dian, the work began after May 6, 1881,²⁷¹ and continued until May 6 of the following year²⁷². At that time a request was made to establish a commission or sub-commission composed of honorable members who had dealt with the subject in the past to ensure that the work was carried out following the terms, and to provide some explanations regarding specific issues that emerged from the excavations, first and foremost the presence of an older church different from the excavated basilica with a dissimilar axis as well, whose only survivors are the mosaic fragments brought to light, thanks to which it was possible to establish its orientation. This request was not accepted by the Ministry as it was considered not aligned with the initial purposes that had prompted the latter to agree to the prosecution of the excavations, namely the need to find significant material²⁷³. It was therefore deemed sufficient to have an authorized person such as *Comm. Barozzi* in charge of the inspection of the work, as well as the division and distinction of the findings and their transfer from the mainland to the Civic Museum of Venice. Further investigations were not thought to be necessary as they will be a matter for the scholars of the future. The task was officially assigned to Barozzi on November 2, 1882²⁷⁴; this date is consequently considered the *terminus post quem* for the transport of the materials from St. Ilario to the Civic Museum of Venice; we also know that such a transfer had not yet been completed in April 1883²⁷⁵. January 19, 1885, constitutes the *terminus ante quem* for such a relocation: in the report that Barozzi wrote on that date were specified the payments made and to be made concerning the laborers involved in the work at St. Ilario (stone cutter, photographer, mosaicist, assistant transport of the objects to Venice)²⁷⁶, while in the meeting that took place on January 21, 1882, held by the Commission for the Conservation of Monuments in Venice, it was submitted the list of materials transported from St. Ilario to the Civic Museum of Venice²⁷⁷. The report, transmitted to the Prefecture of Venice, also included six pictures pertinent to the works, two of which were transmitted to the Ministry in Rome which was already in possession of a photograph depicting the excavations, transmitted

²⁷¹ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 27 December 1881.

²⁷² ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 6 May 1882.

²⁷³ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 26 May 1882.

²⁷⁴ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 2 November 1882.

²⁷⁵ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 12 April 1883.

²⁷⁶ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 19 January 1885.

²⁷⁷ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 21 January 1886.

by Tomaso Luciani on April 1883, together with a copy of the *Raccolta*²⁷⁸. Moreover, the General Director of the Excavations, Giuseppe Fiorelli, was himself particularly interested in the Roman and Christian inscriptions found during the excavations, so much so that he undertook a dense correspondence with Nicolò Barozzi that culminated in a brief introduction to the subject that was published in the *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* in Rome²⁷⁹.

With the release of the payments and with Nicolò Barozzi's peremptory sentence stating that it was no longer the case to continue the excavations because in the assays made the persuasion was acquired that they would not lead to any results²⁸⁰, the archaeological episode of St. Ilario came to an end. The land was levelled and turned into cultivation, and it is in this aspect that we still find it today (**Fig.2.4**).

As we can see, the written documentation contains also references to other records such as the planimetric surveys and the stratigraphy, other graphic attachments, contemporary publications (*Raccolta* and *Atti*), and pictures. As a result of this research activity, a list of documents regarding the diggings undertaken at the end of the XIX century was established:

- a) The *dispatches* of the royal inspectors (1874-1885) stored in the ACS;
- b) *Raccolta degli scritti e degli atti ufficiali relativi agli escavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abazia di S. Ilario* published in 1880 presents a few of these dispatches while also providing additional reports absent in the original documentation preserved in Rome.
- c) A brief overview of the excavations was also published in the *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* in 1883.
- e) Two *pictures* were traced within the photographic archives of the ICCD taken between 1882 and 1887.
- f) Drawing and sketches attached to the dispatches that show sculptural fragments and inscriptions.
- g) The plans and excavation surveys consisting of a watercolour drawing that shows the state of the works by December 22, 1873, the planimetry published within the *Raccolta*

²⁷⁸ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 12 April 1883.

²⁷⁹ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 9 April 1883, 12 April 1883, 25 April 1883, 28 April 1883, 21 May 1883.

G. Fiorelli, *Mira: notizie degli scavi di antichità, Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Atti della reale Accademia dei Lincei, anno CCLXXX, s. 3, vol. 9, Roma, 1882-83, pp. 267-268.

²⁸⁰ 'non è più il caso di proseguire gli scavi, perché negli assaggi fatti si acquistò la persuasione che essi non condurrebbero ad alcun risultato': ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 21 January 1886.

and attached to the report of the Sub-commission dated April 25, 1874, and eventually the planimetry published by Giuseppe Marzemin in 1912 within his monograph *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio*.

After having identified all the records, the second step consisted of their digitalization, meaning all those operations that transform an analogue document into a digital object. The digitalization activity involved on one hand the facsimile reproduction of the records in the form of a digital picture and their storage within a Google Drive folder divided into sub-folders according to the type of document and the date (**Fig.2.5**); on the other hand, it also concerned the creation of an Excel sheet – the *Sources Table* – with the aim of organizing and normalizing all the information in a systematic way, trying to isolate and highlight all the significant contents related to the monastic structures.

After having shaped and displayed the information extrapolated by the documents, the following step consisted in visually comparing and overlapping such information in an attempt to identify any similarities and inconsistencies and finally be able to determine the ‘objective’ preliminary knowledge, which we might call the *state of facts* regarding the subject of the research. Its identification is indeed pivotal as it represents the starting point for the further development and modelling of hypotheses.

Firstly, the modelling activity involved the 3 planimetric surveys and their related stratigraphy, with the aim of comparing measures and structures, as well as altitudes, and see if there are huge differences or, on the contrary, the structures share similar numerical and structural features. The visual integration of the planimetric surveys with the written documentation constituted the second step; this phase comprehended also the visual representation of the diggings’ workflow from 1874 to 1885 according to the dispatches written by the Royal inspectors. Lastly, it was made an attempt to isolate all the available information within the records and the pictures regarding the mosaics with the goal of identifying their position in the planimetry and locating part of them in their exact position on site.

2.3 Planimetric surveys and stratigraphy, a comparison

The first research question we tried to answer was related to the possibility of establishing a chronology of the three surviving surveys: answering this question, the watercolour drawing seems to be the elder reproduction since it is dated 22 December 1873 and maybe it could also be considered the original version²⁸¹, the only surviving document from Gidoni's notes; this hypothesis could be confirmed by a very similar drawing reproduced and completed by Marzemin in 1912 – it is evident that the two surveys shared the same model, maybe the watercolour one. In this regard, we know that in the late 1800s and early 1900s, several archaeological excavations involved the figure of the watercolor artist²⁸². Furthermore, in 1874 the Sub-commission realized a planimetric survey, then published in the *Raccolta*, which at first glance appears incomplete and superficial. It also seems that the Marquis himself was not satisfied with the designer's choice and he considered quite a lot of the omissions and the mistakes made by the latter²⁸³.

After having digitally reproduced the surveys using AutoCAD, a juxtaposition between them has been made in order to find assonances and inconsistencies.

The comparison between the watercolour drawing and Marzemin's reproduction reveals an almost complete overlapping and correspondence between the buildings: despite their orientation being slightly different, the two drawings clearly shared the same model and the same measurements (**Fig.2.6**). Even if they represent the same structures, some inconsistencies can be found regarding the column bases, represented respectively with a circular and a rectangular shape – actually, this is not a big deal since we know from the dispatches that the column alignment, except for a base investigated in depth, was just perceivable by 1874²⁸⁴, and that such bases were fully discovered between 1881 and 1882 during the excavation activities²⁸⁵. More relevant inconsistencies between the two surveys can be found in the reference system – since the structures drawn in the watercolour drawing are oriented to the south, while the ones reproduced by Marzemin are oriented to the north –, and especially in the legend and the stratigraphy. In fact, in the watercolour drawing the structures (mosaics, walls, openings) are identified by

²⁸¹ Moine, Corrà, Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia* cit., p. 85.

²⁸² Demetrescu, *La ricostruzione dei paesaggi antichi attraverso l'integrazione di dati* cit., p. 138.

²⁸³ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 28 April, 1883.

²⁸⁴ *Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali*, pp. 5-9, 25 April 1874.

²⁸⁵ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 27 December 1881, 6 May 1882.

colours and a caption, while Marzemin added a more specific legend and measurements that seem to derive from an accurate fieldwork activity²⁸⁶, whose results were probably recorded within Gidoni's notes in his possession and now lost. Focusing on the stratigraphy, the watercolor drawing records that at a depth of 2.04, corresponding to the third-floor layer, there would be a terrazzo floor instead of a mosaic floor, as is instead indicated in the plan reproduced by Marzemin. This major inconsistency automatically led the writer to enter some questions concerning the methodology adopted in the execution of the stratigraphy, especially in that shown by the watercolor drawing and by Marzemin: the latter probably do not reproduce a cross-section, but a scheme of the ground planes of the main archaeological evidence, while in all probability the Sub-commission stratigraphy operates and investigates a vertical section of the ground corresponding to the section AB²⁸⁷. In the same report, the Sub-commission also states that three floor layers were found in the area of the basilica, while four were recognized in the Chapel area (identified as the rectangular room). This obviously does not provide a solution about the different nomenclature attributed to the third floor by the watercolor drawing and by Marzemin, but one might advance the hypothesis that since the distance between the second and third layers is essentially the same (cfr. pp. 59-60) this would lead one to think that the third layer found in both the rectangular room and the basilica was indeed mosaic. Before entering this discussion, which will imply not only the comparison between the three stratigraphy but also an integration of this information with the one derived from the dispatches and the hypothesis conducted by some scholars, and since this section's topic is about a source-based analysis, it is preferable to conclude the comparison between the remaining planimetry by proceeding with the overlapping between Marzemin's plan and that of the Sub-commission and leave the interpretation to the further section.

Clearly, this second comparison reveals a thicker list of inconsistencies, starting with the nature of the survey executed by the Sub-commission, which lacks a number of structures nevertheless visible *in situ* and clearly mentioned in the dispatches, as well as being probably normalized in its measurements. In such a survey, in fact, the rectangular room and the tower are not shown, nor even the only column at the time investigated, but it reports just the measurements, the perimeter walls of the basilica - missing the accesses

²⁸⁶ Moine, Corrà, Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia* cit., p. 86.

²⁸⁷ Moine, Corrà, Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia* cit., p. 91,96.

-, and the section AB, which corresponds to the spot where the stratigraphic study was then carried out. Although identified or at least recognizable, the location of the mosaic fragments that could be glimpsed in the area in a scattered manner is not reported. The only graphic reference in this regard consists of two sketches, the first depicting a motif of interconnecting circles inhabited by creatures and other geometric and natural figures, while the second presents an elaborate pattern of interlacing and lines perhaps the result of an exercise of technical virtuosity by the drawer; this, of course, does not exclude that different sections of mosaic floor were probably identified, a phenomenon that as we will see is well attested within the Inspectors dispatches.

From the superimposition of the two buildings, a non-negligible difference affecting the measurements is immediately discernable (**Fig.2.7**): as far as width is concerned, the building reproduced by Marzemin and the watercolor drawing have an irregular shape since the walls, internally spaced by m15 at the level of the counter-façade, tend to taper toward the presbyterial area where their distance is m14. In contrast, the Sub-commission plan is presented with a more regular shape, and the internal wall spacing of m14 is maintained everywhere. An even more glaring inconsistency is identified in the length of the building: the distance between the center area of the counter-façade and the presbytery area turns out to be m25.3 in the Marzemin plan²⁸⁸, while in the one drawn up by the Sub-commission is m28.; likewise, the total distance between the center counter-façade and the inner wall of the major apse turns out to be ca m31.7 in the Marzemin plan and m34 in that of the Sub-commission. Going even further into detail, the distance from the presbytery to the inner wall of the central apse turns out to be m6.40 in the Marzemin plan and m6.00 in that of the Sub-commission. Equally, the side apses measure m3.80 in the Marzemin plan and m3 in that of the Sub-commission. In conclusion, the building presented by the latter turns out to be 1m narrower and 2.3m longer than the more stocky and less slender building reproduced by Marzemin.

Shifting the attention to the stratigraphy, from a merely altimetric point of view the stratigraphy reproduced in the watercolor drawing and the one by Marzemin are perfectly the same; they also give some information regarding the location of Point 0 used as a reference for calculating heights and also the elevation at which the cultivated land

²⁸⁸ Such a measurement is the result of the average of the lengths of the side walls (counter-façade-presbytery), which turns out to be 25.50 on the left side, and 25.10 on the right side: Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio* cit., p. 59.

was located. In contrast, the stratigraphy produced by the Sub-commission shows only the differences in elevation between the three pavements. Moreover, it is worth pointing out that the latter also provides information about the thickness of the pavements, which is missing from the other two stratigraphy. This is not an insignificant detail when one decides to make a comparison between stratigraphy since the same reference points must be established (in this case the uppermost part of the floor), while in the calculation of the distances between one floor and another, in the Sub-commission section at the altitude concerning the layer between one floor and the other, the thickness of the floor must also be added²⁸⁹. By doing so, it turns out that the difference between the first-floor layer «*terrazzo*», located at m-1.00 below the cultivated land, and the second-floor layer «*terrazzo ben eseguito*», at a depth of m- 1.44, is of m. 0.44 (watercolor drawing-Marzemin) and m0.475 (Sub-commission) of «*terra e muricce*». Moreover, the distance between the second floor and the mosaic floor, located at a depth of m- 2.04, consists of m0.60 (watercolor drawing-Marzemin) and m0.595 (Sub-commission) of «*ruderi di fabbriche distrutte*». Excluding the distance between the third mosaic floor and the fourth mosaic floor reported exclusively in the watercolor drawing and Marzemin stratigraphy and located at a depth of m-2.185 below the cultivated ground, the distance between the highest floor level and the third mosaic floor measures m1.04 in the watercolor drawing and Marzemin stratigraphy, and m1.07 in the Sub-commission stratigraphy (**Fig.2.8**). In conclusion, the distance between the single floors, as well as the overall distance between the first and third floors is almost the same in all the stratigraphy with a total difference of 3cm reported.

2.4: The archaeological excavations (1874 - 1885)

In the very first on-site inspection that the three members of the Sub-commission carried out on April 1874 accompanied by Mira's municipal council member, G. Antonio Gidoni, and even more in detail in the reports written by Tomaso Luciani and Nicolò Barozzi, it was evident that most of the elements belonging to the ecclesiastical structures had already been uncovered, and what had not yet found light was at least detectable. By that date, a number of elements were clearly visible (**Fig.2.9**): the foundations of the church, and those of the Chapel, which pre-existed the church and was probably the earlier small

²⁸⁹ This operation is bypassed by Antonelli in her comparison of the stratigraphies: Antonelli, *Le vicende costruttive dell'Abbazia di Sant'Ilario presso Fusina*, pp. 152-153.

church dedicated to the same Saint²⁹⁰; moreover, the edges of the floors can be seen, one on top of the other, three in the church and four in the Chapel, with a distance between the lower and the upper of about seventy centimeters. Here and there then, either piled up or scattered, are scraps of some capitals, fragments of mosaics, shards of marble²⁹¹. Luciani and Barozzi described in detail the nature of the 3 floors found within the perimeter of the aforementioned church and included in the interval of time between the 9th to 14th centuries²⁹²: separated by a stratum of mixed soil and gravel, that is, flood soil²⁹³, are two terrazzo floors, while separating the second of these from the mosaic floor there is a cluster of shattered sculpted stones and marbles, factory wreckage in short, an evident work of violent destruction²⁹⁴. Luciani provides a description of the mosaic floor he observed inside the church, stating that the floor is mosaic executed with a beautiful interweaving of patterns and not without some variety of colors²⁹⁵. Barozzi as well considers the mosaic floor fascinating, so interesting that a well-practiced excavation would easily lead to uncovering it²⁹⁶. From what can be deduced from these reports, the mosaic floor would not seem to be fully visible...or at least not the one inside the perimeter of the church: Pier Paolo Martinati visited the site in September 1877 and in the report drawn up in January of the following year pointed out how the objects of the excavation already set aside in 1874 as the most valuable by the Sub-commission of Fine Arts and Antiquities, were accumulated in a stable owned by Marquis Saibante. These included large fragments of the mosaic floor of the destroyed Chapel *a edicola*, with ornaments of geometric and natural figures²⁹⁷.

²⁹⁰ *'...le fondazioni della chiesa, e quelli della cappella, che le preesisteva ed era probabilmente l'antecedente chiesa dedicata al medesimo Santo': Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali cit., pp.5-9, 25 April 1874.*

²⁹¹ *'...Negli scavi fatti si ravvisano gli orli dei pavimenti, gli uni agli altri sovrapposti, tre nella chiesa e quattro nella cappella, con distanza tra l'inferiore e il superiore di circa settanta centimetri. Quà e là poi, o ammonticchiati o sparsi, sonovi rottami di qualche capitello, frammenti di mosaici, frantumi di marmi': Ibid.*

²⁹² *'...entro il perimetro della detta chiesa e compresi nel citato periodo dei secoli IX al XIV': ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 19 May 1876; Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali cit., pp.10-13, 23 November 1875.*

²⁹³ *'...misto di terra e ghiaia, ossia terreno d'alluvione': ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 19 May 1876; Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali cit., pp.10-13, 23 November 1875.*

²⁹⁴ *'...ammasso di frantumi di pietre sculte e di marmi, di rottami di fabbrica insomma, evidente opera di distruzione violenta': ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 19 May 1876; Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali cit., pp.10-13, 23 November 1875.*

²⁹⁵ *'...con bell'intreccio di disegni e non senza qualche varietà di colori': Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali cit., pp.10-13, 23 November 1875.*

²⁹⁶ *'...uno scavo ben praticato condurrebbe facilmente a metterlo allo scoperto': ACS, 2543, b. 166, f. 341.14, 7 February [1877].*

²⁹⁷ *'...gli oggetti dello scavo già posti in disparte nel 1874 come i più pregevoli dalla Sottocommissione di belle arti e antichità, ed accumulati in una stalla di proprietà del Marchese Saibante. Sono grandi frammenti del pavimento*

The excavations practiced by the Marquis also laid bare the foundations of a tower, composed of large stones²⁹⁸ neither so shapeless nor so shaped, more or less squared, surely reused material from a Roman building. Among these stones located under the tower were identified a few sepulchers and fragments of frames, columns, capitals, and other sculpted stones as well as inscriptions²⁹⁹ and an unbroken Roman inscription; Luciani as well identifies, in addition to fragments of Christian inscriptions, two fragments of ancient Roman inscriptions and one unbroken, of which polished copies are made from the drawings commissioned by Marquis Saibante³⁰⁰. Luciani also interprets the building found near the church as a defensive tower first, and then a bell tower³⁰¹, while in the contract signed between the Marquis and the public institutions on April 6, 1881³⁰², and in Luigi Dian's first report dated December 27 of the same year³⁰³, the structure is identified as the Bebbe Tower. Excavations also revealed four sarcophagi filled with bones, one of which had a hole at the bottom suggesting its reuse as a trough or *trògolo*³⁰⁴; such burial chests, or at least two of them, were found under the floor of the destroyed Chapel, as Martinati was told, one marked with a carved cross, the other with three crosses enclosed in a vague three-arched frieze of Byzantine style³⁰⁵.

According to Barozzi, the uncovered urns have nothing but poor graffiti work not even worthy of the dukes however, this does not diminish the expectation and hope that the burials of Agnello and Giustiniano Partecipazio, as well as the sepulchers of other dukes and illustrious individuals of the 10th century and later, could be found underground³⁰⁶.

We have already spoken of Martinati's inspection on September 1877, and of his displeasure at finding totally destroyed the perimeter walls, which at the ground level still marked the ancient basilica before 1874; equally destroyed were all the remnants of a

in mosaico della distrutta edicola a cappella, con ornamenti di figure geometriche e naturali: ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 10 January 1878.

²⁹⁸ *'...grandi massi'*: *Raccolta di scritti ed atti uffiziali* cit., pp.5-9, 25 April 1874.

²⁹⁹ *'...qualche sepolcro e frammenti di cornici, di colonne, di capitelli e d'altre pietre sculte e anche scritte'*: ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 19 May 1876.

³⁰⁰ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 19 May 1876.

³⁰¹ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 19 May 1876.

³⁰² ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 7 April 1881.

³⁰³ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 27 December 1881.

³⁰⁴ *'...sotto il pavimento della distrutta edicola a cappella, l'uni segnato di una croce scolpita, l'altro di tre, rinchiuse in un vago fregio a tre archetti di stile bizantino'*: *Raccolta di scritti ed atti uffiziali* cit., pp.5-9, 25 April 1874.

³⁰⁵ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 10 January 1878.

³⁰⁶ *'...le urne discoperte non hanno che poveri lavori a graffito non degni dei Dogi'*: ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 19 May 1876; ACS, 2543, b. 166, f. 341.14, 7 February [1877]; *Raccolta di scritti ed atti uffiziali* cit., pp.5-9, 25 April 1874.

Chapel *a edicola* that arose to one side of it (**Fig.2.10**); scattered and abandoned on the ground without any shelter there were fragments of sepulchers, mosaic floors, and architectural pieces³⁰⁷, as well as mosaic fragments he observed inside one of the stables owned by the Marquis alongside various tiles, crosses, and other Byzantine sculptures, and some inscriptions, one Roman, and two Christians³⁰⁸.

Four years later, the excavation finally began under the supervision of Luigi Dian (**Fig.2.11**): subsequently on May 6, 1881, and by December 27, 1881³⁰⁹, large stones that formed the foundations of the tower including one with a Roman inscription were removed in a hurry³¹⁰. Beyond the perimeter marked by the trenches where the foundations of the church had existed, the Marquis had a timber fence built. In the last days of September, the layer of soil above the first floor began to be removed, followed by the first terrazzo floor and the alluvial layer immediately below it. In the latter were found eleven bases of columns of various quantities of stone. As better specified by the report dated May 6, 1882, the bases were made of stones that came from the caves of Verona, namely, the red proper, the yellow broccatello, and the white so-called nembro³¹¹. A wall, at first considered a foundation wall, dividing the presbyterial area from the main body of the basilica, was also unearthed. The ground layer contained mostly *muriccie* that were also diligently passed over without founding anything; only a few pieces of human bones were found that were collected and preserved. The second terrazzo floor presented nothing remarkable and was found in the maximum disorder³¹².

If up to that time the excavations had not led to anything remarkable, those conducted by May 1882 turned out to be extremely more satisfying: in the long report that Luigi Dian addressed to the prefecture of Venice many and unexpected are the novelties³¹³. Having

³⁰⁷ ‘...i muri perimetrali, che a fior di terra segnavano ancora prima del 1874 l’antica e veneranda basilica, distrutti egualmente tutti gli avanzi di un’edicola a cappella che le sorgeva a un lato, sparsi e abbandonati sul terreno senza alcun riparo frammenti di sepolcri, di pavimenti in mosaico, e di pezzi architettonici’: ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 10 January 1878.

³⁰⁸ ‘...formelle varie, croci ed altre sculture bizantine, ed alcune iscrizioni tra le quali una romana [...], e due cristiane [...]’: ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 10 January 1878.

³⁰⁹ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 27 December 1881.

³¹⁰ ‘...grandi massi di macigno che formavano le fondazioni della torre delle Bebbe fra i quali quello con iscrizione romana’: ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 27 December 1881.

³¹¹ ‘...ovvero il rosso propriamente detto, il broccatello detto giallo, il bianco cosid[et]to nembro’: ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 6 May 1882.

³¹² ‘...si trovarono in massima parte muriccie che furono pure diligentemente passate e null’altro si [pervenne] di rimarchevole; si trovò soltanto qualche pezzo di ossa umane che fu raccolto e custodito. Il secondo pavimento pure di terrazzo non presentava alcunchè di rimarchevole e fu rinvenuto nel massimo disordine’: ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 27 December 1881.

³¹³ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 6 May 1882.

carried out the demolition of the second terrazzo floor, and after removing the material separating the latter from the mosaic floor, a beautiful mosaic was found inside the church. It was designed in circles with a diameter of about 35cm wherein appear alternately crosses, animals and crosses, winged horses, and birds that summarily designed and multicolored, however, with much diligence in the execution of the work³¹⁴. What also amazed the Inspector was the orientation of these mosaic fragments since their direction turned out to be divergent from that of the superimposed Church and went outside the perimeter of the latter, meaning that while the axis of the former turns to the northwest, the one of the latter curves to the east, thus forming the two axes an acute angle (**Fig.2.12**). This further confirms that two churches were built: the first, the original, was very ancient with a mosaic floor, while the second one was built over the mosaic floor in a different direction and with the terrazzo floors found in the greatest mess³¹⁵. Likewise, in the body of the apse, at the same height and with the same direction as the previously mentioned mosaics, two sections of mosaic floors were discovered, one of which was angular and closed at two sides by bands of m. 0.20 which were of mosaic as well³¹⁶.

The bases of the columns whose tops were at the height of the second floor were also unearthed, while the terracotta foundations of said bases rested directly on the mosaic floor. What was initially thought to be a foundation wall turned out to be a transenna divided by half pilasters into 13 spaces once adorned with fresco paintings as witnessed by the only visible remains, namely a hand.

By January 1885, some of the materials were brought to Venice while the land was flattened and turned back into cultivation (**Fig.2.13**). A good part of the mosaic floor was lifted and diligently assembled and cleaned up, and then placed in the Great Loggia of the Courtyard of the Civic Museum. Along with 5 pieces of mosaic measuring six to seven meters, 3 fragments of Roman inscriptions, a Christian inscription in several pieces, a

³¹⁴ *'...bellissimo mosaico disegnato in circoli dal diametro di circa centi. 35 nei quali appariscono alternativamente delle croci, degli animali e croci, cavalli alati, volatili che sommamente disegnati e variopinti, però con molta diligenza nell'esecuzione del lavoro': ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 6 May 1882.*

³¹⁵ *'...essere divergente da quello della Chiesa sovrapposta e va fuori del perimetro di quest'ultima, cioè a dire mentre l'asse della prima si dirige a tramontana, quello della seconda piega a Levante, formando così i due assi un angolo acuto. Questo conferma maggiormente che due chiese sono state erette, la prima originaria antichissima col pavimento a mosaico, la seconda edificata sopra il pavimento a mosaico con diversa direzione e col pavimento di terrazzo rinvenuto nel massimo disordine': ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 6 May 1882.*

³¹⁶ *'...due tratti di pavimento in mosaico uno angolare chiuso a due lati da fascie di m. 0.20 [pure] di mosaico nella direzione del pavimento di mosaico trovato nella chiesa': ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 6 May 1882.*

fragment of a cross and another fragment with an inscription, 10 column bases, a cross with the letter A and one fragmented were transported to Venice³¹⁷.

2.5 Mosaics information and location

From the very beginning, the dispatches of the Royal Inspectors have mentioned on more than ones sections of mosaic floors that have not yet been entirely brought to light by the beginning of the 'controlled' excavation activity in 1881. These floors are described more thoroughly in few occasions, nevertheless, this allows us to identify their hypothetical or certain location within the investigated site, also by exploiting the only excavation picture discovered (**Fig.2.14**). In fact, we know that Pier Paolo Martinati was the only one to provide information about the fragments found between the tower and the left aisle of the church (at the level of the rectangular room), which belonged to the destroyed ducal Chapel and detached after 1874 to be sheltered in a stable owned by the Marquis; however, he does not provide detailed information or a specific description of the motif depicted, limiting himself to claiming that the mosaic floor had ornaments with geometric and natural figures³¹⁸. Such a fragment, observing the stratigraphy of the watercolor drawing and the one depicted by Marzemin, should perhaps have been at the depth of - 2.185, or at the layer immediately above, at the depth of - 2.04.

Equally sketchy is the description given by Tomaso Luciani about the mosaics found within the perimeter of the church distinguished by a beautiful interweaving of patterns and not without some variety of colors³¹⁹; perhaps such mosaics were observed in the proximity of section AB, or they could have belonged to the fragment found in the left aisle

³¹⁷ *'...trasportato a Venezia quanto fu rinvenuto, va ad essere livellato il terreno e rimesso a coltivazione. Negli scavi effettuati descritti con ogni diligenza nei rapporti del Sign[or] Ispettore agli scavi del Circondario, Cav. Dian, vennero rinvenuti i marmi, di cui si dà infine l'elenco, e levata una buona parte del pavimento a mosaico, il quale diligentemente riunito e ripulito, fu posto in perfetto ordine e collocato nella Grande Loggia del Cortile del Museo Civico, dove fa bella mostra di sè, ed è certo il più importante ricordo di S. Ilario. Gli altri marmi scolpiti furono pure disposti nella Loggia suddetta.*

[...]Elenco degli oggetti trasportati da S. Ilario.

... N[umer]o: 3 frammenti d'iscrizioni romane,

Iscrizione cristiana in vari pezzi

Frammento di croce

Altro frammento con iscrizione

10 basi di colonne

5 pezzi di mosaico del pavimento che misurano da metri sei a sette

Croce interna con la lettera A

Una frammentata': ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 21 January 1885.

³¹⁸ *'...ornamenti di figure geometriche e naturali': ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 10 January 1878.*

³¹⁹ *'...bell'intreccio di disegni e non senza qualche varietà di colori': Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali cit., pp.10-13, 23 November 1875.*

during controlled excavations, perhaps already partly visible at the time, and described by Luigi Dian: a beautiful mosaic drawn in circles inhabited by crosses, animals and crosses, winged horses and crosses³²⁰. The described fragment probably corresponds to the one depicted in the picture showing the excavations already circulating among scholars and tracked down by the writer in high quality at the ICCD photographic archives, thanks to the contribution of the staff of the Central State Archives in Rome³²¹. Indeed, such a discovery allowed for a literally clearer and sharper reading of the picture, in which not only the section of the mosaic floor is clearly identified, but also its decoration with intertwined circles narrowed on two sides by a braided frame of two ribbons inscribed between two strips and inhabited by a bestiary of fantastic and real creatures, as well as Solomonian knots and crosses, where the pseudo-senmurv, the eagle in heraldic position, the winged horse, rosettes and geometric motifs can be clearly recognized. This discovery made it possible to establish the exact location *in situ* of 2 of the 4 mosaic fragments now preserved at the Archaeological Museum (**Figs.2.15-2.16**); on the other hand, its photo-rectification (**Fig.2.17**) represents a visual confirmation of what had already been stated by the dispatches, namely, the existence of a mosaic floor, and thus of a building, with a W-E orientation than that of the church with three naves and three apses. Following such reasoning, one could postdate the picture between 1882 and April 12, 1883. The latter date corresponds to the dispatch sent by Tomaso Luciani to the Ministry with a copy of the *Raccolta* and a very recent photograph attached³²². According to what can be observed from the picture and what is stated by the dispatches – which clearly tend to distinguish the environment of the Chapel from that of the church – the section of mosaic floor in question should have been located at a depth of -2.04, since (a) only three floors were found in the church; (b) Luigi Dian states that the discovery of this floor occurred after the removal of the layer of material separating the latter from the terrazzo floor, which was equally demolished; and (c) at the state of the diggings documented by the picture, no further underlying floor layer seems to be visible. Lastly, at the same depth as the mosaic found in the church – confirming what was said earlier, that the floor found in the church was at a depth of -2.04 – and with the same orientation,

³²⁰ ‘...bellissimo mosaico disegnato in circoli dal diametro di circa centi. 35 nei quali appariscono alternativamente delle croci, degli animali e croci, cavalli alati, volatili’: ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 6 May 1882.

³²¹ The picture is available online at the following link: <https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/item/MPI313805>

³²² ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 12 April 1883.

two sections of mosaic fragments were found at the apsidal area one of which corned and closed at two sides by m0.20 of mosaic bands³²³.

The mosaics found in this 'second' excavation campaign were removed and restored after April 2, 1882, when Barozzi was given the task of coordinating the work and the transport of the findings, and by January 21, 1885, when these finds were already on display in the Great Loggia of the Civic Museum of Venice.

In conclusion, it could be said that the fragment observed by Luciani, as well as the one described by Luigi Dian and found in the left aisle, could both refer to a mosaic floor with colored tesserae and/or representations of animals or natural as well as geometric figures. Such fragments correspond with certainty to 2 of the fragments preserved at the archaeological museum hosting a bestiary, and probably also to a third one with creatures as well (**Fig.2.18**). The latter might have a curvilinear course, which might suggest the decoration of an apse, or of the central part of a panel, which often had a circular course³²⁴; at the archaeological museum is also preserved a fourth noniconic fragment in black and white tesserae, which could most likely have been found in the apsidal area, as it consists of a series of intertwined circles and rhombuses, composed of lines of black tesserae on a background of white tesserae (**Fig.2.19**). However, it cannot be excluded that such a fragment might instead have belonged to those large mosaic fragments belonging to the ducal Chapel and found in the area between the tower and the left aisle of the church. In disfavor of the first hypothesis, it could be said that the description of the fragment found in the apse does not correspond to the noniconic fragment since it is described as angular and closed at two sides by m0.20 of mosaic bands; on the other side, the second hypothesis could be penalized by the fact that the fragments found in this area are said to depict both geometric and natural figures. But then again, the noniconic fragment represents only part of the mosaic fragments that were found during the diggings.

Therefore, we can conclude by stating that the mosaic fragments related to the 'second' excavation campaign (1881-1885) were transported to the Civic Museum with only one doubt about the noniconic fragment. If this is the case, meaning that all the mosaics visible today belong to the second excavation campaign, it is natural to wonder what happened to the mosaics found in the proximity of the rectangular room and removed after 1874. It is equally automatic to reflect of what happened to the vast majority of the mosaics that

³²³ *'angolare chiuso a due lati da fascie di m. 0.20 [pure] di mosaico'*: ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 6 May 1882.

³²⁴ Lorenzoni, *Espressioni d'arte* cit., p. 869.

should have been transported to Venice. In this regard, the second photograph tracked down in the digital archives of the ICCD may be useful³²⁵ since it allows us to state with a relative degree of certainty that the mosaic fragments placed in the Grand Lodge by 1885 correspond to those still visible today (**Fig.2.20**). Considering the title and the chronological details given to the picture (1876-1900) and that the dispatches mention 6 photographs attached to Barozzi's 'end of works' report dated January 21, 1885, the picture should have been taken before 1887, when the headquarters of the Civic Museum was still in Palazzo Correr, before being transferred to the Fondaco dei Turchi³²⁶. Clearly such a picture does not correspond with what is declared in Nicolò Barozzi's report, which states that five pieces of mosaic floor measuring from six to seven meters were transported to Venice³²⁷. One could therefore conclude or speculate that part of these fragments went lost in the transport of the finds from the mainland to Venice.

Before closing the section concerning the excavation documentation, it is worth drawing attention to one last aspect, namely, the fact that the mosaics documented in the dispatches would seem to be located in the areas identified as traces of mosaic floor in the plan executed almost 10 years earlier, in 1873. How to justify such a coincidence? In this regard, the scholars Corrà, Moine, and Primon propose a possible interpretation, assuming that in 1873 in-depth excavations were concentrated in the area of the tower and the rectangular room³²⁸, as well as in the areas where the mosaics were found however, it is impossible to determine whether the location of the mosaics was verified or marked on the basis of the presence of small depths³²⁹; controlled excavation activity, on the contrary, would seem to have focused exclusively in the area of the basilica.

In conclusion, within the documentation, a number of recognizable structural elements are named on more than one occasion, which constitute the only survivors of the ecclesiastical structures. Detectable in its entire planimetry is the *Church* with three apses, oriented SW-NE, of which were visible, at the time of the excavations, the perimeter walls, the *transenna* that divided the aisles from the presbytery area, and the *bases*, with their respective plinths, of 12 *columns* that divided the church into three aisles. Within that

³²⁵ The picture is available online at the following link: <https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/item/MPI6076736>

³²⁶ The historical events tracing the transition from the Correr Collection to the Venice Civic Museums can be found at the following link: <https://correr.visitmuve.it/it/il-museo/la-sede-e-la-storia/dalla-raccolta-correr-ai-musei-civici-veneziani/>

³²⁷ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 21 January 1885.

³²⁸ Moine, Corrà, Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia* cit., p. 86-88.

³²⁹ *ivi*, p. 88.

perimeter 3 overlapping floor layers were identified, the first two in terrazzo while the last, and deepest, in mosaic. Adjacent to the lower part of the left aisle is a *rectangular room* interpreted by the Royal Inspectors as the only surviving element of the Chapel dedicated to St. Ilario belonging to the Participazi family and then donated to the Benedictine monks in 819. Four overlapping floor layers are reported in this space. Not far away, and with a W-E orientation, the foundations of a possible *tower* of meters 10,30 x 8,40 composed of large boulders, some of them reused from Roman buildings, are indicated. Finally, a further ecclesiastical building older than the basilica and identified as the *ancient church* dedicated to St. Ilario oriented towards Tramontana, thus according to the W-E axis, was mentioned: its only survivors are some *mosaic fragments* with a W-E orientation.

2.6 Public dissemination

The modelling activity regarding this first section resulted then in three charts or explanatory plates created for the broader public. These graphic outputs also wish to visually show the research process trying to 'bring on stage' the complexity of the interpretative process, and narrate a specific piece of history, in this case, the archaeological diggings. Within the preliminary table (**PLATE I**) are represented the surveys, consisting of 3 planimetry and stratigraphy, and their visual comparison. The second plate (**PLATE II**) can be intended to be a supplementary chart where, after having chosen the Marzemin planimetry as the most complete drawing according to the previous comparisons, the visual information provided by the surveys is integrated with those from the dispatches, resulting in a table that shows the diggings workflow from 1874 to 1885. In this case, the visual part represents the interpretation of the written document. The last two plates specifically investigate the mosaics described and found at the site by comparing them with the 4 fragments now preserved in the Archaeological Museum. Through photo-rectification, 2 fragments are recognised with certainty (**PLATE III**), while the third circular fragment can be potentially located close to the previous two, since all three shared a bestiary of (fantastic) creatures, while still uncertain is the position of the fourth noniconic fragment (**PLATE IV**).

Eventually, a legend based on the one adopted within the AutoCAD *model* is added to each plate to identify all the elements, as well as the metrical scale and a reference that indicates the north.

PART II

Starting from the ground up: hypothesis validation and new research

With a perspective of 'planning', 'building' and modelling the structures as much as possible in accordance with the constructive traditions and customs of the time, proceeding in chronological order from the 9th century onwards, placing special emphasis first of all on the presence of a balanced and harmonic dialogue between the religious bodies (family funerary Chapel of St. Ilario, church of St. Ilario and Church of St. Benedetto, Church of SS. Ilario and Benedetto, the tower), also and especially in their structural specificities, in the following pages it will be undertaken an analysis of the history of St. Ilario as part of a pre-existing and centuries-old cultural and structural tradition of which it represents the extension and continuity. The modelling activity was also assisted by the reading and validation of the previous hypotheses alongside new contents and terms of comparison supported by the *state of facts* identified in the previous section, with the awareness that not all the former interpretations occurred consulting the dispatches preserved in Rome, and that none were developed by seeing the 'high-quality' picture of the diggings. In the past years and during the last century, in fact, many specialists questioned the nature and chronology of the ecclesiastical structures that had flourished in that area once rich in natural and artificial canals, whose morphology, always changing rapidly, is now radically different. Equally different have been the interpretations, neither they were in concordance with one another, especially concerning the structure's chronology.

The digital modelling activity was conducted by means of Excel sheets, where all the information regarding the sources used and implemented are listed, resulting in two tables, *Hypothesis Table* and *Cultural Context Table*; on the other hand, AutoCAD was exploited for testing complex hypothesis, producing new research questions and insights concerning the topic, as well as showing the complexity underneath different possible interpretations of the same phenomenon. The modelling activity involved an analysis of the plausible location of the early medieval churches of St. Ilario and St. Benedetto, hypnotizing their possible extension and configuration on a plain level; on the other hand, most of the interpretive activity has been spent in trying to investigate the role that the tower played within the monastery, in association with both the early medieval structures

and the late medieval church, as well as their structural relationships. In this regard, more than one simulation has been made and thus presented in the following pages.

Let us, therefore, start again from the very basics....

2.7 Designing and building space: choosing the site and drawing the plan

Once the place where the new ecclesiastical structures would be housed was identified – this choice was bound by environmental and cultural factors such as historical age, patronage, function, and symbolism –, the ground plan of the building and its components were marked out by means of instruments pertinent to astronomy, geometry, and the metric system.

The former includes phenomena connected with the heavens, essential for orienting the building: following the Apostolic Constitutions drafted between 375 and 380, and more frequently from the 5th century, but with constant application from the 8th century, the axis of ecclesiastical buildings was in fact established according to the rising of the *Sol aequinoctialis* (March 21 and September 23)³³⁰. However, this guideline turned out to be more theoretical than practical, since a building could find its east now in correspondence with the *dies natalis*³³¹ of the related Saint the church was dedicated to, or other significant days for the community or the patron, now according to the ancient road system and its *decumanus maximus* or in concordance to the direction of the road axes of the *regiones* added. In the Venetian lagoon, where buildings arose even before the city rose, three different orientations can be identified according to the *limitationes* attested in the territory: *mestrina*, *equileiense*, and *marciana*³³².

The latter concerns tracing and carving on the ground, previously prepared by construction excavations, the walls and other architectural elements (arches, windows, pillars) by means of a system of points, ropes, rods or splints, squares, and compasses³³³. This practice could possibly be preceded by showing the project on parchment to facilitate the dialogue between the site manager and the client³³⁴. Eventually, the proportional

³³⁰ S. Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico (secoli VII-XI): eredità e innovazione nell'alto Medioevo*, Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, p. 169.

³³¹ According to Dorigo the practice was abandoned soon: W. Dorigo, *Venezia. Origini. Fondamenti, ipotesi, metodi*, II, Milano, Electa, 1983, p. 463.

³³² *ivi.*, pp. 465-470.

³³³ Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., p. 147, 151.

³³⁴ *ivi.*, pp. 147-148.

ratios between components were defined according to a modular grid, again more theoretical than practical³³⁵.

The last one is related to the unit of measurement chosen in the execution of the project, which until the 11th-12th centuries remained mainly the Roman foot (ca 29,6cm), alongside a minor use of the Byzantine foot (ca 31,5cm) and the Carolingian foot (ca 33,3 cm)³³⁶.

One last component, the pivotal one, was necessary in order to guarantee the holiness of the building: the possession of a relic. This condition is crucial both for the religious and political and cultural dimensions, hence the reason why dynasties dotted their domains with churches, abbeys, and shrines located on the borders of the territory: in the first case, the power and sacredness of the saints manage and protect the territory; on the other hand, the possession of relics, and generally the link with the ecclesiastical dimension, becomes indispensable for the members of the ruling classes to justify their authority. Their social recognition was then fostered through clerics who carry a license of sacredness.

2.8 Designing and building structures: the foundations³³⁷

The building and construction techniques developed in the lagoon and in the Po Valley met needs related to their specific type of soil derived from alluvial deposits: the environment was, and still today is, rich in navigable rivers and wooded areas which both allowed the transport of materials and timber, even over long distances. The peculiar clayey ground thus favored the development of local fictile productions, while the areas of Lessina, the Venetian Pre-Alps, and the Euganean Hills were characterized by the presence of stone mines³³⁸.

³³⁵ *ivi.*, pp. 149-150.

³³⁶ *ivi.*, pp. 159, 160.

³³⁷ For dissertations regarding the construction techniques employed in the lagoon and the Upper and Middle Adriatic area, see: M. Piana, *Accorgimenti costruttivi e sistemi statici dell'architettura veneziana*, in *Dietro i Palazzi. Tre secoli di architettura minore a Venezia (1492-1803)*, edited by G. Gianighian, P. Pavanini, Catalogue of the exhibition organized by the City of Venice, September 29-December 9, 1984, Venezia, Arsenale, 1984, pp. 33-37; M. de Min, *Nuovi dati sullo sviluppo insediativo lagunare nel periodo delle origini della Civitas veneciarum. Forme e tecniche del costruire*, in *...ut... rosae... ponerentur: scritti di archeologia in ricordo di Giovanna Luisa Ravagnan*, edited by E. Bianchin Citton, M. Tirelli, Venezia, Edizioni Quasar-Canova, 2003, pp. 227-243.

M. Bortoletto, *Elementi di edilizia religiosa a Venezia tra X e XII secolo: le evidenze archeologiche*, *Archeologia Veneta*, XXXIV, 2011, pp. 152-181; Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico cit.*, p. 237 ss.

³³⁸ Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico cit.*, p. 263.

Assuming that the centuries of formation of the *Civitas veneticarum* lacks surviving building materials³³⁹ – so much so that in the essays very often the use of the generic term Early Middle Ages is preferred –, the masonry and building techniques documented in the lagoon from the 7th to the 11th century are generally marked by the employment of reused bricks for the elevations, and stones for the foundations. Obviously, such a practice was far from being the product of an exclusive Venetian specificity; on the contrary, it was the result of the retrieval and re-elaboration of older building techniques typical of the wet areas of the Po Valley mainland (Padua, Altino, Oderzo, especially for the employment of trench foundations)³⁴⁰.

The sub-foundations were set directly on the clay soil, rich in silts and sands and consequently unable to support heavy loads without sinking: after reaching the *caranto*, i.e., the layer consisting of the ancient compacted silts³⁴¹, one common solution consisted in implanting a wooden piling made of oak, alder, elm, or larch (native *caducifolia* from the immediate hinterland) of varying length and diameter (ranging respectively from m. 1 to 3 and from 10 to 18 cm.). Immediately above it was studded a large raft made of single or double layers of wooden boards, the *maderi*³⁴²: such technique (**Fig.2.21**) is taken from the Roman model that Strabo (V, 1,7) and especially Vitruvius (II, 9, 11; III, 4,2) describe, identifying Ravenna as the example of its maximum use³⁴³. Illustrative in this case are the sub-foundations of the church of St. Lorenzo of Castello and the crypt of St. Zaccaria³⁴⁴. This solution was not adopted for the whole structure but applied to the building elements of a certain weight, such as towers, or those on which the building thrusts were discharged (i.e., pillars or specific columns)³⁴⁵. The earthwork excavations were carried out between the second half of January and the first half of March at the same time as the last winter tides and the so-called 'Befana's shallows'³⁴⁶. Sometimes sub-foundations were limited to the piling or the large raft alone. The latter, in rare exceptions such as the church of St. Teodoro, rested on a stone foundation³⁴⁷. Contextually with the construction

³³⁹ De Min, *Nuovi dati sullo sviluppo insediativo lagunare* cit., p. 228.

³⁴⁰ *ivi.*, p. 229; Bortoletto, *Elementi di edilizia religiosa a Venezia* cit., p. 156-157.

³⁴¹ Piana, *Accorgimenti costruttivi e sistemi statici dell'architettura veneziana* cit., p. 33.

³⁴² For further discussion regarding subfoundations: Bortoletto, *Elementi di edilizia religiosa a Venezia* cit., p. 157-160.

³⁴³ De Min, *Nuovi dati sullo sviluppo insediativo lagunare* cit., p. 232.

³⁴⁴ Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., p. 239.

³⁴⁵ Piana, *Accorgimenti costruttivi e sistemi statici dell'architettura veneziana* cit., p. 33.

³⁴⁶ Bortoletto, *Elementi di edilizia religiosa a Venezia* cit., p. 160.

³⁴⁷ Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., p. 239.

of small buildings that arose on more compact and coherent soils, the construction technique adopted consisted of setting the foundations directly within the trenches (**Fig.2.22**), now laying them directly on the bottom of the previously prepared trench (Torcello baptistery, late 7th-early 8th century), or on top of a well-compacted fill (Torcello, church of Santa Maria Assunta, 9th century)³⁴⁸. The church of S. Nicolo al Lido also falls into this second typology.

Located directly above the sub-foundations were the foundations³⁴⁹, consisting of a massive group of reused stone made of large blocks and ashlar of heterogeneous lithology, which were articulated in a slightly trapezoidal or linear shape for a height of up to 3-4 meters. In the churches analyzed by Bortoletto, included in the chronological span from the 10th to the 11th century, the stone materials recognized are gray sandstone, Euganean trachyte, and Aurisina limestone. The joint beds between the stones were very thick because of the rough-hewn shape of some of them, which were alternated with squarer blocks of reused³⁵⁰. The binder consisted of hydraulic mortar with sandy aggregates and high percentages of *cocciopesto*³⁵¹.

On top of these, the elevations were placed³⁵² mainly made of rubble bricks from the hinterland and Altino that were arranged either split, with different forms and colors, or by a careful selection³⁵³. The masonry was *a sacco* with the outer faces made of bricks while the interior was filled with pieces of various sizes formed of the same bricks mixed with processing flakes held together by the mortar of aerial lime mixed with *cocciopesto* and well-screened sandy aggregates³⁵⁴. Wood and bricks were characteristic of the city buildings as raw and lightweight materials on soft soil³⁵⁵.

³⁴⁸ *ivi.*, p. 241.

³⁴⁹ For further discussion regarding foundations: Bortoletto, *Elementi di edilizia religiosa a Venezia* cit., pp. 164-167.

³⁵⁰ *ivi.*, p. 164-165.

³⁵¹ *Ibid*; Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., p. 241.

³⁵² For further discussion regarding elevations see: Bortoletto, *Elementi di edilizia religiosa a Venezia* cit., pp. 167-172.

³⁵³ Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., p. 241.

³⁵⁴ For a more in-depth discussion of the origin of mortar components, see: Bortoletto, *Elementi di edilizia religiosa a Venezia* cit., p. 172.

³⁵⁵ Piana, *Accorgimenti costruttivi e sistemi statici dell'architettura veneziana* cit., p. 34.

2.9 Designing and building structures: private funerary chapels and structural elements

Returning to the palatine Chapel, and later church, of St. Ilario and its establishment, the building was probably created as a private family oratory or funerary Chapel, a function that was maintained and expanded to include members of the Venetian ruling class once the Benedictine community was accommodated. With the arrival of the monks and the expansion and construction of new ecclesiastical and monastic buildings, the fledgling monastery was invested with the office of the duchy's outpost on the mainland, with a whole array of previously expressed privileges and functions related to the control and the administration of the surrounding territories bordering the *Regnum*.

Concerning the orientation of the Chapel/church of St. Ilario, as well as the church of St. Benedetto, according to Wladimiro Dorigo they would find their east according to the *centuriazione mestrina*³⁵⁶. On the contrary, the early medieval church of SS. Ilario and Benedetto, probably built between the 11th and 12th centuries, neglects the rule of eastward orientation to follow practical impulses and conditionings³⁵⁷.

All scholars seem to agree on one feature: the appearance of the Chapel and church of S. Ilario, (and perhaps that of S. Benedetto as well³⁵⁸), would consist of a single-nave plan, *ad aula*, in accordance with a group of churches that shared this feature prior to the year 1000³⁵⁹. To better explain and justify this affirmation, it's necessary to take a step away and approach the phenomenon from a more general and centuries-old perspective. Earlier it was said that, before the arrival of the monks, the building dedicated to St. Ilario performed the function of a private family chapel, which became after 819 the eternal resting place of dukes and government officials: it can be argued that the presence of such private chapels in lagoon territory could fit and be embedded within a practice widespread between the 7th and 8th centuries and predominant in northern Italy, especially at the foothills of the Alps, namely that of private oratories with a funerary function. Beginning in late antiquity and with a few exceptions related to patrons of some importance such as rulers and bishops, these areas, in fact, witnessed a gradual transition from the monumentality of the late antique buildings to reduced architectures of private

³⁵⁶ *ivi.*, p. 465, 470.

³⁵⁷ Rotations of 90° also underwent in the 12th and 13th centuries S. Sophia, S. Trovaso and S. Maria in Valverde: Dorigo, *Venezia. Origini* cit., p. 470, note 217.

³⁵⁸ Riccioni, *I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario* cit., p. 300.

³⁵⁹ Antonelli, *Le vicende costruttive dell'Abbazia di Sant'Ilario presso Fusina* cit., pp. 151; Dorigo, *Venezia. Origini* cit., p. 630; Riccioni, *I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario* cit., p. 300.

patronage³⁶⁰, which favored the spread of small funerary chapels. Such a model found its genesis among the Merovingian landowners³⁶¹, to be then adopted by the Lombards and later by the Carolingians. From the 9th century onward, just as it was witnessing their disappearance on Italic soil in favor of a return to monumentality, such buildings became common among Croatian princes where they fulfilled the function of family mausoleums often connected to Benedictine monastic settings or the court³⁶².

In northern Italy, oratories with private function are attested in Canton Ticino, northern Lombardy, and South Tyrol, and find their antecedent in pagan mausoleums which, from the 7th century onward, were transformed by the Lombard aristocracy converted to Christianity into small ecclesiastical buildings through their enlargement, mostly consisting of the addition of a canonically oriented apse, or their reconstruction; alongside such rearrangements, structures built *ex-novo* were also set up³⁶³. Within this context, oratories, as well as monastic foundations, constituted a family's point of reference and identity strongly linked to the rituals of remembrance, commemoration, and soul salvation, as well as means exploited by the emerging ruling class to control the rural communities and the surrounding territories³⁶⁴: such families took care to endow the chapel with goods, sometimes maintaining a fixed guardian or presbytery. Probably only later such buildings took on new liturgical functions as the result of the Carolingian reorganization of the monastic structures³⁶⁵, in a shift from family to church-managed rites³⁶⁶.

Concerning the plan, such buildings were mostly small oratories with a single-nave plan without an apse, or with the apse, circular or rectangular, indistinct or not, inscribed or jutting out the perimeter walls³⁶⁷. Specifically, among the types listed, the predominant pattern in private funerary oratories remains that of the apse-free churches that spread

³⁶⁰ Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., p. 269, 285.

³⁶¹ G. P. Brogiolo, *Oratori Funerari tra VII e VIII secolo nelle campagne transalpine*, Hortus Artium Medievalium, 8, 2002, pp. 9-31.

³⁶² *ivi.*, pp. 194-195, 226, 228.

³⁶³ Brogiolo, *Oratori Funerari tra VII e VIII secolo* cit., pp. 9-10; For an overview of the Lombard conversion following the activities of the sovereigns Teodolinda and Agilulfo see: M. De Jong, P. Erhart, *Monachesimo tra i Longobardi e i Carolingi*, in *Il futuro dei Longobardi: l'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno: saggi*, a edited by C. Bertelli, G.P. Brogiolo, Milano, Skira, 2000, pp. 105-127: 105-107.

³⁶⁴ de Jong, Erhart, *Monachesimo tra i Longobardi e i Carolingi* cit., pp. 11-113; Brogiolo, *Oratori Funerari tra VII e VIII secolo* cit., p. 16; S. Gasparri, *Italia longobarda: il regno, i Franchi, il papato*, Roma, Bari, GLF editori Laterza, 2016, p. 34.

³⁶⁵ Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., p. 225.

³⁶⁶ Brogiolo, *Oratori Funerari tra VII e VIII secolo* cit., pp. 9-10, 15.

³⁶⁷ Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., pp. 181-191: 194-195, 226.

in the Upper Western Adriatic territory (**Figs.2.23-2.24**)³⁶⁸; the nave, quadrangular or rectangular, could sometimes have a 'rise' in correspondence of the presbyterial area according to the Aquileian pattern³⁶⁹. Since the Chapel dedicated to St. Ilario seems to fit, in terms of function and typology, into the pattern of family funerary oratories subsequently given over to the clergy in a transition from family to church worship, it can be reasonably concluded that it may have had a single-nave plan. Regarding the constructive techniques and the employed materials adopted in the sub-foundation and elevations of the early and late medieval ecclesiastical structures, it can be said that since they were located on the mainland, although close to the lagoon margin, they could be imposed on a trench foundation, given the greater compactness of the soil, as it happened to the coeval church of Santa Maria Assunta in Torcello (9th century). On that foundation were then set the perimeter walls: these might be immediately made of more or less carefully selected reused bricks, or continue in stone for about a meter and then adopt the brick.

However, these elements alone are not enough to define what the ducal Chapel might have looked like: the presence of specific structural elements that might have animated the perimeter walls of the building must also be considered. In fact, the progressive reduction in the size of the buildings that characterized the first centuries of the Middle Ages affected the type and quantity of structural elements as well. Among them, the vertical and horizontal supports and systems constitute the so-called functional resistant structure for the absorption of external loads and stresses³⁷⁰.

The openings, elements of dialogue between interior and exterior space, governing the light paths, became sparse and reduced: the windows consisted of irregular and narrow single-lancet windows and slits – sometimes placed accordingly to the motions of the sun and the symbolism of the moon – with the aim of minimizing the use of stained-glass windows, gratings³⁷¹, or other costly closing devices and to encourage the inner recollection and silence necessary for worship. The most common type of windows was the single-arched lancet windows with round arches, made of stone or brick, lacking ferrules and sometimes also the *centina*; they could have a splay for the entire section of the wall or for the final and exposed part. Occasionally square or rectangular windows

³⁶⁸ *ivi.*, pp. 180-181.

³⁶⁹ *ivi.*, pp. 180-181.

³⁷⁰ *ivi.*, p. 283.

³⁷¹ the presence of the latter was mostly limited to the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea: *ivi.*, p. 331.

with stone jambs could be found as well³⁷². With the 10th century, although still infrequent in the lagoon area, there occurred a slow reappearance of ferrules, early and small rose windows in the facade, and mullioned and three-light windows on the upper levels of the bell towers³⁷³. Entrances (primary and secondary) could be reduced to one on the façade, or, in basilicas, also be arranged on the aisles near the central area³⁷⁴.

Among the vertical supports, one can recognize first and foremost the pillars and/or half pilasters and blind arches. These, leaning against the outer perimeter walls of the building, or even encompassed by the masonry itself, supported and contained the lateral thrusts. The weaving and frequency of such structural elements – even if they could sometimes act as mere decorative elements³⁷⁵ –, became increasingly robust, dense, and protruding to support and reinforce the walls that on the contrary were evolving into something precarious and uncertain. Observing the relationships between these structural elements, it can be easily observed a complete lack of dialogue and correspondence between the elements inside the building (but otherwise almost nonexistent) and those outside: the phoronomy is completely disjointed, lacking correspondence with the external architectural and structural elements, as well as the other way round³⁷⁶.

2.10 Designing and building structures: the monastic buildings

a) The ducal Chapel of S. Ilario

From the documents in our possession, we know with certainty that in 819 a Chapel dedicated to St. Ilario and linked to the Partecipazi family, owned or even built by them already in ancient times³⁷⁷, already existed on the mainland. However, the foundation year of that building is unknown³⁷⁸, to be traced in any case between the end of the 8th century and 819. According to some scholars, in 784 Agnello Partecipazio founded a

³⁷² *ivi.*, pp. 327-330.

³⁷³ *ivi.*, pp. 331-332.

³⁷⁴ *ivi.*, p. 334.

³⁷⁵ *ivi.*, p. 338.

³⁷⁶ *ivi.*, p. 241.

³⁷⁷ Antonelli, *Le vicende costruttive dell'Abbazia di Sant'Ilario presso Fusina* cit., pp. 151.

³⁷⁸ Lanfranchi, *Strina, SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., Prefazione, IX, note 2; Antonelli, *Le vicende costruttive dell'Abbazia di Sant'Ilario presso Fusina* cit., pp. 151; Moine, *Corrò, Primon, Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia* cit., pp. 95-96.

Chapel having the title of Ducal Chapel³⁷⁹; this hypothesis clashes with the convictions of other scholars who believe that the building was founded in the early years of Agnello's duchy, thus between 811 and 819³⁸⁰: if, in fact, such a Chapel was already born as 'ducal' and not as 'familial', it must necessarily have been built after the beginning of the first decades of the 9th century.

b) Monk's arrival: *ecclesiarum Ylarii et Benedicti*

At the time the monks were relocated, and with the aim of accommodating the Benedictine community and fulfilling the newly established monastic function, a series of building and expansion works began, which in 829 were still unfinished as can be observed in Giustiniano Partecipazio's will³⁸¹. Probably, on that occasion also the family Chapel underwent modifications, a possible expansion or the elevation of the floor, since in correspondence of the rectangular room, the only survivor of the Chapel dedicated to S. Ilario according to the Inspectors, four floors were found, while within the perimeter of the church, only three floors were detected³⁸²; in any case, the third floor would seem to be placed at the same elevation in both structures, separated from the terrazzo floor by 60 cm., thus suggesting an expansion or a new edification performed at the same historical moment. In this regard, several scenarios have been theorized.

Since the Chapel was probably intended to house the religious office at first:

- (a) at the time the Benedictine community arrived, the Chapel could have been expanded³⁸³;
- (b) the building could have undergone at some point after the arrival of the monks an elevation of the floor³⁸⁴;
- (c) it cannot be ruled out that such floor elevation might have corresponded with the building of a church perhaps better suited to liturgical needs, namely that of St. Benedetto³⁸⁵. On the other hand, we know with certainty from the dispatches that the

³⁷⁹ Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio* cit., p. 53; D. Calaon, M. Ferri, C. Bagato, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto (IX secolo)* cit., p. 498; S. Riccioni, *I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario* cit., p. 285.

³⁸⁰ Vecchi, *La cappella Palatina di Sant'Ilario* cit., p. 119; Lorenzoni, *Espressioni d'arte* cit., pp. 866, 869; S. Gelichi, C. Moine, *Peregrinazioni in sconfinati deserti* cit., p. 139.

³⁸¹ Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., doc. 2, p. 23.

³⁸² *Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali*, pp. 5-9, 25 April 1874.

³⁸³ Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio* cit., p. 53.

³⁸⁴ Antonelli, *Le vicende costruttive dell'Abbazia di Sant'Ilario presso Fusina* cit., pp. 153.

³⁸⁵ Lorenzoni, *Espressioni d'arte* cit., pp. 866, 870.

mosaic fragments found in the left aisle and those found in the apse were placed at the same elevation, thus suggesting their belonging to the same historical moment, but nevertheless located in two parts far too distant from each other to have belonged to the same building.

In fact, documents speak of the existence of two churches, mentioned since the privilege of Carlo II in 883³⁸⁶: the church of St. Ilario and that of St. Benedetto. As to their location, there is no information beyond the mosaic fragments with a W-E orientation, as the perimeter walls were not found. Concerning the position and the extension of the two churches and the Ducal Chapel, scholars have expressed themselves by bringing different hypotheses:

(a) The reading proposed by Antonelli is based exclusively on the stratigraphy and the excavation surveys³⁸⁷; in fact, she observes an inconsistency in the legend reported by Marzemin, who distinguishes the mosaic fragments found in the left-aisle and in the area between the church and the tower, reported in the legend as *Traces of mosaic pavements* from those found in the apsidal area and indicated as *Traces of mosaic pavement*. Such a distinction could suggest the presence of several mosaic pavements in the first area, while just one in the second area. According to this interpretation, the ducal chapel should have been included between the tower and the left aisle of the later medieval church with a minimum extent of m16 (east to west) x 11.5 (north to south). The mosaic floors found near the AB line investigated by the Sub-commission, as well as those found in the apsidal area could consequently have belonged to another building, the church of St. Benedetto.

(b) On the contrary, Lorenzoni suggests that the ducal chapel, and the three mosaics fragments with a bestiary, were probably to be located in the area subsequently included between the tower and the left aisle of the early medieval basilica, while the church of S. Benedetto could belong the fragments discovered under the left aisle and those found in the apse, as well as those detected in correspondence to the AB section³⁸⁸.

(c) A building with an extension of m15x19.5 was also theorized by Riccioni³⁸⁹, together with the possible location of mosaic fragments, where the three fragments with the bestiary, named respectively A (the largest fragment with the depiction of the pseudo-senmurv), B (the fragment with the winged horse), C (the circular fragment also with

³⁸⁶ Lanfranchi, Strina, SS. Ilario e Benedetto, doc. 4, pp. 26-29; doc.5, pp. 29-31; doc. 16, pp. 55-58.

³⁸⁷ Antonelli, *Le vicende costruttive dell'Abbazia di Sant'Ilario presso Fusina* cit., pp. 153-154.

³⁸⁸ Lorenzoni, *Espressioni d'arte* cit., pp. 866, 870.

³⁸⁹ Riccioni, *I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario* cit., p. 299.

animals), could be located near the tower and in the left aisle, while fragment D (noniconic), would be located in the apsidal area³⁹⁰.

Thanks to the picture depicting the diggings, we are now allowed to state with certainty that two fragments belonging to the Chapel/church of S. Ilario were located at the left aisle and that therefore the church of St. Benedetto should have developed further north. On the other hand, the picture, as well as the reports, does not seem to record any additional floor underneath the fragments found in the left aisle.

Regarding the extension of the Chapel/church of St. Ilario, the dispatches stated that 3 and 4 overlapping floor layers were found respectively in the church and Chapel (rectangular room). There are numerous possible speculations both on the existence of the 4th floor and the extent of the church buildings. Moreover, regarding the extent of mosaics, it is worth mentioning that although the two recognized mosaic fragments are bounded on two sides by what would appear to be a framework, these could have belonged to a larger mosaic surface divided, as it usually happens, into several squares.

Regarding this topic, 3 possible alternatives have been identified:

Alternative 1 (**Fig.2.25**): the existence of a family-owned chapel dedicated to St. Ilario, of small dimensions (m13.50x10.80) and included in the extension of the mosaic fragment between the tower and the early medieval basilica and enlarged upon the arrival of the monks (m18x15), with a possible elevation of the floor and the addition of a tower on the façade; at the same time and further north, the abbey church of St. Benedetto is built, intended to accommodate the liturgical needs of the monks.

Alternative 2 (**Fig.2.26**): the existence of a family-owned chapel dedicated to St. Ilario (m13.50x11.25) not fully included in the extent of the mosaic fragment between the tower and the early medieval basilica, and enlarged following the arrival of the monks (m18x15), with a possible elevation of the floor and the addition of a tower on the façade (in this hypothesis the latter may have already existed even since the beginning); at the same time and further north the abbey church of St. Benedetto is built, intended to accommodate the liturgical needs of the monks.

Alternative 3 (**Fig.2.27**): the existence of a family-owned chapel dedicated to St. Ilario, of small dimensions (m13.50x11.70) and included in the extension of the mosaic fragment between the tower and the early medieval basilica and enlarged following the arrival of

³⁹⁰ In this regard, it is stated that fragments A,B,C were found at a depth of 2.17 m; while fragment D was at a depth of 2.03 meters: *ivi.*, pp. 294-297.

the monks (m18x11.70); at the same time and further north is built the abbey church of St. Benedetto, intended to accommodate the liturgical needs of the monks; the tower could have been added at a time after the arrival of the monks, with a defensive or bell function, obstructing the entrance to the Chapel whence it was accessed from the main church or lateral opening.

Alternative 4 (**Fig.2.28**): with the arrival of the Benedictine community, the Chapel dedicated to St. Ilario could have undergone an extremely more significant enlargement that must have included the mosaics found in correspondence with the AB line, describing a perimeter of m15x30: in the corpus analysed by Dorigo, 6 churches founded prior to the year 1000 were identified to have a length greater than m29.56, largely inspired by the classical agrarian measure of 120 Roman feet (with multiples and submultiples)³⁹¹. Against this hypothesis, however, it could be argued that such a large expansion would have made the construction of an additional building unnecessary.

Alternatives 1 and 2 proved to be the most suitable ones however, it was decided to pursue only one of them, namely Alternative 1: both interpretations in fact turned out to be in harmony with a possible presence of a tower-avant-corps and showed an affinity with the proportions identified by Wladimiro Dorigo as the most probable for plebeian or ducal-owned religious buildings³⁹²; however, Alternative 1 encompassed as far as the extensions of the mosaic fragments found in the space between the future late medieval church and the tower, and in the left aisle of the same church. As for the church of St. Benedetto, it was chosen to encompass it between the fragment found in the apse of the future late medieval church and section AB, conscientiously nullifying its mosaics, although a possible extension encompassing them is presented by Alternative 3.

Once the chosen Alternative is selected, three possible scenarios closely related to the floor levels have been applied to it, taking it for granted that 3 overlapping floors existed at the late medieval church.

SCENARIO 1 (**PLATE V**): in this first case, it is considered the existence of 4 overlapping floors in correspondence with the rectangular room, out of which the fourth is the oldest; in this regard, it could be argued that at the very beginning, the ducal Chapel initially occupied a position now identified between the tower and the basilica and was oriented

³⁹¹ Dorigo, *Venezia. Origini* cit., p. 617.

³⁹² Dorigo, *Venezia. Origini* cit., p. 617-621.

according to the WEST-EAST axis; its mosaic floor was depicted with geometric and natural figures and was located at the depth of m-2.185. The extent of the primitive Chapel could have consisted of a rectangular building measuring m13.50x10.80, corresponding to a proportional ratio of 5:4. When the monks arrived, the structure was extended eastward and northward, occupying also the area of the next left aisle³⁹³, describing a classroom building of about m15x18 (walls excluded), according to the proportional ratio of 6:5. According to Wladimiro Dorigo, the latter proportions, as well as the ration 1:1, fall within the range of the most frequent ratio patterns in ecclesiastical buildings belonging to the duchy; eventually, within the corpus of pre-13th-century Venetian churches he analyzed, it is identified that 71 out of 90 tituli (78.9 %) were encompassed between a length varying from m17.74 to 29.56, while 73 out of 90 churches (81.8 %) had a width varying between m12.41 and 21-28³⁹⁴.

On that occasion, a tower could be built and the floor raised at a slightly higher elevation (m-2.04) and decorated in mosaic with the representation of a bestiary populated by creatures referring as much to the monastic dimension of asceticism as to the funerary symbolism³⁹⁵; the latter statement is highlighted also by the two, if not even four, sarcophagi found in this area³⁹⁶. It could be interpreted in this way the slight difference in elevation (14 cm) between the two mosaic floors belonging to the ducal Chapel and reported both in the stratigraphy of the watercolor drawing and Marzemin³⁹⁷. An additional church would eventually be built before 883 to accommodate the liturgical needs of the monks: the church of St. Benedetto, located further north, could have been built sharing part of the wall with the church of St. Ilario, which continued to serve as a funerary site until the late medieval era and then survived scaled down to the famous rectangular room. Its dimension could have been m30x15 and so included in the 2:1 ratio that, along with the 3:1 ratio, is identified by Dorigo as the most common in monastic buildings. The fact that two churches are mentioned in the documents could be justified

³⁹³ Brogiolo, *Oratori Funerari tra VII e VIII secolo* cit., pp. 9-10.

³⁹⁴ Dorigo, *Venezia. Origini* cit., p. 617.

³⁹⁵ For an in-depth explanation of the symbolic interpretation of the depicted bestiary as well as the stylistic patterns of reference see: Riccioni, *I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario* cit., p. 294s.

³⁹⁶ *Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali*, pp. 5-9, 25 April 1875; ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 10 January 1878.

³⁹⁷ Moreover, the three suggested interpretations would also solve an inconsistency in Marzemin's monograph, which states that the mosaics recovered at the Archaeological Museum were found at a depth of -2,185. However, it is known from dispatches and photography that for at least two of them, those with the bestiary, and the third by assonance, and perhaps also for the fourth noniconic fragment, were found as the third-floor layer and thus at a depth of -2.04: Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio* cit., pp. 55-56.

because of the title that the Chapel would have assumed with the arrival of the monks, a title that the fledgling building dedicated to St. Benedetto also had: they were both churches. It is, therefore, possible that the naming of two churches remained in written form, although the presence of just one building (**PLATE V**, HIPOTESIS 2). Of course, the hypothesis of the existence of two isolated and non-communicating buildings cannot be ruled out (**PLATE V**, HIPOTESIS 1).

SCENARIO 2 (**PLATE VI**): another hypothesis could be made regarding the presence or absence of a fourth-floor layer: although the Sub-commission outlined the presence of four overlapping floors in the rectangular room, the fourth may have been mistakenly thought to be an additional lower layer, and thus considered superimposed to the third layer found in the church, instead of being part of the same floor positioned only at a slightly lower elevation. In fact, in the Sub-commission's report, it is stated that there was a difference of approx. 70 cm between the first and last layers³⁹⁸, and Marzemin states that there was 0.745 cm between the lowest mosaic floor and the first terrazzo floor³⁹⁹. If so, a fourth layer would never have existed, then it is likely that the building could already have had larger dimensions (m18x15), maintained later with the arrival of the monks, and was equipped with a tower in the facade and a raised presbytery, according to the Aquileian model common to private funerary Chapels⁴⁰⁰. This enlargement could justify the slight difference in elevation (14 cm) between the two mosaic floors belonging to the ducal Chapel and reported both in the stratigraphy of the watercolor drawing and Marzemin: inside the nave, a mosaic floor with geometric and natural figures and located at a depth of m-2.185; toward the east, a presbytery slightly raised to the elevation of m-2.04 and decorated with a bestiary.

SCENARIO 3 (**PLATE VII**): the same situation explicated in SCENARIO 2 could also have been repeated for the present interpretation. If one accepts the speculation of the fourth layer as the most recent, perhaps to be traced back to the use of part of the structures as an oratory during the Napoleonic domination⁴⁰¹, one could perhaps suggest that this last layer only occupied the rectangular room. In this regard, it would be to understand why and how that structure was found destroyed after only 70 years. According to Antonio Niero, the need to rebuild the church to accommodate the spiritual needs of the area

³⁹⁸ *Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali*, pp. 5-9, 25 April 1874.

³⁹⁹ Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio* cit., p. 58.

⁴⁰⁰ Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., pp. 180-181.

⁴⁰¹ Moine, Corrà, Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia* cit., pp.127-129.

inhabitants dates back to 1633, when at the request of Andrea Mainardi, priest of Gambarare, the building was reduced to a rural oratory⁴⁰².

Eventually, it is to not be ruled out that this difference could be the result of a simple phenomenon of subsidence or slope of the ground⁴⁰³.

c) The late medieval Church of SS. Ilario and Benedetto

The only building brought back into its full plan level was the basilica dedicated to SS. Ilario and Benedetto, whose orientation followed the axes SW-NE and was completely different from that of the preceding ecclesiastical structures (**Fig.2.29**). The building was ca m31.7 long and m15 wide in the counter-façade – the length reached ca m20.70 including the thickness of the walls (m0.52) and the rectangular room, which had an internal measurement of indicatively m5.15x9.95 –, and m14 in the apsidal portion. The church had three projecting semicircular apses, of which the most prominent was the major apse, and was divided into three aisles by two rows of 6 columns each whose bases, of different shapes and stones from the caves of Verona, rested on rectangular plinths, also made of stone, supported by brick foundations that stood directly on the mosaics. A transenna divided the area of the nave from the presbytery, and it was split by half-pilasters into 13 spaces of ca. 50 cm. each, except the central one, probably closed to the top by small arches⁴⁰⁴. Such an enclosure crossed the three aisles in their entire width and was located at the second column starting from the apse; its foundations consisted of stones of various sizes more or less shaped, and the transenna could probably have stood a few meters in height and was decorated with fresco paintings⁴⁰⁵; considering the function and position of such an architectural element, namely dividing the *quadratum populi* from the isolated and enclosed sacred area deputed to the performance of the office by the ministers of the church, it could be assumed that in the 13 spaces might have been occupied by the 12 apostles with the central Christ. Such decoration affected only the central nave and not the side aisles, as also evidenced by the picture in which steps (right aisle) would seem to be glimpsed, probably intended to lead to the raised choir, where the bases of the columns stood out at a greater elevation⁴⁰⁶. According again to the surveys

⁴⁰² Niero, *Sull'intitolazione "Monasterum Beati Yllari e Benedicti"* cit., p.30.

⁴⁰³ Riccioni, *I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario* cit., p. 294; Moine, Corrò, Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia* cit., pp. 96-99.

⁴⁰⁴ Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio* cit., p. 60.

⁴⁰⁵ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 6 May 1882.

⁴⁰⁶ Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio* cit., p. 60.

made, the building must finally have had 4 door openings: one in the façade that served as the main entrance that was about m2.20 wide; one on the right wall and symmetrically another on the left wall, respectively about m1.5 and m1 wide; and a fourth, approximately m.1 wide through which one accessed directly from the outside the rectangular room defined by Marzemin as a burial ground or ossuary⁴⁰⁷, and perhaps the only surviving element of the Ducal Chapel⁴⁰⁸. The latter could also be reached from the basilica by means of a door approximately m1.35 wide. According to Marzemin, this burial ground was enclosed by a wall of collectible material, consisting in the foundations of various bricks, namely large Roman bricks measuring m0.444x0.304x0.087, *embrici* and *altinelle* (bricks of small modules generally believed to be a low medieval production), and also marble fragments. From such a description and given the tendency in the dispatches to conceptually distinguish the church environment from that of the Chapel, the latter would perhaps appear to be an independent structure, as much connected to the church internally as reachable from the outside⁴⁰⁹.

We do not know the causes that led or pushed the monks to build another building in a completely different direction from the previous one, however, the layer of ruins of destroyed buildings found between the mosaics and the first terrazzo floor would suggest a more or less aggressive destruction⁴¹⁰; this unknown occurrence forced the monks not to build the new church above the existing walls, as was common at the time, but to rebuild it according to a completely different axis. Some scholars tried to trace this choice to natural causes, such as the lowering of the shores and the consequent flooding, or to telluric phenomena⁴¹¹; in this regard, it is worth mentioning that in January 1117 there was an earthquake of magnitude 6.8, considered to be (one of) the most violent earthquakes in the Po Valley, whose aftershocks continued for the entire year⁴¹². This event caused the collapse or damage of a considerable number of ecclesiastical buildings first and foremost in Verona, the epicenter, and in the surrounding areas, but not only: the seismic waves spread for miles and miles, causing damage even in Milano, Cremona,

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁸ *Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali*, pp. 5-9, 25 April 1874.

⁴⁰⁹ Lorenzoni, *Espressioni d'arte* cit., p. 870.

⁴¹⁰ *Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali*, pp. 10-13, 23 November 1875.

⁴¹¹ Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio* cit., p. 58; Lorenzoni, *Espressioni d'arte* cit., p. 870.

⁴¹² *Il terremoto del 3 gennaio 1117*, in Treccani (Atlante) – Enciclopedie on line, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana. The article is available online at the following link:

<https://www.treccani.it/magazine/atlante/societa/il_terremoto_del_3_gennaio_1117.html>

Piacenza and Pavia (here San Michele and San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro were seriously damaged to the extent that they were rebuilt in the Romanesque forms one see today). If the tremors, which were also felt as far as central Italy and beyond the Alps, caused the collapse/damage of buildings as far as Milano and Pavia, one could potentially assume the same for the eastern Po Valley: it is possible that the church of St. Ilario and that of St. Benedetto could have been affected by the consequences of this phenomenon in a greater or lesser degree, and the structures could have been destroyed or compromised to such an extent that the building of a single and much larger temple was preferred. The decision to completely renovate the ecclesiastical structures could also have depended on great economic and political prestige and power, the coenobium's prosperity, the increased jurisdiction toward the Paduan territory, and the renewed religious enthusiasm that characterized the monastery, and the Benedictine order in general, from the 10th century until the middle of the 12th century⁴¹³.

The plan of the large basilica may recall typologies widespread in the Venetian area in the 11th and 12th centuries⁴¹⁴: the Orseolian remake of the cathedral of S. Maria Madre di Dio in Torcello (early 11th century), or the church of S. Nicolò al Lido, from the early second half of the 11th century. Among the churches of the next century can be mentioned St. Nicolò in Treviso, Ss. Giovanni e Paolo, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari. The chronological span of the new edification thus fluctuates between the 11th and 12th centuries: some scholars agree that it took place from the first half of the 12th century, exactly after 1136⁴¹⁵; after this year, in fact, there is no further mention of the two *ecclesiae* in the documents. Others backdate the building of the church by a century⁴¹⁶: the unusual orientation of the church is here justified by the desire to maintain/preserve part of the pre-existing buildings, especially the Ducal Chapel⁴¹⁷. Instead, the *terminus ante quem* is identified by the year 1247, when the notary Prosdocimo favored in his will a restoration work that was probably limited to consolidating the unsafe structures and raising the

⁴¹³ Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio* cit., p. 58.

⁴¹⁴ Lorenzoni, *Espressioni d'arte* cit., p. 870; Moine, Corrò, Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia* cit., p. 89-91.

⁴¹⁵ Antonelli, *Le vicende costruttive dell'Abbazia di Sant'Ilario presso Fusina* cit., pp. 153; Riccioni, *I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario* cit., p. 294.

⁴¹⁶ Lorenzoni, *Espressioni d'arte* cit., p. 870; Gelichi, C. Moine, *Peregrinazioni in sconfinati deserti* cit., p. 137.

⁴¹⁷ Such a maneuver, the rebuilding of the church of St. Benedetto and the maintenance of that of St. Ilario, would be enough to justify the documented existence of two churches, of St. Ilario and St. Benedetto, still in the 12th century: Lorenzoni, *Espressioni d'arte* cit., p. 870.

terrazzo floor of the basilica⁴¹⁸. By that date, and already beginning with the deviation of the Brenta a few years earlier, then followed by the conflicts against Jacopo from Sant'Andrea and Ezzelino III from Romano, the monks' conveyance to St. Gregorio had already begun. Once returned to their old headquarters, the monks were probably faced with a desolate scenario: many of the buildings were now damaged, transformed into fortresses by Ezzelino, and the floor of the church was probably covered with a layer of alluvial material on which a new terrazzo floor was then rebuilt. As a result of such elevation only the upper torus of the columns remained visible, while the presbyterial transenna was perhaps demolished since its remains would appear to have been found at the level of the new floor⁴¹⁹.

d) The tower of St. Ilario between the early and late Middle Ages

The supposed tower, whose foundations were found during the diggings undertaken at the end of the 19th century, is perhaps the most discussed and debated element among scholars, not least because of the possible implications that its presence or non-presence in the early Middle Ages might have had regarding a possible pivotal role of the Carolingian model within the formation of the 'urban' Venice. Its presence in the territory of St. Ilario oscillates between the 9th and 12th-13th centuries, now interpreted as a sort of *tour-porche*⁴²⁰, that is, a bell tower on the façade, in axis with the Chapel whose mosaics, according to Marzemin, ended against the foundations, so that the wall of the tower acted for a stretch as the inner wall of the Chapel itself⁴²¹. The building of such a massive structure was associated with the need to provide a defensive tower in a remote place, nevertheless symbol of the city and its power⁴²². The tower would perhaps have been built at times of danger for the monastic complex, such as the Hungarian raids between the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th⁴²³, which forced some monastic communities to modify or even change their geographical location: this is the case of the destruction of the monastery of St. Giorgio in Pineto (Jesolo) and the consequent

⁴¹⁸ Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio* cit., p. 61; Antonelli, *Le vicende costruttive dell'Abbazia di Sant'Ilario presso Fusina* cit., pp. 155.

⁴¹⁹ ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 27 December 1881; Moine, Corrò, Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia* cit., p. 89.

⁴²⁰ Riccioni, *I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario* cit., pp. 297-308: 300.

⁴²¹ Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio* cit., pp. 54-57: 56-57.

⁴²² *ivi.*, p. 56.

⁴²³ Antonelli, *Le vicende costruttive dell'Abbazia di Sant'Ilario presso Fusina* cit., pp. 154; Lorenzoni, *Espressioni d'arte* cit., pp. 869-871;

dispersion of the monks⁴²⁴; the monastery at Nonantola suffered a similar fate as well, being devastated in 899⁴²⁵. For still others, the presence of such a massive building would not have been justified before the year 1000⁴²⁶, and it should be associated either with the bell towers of the Venetian area although it did not have a quadrangular shape, or to the late medieval defensive towers. In any case, the different orientations of the tower and the late medieval church would suggest two distinct construction phases and not a single coherent planning of the whole complex⁴²⁷.

Before delving more specifically into the proposed readings, it is good to try to understand what kind of role towers might have played within monastic complexes or next to buildings of worship, the chronology of which is not always clear, equally nebulous is their function, which is not necessarily to be traced back, however, to a defensive or bell-tower function. Such structures open up the problem, before the 10th century, of this typical form of the architecture of power⁴²⁸.

In the framework of early medieval towers, a tower with a square plan and of unspecified function, but commonly addressed as a bell tower, has been identified in Pavia within the monastery of Santa Maria Teodote, in close connection with the oratory of San Michele alla Pusterla. This is included in the northern wing of the cloister, with angular prominences and walls marked by pilasters. The wreck of the tower was discovered during the 1969 restoration works: the building had a square plan (m4.50 per side), was perfectly tangent with the oratory of St. Michele and was heavily manipulated in the following centuries, so that of the early medieval plan remains only evidence in the frieze with three crosses. Regarding the top part, only written evidence remains, according to which towards the East two arches and two open bridge holes could be recognized, while towards the South there were two open large windows and lower down two other windows⁴²⁹. The tower was originally plastered as it was built with mixed brick material, it had angular projections and was arranged in floors (**Figa.2.30-2.31**).

⁴²⁴ *Monasteri benedettini nella laguna veneziana*, catalogo di mostra (Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 1983), edited by G. Mazzucco, Venezia, Arsenale, 1983, p. 35.

⁴²⁵ M. De Jong, P. Erhart, *Monachesimo tra i Longobardi e i Carolingi*, in *Il futuro dei Longobardi: l'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno: saggi*, edited by C. Bertelli, G.P. Brogiolo, Milano, Skira, 2000, p. 109.

⁴²⁶ Dorigo, *Venezia Origini*, pp. 394-400; Gelichi, Moine, *Peregrinazioni in sconfinati deserti* cit., p. 137; Moine, Corrò, Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia* cit., pp. 92-95.

⁴²⁷ *ivi.*, p. 96.

⁴²⁸ Cantino Wataghin, *Monasteri tra VIII e IX secolo* cit., p. 135-36.

⁴²⁹ A. Peroni, *Il monastero alto medievale di S. Maria 'Teodote' a Pavia. Ricerche urbanistiche e architettoniche*, Studi medievali, s. 3, vol. 13, 1972, pp. 1-93: 68-69.

Peroni compares it to 10th-century examples such as the bell tower of San Michele Maggiore although he considers it earlier than that, oscillating between the 8th and 10th centuries so much so that he looks for comparisons in Milan, in the massive structure of the Monks of Sant'Ambrogio Tower (9th century)⁴³⁰, or in the Campaniletto of San Satiro (9th-11th century), while the cusped recessed frieze is compared to other structures datable from the 8th to the 10th century⁴³¹.

At Novalesa Abbey (founded in 726 and enlarged with monastic buildings and Chapels in the late 8th and early 9th centuries) a quadrangular structure has been identified between the Chapel of St. Salvatore and the abbots' dwelling⁴³².

A tower of at least three floors, possibly pertaining to the royal *palatium* and next to a large room flanked by a Chapel, has also been identified at Farfa. In this regard, it is worth pointing out that the abbey complex is also known for its close relations with the experiences and laborers from beyond the Alps: according to the *Libellus Constructionis*⁴³³, abbots Ragambaldo (ca 771-776), Altberto (ca 776-790), and Morualdo (ca 790-802) came from north of the Alps, while successors Benedetto (ca 802-815) and Ingoaldo (ca 815-830) visited Frankfurt and Aachen, respectively. Moreover, during Frankish domination, the abbey received royal patronage and imperial protection, and immunity from papal control was confirmed by co-emperor Lotario in 823. Abbot Sichardo (839-841) restored the existing complex and added new structures, setting himself as heir to a strong tradition of contact with the north; it was perhaps at the time of this expansion that a massive early medieval tower of square plan measuring about m8.3 on each side was built, nicknamed the 'Torrione,' and located a few meters from a Chapel placed inside an additional building (**Fig.2.32**). The shape of the structure remains uncertain as it has been restored several times, but it is assumed to be probably on three floors, built on rubble with large square blocks placed at the corners, and probably reused from a Roman building. It is unlikely to be a bell tower, much less a defensive tower; one of the hypotheses advanced recognizes it as the living quarters for the Emperor⁴³⁴.

Examples of tower edifications, as well as the reuse of late Roman towers, as monks' residences, even if they were very modest spaces capable of accommodating one person

⁴³⁰ *ivi.*, p. 77, nota 147.

⁴³¹ *ivi.*, p. 71.

⁴³² Cantino Wataghin, *Monasteri tra VIII e IX secolo* cit., p. 136.

⁴³³ Anonymous written source narrating the events of the monastery up to 857.

⁴³⁴ C.B. McClendon, D. Whitehouse, *La badia di Farfa, Fara in Sabina (Rieti). Terza nota preliminare*, *Archeologia medievale. Cultura Materiale, insediamenti, territorio*, 9, 1982, p. 323-330: 327, 329.

per floor, find reason to exist in early medieval private building, that still favored the presence of a custodian or a fixed presbytery⁴³⁵.

Significant in this regard is the Torba Tower, built probably between the 5th and the 6th centuries while the central part, provided with arched windows, was remodeled between the 8th and 9th centuries when the late antique structure was incorporated within the early medieval monastery. The structure is characterized by a complex functional articulation in which tombs from the Lombard period find their place on the first floor, while on the second floor, an oratory for the community of Benedictine nuns was carved out between the 8th and 9th centuries (**Fig.2.33**)⁴³⁶.

A defensive as well as 'domestic' tower, with the division of functions into floors (residential the upper, service the lower) is the Monselice Tower. The structure was found leaning against the boundary wall and has undergone two constructive phases. The original quadrangular building, from the first decades of the 7th century, was probably used for domestic purposes and has in the northern perimeter seven Lombard burials probably belonging to the family group defending the tower and living in it (**Fig.2.34**). After the mid-7th century and following the demolition of the masonry pertaining to the tower, a new building measuring 7.80X7.40 meters was constructed (**Fig.2.35**)⁴³⁷.

Moving to the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea, many Croatian funerary Chapels present a western body in the façade, identifiable as a reduction of the Carolingian *Westwerk* in the *tour-porche*⁴³⁸. In fact, many scholars have wanted to recognize the religious architecture of the eastern Adriatic areas, which fits within a geological context rich in limestone outcrops and devoid of rivers where the use of stone occurs to an exclusively territorial extent⁴³⁹, and especially those belonging to the Croatian principalities, the direct manifestation of the Carolingian presence. Following the Peace of Aachen, in fact, the Croatian principedom were formally subjugated to the Carolingians, while the coastal cities and islands of Dalmatia and Istria, as well as the Venetian lagoon, were incorporated

⁴³⁵ Cantino Wataghin, *Monasteri tra VIII e IX secolo* cit., p. 136.

⁴³⁶ G.P Brogiolo, S. Gelichi, *Nuove ricerche sui castelli altomedievali in Italia settentrionale*, Firenze, All'insegna del giglio, 1996, p. 139.

⁴³⁷ Brogiolo, Gelichi, *Nuove ricerche sui castelli altomedievali in Italia settentrionale* cit., pp. 165-170.

⁴³⁸ A. Milošević, *Campanili preromanici della Dalmazia e della Croazia altomedievale*, Dubrovnik-Split, 2011; Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., p. 228.

⁴³⁹ Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., p. 263.

by Byzantium. In this view, the Venetian-Istrian and Dalmatian territories acted as a hinge between the experiences of the continental and European and Byzantine worlds⁴⁴⁰.

The presence of the Western body on the façade in Croatian buildings is attested from the 9th century, with the spread in these areas of the model of private funerary oratories, which, as mentioned earlier, in that area were often associated with Benedictine monasteries or the court. The practice continued into the late Middle Ages, sometimes adopting monumental and massive forms. An iconic building, the only one whose elevations are preserved, is the Church of St. Salvatore in Cettina, dated around 880⁴⁴¹ (**Fig.2.36-2.37**). Other more or less coeval examples are the Church of St. Maria of Crkvina in Biskupija, built during the first half of the 9th century⁴⁴², or the Church of St. Etienne in Golubić, belonging to the late 9th century⁴⁴³ (**Fig.2.38**), St. Tommaso near Rovigno, dated today between the end of the 8th century and the 9th century⁴⁴⁴, or the Church of St. Lorenzo in Zara, of uncertain chronology to be dated, according to Milosevic, to the 10th-11th centuries⁴⁴⁵ (**Fig.2.39**). Looking at the examples given, which represent only a small part of the corpus of about fifteen buildings analyzed by Ante Milošević, it is possible to recognize a canonized and recurring architectural structure that characterized the western body on these façades: first and foremost, these were processional towers, which thus had the function of an entrance (the ground floor), and a raised loggia reserved for the lord (second floor) that faced directly onto the nave and was accessed via an external and sometimes internal staircase. Both rooms did not merely occupy the space of the tower but continued projecting into the nave, encompassing part of the perimeter of the proper church, forming a single room with it. Therefore, both the Western body and the nave have the same planking level. Such a structure (vaulted *crypta* surmounted by a *capella superior*, also vaulted which is accessed by an external flight of stairs, which faces the *capella inferior*) was also suggested for the western body in front of the primitive palatine Chapel of St. Marco⁴⁴⁶.

⁴⁴⁰ Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., p. 7.

⁴⁴¹ Milošević, *Campanili preromanici della Dalmazia e della Croazia altomedievale* cit., pp. 22-33.

⁴⁴² *ivi*, pp. 43-45.

⁴⁴³ Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., p. 228.

⁴⁴⁴ *ivi*, pp. 36-39.

⁴⁴⁵ *ivi*, pp. 40-42.

⁴⁴⁶ Dorigo, *Venezia Origini*, pp. 556-81; Idem, *Una discussione e nuove precisazioni sulla cappella Sancti Marci nel IX-X sec.*, Venezia Arti, 7, 1993, pp. 17-36; Idem, *Lo stato della discussione storico-archeologica dopo i lavori nella cripta di San Marco*, in *San Marco, Basilica patriarcale in Venezia: la cripta, il restauro*, Milano, Vallardi & associati, 1993, pp. 25-41; Idem, *La cultura carolingia della prima Capella Sancti Marci*, Hortus Artium Medievalium, 8, 2002, pp. 149-57.

In the last decades of the last century, and following the restoration work carried out between the 1980s and 1990s, Wladimiro Dorigo proposed in fact a new interpretation of the space of the crypt of the Basilica of St. Marco, according to which the primitive ducal Chapel of the Partecipazi was to be recognized. The martyr Chapel was supposed to have been provided with a Carolingian-type forepart, a *Westwerk*-like avant-corps not necessarily tower-like but responding to the functions of entrance and loggia reserved for the *dominus loci* that the ducal Chapel required, such as to reinforce its character as an *Eigenkirche*. This western body must have consisted of 4 large pillars (m1.18x1.18 and m1.18x1.48), spaced m2.37 and m5.33 apart, standing out m1.18 from the ground and supporting plastered vaults apparently round and spaced m2.96 from the back wall of the *retrocripta*. The avant-corps must also have had at least one grated window and could thus be likened to the first floor of a Carolingian *Westwerk*. Above this room, a *capella superior*, supported by at least 6 quadrangular pillars and a cross-vault system reached perhaps by two lateral staircases, must have housed the ducal *loggia* that must have directly overlooked the *capella inferior* (**Fig2.40**). This hypothesis is supported by some elements and architectural sculpture that belong to the early medieval artistic temperament of the West. Grabar well highlighted the structure of the buildings juxtaposed to the façades⁴⁴⁷: they must have had a square plan, barrel or cross-vaulted roof, derivation from late antique *atria* with funerary function, the same planking level of the church, entrance function, presence of an upper Chapel.

After the year 1000, in Croatian territory, the presence of massive and monumental *Westwerk*-bell towers on the façade is witnessed as well: some examples are the massive bell tower on the façade of the Romanesque churches of St. Giovanni in Banjevici (**Fig2.41**), St. Vito in Dobrinj on the Veglia Island (**Fig2.42**)⁴⁴⁸, and St. Maria in Bescanuova (**Fig.2.43**) on the island of Krk. In Lazio, as a consequence of the spread of the *Westwerk* architectural theme in the region as a result of the northern masters called to work in Farfa, an example of an 11th-century façade (bell) tower is that of the Church of Santa Maria della Lode in Vescovio (**Fig.2.44**), with the tower superimposed on the façade and interwoven with sculpture fragments datable between the 8th and 9th centuries,

⁴⁴⁷ A. Grabar, *Martyrium: recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, I, Paris, Collège de France, 1946, pp. 257-282.

⁴⁴⁸ Milošević, *Campanili preromanici della Dalmazia e della Croazia altomedievale* cit., pp.70-72.

possibly belonging to an earlier monument destroyed when the tower was built in the 11th century⁴⁴⁹.

Keeping talking about bell towers, but moving back to the Venetian area, St. Ilario Tower, in terms of construction technique and materials was compared by Dorigo to some bell towers included within the 12th century⁴⁵⁰. Among them, the bell tower of St. Marco, of uncertain chronology between the 10th and 12th centuries (**Fig.2.45**), that of St. Maria Assunta in Torcello dated to the 11th century (**Fig.2.46**), the bell tower of St. Agnese (**Fig.2.47**) and that of St. Angelo, both dated to the 12th century. All of them are associated with the presence of a square plan – except for the rectangular bell tower of St. Angelo – with sides measurement ranging from 5.50 meters to 8.50 meters, except the bell tower of St. Marco with its 12 meters per side. Common as well are the sub-foundations, consisting of a large raft set on stilts on which stone foundations were then imposed; the central area was caved in, sometimes as an empty shaft paved at the bottom (Santa Maria Assunta in Torcello), or filled with spoil material once the bell tower foundation was completed (St. Angelo), while the emerging base stood more than a meter above the ground level.

According to Moine, Corrà, and Primon, the rectangular structure of the foundations of the building identified at St. Ilario would not be comparable to bell towers, which tended to be rectangular in shape, but to late medieval defensive towers of rectangular shapes, such as the Bebbe Tower (**Fig.2.48**), that of Caligo (**Fig.2.49**), or the Clock Tower in Mestre, which was part of a complex system of fortifications dated to the 13th-14th centuries, known as Castelnuovo⁴⁵¹.

Regarding the St. Ilario Tower, the only information available is those of the dispatches and those given in Marzemin's monograph: the former summarily mentions the nature of the more or less squared stones that constituted the foundations, next to a few sepulchers and fragments of cornices, columns, and capitals, carved stones and inscriptions⁴⁵²; the latter states that the foundations rested on top of a double layer of 12 cm. oak beams

⁴⁴⁹ A. Prandi, *Osservazioni sull'abbazia di Farfa*, in *Roma e l'età carolingia: Atti delle giornate di studio 3-8 maggio 1976*, Roma, Multigrafica editrice, 1976, pp.357-368: 364.

⁴⁵⁰ Dorigo, *Venezia Origini*, II, pp. 394-400; such interpretation was also adopted by Moine, Corrà, Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia cit.*, pp. 92-95.

⁴⁵¹ Moine, Corrà, Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia cit.*, p. 94.

⁴⁵² ACS, 2568, b. 327, f. 5568bis, 19 May 1876, 27 December 1881; *Raccolta degli scritti ed atti ufficiali*, pp. 5-9, 25 April 1874; *ivi*, pp. 10-13, 23 November 1875.

located at m. -4.14 below the level of cultivated land. The foundations were uncovered almost at ground level, forming a rectangle of m. 10.20x8.40 and a thickness of m. 3, consisting of about a meter of bricks of different shapes, while the remainder were boulders of various sizes of Istrian stone and Monselice trachyte including some of the size of m. 1.60x0.75x0.80 reused from some Roman building⁴⁵³.

Such statements originated several interpretive questions, since the few indications provided are not timely enough to allow for a single and unique interpretation. Specifically, doubts emerged about the nature:

(a) of the depth at which the large raft was located concerning whether or not the m-4.14 included the 24 cm made up by the double layer of oak beams. In this regard, it has been chosen to represent them as excluded from the total measurement provided by Marzemin.

(b) Marzemin states that the foundations formed a rectangle measuring m10.30x8.40 and were unearthed almost flush with the ground: in this regard, it is not specified whether these foundations were slightly trapezoidal in shape, and thus more tapered toward the top, or whether they developed along a straight line.

(c) Marzemin states that the foundation consisted of about a meter of bricks of different shapes: an automatic question raised is whether these bricks did not already constitute part of the actual tower, meaning its elevations, as has also been suggested by Corrà, Moine, and Primon⁴⁵⁴. In that case, the dotted line added by Marzemin could have marked its footprint, or it could have been interpreted as the centerline of the wall: in the first hypothesis, the footprint of the proper tower would have been a rectangle of m8.80x6.90 (wall thickness of m1.5) or m8.30x6.40 (wall thickness of m1); in the second hypothesis, a total footprint of m7.30x5.40 (wall thickness of m1 and m1.5) would have been obtained. In both cases, the dimensions would fall within most of the towers proposed in the previous pages. The wall thickness could perhaps have fluctuated between m1 and m1.5, tapering or not towards the summit. Looking at the previous examples, the wall measurement swings around slightly more than m1 (Monselice Tower), m2.5 (Farfa 'Torrione'), while oscillating between values slightly above or slightly below m1 are the Croatian towers. In the proposed interpretations it was decided to present both options, thus the wall with a thickness of 1m and the wall with a thickness of m1.5.

⁴⁵³ Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio* cit., pp.56-57.

⁴⁵⁴ Moine, Corrà, Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia* cit., pp. 88-92.

(d) Further doubts arose concerning the large stones that followed the layer of bricks: in the dispatches, they are described as large, reused boulders more or less squared. Marzemin further specifies that the boulders were of Istria stone and Monselice trachyte of varying size, some of them measuring m1.60x0.75x0.80. Because of this statement, some scholars see the tower as a late medieval enterprise, as the massive use of Istrian stone seems to have been introduced in Venice with the conquest of Parenzo in 1267. However, this material, as also stated by Lazzarini⁴⁵⁵, was and is often confused with other limestone rocks that are often lumped together by non-specialists under the name of Istrian stone. Consequently, these stones could also have been of a different type of lithology.

(e) Finally, the stones may have already constituted the visible basement and foundations, as happens, for instance, among the bell towers included by the 12th century, but nevertheless, it cannot be excluded the possibility that they were part, still for a few meters, of the actual wall of the tower, as happens to the façade of Santa Maria Assunta in Torcello (9th century), the Bebbe tower, and the Caligo tower.

(f) regardless of whether the building was early or late medieval, the doorways are not specified in the plan, nor even in the written documents. This could be since they were not visible, or, as also happened with the surveys belonging to the early stages of Archaeology, they were not represented as not essential to the purposes for which such surveys were undertaken. In fact, they do not even appear in the surveys of bell towers presented above.

(g) in the last place, it has been wondered and investigated how such a building could enter into dialogue with the neighboring churches.

Each of the identified features could lead to a multitude of speculations and interpretations regarding the structural composition and function of the tower. Given these assumptions, it has been tried to propose several possible scenarios, always considering that the simulations and models proposed in the following pages are not accurate, but schematic and hypothetical. At the current state of knowledge, such interpretations are intended to be also and above all a practical example of the use of digital tools as scientific and philological tools exploited within the interpretative process;

⁴⁵⁵ L. Lazzarini, *Pietra d'Istria: uso, genesi, proprietà, cavatura e forme di deterioramento della pietra di Venezia*, Histria Terra. Supplemento agli atti e memorie della società istriana di archeologia e storia patria Trieste, 9, 2008, pp. 7-45: 21-22.

moreover, the goal is also to show, without reducing, the complexity of such an interpretative procedure.

From the dispatches, and confirmed visually by the excavation picture, it appears that the tower found was oriented along the WEST-EAST axis, the same as the mosaics found and the associated ecclesiastical buildings. Such a configuration allows and justifies a series of reasonings that lead one to indulge to the idea of a possible façade tower: in fact, if until now the equilibrium was leaning in favor of an edification after the year 1000, having had the visual confirmation that the tower and buildings shared the same orientation leads one to think that the tower was almost definitely built in association with, or was in any case in some way bound to, the Chapel/church of St. Ilario and the later one of St. Benedetto, and therefore probably built when these buildings were still in place. In the early medieval examples previously mentioned, the presence of towers built close to or in front of ecclesiastical structures was associated with the existence of oratories or private chapels belonging or not to monastic institutions; its function could oscillate between bell, defensive, but also funerary and domestic. Such a practice was widespread in the Italic territory and on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, potentially also in the lagoon, so it would not have been so unusual to find it also in a private, governmental, and monastic reality such as that of St. Ilario.

Assuming the hypothesis of a western forepart on the facade, it might have been built at the same time as the Partecipazi family chapel, or contemporary with the arrival of the monks and the expansion and construction of the structures, or even later: the latter situation would probably have implied the demolition of the façade, which was later rebuilt, and the probable destruction of part of the mosaics – unless one considers the raising of a new floor level – since a pit much larger than the base of the tower itself would have had to be opened to excavate the foundations. Against this interpretative possibility, however, stands the bell tower of Aquileia erected in the 11th century in the area of the northern hall of the 4th century: its construction in it did not result in the ruin of the surrounding mosaic, which still exists today⁴⁵⁶. Moreover, assuming continuity between the tower and the church, the former could have been both processional or, imagining a single church of St. Ilario and St. Benedetto, being accessed from the Chapel connected to the main church, St. Benedetto. Assuming such a reading, the closest term of comparison

⁴⁵⁶ Lorenzoni, *Espressioni d'arte* cit., p. 869.

would have been the Croatian façade towers, which were, however, characterized by much smaller dimensions – 3 to 5 meters -, and by an extremely more articulated structure that was projected toward the nave, as in the examples of St. Salvatore in Cettina, St. Lorenzo in Zara, and St. Etienne in Golubić. On the other hand, these buildings had a more complex structural arrangement, whereas the Chapel and later church of St. Ilario probably consisted of a simple, clean rectangular room; such composition could be found in later Croatian examples, such as the churches of St. Giovanni in Banjevici and St. Vito in Dobrinj. Such avant-corps have an external entrance, leading to the first floor, the *loggia*, and one on the ground floor, leading to the nave: the towers on the façade constituted a single building with the church, including floor level and wall thickness.

The western body on the façade, as well as the church of St. Ilario could have had the following appearance: as far as the thickness of the walls of the sacred building is concerned, these could have ranged between 60 cm and m1, as found in the examples of towers reported in this work; the thickness of the walls of the tower could, as mentioned earlier, range between m1 and m1.5, while a possible entrance could have had a size of m2.10 in height and m1.2 in width. The detailed representation of the elevations is not part of the objectives of the work presented, so only an attempt has been made to identify a hypothetical elevation of them, again based on the examples of towers and churches previously introduced: in this regard, the tower could have been about m15 high⁴⁵⁷, while the church dedicated to St. Ilario around m7⁴⁵⁸. Another unsettled element might be the tower planking level, which may or may not have coincided with that of the church, depending on how one decides to read Marzemin's statements.

In case the basement began immediately after the layer of bricks, it would have been a clear inconsistency and no continuity between the planking level of the church, identified at a depth of m-2.185 or m-2.04, and that of the tower, positioned at m-1.00 so that the two layers would have been separated by m1.185 or m1.045: the slightly different altitude depends on which interpretation regarding the possible elevation of the floor level one chooses to follow. Such a distance would have implied the presence of a staircase connecting the inside of the nave with the outside; in case one wants to admit the

⁴⁵⁷ Elevation of the tower on the façade of the churches of St. Salvatore a Cettina (ca m18), St. Lorenzo a Zara (ca m13,50), St. Etienne in Golubić (ca m14).

⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁸ Elevation of the churches of di St. Salvatore a Cettina (ca m7), St. Lorenzo a Zara (ca m7), St. Etienne in Golubić (ca m8).

possibility of a lateral entrance, the staircase would have led only to the inside of the tower, which could have been arranged on two or three floors.

SCENARIO 1 (**PLATES VIII-IX**): considering the line drawn by Marzemin as the center line of the wall, the staircase would have had to extend almost two meters into the nave, consequently going to cover the mosaics; the stairs were probably built of wood, so as not to hide the mosaics that ended against the foundations (**PLATE VIII**). The hypothesis of the development of the staircase directly into the stone foundation would have been a possible solution too (**PLATE IX**), as happens for quite a lot of towers, for instance that of S. Marco or that of St. Lucia in Bescanuova. At the counter-façade, the tower could have appeared plastered, as was, for example, the tower of the early medieval monastery of Santa Maria Teodote in Pavia.

SCENARIO 2 (**PLATES X-XI**): Still admitting a discrepancy between the floors of the church and the tower, and assuming, in this case, foundations with a vertical course and an arrangement of the walls of the bell tower corresponding to the footprint drawn by Marzemin, this discrepancy would have been covered by the presence of a staircase, smoothly or not, incorporated within the basement: as in the previous example, the stairs ratio of height to width would have allowed an internal development without overlaying the mosaic surface. Moreover, within this context, the extension of the church of St. Ilario would have been around m18,75x15, according to the ratio 5:4: the 75 centimeters are necessary to encompass the mosaics found on the left aisle of the late medieval church.

SCENARIO 3 (**PLATE XII**): Accepting the possibility that the base of the masonry of the actual tower consisted, still for a few meters, of stone material, then one could assume a coincidence between the floors of the tower and the nave, although this would have implied having relatively shallow foundations of about m1.72/1.86, according to the floor level one chooses to consider. As is the case with many buildings, it cannot be ruled out that it underwent reconstructions during later years; on such occasions, the floor level would perhaps have been raised to cope with the lowering of the ground levels and flooding, which ultimately must have aligned with the more recent terrazzo floor of the basilica.

As for its function, admitting the hypothesis of the forepart in the facade, the entrance would have been on the ground floor, while on the first floor, accessible from the outside by means of a stone or wooden staircase, would have been the *capella superior*, from which the *dominus loci* attended the holy ceremony, while on the upper floor, the actual

bell tower could have developed. In such a situation, St. Ilario Tower would have constituted a *unicum*, since it is clear from the Croatian models, as well as Grabar's assumptions, that this environment was not to be limited to the tower, but extended into the nave with specific structural features. One could object to this statement by saying that there is no information about the nature of the perimeter walls of early medieval churches, however, the tower would seem to be an almost separate element from the worship building, or at least not harmoniously integrated with it, as is the case with the Croatian examples.

It is possible as well that, following the footsteps of the Farfa 'Torrione', or to a lesser extent also of the Torba Tower, St. Ilario Tower could perhaps have housed, on the upper floor, the short-lived residence of the ruling classes representatives, first and foremost the Partecipazi doges themselves, who later found in St. Ilario the place of their eternal rest. When the Chapel was still family-owned, it cannot be ruled out that the tower housed the residence of the custodian or cleric devoted to the religious service⁴⁵⁹.

With the edification of the new 12th-century basilica, the tower could have undergone a change of function and been enlarged or modified and used as a bell tower, or as a defensive tower⁴⁶⁰.

Finally, if we consider the hypothesis of a late medieval building, it could have fulfilled a bell or defensive function, and looked similar to the late medieval or defensive bell towers of the lagoon previously described, while the division into floors was done by means of wooden slabs, connected by ladders, as is the case, for example, in the bell tower of Aquileia and that of Pomposa abbey. However, it remains to be explained why the Tower and the Basilica had two completely different orientations.

⁴⁵⁹ Cantino Wataghin, *Monasteri tra VIII e IX secolo* cit., p. 136.

⁴⁶⁰ The limited information mentioning the presence of a tower in Sant'Ilario would seem to be discordant: it must have still been in use during the late Middle Ages since it is mentioned by the chronicler Martino da Canal, who states that during the war between Padova and Venezia under the dukedom of Jacopo Tiepolo (1229-1249), that is, the invasion of the territory by Ezzelino da Romano who reduced the entire monastery to a fortress, it was burned to the ground by the Venetians forcing the Saracen mercenaries, who had taken refuge inside the building since it was very high and well equipped, to find refuge from the flames by throwing themselves down: Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio* cit., p. 61; Referring to the acts of violence suffered by the monastery as a result of Jacopo from Sant'Andrea, it is stated that Abbot Theonistus had taken refuge in the bell tower: Lanfranchi, Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio* cit., Prefazione XVII, note 2; Dandolo, however, states that Ezzelino, wanting to attack the Venetians, *eorum confines invadit et Sancto Ylario, expulsis monacis, turim munitissimam construit et in regione per flumina navigantibus damna intulit*, and goes on by saying that the tower was attacked and destroyed during the dukedom of Giovanni Tiepolo, son of duke Jacopo: *ivi*, Prefazione XIX, note 1.

In any case and historical time period, if the tower was an autonomous building it should necessarily have had an external staircase, in wood or stone, to grant access.

e) The monastery of SS. Ilario and Benedetto

Not much is known about the structures that must have constituted the monastery since they were not found and thus never investigated by the late 19th-century excavations. The scanty information reported by Marzemin states that the monastic buildings probably must have been located toward the east of the churches, while located at a short distance and in front of the 12th-century church there was a small, low building that could probably have been identified as an ancient baptistery⁴⁶¹. According again to the author's statements, near the monastery arose the rich and flourishing village of St. Ilario, which served as a port and stopover for goods until the entire 12th century; finally, the whole territory was crossed by a dense network of canals that were partly navigable and dotted with mills⁴⁶².

Further information, however, was obtained during excavations conducted from 2007 and 2010, from which some structures connected to the monastery emerged (**Fig.2.50**), specifically a room investigated only in a small portion and datable to the 9th-10th centuries (UTS 1000, **Fig.2.51**), obliterated in the 10th-11th centuries when the area began to be exploited as a cemetery⁴⁶³; there was also identified a cemetery space (UTS 4000, **Fig.2.52**), where valuable rooms were established (a paved space, perhaps decorated with mosaics) and privileged burials were set up, initially in brick boxes and later in bare earth, whose exploitation seems to have been long-lasting and extended even into areas distant from the core of graves⁴⁶⁴. In the northern ditches (UTS 7000) and in the eastern one (UTS 6000), traces of several channels were intercepted⁴⁶⁵: the former had a northeast-southeast-west orientation; the latter, investigated only along the progressively swamping banks. The material composition, with a qualitative peak in the 9th-10th centuries⁴⁶⁶, was concentrated in two nearby albeit topographically distinct areas, the former corresponding to the area where the ancient land registers indicated the presence of the monastic enclosure, while the latter was smaller and located SE of the

⁴⁶¹ Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio* cit., pp. 57-58.

⁴⁶² *ivi*, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁶³ Gelichi, Moine, *Peregrinazioni in sconfinati deserti* cit., p. 138.

⁴⁶⁴ Corro, Moine, *Primon, Reazioni uguali e contrarie* cit., pp. 140.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 22.

⁴⁶⁶ Gelichi, Moine, *Peregrinazioni in sconfinati deserti* cit., p. 140.

former⁴⁶⁷. A bare-earth burial with NS orientation, traces of a wall septum with probable NS orientation, made of large bricks were also identified; finally, the cleaning of the agricultural drain allowed the identification of bare-earth burials on both the eastern and western slopes with EW orientation that appeared to be set on more superficial preserved archaeological levels. Geological surveys carried out through Google Earth, also seem to suggest that the site was, at least in its early stages, completely surrounded by a moat⁴⁶⁸. In conclusion, the monastery must have been built on at least two different bumps, separated by a canal, although it was not possible to bring back the church discovered in the 19th century, nor to provide a plan of the coenobitic complex and neither to be able to determine its precise extent, perhaps it must have been located in the adjacent field, beyond the *carriara* to the west (**Fig.2.53**)⁴⁶⁹.

Lastly, to at least understand the potentially existing structures in a Benedictine monastery, it is useful to rely on nothing less than the Rule of St. Benedetto⁴⁷⁰. In addition to prescriptions for monastic and canonical life, the Benedictine Rule identifies and describes – without, however, communicating their actual disposition – spaces intended for worship (*oratorium*) refreshment (*mensa*) intellectual life (*bibliotecha*) and the different daily functions and activities of the community (*cella hospitem, cella noviciorum, coquina, cellarium, pistrinum, vestiarium, balnea*). Specific places were thus provided for the refectory, kitchen, laundry, library, checkroom, porter's lodge, guest quarters, baths, prison, and infirmary, as well as workshops and a mill, next to the church cells intended for monks and guests, a *schola*, the pantry, and the dormitory. Such prescriptions see their practical realization in the St. Gallo abbey. Although not comparable, it is possible that a fair amount of the mentioned spaces was in any case also present in the monastery of St. Ilario. Not far from the church, vast columned porticoes could perhaps have identified a cloister with a refectory and chapter house⁴⁷¹; facing it, perhaps the monks' cells, located on the first floor. Although the coenobium was almost entirely inhabited by monks, there

⁴⁶⁷ Corro, Moine, Primon, *Reazioni uguali e contrarie* cit., pp. 131.

⁴⁶⁸ *ivi*, p. 143.

⁴⁶⁹ Gelichi, Moine, *Peregrinazioni in sconfinati deserti* cit., pp. 138-139.

⁴⁷⁰ *La Regola di san Benedetto e le regole dei Padri*, a cura di S. Pricoco, Milano, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, A. Mondadori, 1995.

⁴⁷¹ This is the case, for example, of the Benedictine monastery of San Severo in Classe (first half of the X century), where archaeological investigations also revealed two domestic *butti*, one inside the refectory (used as a fish smokehouse), the other toward the east wing, between the chapter house and the corner of the building (the latter dated to between the late 9th and early 10th centuries, with fish on other remains): E. Cirelli, *La dieta dei monaci. Cultura materiale e alimentazione nei monasteri benedettini tra IX e X secolo*, Hortus Artium Medievalium, 19, 2013, pp. 227-241: 229.

was in any case no lack of prominent visiting or passing personalities: such occasions might have required the building of resting rooms. Moreover, the Benedictine rule was based on three assumptions: obedience, silence and humility: the monks were called upon in turn to work in the garden, the kitchen, and the scriptorium, there had consequently to be installations for breeding and cultivating the fields⁴⁷², as well as warehouses to store supplies for the community as well as those that were then transported to the lagoon. The exploitation of animals to work and plow the land would have involved, within the territory managed by the monastery, stables for animals (sheep, horses, bovine), facilities for the exploitation of water, with the installation of canals, tanks, and machines⁴⁷³.

Although considerations about the monastic structures cannot be addressed more in detail on this occasion, it is possible at least to provide a brief conclusion about the ecclesiastical structures, and specifically of the relationship between the Tower and the Chapel/church of St. Ilario. It could be said with relative certainty that the tower and the 12th-century basilica were built at two different intervals and that the former was somehow linked to the early medieval churches of St. Ilario and St. Benedetto, built as a western avant-corps on the façade subsequently the arrival of the monks, or even forming part of the private family Chapel of Partecipazi. The latter, modeled after family oratories belonging to the Lombard-Carolingian tradition, found both in present-day northern Italy between the 7th and 8th centuries and in the Croatian principalities from the 9th century onward, would have had a rectangular plan without aisles, and perhaps a rise in the presbyterial area of 14 cm, depending on whether or not one accepts the hypothesis of the rebuilding of the floor of the primitive Chapel upon the arrival of the monks in 819. Covered by a wooden ceiling, the structure elevations were probably made of bricks with a wall thickness ranging from m0.5 to 1 that insisted on likely stone foundations and trench sub-foundations; moreover, the building could be supported by vertical elements such as pillars or half-pilasters incorporated in the walls, and studded with single-lancet windows, from which the natural light was filtered. Internally there was an explosion of colors from the mosaic floor to the walls where fresco paintings enclosed by frames were displayed, probably organized in horizontal rows. The sarcophagi of the 4/5 dukes and the some of the burials of distinguished government dignitaries would have been

⁴⁷² *ivi*, pp. 227-241: 231.

⁴⁷³ *ivi*, pp. 229-231.

displaced in this environment as well. The latter would have found their privileged position inside the church in the presbyterial area, the most coveted environment, with casket tombs arranged below the altar as in the churches of St. Antonino and St. Pietro of Maroggia (8th-9th centuries)⁴⁷⁴, in the southern perimeter of the nave, in the corners towards the façade, or isolated in the nave without any apparent order; in this regard, one could mention the early medieval churches of SS. Ambrogio and Maurizio in Chironico (Canton Ticino) with a privileged burial along the south wall, covered by two stone slabs and masonry presbyterial enclosure, or, north of Milan, S. Pietro di Albese con Cassano (9th century), with a tomb in the southwest corner of the nave⁴⁷⁵. Outside the church, a prominent position was in front of the door or against the perimeter walls. From a typological point of view, the use of the building itself for funerary aims is proper to the Roman and Western tradition, while the burial *ad sanctos*, which destines the space in front of the building for this purpose, is a direct filiation of the eastern sense of entombment⁴⁷⁶. From the tower, government officials, first and foremost the Partecipazi, attended the eucharistic celebration held inside what was to become their eternal resting place. The Chapel, later church, of St. Ilario could have existed as a Chapel attached to the main abbey church of St. Benedetto, although equally possible is that the two churches were separated, unconnected bodies. At the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries, a probably traumatic and violent event, likely caused by natural phenomena, prompted the community to build a new church dedicated to SS. Ilario and Benedetto, and even to restore or re-built the tower as well, maybe also raising its floor level. The new building was built with a basilica-like structure with three apses and three naves marked by columns, and a terrazzo floor that was renovated after 1247. Within the basilica, gradually abandoned since the mid-13th century, the Ilario Chapel continued to live in a room adjoining the western nave, equipped with an independent entrance.

2.9 Public dissemination

In the preceding lines, one of the possible narratives has been presented, perhaps one of the fittest considering the elements in our possession, of a subject that has turned out to be extremely contradictory and complex, and therefore liable to a multitude of

⁴⁷⁴ Brogiolo, *Oratori Funerari tra VII e VIII secolo* cit., pp. 9-31.

⁴⁷⁵ Brogiolo, *Oratori Funerari tra VII e VIII secolo* cit., nota 33.

⁴⁷⁶ Dorigo, *Venezia, Origini*, p. 616.

interpretations and readings: the view proposed here is therefore neither intended to be the correct one nor is it indicative of a dogmatic stance, which would otherwise lead to a war of positions that would perhaps result in a simplification of the complexity experienced by the monastery of SS. Ilario and Benedetto.

For this reason, the explanatory charts resulting from this second section try to present a variety of possible simulation models. The first group of explanatory plates refers to both the possible extension of the ecclesiastical buildings, as well as their evolution over the centuries (IX-XV), according to some identified proportional ratios between length and width and the possibility of having or not a 4th floor to be interpreted as the ancient or the recent one. The topic resulted in three explanatory charts, one for each possible interpretation: the first considers the existence of a 4th ancient floor belonging to the primitive Chapel (**PLATE V**) the latter, on the contrary, speculates on the possibility of a recent Napoleonic 4th floor (**PLATE VII**), while the middle option considers the existence of just 3 floors (**PLATE VI**). As summarised by the legend, the hypothetical early medieval structures are identified with bright colours, while certain ones (the tower and the late medieval church) are reported by means of greys, changing the transparency according to their certain or hypothetical presence at the different time spans. The same colours depicting the floors raising are shown in the stratigraphy so that they can also be seen in elevation.

The second group of illustrative plates investigates the possibility of interpreting the tower as *Westwerk*-like structure, a *tour-porche*, adjoined to the Church of St. Ilario, and so at least built with the arrival of the monks or even before. The two structures were connected by means of stairs, in case of a discontinuity between the planking levels: the first two charts consider the line drawn by Marzemin to be the centreline of the wall, which had a thickness of m1.5 (**PLATE VIII**) or m1. (**PLATE IX**); the last two consider the line drawn by Marzemin to be the line identifying the footprint of the tower, whose walls could be either m1.5 (**PLATE X**) or m1.5 (**PLATE XI**) thick. One last table eventually considers the possibility that the tower and the church had the same planking level (**PLATE XII**).

Again, the legend provides the key to understanding the elements represented, where the hypothetical early medieval structures are identified with bright colours, while certain ones (the tower and the late medieval church) are reported by means of greys. To conclude, in this last group of tables it was decided to report both the so-called proxy

model and a representation model: the former allows to visualize the different structures differentiating the archaeological evidence and the hypothetical simulation by means of colours and transparency, in order to recognised what is certain from what has been restored. Proxes are in fact conceptual simplified geometric representation that show immediately the different levels of reliability of the model; they are different from the Representation Model, which shows with a greater degree of 'truth' and reality the simulated structures.

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

The current research project ended up being a job of reorganization, validation, and research of both new and old contents pertaining to the Benedictine monastery of SS. Ilario and Benedetto. The coenobium, which was established at the beginning of the 9th century, was one of the earliest monastic foundations in the lagoon region, though its position on the mainland seems to have given it a hybrid dimension as it was in contact with both the lagoon and the mainland, and the religious organization acted as both a guardian of the duchy's interests and its own. Agnello, Giustiniano, and Giovanni Partecipazio, the first dynasty of *realtini* dukes, had their landed estates under the supervision, administration, and protection of the monastery. The abbey was also tasked with ensuring, through perpetual prayer, the protection of the duchy and the safeguarding of the souls of those who had laid down the groundwork for the development of the "urban" Venice and had found their final resting place within the Benedictine institution. Seemingly as a coincidence, or who knows, a providential sign, the very first known Venetian document released by the dukedom in 819 is precisely the foundation act of the monastery itself, whose historical and cultural trajectory seems to be embedded within the Lombard-Carolingian tradition, in an intimate organic relationship with the experiences of the peninsula and those beyond the Alps. The cultural and material history of the religious community, as well as that of the city and the government, were deeply impregnated by the 'western' cultural substratum, thanks to the geographical position and the need to establish peaceful diplomatic relations both with the dominant empire, echoed by the ruling classes in the titles and maintenance of diplomatic relations and visits to Byzantine lands, and with the neighbouring Franks, in whose domains some of the protagonists did not hesitate to take refuge, such as Giovanni Partecipazio and Fortunato, Patriarch of Grado. All of this made it possible for the city and its fledgling administration to lay the foundation for their own identities and independence. From this perspective, the Ilario monastery can be interpreted as a theoretical and practical illustration of governmental policies, fitting, even before the monks arrived, into the wider topic of the relationship between religious bodies and the *élite*, which was expressed in the western tradition in both monastic institutions and private funerary Chapels of the 7th and 8th centuries. The possibility of a western forepart in front of the Chapel/church of St. Ilario, the family Chapel of the Partecipazi, which also serves as the first nucleus of the additional coenobium founded in 819 and dedicated to Saints Ilario

and Benedetto, previously to St. Servolo, and ultimately to St. Gregorio, could serve as structural confirmation of this cultural continuity. Obviously, the possibility of a tower on the façade is still a long way from being the leading hypothesis, but the following thesis may have given it a potential anchor or at least provided a reason of reflection. The Chapel's aula plan, which was inspired by private funerary chapels associated with family celebrations and territorial control, does in fact share the same orientation with the tower, as if to suggest a kind of bond between the two buildings. In support of such a configuration, we have not only Luigi Dian's written statement but also a visual, and thus incontestable, witness: a picture depicting the state of diggings around 1882, where mosaic fragments can be identified by their orientation and their fantastic – or not so fantastic – inhabitants. On the other hand, the tower may not even be early medieval, but built on an earlier building having that same direction. Besides, the W-E direction suggests that a bond of some kind must have existed between the two buildings, whether it was the early medieval church dedicated to St. Ilario, or a pre-existing structure positioned in front of it.

The development of the research and interpretation activity through visual and digital tools, which have flanked the bibliographic and documentary research from the very beginning, has enabled an innovative approach to a subject on which many have reflected and written in recent years. For better or worse, the digital tool has forced the writer to drastically change viewpoint to observe and approach the topic of research with new eyes and a different attitude, leading to the introduction of new questions and concerns that might not have been conceivable using "traditional" methodology. This statement is obviously not intended to denigrate one research methodology over another rather, it is meant to be a further confirmation of the philological and scientific dignity of the digital tool as a pivotal component of the process rather than merely a by-product of the research. Nevertheless, this thesis is just intended to serve as a sub-foundation on which to build future research and development activity related to the topic at hand, which may branch out in numerous areas and orientations. Returning to the monastic structures, future work may finally be able to develop accurate 2D and 3D models allowing for a complete graphic restitution of the structures. These models will always go hand-in-hand with the interpretation activity in seeking for terms of comparison useful for the development of philological and trustworthy visual simulations. The stone artifacts, or rather, their photogrammetric 3D elaboration, currently kept at the Archaeological

Museum of Venice, will at last find a new home within the newly constructed church structures. In such a situation, the digital tool is meant to act as a narrative aid as well, thus, to be proposed to the general public by way of the creation of storyboards, prototypes crucial for conceptualizing the selection and narration of contents, resulted in a number of different solutions with a greater degree of definition.

In this sense, the title accompanying the following paper is in part pretentious, and reflects certain choices made in advance when the research project was drawn up. In hindsight, the title should perhaps have been *Modelling the experience: prodromes of a virtual restoration of the Benedictine monastery of Saints Ilario and Benedetto*.

This statement is not meant to be indicative of a lack or brevity of the work carried out, but rather of its foundational and provisional nature, as a possible starting point upon which further research processes can be established.

The statement made by the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom, Giuseppe Fiorelli, delegating further thought and developments regarding St. Ilario to future scholars, could be now considered somewhat witty in light of the fact that the monastery's experiential and structural history still appears to be mired in mud, echoing the unfortunate fate that the coenobium, perhaps one of the most significant religious institutions of the first decades of the ducal Venice, suffered. «*in loco angusto constituti et infra paludes manentes*» is still how the Saint Ilario tales ends, more than a thousand years after it began.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACS: Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM)

c.: century

ca.: circa

cfr.: compare

cit.: cited

cm: centimeter(s)

b.: busta

ed.: edition

e.g./i.e.: for instance

f.: fascicolo

fig.: figure

figg.: figures

ibid.: ibidem

m: meter(s)

n.i.: not identified

s.: serie

vol.: volume

voll.: volumes

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[Graphic attachments were out of consultation for digitization and viewable only in photocopy form].

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TABLE I: Sources Table

ID	DATE	PLACE	DOCUMENT_TYPE	DOCUMENT_NATURE	TITLE	WRITER	REPLY	CONTENT	SALIENT POINTS	CONSIDERATIONS	NOTES	ATTACHMENTS	PRIMARY SOURCES	SOURCES	ID DOCUMENT_FOLDER	LINK
1000	May 819	Rialto	printed edition	copy	Privilege granted to the monks of St. Servolo who receive a chapel dedicated to St. Ilario and annexed territories			Dukes Agnelo and Giustiniano Partecipazio donated the chapel dedicated to St. Ilario and belonging to their family and the related properties to Abbot Giovanni, at the head of the monks then located at the island of San Servolo	Presence, in the mainland, of a chapel dedicated to St. Ilario, belonging to the Partecipazi family: [...] <i>capella ad iura proprietatis nostre</i>				L. Lanfranchi, B. Strina, <i>SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio</i> , Venezia, 1965, doc. 1, pp. 8-17		0	
1001	25 December 828 - 31 August 829	[Rialto]	printed edition	copy	Giustiniano Partecipazio's last will			List of tangible properties such as fields, vineyards, gardens, houses, mills, courts, and pastures located in the lagoon and on the mainland (Rialto, Equilo, Torcello), as well as intangible ones, which refer to proto-feudal rights such as ripa rights, taxation on passages, tithes, etc.	Use of stones Giustiniano owned in Equilo (present-day Jesolo) to complete the buildings of the monastery of St. Ilario: [...] <i>de petra que habemus in Equilo compleatur edificia monasterii Sancti Ilarii</i>				L. Lanfranchi, B. Strina, <i>SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio</i> , Venezia, 1965, doc. 2, pp. 17-24		0	
1002	8 May 839	Pavia	printed edition	copy	Privilege by Lotario I			Monastery privileges over lands, rivers and ports are renovated	[...] <i>monasterio in honore sancti Ylarii Confessoris Dei</i>				L. Lanfranchi, B. Strina, <i>SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio</i> , Venezia, 1965, doc. 3, pp. 25-26		0	
1003	10 May 883	Mantova	printed edition	copy	Privilege by Carlo II			Monastery privileges over lands, rivers and ports are renovated	Two distinct churches are mentioned: [...] <i>ecclesiarum Ylarii et Benedicti</i>				L. Lanfranchi, B. Strina, <i>SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio</i> , Venezia, 1965, doc. 4, pp. 28-29		0	
1004	2 January 981	Ravenna	printed edition	copy	Privilege by Ottone II			Monastery privileges over lands, rivers and ports are renovated	Two distinct churches are mentioned: [...] <i>ecclesiarum Ylarii et Benedicti</i>				L. Lanfranchi, B. Strina, <i>SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio</i> , Venezia, 1965, doc. 5, pp. 29-31		0	
1005	27 December 1110	Arezzo	printed edition	copy	Document by Enrico V			Henry V takes the Monastery and its possessions under his protection	Two distinct churches are mentioned: [...] <i>ecclesiarum Hilarii Benedicti</i>				L. Lanfranchi, B. Strina, <i>SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio</i> , Venezia, 1965, doc. 16, pp. 55-58		0	
1006	1136	Bassano	printed edition	copy	Document by Lotario III			Reconfirmation of the Monastery's possessions and privileges	Two distinct churches are mentioned: [...] <i>ecclesiarum Sancti Ylarii et Benedicti</i>		After this time, there is no further mention in the documents of the two ecclesiae.		L. Lanfranchi, B. Strina, <i>SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio</i> , Venezia, 1965, doc. 19, pp. 66-70		0	
1007	1247	n.l.	n.l.	document mentioned in a secondary source	Proscodimo's last will			Bequest of one hundred lire of Venetian denari, earmarked for the exclusive rebuilding of the illustrious church.	One church is mentioned: [...] <i>loco Monasterii Sancti Ylarii libras centum denariorum venetorum solummodo in rehedificatione illustris ecclesiae tempore quo rehedificabit</i>				G. Marzemin, <i>Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio. Note sulle storiche artistiche archeologiche</i> , Venezia, Tipografia Libreria Emiliana Editrice, 1912, p. 61 (Lib. I. c. 90 dell'arch. Di S. Gregorio)		5	
1008	By 22 December 1873	[Venice district]	watercolour drawing	n.i.	Planimetric survey depicting the excavations undertaken at St. Ilario by December, 22, 1873	n.i.		Planimetric survey	The survey is south oriented. Depicted in the planimetry: - floor plan of the 12th-century Church with the division of the nave (marked by the letter C) - rectangular room adjoining the nave of the Church (marked by the letter B) - tower (marked by the letter A) - extension of the mosaic floors; Stratigraphy of the floor levels from the cultivated land and from elevation 0 of the Hydrometer to the S. Ilario bridge over the Sforador Canal of Malcontenta (corresponding to m. 0.34 above common): (First) terrazzo floor of the Church placed at m. -1.00 from the level of the cultivated land and at +3.215 from the 0 reference elevation (Second) terrazzo floor of the Church spaced from the previous one by m. 0.44, placed at m. -1.44 from the cultivated land level and at +2.775 from the reference 0 elevation Terrazzo floor of the Chapel spaced from the previous one by m. 0.60, placed at m. -2.04 from the cultivated ground level and at +2.175 from the reference 0 elevation Mosaic floor of the alleged Chapel spaced from the previous one by m. 0.145, placed at m. -2.185 from the level of cultivated land and at +2.030 from the reference 0 elevation Level of the bases of the uncovered columns Level of the raft of bell tower foundations placed at m. -4.14 from the level of cultivated land In watercolor: in black: traces of the masonry in beige: traces of foundations and doorways and windows in pink: traces of mosaic floor (marked by the letters a, b, c)			Biblioteca Museo Correr, Venezia, Pdc 2323/2		3	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1A5Gse7Mk30sNmJ_5eQUWY1Zb7kxT2mRSI?usp=sharing	
1009	25 April 1874	Venezia	printed edition	copy	Report of a Subcommittee around the ruins found in the territories of St. Ilario	Luigi Comm. Ferrari, sculptor Giacomo Franco, architect A. Dall'Acqua Giusti, supervisor		General overview regarding the history of the onomium with reference to historical printed and manuscript documentation (Marco Cornaro, Bernardo Trevisan, Jacopo Filiasi). State of the art on the excavations carried out in 1873 by Marquis Lorenzo Sibilante and the condition of the site on April 25, 1874. Request the Commission to vote in favor of the continuation of the excavations in approximately 3000 lire	[...] Che le frequenti inondazioni dei fiumi, a cui aggiungeremo gli abbassamenti del suolo naturali in questa nostra regione, abbiano fatto lunga guerra gli edifici di Sant'Ilario, i quali con lunga costanza vi resistettero, ben lo si conosce dai pavimenti della chiesa e d'un'adiacente cappella coi quali si vede ch'esse furono rialzate a più riprese. Ma quali siano essi e gli altri pochi avanzi, facciamoci a dirlo con qualche ordine. Questi avanzi sono le fondazioni della chiesa, e quelli della cappella, che le preesisteva ed era probabilmente l'antico chiesa dedicata al medesimo Santo, della quale parla Filiasi (Ven. pr. e sec. V, III, cap. 39). Dalle fondazioni della chiesa se ne riconosce la disposizione basilicale, con a capo i tre absidi, e s'indovinano gli allineamenti delle navate mercè la base scoperta d'una colonna. Negli scavi fatti si ravvisano gli orli dei pavimenti, gli uni agli altri sovrapposti, tre nella chiesa e quattro nella cappella, con distanza tra l'inferiore e il superiore di circa settanta centimetri. Quà e là poi, o ammonticchiati o sparsi, sonovi rottami di qualche capitello, frammenti di mosaici, frammenti di marmi, alcuni di questi anche belli, ma, comunque sia, non altro che rimasugli, già come inutili abbandonati. Quattro arche uscirono pure: esse si trovarono ripiene di ossa umane alla rinfusa. Una ha un foro nel basso, forse per avere servito di truogolo o abbeveratoio, cosa che non deve parerci molto strana, sapendosi che tali profanazioni furono tutt'altro che rare. Meritano attenzione alcuni grandi massi che stavano sotto la torre di fortificazione. Non sono né tanto infirmi che non si comprenda che hanno appartenuto a qualche costruzione anteriore, né tanto sagomati che si possa riconoscere qual fosse il genere di costruzione a cui appartennero. Che si tratti di edificio già esistente sul luogo, o poco discosto, e di tempi più antichi, lo si potrebbe argomentare da alcuni tegoli, evidentemente romani, rinvenuti tra le accamate macerie. Né ciò deve recarci meraviglia, poiché nell'anno 1757, scavandosi in un canale, non solo rinvennero tegoli romani, ma pezzi di mosaici e olle cinerarie e lucerne e monete, delle quali le più recenti erano del tempo di Claudio [...]. Concludiamo [...] si tolga via accuratamente la terra che cela ancora i pavimenti della chiesa e della cappella, e si spingano le ricerche fino al basso, potendosi rinvenire altre sepolture e forse quelle dei due Partecipazi [Agnello e Giustiniano]; e che le stesse cose per la stessa ragione si facciano laddove si possa presumere che sorgesse il convento.	Clear distinction between the late-medieval Church and the adjacent chapel (thus to be assumed to be the rectangular room depicted in the watercolour drawing and floor plan reproduced by Marzemin) Three overlapping floors in the late-medieval Church area. Four overlapping floors in the chapel The mosaic floors had not been entirely uncovered	Estimated expense necessary for the continuation of excavations: 3,000 lire. The (Provincial) Advisory Commission for the Preservation of Monuments established a Subcommittee composed of three of its members with the task of visiting the site. The Subcommittee is accompanied by Gio. Antonio Gidoni, municipal assessor of Mira.	Graphic attachments: planimetric survey cross-sectional survey (section AB) sketches related to the mosaic floor <i>Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali relativi agli scavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abbazia di sant'Ilario</i> , stab. tipo-litografico municipale di Gaetano Longo, Mestre, 1880, pp. 5-9		2	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1nF6Y26aTzF_vR1IQS-0UWVspocSuT?usp=sharing	

1010	23 November 1875	Venezia	printed edition	copy	Report of the Royal Inspector of excavations and monuments of Venice, Tomaso Luciani, to the Royal Prefect of the Venice district	Tomaso Luciani	Analysis of the pros and cons regarding the possibility and convenience of continuing excavations at St. Ilario. Enhancement of the political and symbolic relevance of the Monastery. Request to the Prefecture and the Commission to vote in favor of controlled excavations that could be financed by public funds bestowed by the City and the Province as well as the Ministry of Education placed in Rome	[...] Dal tenore della stessa Relazione risulta essere ormai facile cosa il mettere a nudo entro il perimetro della detta chiesa tre pavimenti costruiti l'uno sopra l'altro in tre epoche distinte ma comprese nel citato periodo del secolo IX al XIV [...] ho potuto assicurarmi che il più basso dei tre pavimenti, che è a dire il più antico, è lavorato, con bell'intreccio di disegni e non senza qualche varietà di colori, a mosaico. Gli altri due sono a terrazzo [...] Ho potuto anche intravedere che il materiale giacente tra l'ultimo e il penultimo pavimento è tutto un misto di terra e ghiaia, ossia terreno d'alluvione, mentre quello giacente più sotto e che tocca immediatamente al mosaico è un ammasso di frantumi di pietre sculte e di marmi, di rottami di fabbrica insomma, evidente opera di distruzione violenta. [...] ponendo a sua disposizione un migliaio di lire, egli [il Marchese Saibante] assumerebbe l'impegno di far mettere a nudo uno dopo l'altro i tre pavimenti della chiesa, e di cedere alla città quelle parti e quei pezzi che potrebbero interessare l'arte e la storia. Credo inoltre, che con altre lire duemila o poco più, si riuscirebbe di mettere allo scoperto anche le fondamenta del monastero e d'altri eventuali ammessi edifici [...] fra i grandi massi che stavano sotto la torre, c'è un'iscrizione romana intera, ed è più bei tempi, appartenente a monumento di grandi proporzioni eretto dalla moglie CAIA APRIA SABINA FIGLIA DI PUBLIO A CAIO AVILIO VINDICE PREFETTO I. D. (luni dicundo) della TRIBU' FABIA, ch'era la tribu dei Padovani.	Luciani, within the perimeter of the church, observes a portion of the mosaic floor with colored drawings and mosaic tesserae	Estimated expenditure necessary for the prosecution of excavations: 3,000 lire. Following the appointment of the Excavation Inspectors, the Commission wanted Luciani himself to go to the site on May 19, 1875. The Marquis is already an Engineer in the railroad branch, is very familiar with work of this kind. He is willing to lend himself to the immediate direction of the work and by means of practical laborers.		Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali relativi agli scavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abazia di sant'Illario, stab. tipo-litografico municipale di Gaetano Longo, Mestre, 1880, pp.10-13		2	https://drive.google.com/drive/vul/folders/13VJw8b3wv9v8zAaYyHt0QhNq0SO https://www.musei-veneziane.it
1011	19 May 1876	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Report of the Royal Inspector of Excavations and Monuments of Venice, Tomaso Luciani, to the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	Tomaso Luciani	General overview of the excavations practiced at Sant'Illario by Marquis Saibante (1873) and the reports made by the Sub-commission on April 25, 1874, and by Luciani on November 23, 1875. Specification on one of the Roman inscriptions that was previously studied with some inaccuracies. Need to transport the inscriptions to the loggia of the Civic Museum of Venice.	[...] Della chiesa, del monastero, della torre, da prima, come pare, fortificatoria poi campanaria, e di altri edifici non restavano ormai che ruderi mezzo sepoli e in parte appena riconoscibili. [...] e trasse [...] dalle fondamenta della torre, delle grandi e belle pietre più o meno riquadrate. Tra queste trovò qualche sepolcro e frammenti di cornici, di colonne, di capitelli e d'altre pietre sculte e anche scritte. [...] premesso che gli scavi praticati dal marchese hanno posto a nudo le fondamenta della torre, e fecero conoscere la pianta della chiesa e di una cappella attigua e l'esistenza di tre pavimenti, d'epoche differenti e a tre differenti profondità - ammesso esservi tutta la probabilità di trovare lì sotto i sepolcri di Agnello e Giustiano Partecipazi, nonché i sepolcri d'altri dopi ed illustri personaggi del secolo X e successivi, e [...] conclude non per tanto che stante le distruzioni, le inondazioni e gli aspori delle quali e dei quali parlarono gli scrittori e le cronache venete, non sono da allargarsi di troppo le speranze e non così consigliare che si proseguano gli scavi ad opera della Città o della Provincia per timore di non sabbarrare a spese ingenti. Intanto è seguita la nomina degli Ispettori degli Scavi, e la Commissione ha desiderato ch'io pure mi rechi al sopralluogo e dica il parer mio. [...] ho potuto vedere che degli accennati tre pavimenti il più antico, del secolo IX, è a mosaico, e i due posteriori, esistenti ciascuno circa 50 centimetri uno sopra l'altro, sono a terrazzo; che il terreno giacente tra il più antico e il secondo dei detti pavimenti è tutto un ammasso di rottami di fabbrica e di frantumi di pietre sculte e di marmi, prodotto evidente di distruzione violenta, mentre quello giacente tra il secondo ed il terzo ed ultimo è tutto un misto di terra e ghiaia, ossia è terreno di alluvione, ho potuto infine vedere alcune iscrizioni intere e a frammenti, cristiane e antiche romane, ricomparse ivi alla luce. In conseguenza di tutto ciò, abbenchè d'accordo colla suddetta sotto-commissione nelle premesse, mi sono scostato nelle conclusioni dichiarando apertamente ch'io stimo essere un debito d'onore per la Città e la Provincia di Venezia il mettere a nudo tutti quei ruderi. [...] Ma intanto visitando il luogo ho addocchiato oltre alcuni brani d'iscrizioni cristiane medioevali, anche due frammenti di iscrizioni antiche romane e una intera. [...] Ciò posto, non consigliere di mandarla [iscrizione romana intera] al Seminario perché, morto il Moschini, non c'è più chi se ne curi così, e mercano perfino i locali adatti - Alla Marciana, il cui museo è al secondo piano farebbe ostacolo il peso della gran mole - Non resta dunque che il Museo Civico che potrebbe collocarla al pian terreno, nel cortile o sotto le nuove sue logge.	Excavations practiced by the Marquis have made visible: Foundations of a tower Perimeter walls the church Chapel adjoining the church Three floors Mosaic fragments (location not specified)	Estimated expenditure necessary for the continuation of excavations: 3,000 lire. The Commission and the sub-commission were in favor of the continuation of the work, and at the next meeting held in April 1876 instructed Commentator Barozzi, director of this Civic Museum, to endeavor and enure the funds in order to undertake the proposed work. The neighboring populations, the municipal representatives of Mira, and even the mayor of Padua	Graphic attachments: Polished copies from the drawings made by Marquis Saibante relating to two fragments of ancient Roman inscriptions and one complete with relative letter heights	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione - Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti - Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) - Scavi, musei e gallerie, il versamento, I parte - busta n. 327 - fascicolo 556Bis		1	https://drive.google.com/drive/vul/folders/134M4R33MvYXV0UEASPW-QmHhKs5 https://www.musei-veneziane.it
1012	19 May 1876	Venezia	graphic elaboration	facsimile of the polished copies from the drawings made by Marquis Saibante relating three Roman inscriptions, two of them fragmented, with corresponding letter heights	Survey of three Roman inscriptions		On the right: fragmentary slab with Roman inscription in capital letters. Not found Above left: fragmentary slab with Roman inscription in capital letters. Not found Bottom: fragmentary slab with Roman inscription in capital letters. (MAV s.n. but XXV 20/1937-G117)				N.B. The graphic attachments were out of consultation for digitization and viewable only in photocopied form.	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione - Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti - Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) - Scavi, musei e gallerie, il versamento, I parte - busta n. 9 - fascicolo 475		3	https://drive.google.com/drive/vul/folders/1H1MD3w2AGVc8duQoqSpu8D-WB97X7usp#sharing
1013	19 May 1876	Venezia	printed edition	copy	Report of the Royal Inspector of Excavations and Monuments of Venice, Tomaso Luciani, to the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	Tomaso Luciani	See the document dated May 19, 1876	See the document dated May 19, 1876			Graphic attachments: drawings from polished copies from the drawings made by Marquis Saibante relating to three Roman inscriptions, two of them fragmented	Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali relativi agli scavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abazia di sant'Illario, stab. tipo-litografico municipale di Gaetano Longo, Mestre, 1880, pp.14-18		2	https://drive.google.com/drive/vul/folders/1C4mL7u9c7L0L0C4MFR3hShMB9XpQ7usp#share link
1014	28 June 1876	Venezia	printed edition	copy	Dispatch from the Royal Prefect of the Venice district, Luigi Sormani Moretti, to Mr. Ingegnere Lorenzo Marchese Saibante	Luigi Sormani Moretti	Request to obtain as a gift from the Marquis the Roman inscriptions found at St. Ilario and mentioned by Cav. Luciani in the Report dated May 19, 1876					Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali relativi agli scavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abazia di sant'Illario, stab. tipo-litografico municipale di Gaetano Longo, Mestre, 1880, p.19		2	https://drive.google.com/drive/vul/folders/1aLQb3l8mm9bK0qgHfUjDpdsMr0m90Kz7usp#share link
1015	5 August 1876	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal Prefect of the Venice district, Luigi Sormani Moretti, to the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	Luigi Sormani Moretti	Notification sent to the Ministry regarding Marquis Saibante's willingness to continue excavations on his property and surrender the gravestones and fragments	[...] Il Sig. Mchese Lorenzo Saibante mi ha dichiarato di essere disposto a cedere le lapidi ed i frammenti da lui rinvenuti in un suo podere a Sant'Illario.	Estimated expenditure required for the continuation of excavation: 3,000 lire to which must be added sounding and excavation operations.		Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione - Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti - Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) - Scavi, musei e gallerie, il versamento, I parte - busta n. 327 - fascicolo 556Bis		1	https://drive.google.com/drive/vul/folders/123Q91Reri_k8Uw-Y0DhX0VnIP3NE42M7uap#share link	

1016	5 August 1876	Venezia	printed edition	copy	Dispatch from the Royal Prefect of the Venice district, Luigi Sormani Moretti, to Ingegnere Lorenzo Marchese Saibante	Luigi Sormani Moretti		The Commission will be reminded about the willingness of Marquis Saibante to continue excavations on his property and surrender the tombstones and fragments	[...] il Sig. Comm. Barozzi, cui è deferito l'incarico di studiare la questione degli scavi di S. Iliario, e di avvertire ai mezzi occorrenti onde far fronte alla spesa necessaria, si è impegnato di presentare quanto prima alla Commissione il risultato dei suoi studi. Come sarà risolta siffatta questione, allora la Commissione deciderà pure attorno al luogo opportuno per collocare gli oggetti d'arte scoperti, e quelli ancora che si potranno scoprire in appresso.							2	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1aQ2v386R07eH1RaeO3koUknPv7IK6T0?usp=share_link					
1017	7 February [1877]	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Report of the Nob. Mr. Nicolò Comm. Barozzi, Member of the Advisory Commission for the Conservation of Monuments to the Royal Prefect of the Venice district	Nicolò Barozzi		Report on the likelihood of greater or lower probability of discovering interesting objects by doing excavations at St. Hilary. Description of the historical events related to the Monastery	[...] col Dandolo e con Cornaro che nell'anno 1247 sotto la ducea di Giacomo Tiepolo, Ezzelino scacciò i monaci, ed eresse cichissima al monastero una torre fortissima, della quale anche oggi si ritrovano le tracce. [...] la cui chiesa [del monastero] era visitata nella festività di S. Pietro e Paolo dal Senato e dal Doge. [...] A chi, tratto dal desiderio di vedere le pietre dissotterrate dal [Marchese] Saibante a S. Iliario, si reca in oggi in quel suo tenimento, con non agevole viaggio arriva ad un luogo dove scorge subito un altura di terreno, e vede innanzi a se urne intere e spezzate, pietre grandissime con iscrizioni, resti di mosaici, e di antiche sculture, frammenti di marmi. Degli scavi finora fatti, non a scopo archeologico, risultò la pianta della chiesa e da un piedestallo su cui stava una delle colonne si può dedurre la disposizione di esse. Tre sono i pavimenti che si veggono in seguito agli scavi e minutamente li descrive il Signor Ispettore, il più basso di mosaico è interessantissimo per il lavoro. Uno scavo ben praticato condurrebbe facilmente a metterlo allo scoperto , e potrebbe poi essere trasportato od almeno la parte principale di esso posto come vediamo in altri luoghi, in un Museo. Ciò rispetto al pavimento, che certo e lo osserva anche l'Ispettore degli Scavi e lo ritiene probabile la giunta della Commissione, si troverebbero tombe antiche sotto di esso, e quasi per certo le desiderate dei Dogi. Infatti le urne scoperte non hanno che poveri lavori a graffito non degni dei Dogi che, benché dei primi tempi della Repubblica, pure idearono di fondare un magnifico tempio a S. Marco. [...] anche il sottoscritto deve esternare il suo voto affinché l'Onorevole Commissione inizi le pratiche necessarie a procurare dalla Provincia e dal Governo i fondi all'uopo e devenga con sollecitudine agli scavi proposti, sotto la direzione di una Giunta senatoria e la sovrintendenza del R. Ispettore	It is clear from Barozzi's statements that the mosaic floors had not been fully exposed by that time. Lanfranchi and Strina state that the precise date of Ezzelino's action is unknown, which in any case cannot have occurred before 1242. They also mention the lower: Preface XIX	Report submitted by Mr. Marquis Saibante to the R. Prefettura in June 5, 1875. Confirmed the burial of 4 dogs and other Procurators of St. Mark and Venetian nobles. The last abbot was Andrea Bon in 1450, before the abbey was transformed in a commendata.						1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1aQ2v386R07eH1RaeO3koUknPv7IK6T0?usp=share_link				
1018	13 March 1877	Venezia	printed edition	copy	Excavations in S. Iliario, extract from the Venice Gazette March 13, 1877 No. 70	n.i.		Overview over the recent events involving the land owned by Marquis Saibante									2	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1aRC7jRR5GqLh7C0uANdG6t4CYSMRW11QW4b7usp=share_link				
1019	22 [February o March] 1877	Venezia	printed edition	copy	Report of the Nob. Mr. Nicolò Comm. Barozzi, Member of the Advisory Commission for the Conservation of Monuments	Nicolò Barozzi		See the document dated February 7, 1877	See the document dated February 7, 1877									2	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1aNh_81F2aG5CBZJhP7w02nqjZuo8B2?usp=share_link			
1020	5 April 1877	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal Prefect of the Venice district, Luigi Sormani Moretti, to the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	Luigi Sormani Moretti	Reply to dispatch dated May 23, 1876	On March 31, 1877, following Nicolò Barozzi's report, the decision to continue excavations at Sant'Iliario was taken. Despite the improvements that Ingegnere Saibante's machinery and skilled workers could provide, a sum of 3,000 lire is needed to continue with the works						Necessary expense for the prosecution of excavations: 3,000 liras Fonorevole [Comesso]?				1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/17W1ue8bDMC0yRZTK8i5uquFos9Joz7?usp=share_link			
1021	5 April 1877	Venezia	handwritten document	copy	Dispatch from the Royal Prefect of the Venice district, Luigi Sormani Moretti, to the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	Luigi Sormani Moretti		Copy of the dispatch dated April 5, 1877											1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1KRL4iE6obwqVCo8d0tYGMAB1UEP17?usp=share_link		
1022	14 April 1877	Roma	handwritten document	original (draft)	Dispatch from the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Chief Superintendent for Art Education	n.i.		Summary report concerning the operations that have taken place at St. Iliario since 1873. Request to be able to obtain a sum in favor of the continuation of the excavations specifying that the Ministerial rule followed in similar cases would provide for the allocation by the Government of a quota equal to one-third of the total sum	[...] Che nel 1247 [...] Ezzelino scacciò i monaci ed eresse vicinissima al monastero una torre fortissima, della quale anche oggi si ritrovano le tracce. [...] la cui chiesa [del monastero] era visitata nella festività di S. Pietro e Paolo dal Senato e dal Doge. [...] A chi, tratto dal desiderio di vedere le pietre dissotterrate dal [Marchese] Saibante a S. Iliario, si reca in oggi in quel suo tenimento, con non agevole viaggio arriva ad un luogo dove scorge subito un altura di terreno, e vede innanzi a se urne intere e spezzate, pietre grandissime con iscrizioni, resti di mosaici, e di antiche sculture, frammenti di marmi. Degli scavi finora fatti, non a scopo archeologico, risultò la pianta della chiesa e da un piedestallo su cui stava una delle colonne si può dedurre la disposizione di esse. Tre sono i pavimenti che si veggono in seguito agli scavi e minutamente li descrive il Signor Ispettore, il più basso di mosaico è interessantissimo per il lavoro. Uno scavo ben praticato condurrebbe facilmente a metterlo allo scoperto , e potrebbe poi essere trasportato od almeno la parte principale di esso posto come vediamo in altri luoghi, in un Museo. Ciò rispetto al pavimento, che certo e lo osserva anche l'Ispettore degli Scavi e lo ritiene probabile la giunta della Commissione, si troverebbero tombe antiche sotto di esso, e quasi per certo le desiderate dei Dogi. Infatti le urne scoperte non hanno che poveri lavori a graffito non degni dei Dogi che, benché dei primi tempi della Repubblica, pure idearono di fondare un magnifico tempio a S. Marco. [...] anche il sottoscritto deve esternare il suo voto affinché l'Onorevole Commissione inizi le pratiche necessarie a procurare dalla Provincia e dal Governo i fondi all'uopo e devenga con sollecitudine agli scavi proposti, sotto la direzione di una Giunta senatoria e la sovrintendenza del R. Ispettore												1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/17XvYncsnN23u_j2MskR4V5Z5NtD0S2?usp=share_link
1023	14 April 1877	Roma	handwritten document	original (copy)	Dispatch from the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Chief Superintendent for Art Education	n.i.		Summary report concerning the operations that have taken place at St. Iliario since 1873. Request to be able to obtain a sum in favor of the continuation of the excavations specifying that the Ministerial rule followed in similar cases would provide for the allocation by the Government of a quota equal to one-third of the total sum											1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1KSA0TEtbn1w0n4TFB7u3VfP0Dy2q8C7?usp=share_link		
1024	2 May 1877	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch to the Chief Provost for Art Education	n.i.		Denial of monetary grant for the prosecution of excavations at St. Iliario: in the budget established for medieval monuments, there is in fact no parcel earmarked for excavations of medieval monuments since it is exclusively addressed to their preservation												1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1KUGUWb1L8UJus8SDXyW1TJedD8AR4n8IV?usp=share_link	
1025	4 May 1877	Roma	handwritten document	original (draft)	Dispatch from the Chief Superintendent for Art Education, to the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.	Reply to dispatch dated April 14, 1877	Denial of monetary grant for the prosecution of excavations at St. Iliario: in the budget established for medieval monuments, there is in fact no parcel earmarked for excavations of medieval monuments since it is exclusively addressed to their preservation												1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1KpS3Joc0LUq2n8IV?usp=share_link	

1026	4 May 1877	Roma	handwritten document	original (copy)	Dispatch from the Chief Superintendent for Art Education, to the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.	Reply to dispatch dated April 14, 1877	Denial of monetary grant for the prosecution of excavations at St. Ilario: in the budget established for medieval monuments, there is in fact no parcel earmarked for excavations of medieval monuments since it is exclusively addressed to their preservation					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/17144wv8v1TQUJ7nQ3e1J5qF-ws9M1CC0?usp=share_link
1027	12 May 1877	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal Prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to dispatch dated April 5, 1877	Although there are no funds in the budget that are available for the prosecution of the digging activity, the Ministry of Education would be in favor of granting some grants for the continuation of the excavations as long as the province and the municipality contribute in the expense					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/17d1CobMzEA144wv8v1TQUJ7nQ3e1J5qF-ws9M1CC0?usp=share_link
1028	[May 1877]	Venezia	printed edition	copy	Report of the Prefect to the Provincial Deputation, Luigi Sormani Moretti, on the Province's concurrence in the expense for the excavations of the ancient Abbey of Sant'Illario to the Provincial Deputation of Venice	Luigi Sormani Moretti		The Provincial Deputation of Venice is notified about the willingness of the Ministry to contribute to the expenses for the prosecution of the excavations. However, before specifying the amount, the Ministry would like to know how much the Municipality and the Province would like to contribute		The necessary sum for the continuation of the excavation will not exceed 3,000 liras		Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali relativi agli scavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abazia di sant'Illario, Nicolo Barozzi, stab. tipografico municipale di Gaetano Longo, Mestre, 1880, pp. 25-26	2	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1F5Tw3YCE1-JaPezZOP2VtK5KCaMkM332v2?usp=share_link	
1029	16 May 1877	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal Prefect of the Venice district, Luigi Sormani Moretti, to the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	Luigi Sormani Moretti		Request for return of attachments sent on April 5, 1877					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/164bVzQ0lhaKGO1_83S-WL-abE16Z?usp=share_link
1030	24 May 1877	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal Prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to the dispatch of May 16, 1877	Return of the attachments					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/165nWVukNoHEB_Q09m3nY1Mh1CaCC7?usp=share_link
1031	9 October 1877	Padova	handwritten document	original	Petition of the mayor of Padua, Francesco Piccoli, to the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	Francesco Piccoli		Request to be able to accommodate the finds of St. Ilario in the Padua Museum given the Monastery's connection, as well as its dependence, with the territory of Padua. The municipality would also be willing to finance the excavations in concurrence of expenses with the Ministry, taking the place of the Province and the Municipality of Venice.					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/16G1Wz1qAzv06sJTQx7Z8?usp=share_link
1032	13 October 1877	Padova	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal Prefect of Padua to the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.		Transmission of the petition of the mayor of Padua to the Ministry				Enclosed the request of the mayor of Padua dated October 9, 1877	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/16634KHchcw6nK4Cq7PjZ2aqt7DawJ7?usp=share_link
1033	30 [October] 1877	Roma	handwritten document	copy	Dispatch from the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal Prefect of the Padua district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to dispatch dated October 13, 1877	Given the conflict of interest created as a result of this request, the Ministry does not provide a definitive response to the wishes of the Padua municipality					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/166udK_MiWuar_nmp77WLuTz1EeIuz?usp=share_link
1034	30 [October] 1877	Roma	handwritten document	copy	Dispatch from the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal Prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to the dispatch dated October 6	Communication to the Prefect of Venice regarding the willingness of the City Hall of Padua, and invitation to the Venetian authorities to take a decision quickly					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/166udK_MiWuar_nmp77WLuTz1EeIuz?usp=share_link
1035	21 [November] 1877	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the prefect of the Marciana Library in Venice	Giuseppe Fiorelli		Request to notify the Ministry whether artifacts from St. Ilario are kept in the Archaeological Museum attached to the Marciana Library					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/166QAracCoV5Smn1OKSDeqzBx9HhMbz?usp=share_link

1036	21 (November) 1877	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal Prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli		The Ministry informs the Venetian prefecture that it would be willing to accept the proposal of the municipality of Padua, stating that it had offered in vain to the municipality and the Province of Venice to contribute to the expense					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/12v8b3d9a104b040075mg10ksDeq2Bx9HfMbnq2usp=share_link
1037	24 November 1877	[Venezia]	handwritten document	original	Report of the Advisory Commission for the Conservation of Monuments.	n.i.		The committee considers the reasons for continuing or not continuing the excavations and chooses to continue them					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/12puMP3x0cHuXveu4eSE2GurVvApmWc7usp=share_link
1038	24 November 1877	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Prefect of the Royal Marciana Library, Giovanni Veludo, to the director General of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	Giovanni Veludo	Reply to dispatch dated November 21, 1877	Within the archaeological museum in the Marciana Library nothing is preserved from the monastery					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/12puMP3x0cHuXveu4eSE2GurVvApmWc7usp=share_link
1039	6 December 1877	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal Prefect of the Venice district, Luigi Sormani Moretti, to the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	Luigi Sormani Moretti	Reply to dispatch dated November 21, 1877	Examination of the importance of the monastery in relation to the Venice Republic and its early doges and thus of the need to place such monuments in Venice for preservation. A direct reaction to the 'threatening' proposal of the municipality of Padua to continue the excavations and to shelter the finds in its museum					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/12KvKQF65GQ1u1U9p8eV2zeB4INUd7usp=share_link
1040	10 December 1877	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Report of proceedings of the city council of Venice (1 convocation)	n.i.		Proposal of the municipality of Venice to contribute, with the Government and the Province, to the expense required for the excavations of S. Ilario (1000 lire) on the condition that the objects worthy of preservation must be given free of charge to the Civic Museum of the city of Venice					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/12WvMAVCPwTR6ndDSH1y6ENd4Zw6Kc7usp=share_link
1041	15 December 1877	Padova	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal Prefect of Padua to the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.		Request for an update on whether the City of Padua can undertake, in concurrence of expense with the government, the continuation of excavation and the recovery of artifacts in its museum					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/12PC5JVAKncZm5a1eAKe11-BDpk8r7usp=share_link
1042	10 January 1878	Padova	handwritten document	original	Report of the Royal Inspector of Excavations and Monuments of Verona to the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	Pier Paolo Martini		Summary of excavations undertaken by the Marquis prior to 1874. Recap of the items belonging to the monastery and temporarily housed in a stable of the Marquis. Emphasis on the territorial link between St. Ilario and Padua and a request to grant the demand of the municipality of Padua about the preservation of the artifacts	[...] cedendo a più onorevoli impulsi, acconsenti di astenersi in seguito da ogni ulteriore lavoro. [...] e promise di conservare accuratamente tutte le cose scavate alle quali era stato attribuito qualche pregio. Recatomi nel luogo provai una spiacevole sorpresa nel vedere totalmente distrutti i muri perimetrali, che a fior di terra segnavano ancora prima del 1874 l'antica e veneranda basilica, distrutti egualmente tutti gli avanzi di un'edicola a cappella che le sorgeva a un lato, sparsi e abbandonati sul terreno senza alcun riparo frammenti di sepolcri, di pavimenti in mosaico, e di pezzi architettonici, nonché due cassoni sepolcrali scavati, a quanto mi fu detto, sotto il pavimento della distrutta edicola a cappella. T'uni segnato di una croce scolpita, l'altro di tre, rinchiuso in un vago fregio a tre archetti di stile bizantino. Prese alcune note sul luogo, passa a vedere gli oggetti dello scavo già posti in disparte nel 1874 come i più pregevoli dalla Sottocommissione di belle arti e antichità, ed accumulati in una stalla di proprietà del Marchese Saibante. Sono grandi frammenti del pavimento in mosaico della distrutta edicola a cappella, con ornamenti di figure geometriche e naturali, formelle varie, croci ed altre sculture bizantine, ed alcune iscrizioni tra le quali una romana [...] e due cristiane [...]	By September 1877 the perimeter walls of the basilica, as well as those of the chapel, had been removed. Nothing remained of the rectangular room. The history of the monastery belongs more to Padua than to Venice. It invites the marquis to donate all the artifacts to the Civic Museum of Padua.	Moretti visit the site at the end of September 1877	The Marquis gave the artifacts to the Ministry of Public Education (letter April 26, 1877 to the Inspector).	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/12d_nalw3usd1xv6cXvQ12611QC2usp=share_link
1043	25 January 1878	Roma	handwritten document	copy	Dispatch from the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal Prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli		Requesting the Municipality and the Province of Venice to take a decision regarding the prosecution of excavations, so as to ensure the protection of superste objects					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/171TB0wNv7vUJLjwFDdm9B7usp=share_link
1044	25 January 1878	Roma	handwritten document	copy	Dispatch from the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Public Education (RM), to the Royal Prefect of Verona in Padua, Pier Paolo Martini	Giuseppe Fiorelli		Impossibility of granting Padua the authorization to contribute to the expense of excavation and transport of the finds until the City and Province of Venice have taken a decision					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/171TB0wNv7vUJLjwFDdm9B7usp=share_link

1053	1880 [19 May 1876]	[Venice district]	drawing published in a printed edition	original	Survey of three Roman inscriptions	n.i.		Fig.1: Fragmentary stone slab with Roman inscription in capital letters. Not found Fig. 2: Fragmentary stone slab with Roman inscription in capital letters. Not found Fig. 3: Fragmentary slab with Roman inscription in capital letters. (Inv. Museo Coerer, MAV s.n. but XXV 20/1937+G117); Representation of the letters B, C, R in full scale					<i>Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali relativi agli escavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abazia di sant'Illario</i> , stab. tipo-litografico municipale di Gaetano Longo, Mestre, 1880	3	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1cLUNw83VqfRgK3zuwewCsm178E6nkYw7?usp=share_link
1054	1880	[Venice district]	drawing published in a printed edition	original	Survey of a Christian inscription engraved on the two fronts of an urn	n.i.		Fragment of Christian burial tomb ark. (Inv. M. Correr, cl. XXV-606, M. Arch. 851)					<i>Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali relativi agli escavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abazia di sant'Illario</i> , stab. tipo-litografico municipale di Gaetano Longo, Mestre, 1880	3	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/13hb3UqPfbhbh153vqE5spQOLqYAA3D4V7usp=share_link
1055	1880	[Venice district]	drawing published in a printed edition	original	Relief of some of the Fragments unearthed in the ruins of the Church of St. Ilario	n.i.		Sculptural fragment depicting an arch containing a cross surrounded by stylized palmettes (Inv. M. Correr, cl. XXV-608, M. Arch. 852); carved capital with a diameter of m. 0. 29. (Inv. M. Correr, cl. XXV-622, M. Arch. 855); sculptural fragment with inscription. (Inv. M. Correr, cl. XXV-160, M. Arch. 854)					<i>Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali relativi agli escavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abazia di sant'Illario</i> , stab. tipo-litografico municipale di Gaetano Longo, Mestre, 1880	3	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/14MbS5s1WGA5b5vqD5GpMZ6C4KHd9YVKWF7us?usp=share_link
1056	21 February 1880	Venezia	handwritten document	certified copy	Meeting of the Provincial Council of Venice	n.i.		Contribution to the expense of continued excavation by adding 500 liras to the sum already prepared			It appears to have been viewed at three different times: February 21, March 4, and March 13		Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 556Bbis		https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1F80kP7m8vEa5Ba_v3E5D9vYUQGN3o7usp=share_link
1057	15 March 1880	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal Prefect of the Province of Venice, Luigi Sormani Moretti, to the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	Luigi Sormani Moretti		Confirmation of the addition of 500 liras in the budget by the provincial council of Venice and request for provision in the ministerial budget of 1,000 liras for the concurrence of expenses			The province deliberates an additional grant of 500 liras for the continuation of excavations in St. Ilario	Attached is the extract from the meeting of the Provincial Council of Venice that took place on February 21, 1880	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 556Bbis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1Fm7AE5mX96p8E8kxvhDqXmF5Xk9Wz7f4C?usp=share_link
1058	19 March 1880	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal Prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to dispatch dated March 15, 1880	Confirmation of the provision of 1,000 liras to contribute to the expense of continuing excavations at St. Ilario			The Ministry resolves a grant of 1,000 liras for the continuation of excavations at St. Ilario		Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 556Bbis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1Fm7AE5mX96p8E8kxvhDqXmF5Xk9Wz7f4C?usp=share_link
1059	21 March 1880	Roma	handwritten document	original	[Note from the Ministry of Education (RM)]	n.i.		Granting of the subsidy of 1,000 liras to the prefect of Venice					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 556Bbis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1Fm7AE5mX96p8E8kxvhDqXmF5Xk9Wz7f4C?usp=share_link
1060	9 Settembre 1880	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal Prefect of the Province of Venice, Luigi Sormani Moretti, to the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.		Request for provisions on further continuation of the works	[...] il Municipio chiederebbe che nel medesimo venisse espresso che siccome la conservazione delle lapide e frammenti di lapide che venissero ulteriormente scoperte, fu già fissata nel Civico Museo Correr, così a questo venissero altresì oduti simili oggetti finora scoperti			Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 556Bbis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1Fm7AE5mX96p8E8kxvhDqXmF5Xk9Wz7f4C?usp=share_link	
1061	17 Settembre 1880	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal Prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to dispatch dated September 9, 1880	Approval of the agreement between the institutions and Marquis Sabante with a request for further specification in paragraph 3 about the distinction between materials intended for the Civic Museum and those retained by the Marquis				Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 556Bbis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1Fm7AE5mX96p8E8kxvhDqXmF5Xk9Wz7f4C?usp=share_link	
1062	5 October 1880	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal Prefect of the Province of Venice, Luigi Sormani Moretti, to the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.	Reply to dispatch dated September 17, 1880	The marquis is informed by the prefect about the ministerial wishes on the further definition of paragraph 3 of the convention si chiarando nevertheless that he can no longer accommodate further modifications (letter dated September 24, 1880)				Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 556Bbis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1Fm7AE5mX96p8E8kxvhDqXmF5Xk9Wz7f4C?usp=share_link	
1063	14 October 1880	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal Prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to dispatch dated October 5, 1880	Resolution of the Ministry to proceed with the conclusion of the agreement with Marquis Sabante and request for notification as soon as the contract is finalized so that we can best prepare for the start of the works				Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 556Bbis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1Fm7AE5mX96p8E8kxvhDqXmF5Xk9Wz7f4C?usp=share_link	

1064	18 October 1880	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal Prefect of the Province of Venice, Luigi Sormani Moretti, to the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.	Reply to dispatch dated October 14, 1880	Demand for the return of the contract outline transmitted to the Ministry on September 9, 1880							Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1 https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E169H1U1V6GqdH2GbvUJHdyvZuPMKXV8?usp=share_link
1065	24 October 1880	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal Prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to dispatch dated October 18, 1880	Preparation and submission of documents necessary for the conclusion of the contract					Attached are the documents needed to sign the contract	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1 https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E169H1U1V6GqdH2GbvUJHdyvZuPMKXV8?usp=share_link	
1066	1 April 1881	Venezia	handwritten document	original (1)	Notification of Engineer Lorenzo Marchese Saibante	Lorenzo Saibante		Notification of the received payment of liras 666.66 as balance payment for the execution of excavation work in St. Ilario						Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1 https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E169H1U1V6GqdH2GbvUJHdyvZuPMKXV8?usp=share_link	
1067	1 April 1881	Venezia	handwritten document	original (2)	Notification of Engineer Lorenzo Marchese Saibante	Lorenzo Saibante		Notification of the received payment of liras 666.66 as balance payment for the execution of excavation work in St. Ilario						Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1 https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E169H1U1V6GqdH2GbvUJHdyvZuPMKXV8?usp=share_link	
1068	7 April 1881	Venezia	handwritten document	certified copy	Contract for the execution of the excavation activities of the ancient abbey of St. Ilario in the presence of representatives of the Ministry of Education, the province and municipality of Venice and the owner of the land			Long foreword on the events that from 1873 to 1881. Terms and conditions. Payment of the first fee to the marquises.	[...] fino all'anno 1873 il Marchese Saibante intraprendeva l'escavazione d'alcune fondazioni dell'Abazia di S. Ilario [...] muri perimetrali della chiesa e di una cappella in prossimità della chiesa stessa, oltre alla fondazione della torre dello Bebe	Bebbe Tower In the Ilario and Chioggia area, around the Bebbe, the Veneto-Paduan frictions were concentrated: Lanfranchi, Sinna, Preface XVI	The contract was drawn up on April 6, 1881. The sum of liras 3000 will be paid to the owner two-thirds at the signing of the contract and one-third at the discovery of the floor corresponding to the third floor of the church, and thus *** fragmented	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1 https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E169H1U1V6GqdH2GbvUJHdyvZuPMKXV8?usp=share_link			
1069	8 April 1881	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal prefect of the Venice district to the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.		Transmission to the Ministry of a copy of the contract					Attached is the copy of the contract	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1 https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E169H1U1V6GqdH2GbvUJHdyvZuPMKXV8?usp=share_link	
1070	10 April 1881	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal prefect of the Venice district to the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.		Transmission to the Ministry of a copy of the contract			Central Directorate of Excavations and Museums of the Kingdom (established by Royal Decree March 28, 1875), later General Directorate of Antiquities and Fine Arts (since 1881)	Attached is the copy of the contract	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1 https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E169H1U1V6GqdH2GbvUJHdyvZuPMKXV8?usp=share_link		
1071	23 April 1881	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to dispatch dated April 10, 1881	Approval of the contract and recommendation to pay the government subsidy only after verifying the fulfillment of the conditions of the contract by the Marquis						Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1 https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E169H1U1V6GqdH2GbvUJHdyvZuPMKXV8?usp=share_link	
1072	23 April 1881	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the director general of antiquities and fine arts, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to dispatch dated April 8, 1881	Request to send a certified copy of the contract						Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1 https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E169H1U1V6GqdH2GbvUJHdyvZuPMKXV8?usp=share_link	

1073	2 May 1881	Venezia	handwritten document	authentic copy	Contract for the execution of the excavation activities of the ancient abbey of St. Ilario in the presence of representatives of the Ministry of Education, the province and municipality of Venice and the owner of the land			authentic copy of the contract						Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E6qWMA5Lc9t6Qn0vz9IMezU/Ges3uV3w7usp=share_link
1074	3 May 1881	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal prefect of the Venice district to the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.	Reply to dispatch dated April 23, 1881	Transmission of the authentic copy of the contract					Attached is the certified copy of the contract	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1EXKamANaxwJnHG6teR7IK6eSCSS67usp=share_link
1075	14 May 1881	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to dispatch dated May 3, 1881	Confirmation of the receipt of the authentic copy of the contract						Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E5SL7tqNk7tG600qyqJ2GpHtW5cYtK7usp=share_link
1076	[3 September 1881]	s.d.	handwritten document	certified copy	Record of excavation of St. Ilario behind inspection practiced at the site by a commission	Signed Luigi Dian L.M. Sabbatini Tomaso Luciani ***		Summary of the operations that have taken place at St. Ilario since 1873 with addition of the operations carried out since May 1881 and later reported by Luigi Dian in his report					The proceedings were held on September 3, 1881 as evidenced in the dispatch dated January 7, 1882	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1EMBBb0dRyotA2Nmym45jXMc5nLWJ2gV2usp=share_link
1077	27 December 1881	Vigonovo	handwritten document	original	Report of the Royal Inspector of excavations and monuments in the district of Dolo, Luigi Dian, to the Royal Prefecture of Venice	Luigi Dian		Report on the excavation operations that took place following the start of work and specifically those concerning the removal of the first two floor levels of the basilica	[...] dopo la stipulazione del convegno 6 May a.c. si è affrettato di far asportare i grandi massi di macigno che formavano le fondazioni della torre delle Bebbe, fra i quali quello con iscrizione romana, quali si trovano sul vicino argine del Bondante: fece costruire un recinto in legname, al di là del perimetro segnato dalle fosse ove esistevano le fondazioni della chiesa, ed un locale a ricovero della guardia incaricata della sorveglianza agli scavi; tracciando anche l'andamento degli scavi ed indicando anche i luoghi per far gli assaggi ove probabilmente avrebbe dovuto esistere il Monastero. Posteriormente al suddetto verbale 9 settembre suddetto e precisamente agli ultimi dello stesso mese, si pose mano all'escavo del primo strato quello superiore al primo pavimento in terrazzo asportando una grande quantità di terra ed il lavoro fu eseguito con diligenza per caso, però non successo, che in quel primo strato vi potessero essere oggetti di qualche ***. Successivamente dopo lo *** del primo pavimento in terrazzo, che non presentava alcun particolare si continuò con lavoro paziente *** e l'asporto del secondo strato, cioè fra il primo ed secondo pavimento di terrazzo. In questo tratto si trovarono le basi di undici colonne di varie quantità di pietra, all'altezza di quella indicata dalla relazione in data 25 April 1874 della Commissione consultiva per la conservazione dei Monumenti del Regno, presso il Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, e da quella alla presenza della commissione consultiva per la conservazione dei Monumenti; oltre l'inizio della fondazione [d] altra base fra il 2° ed il 3° pavimento cioè l'ultimo a mosaico. Si è scoperto di più un muro di fondazione che divide l'abside del corpo principale della basilica. Nell'escavo ed	Bebbe Tower The boulder is a sandstone Construction of a timber fence at the perimeter walls of the church Barrier dividing the apse from the central body of the basilica	Subsequent to May 6, 1881, the work began. In the last days of September 1881 the first two floor levels of the basilica were removed	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E0cDz2x3S8wM77av7C0es24NjIq2-EC17usp=share_link		
1078	7 January 1882	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal prefect of the Venice district to the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.		Transmission to the Ministry of the report of September 3, 1881 and of the first report of the Royal Inspector of the Dolo Excavations dated December 27, 1881						Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1EFLUG21w29h2Yb4ozmQua6Lw_aP2iq2M7usp=share_link
1079	17 January 1882	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to dispatch dated January 7, 1882	Confirmation of the reception of the verbal report of September 3, 1881 and the first report of the Royal Inspector of Excavations of Dolo dated December 27, 1881, and request for future updates on the progress of excavation operations						Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1EJ4UvWv0t2IK04892vkJ3P4ZnLan7usp=share_link

1080	6 May 1882	Vigonovo	handwritten document	original	Report of the Royal Inspector of excavations and monuments in the district of Dolo, Luigi Dian, to the Royal Prefecture of Venice	Luigi Dian	Observations regarding the mosaic floor and column bases. Request to establish a commission that can verify the work done so far and perhaps provide possible explanations regarding the possible presence of two churches	[...] eseguita la demolizione del secondo pavimento, che come altra volta ***. non presentava benché di rimarchevole, si procedette all'escavo e asporto del terzo strato quello cioè compreso fra il secondo pavimento ed il terzo e si rinvenne un tratto di *** bellissimo mosaico disegnato in circoli dal diametro di circa cent. 35 nei quali appariscono alternativamente delle croci, degli animali e croci, cavalli alati, volatili che sommarmente disegnati e variopinti, però con molta diligenza nell'esecuzione del lavoro. Furono poste a nudo le basi delle colonne con i loro zoccoli, che presentavano la loro parte superiore o sommità all'altezza del secondo pavimento. Si è confermato che le colonne sono di varie qualità di pietra, però tutte della cave di Verona, cioè il rosso propriamente detto, il broccatello detto giallo, il bianco cosiddetto nembro. [...] la diversa modanatura delle basi suddette, giustifica la differenza della qualità del materiale e fa supporre ragionevolmente che dette basi altra volta formassero parte di altri edifici. Quello che soprattutto è rimarchevole, si è che le fondazioni in cotto di dette basi, sono appoggiate sul piano del pavimento a mosaico e più ancora che la direzione del tratto di pavimento a mosaico è divergente da quello della Chiesa sovrapposta e va fuori del perimetro di quest'ultima, cioè a dire mentre l'asse della prima si dirige a tramontana, quello della seconda piega a Levante, formando così i due assi un angolo acuto. Questo conferma l'opinione che due chiese sono state erette, la prima originaria antichissima col pavimento a mosaico, la seconda edificata sopra il pavimento a mosaico con diversa direzione e col pavimento di terrazzo rinvenuto nel massimo disordine. Quel muro divisorio dell'abside della seconda chiesa che visto al di sopra appaiva un muro di fondazione, disoperto presentava tredici spazi della larghezza di cm. 50 circa, uno più largo nel mezzo; dagli stessi si è distaccato la *** ad eccezione di uno solo che la conserva, sopra la quale *** è dipinto un affresco di presenza cioè una mano abbastanza chiaramente ed altri ***. [...] anzi si conferma della supposizione delle due chiese è da notare che nel corpo dell'abside della seconda chiesa ad un'altezza relativa al piano del mosaico della prima chiesa si sono scoperti due tratti di pavimento in mosaico uno angolare chiuso a due lati da fasce di m. 0,20 [pure] di mosaico nella direzione del pavimento di mosaico trovato nella chiesa cioè che avvalorò un'altra volta l'idea delle due chiese. Si praticarono degli assaggi qua e là alla profondità di tre metri, fuori del perimetro delle due chiese a diverse distanze per rinvenire ove esistesse il Convento, ma nulla fino ad ora si riuscì di scoprire. [...] Sarà da indicare il locale ove devono essere depositati gli oggetti rinvenuti, il modo di ***, sarà da pensare al [ri]lievo del mosaico e *** a essere stabilite.	In the area of the late medieval church: mosaic in circles with crosses, of the animals and crosses, winged horses, birds, summarily drawn and colorful. Finding in the body of the apse of the late medieval church at a altitude relative to the floor of the mosaic of the first church of two sections of mosaic floor	The direction of the mosaic floors is divergent from that of the 12th-century church and forms an acute angle with it suggesting their belonging to another complex. The axis of the building with the mosaic floor is directed to Tramontana, then follows the WEST-EAST axis, thus placing along the same axis as the tower	The dividing transenna consists of 13 spaces, once adorned with fresco paintings and separated by	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, II versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E5u3N5v_XB_M2pV7EM6l3_6K7XB1TLg?usp=share-link
1081	9 May 1882	Vigonovo	handwritten document	original	Report of the Royal Inspector of excavations and monuments in the district of Dolo, Luigi Dian, to the Royal Prefecture of Venice	Luigi Dian	Specification of expenses incurred by Louis Dian on trips to St. Ilario up to April 25, 1882.					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, II versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E5u3N5v_XB_M2pV7EM6l3_6K7XB1TLg?usp=share-link
1082	13 May 1882	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal Inspector of the Venice district to the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.	Transmission to the Ministry of the report of the Royal Inspector of the Dolo Excavations dated May 6, 1882. In addition, it is requested that the possible Commission be composed of the persons who have dealt with the subject in the past, namely Comm. Nicolò Barozzi and the Inspector of the excavations in Venice, Cav. Tomaso Luciani, as well as appointees from the Province, the Municipality and the Government				Attached is the report of the Royal Inspector of Excavations of Dolo, Luigi Dian, dated May 6, 1882	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, II versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E74ytm85DpIuR2vYv5Cp_bXtPaZV1v_s7usp=share-link
1083	24 May 1882	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal prefect of the Venice district to the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.	The Ministry is notified of the approval by the Monuments Commission to the creation of a sub-board capable of verifying the state of the works					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, II versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E1TWL80sYC_H2r5eEK9c_F1z3bweJT_Mq7usp=share-link
1084	26 May 1882	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to dispatch dated May 13, 1882	Confirmation of the reception of the report of the Royal Inspector of the Dolo Excavations dated May 6, 1882. The request to establish a commission able to ascertain the work done so far and provide possible explanations about the presence of two churches is not granted as it is not considered necessary and the task of the scholars of the future. Nicolò Barozzi is indicated as a possible appointee for the inspection of the work commissioned by the Marquis and the management and division of the objects found				Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, II versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E6cCOJLomb_nwE7V5kTf1ncrsMdhmG_Q57usp=share-link
1085	27 May 1882	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal Inspector of Excavations and Monuments in the District of Dolo, Luigi Dian	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Request to send paper casts of inscriptions unearthed during excavation work to the Ministry				Attached are 10 sheets of cast paper	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, II versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E10RQdVW7_MErny73bvi_mUJLQc_X7usp=share-link
1086	12 June 1882	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal prefect of the Venice district to the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.	Transmission in duplicate to the Ministry of the table of competencies of the visits made by Luigi Dian to the excavations of St. Ilario					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, II versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E4_dTGS2P11NlN9GQa1He_W42vQvP17usp=share-link
1087	20 June 1882	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal prefect of the Venice district to the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.	Request to confirm the wishes expressed in the dispatch of May 26, 1882, about the appointment of Barozzi as the person in charge of verifying the results of the diggings					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, II versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1E0hKw3_in2B1CQv1e15w4VEjnuO2usp=sharing

1088	23 June 1882	Roma	handwritten document	original	Note of the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM)	Giuseppe Fiorelli		Authorization for payment of 248.40 lire to Luigi Dian for trips to St. Ilario					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1DgU7q5vBfQd1c2h-M1J8BMk7uap=share_link
1089	23 June 1882	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to dispatch dated June 12, 1882	Authorization for payment of 248.40 liras to Luigi Dian for trips made to St. Ilario. Request to have some papers returned to the Ministry to be forwarded to the Royal Inspector's account.					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1DgU7q5vBfQd1c2h-M1J8BMk7uap=share_link
1090	26 June 1882	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to dispatch dated June 1882	The uselessness of sending a sub-commission capable of verifying the state of things is reiterated, since such action does not appear to be aligned with the initial intentions that had prompted the Ministry to agree to the continuation of the excavations, namely the need to find significant material to further the work of scholars by deeming it sufficient to have an authoritative person such as Comm. Barozzi carry out the inspection of the works				Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1DgU7q5vBfQd1c2h-M1J8BMk7uap=share_link	
1091	31 August 1882	Vigonovo	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal Inspector of excavations and monuments in the district of Dolo, Luigi Dian, to the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts at the Ministry of Education (RM)	Luigi Dian		Return of paper casts of stone inscriptions found in St. Ilario with a guarantee to send new ones similarly to the continuation of excavations			Attached are paper casts of the inscriptions so far found in St. Ilario	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1DgU7q5vBfQd1c2h-M1J8BMk7uap=share_link	
1092	14 Settembre 1882	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispaccio del R. prefetto della provincia di Venezia al direttore generale di antichità e belle arti presso il Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione (RM)	n.i.		Transmission of Luigi Dian's letter and paper casts of stone inscriptions found at St. Ilario's			Attached is the letter from the Royal Inspector of Excavations and Monuments of Dolo dated August 31, 1882 and the paper casts of the stone inscriptions found in St. Ilario	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1DgU7q5vBfQd1c2h-M1J8BMk7uap=share_link	
1093	28 Settembre 1882	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal prefect of the Venice district to the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.	Reply to dispatch dated June 26, 1882	Communication to the Ministry of the decision of the Province and the Municipality to assign the task of supervising the works and organizing the relevant materials to Comm. Barozzi				Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1DgU7q5vBfQd1c2h-M1J8BMk7uap=share_link	
1094	7 October 1882	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to dispatch dated September 14, 1882	Notification of receipt of paper casts of stone inscriptions transmitted on September 14, 1882				Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1DgU7q5vBfQd1c2h-M1J8BMk7uap=share_link	
1095	2 November 1882	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to dispatch dated September 28, 1882	Request to assign Comm. Barozzi to examine the excavation work carried out in St. Ilario and proceed with the division and distinction of the objects found		November 2, 1882: <i>terminus post quem</i> for the transports of materials from St. Ilario to the Civic Museum of Venice		Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1DgU7q5vBfQd1c2h-M1J8BMk7uap=share_link	
1096	9 April 1883	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal Inspector of Excavations and Monuments, Cav. Tommaso Luciani	Giuseppe Fiorelli		Request to obtain a paper cast of a Roman stone inscription and communication about the desire to want to publish an additional Christian stone inscription in one of the files of the Nolize degli Scavi (Royal Academy of the Lincei) and request to examine that inscription to see if it was complete or not	[...] Mi riuscirebbe assai gradito se la S.V. m'inviasse un calco cartaceo dell'indicata iscrizione. La quale, secondo le convenzioni stipulate fra il Governo, il marchese Saibante, la Provincia e il Comune di Venezia, deve ora trovarsi in cotesto Civico Museo. [...] (che deve anch'esso [iscrizione cristiana] trovarsi in cotesto Museo Civico) [...]			Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1DgU7q5vBfQd1c2h-M1J8BMk7uap=share_link	
1097	12 April 1883	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal Inspector of Excavations and Monuments, Cav. Tommaso Luciani, to the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts at the Ministry of Education (RM)	Tommaso Luciani	Reply to dispatch dated April 9, 1883	Notifies that not all tombstones have been transported to the Civic Museum and confirms the completeness of the Christian inscription probably forming part of the two heads of a mortuary chest whose sides have not been found	Non tutte le pietre [...] uscite dagli scavi di S. Ilario furono *** trasportate in questo civico Museo. [...] L'iscrizione romana [...] si trova ancora a S. Ilario. Però tanto il Direttore del Museo, Comm. Barozzi, quanto il Marchese Saibante, mi assicurano che verrà trasportata qui a giorni.	In April 1883, the transfer of materials from Sant'Ilario to the Venice Civic Museum had not yet been completed	Attached is the Raccolta di scritti ed atti ufficiali relativi agli scavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abazia di Sant'Ilario, published in 1880 and within which is published the drawing of the Christian inscription of interest, together with a very recent picture	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie, Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568Bis	1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1DgU7q5vBfQd1c2h-M1J8BMk7uap=share_link	

1098	ca. 1882-1883	Mira, San'Illario	picture	original	General overview of the archaeological excavations at St. Ilario	n.i.		General overview of the archaeological excavations at St. Ilario					Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione - Raccolte Fotografiche - numero di inventario MPI313805			4	https://picture.cultura.gov.it/accogliam/MP313805	
1099	ca. 1882-1883	Mira, San'Illario	picture	digital reproduction	General overview of the archaeological excavations at St. Ilario	n.i.		General overview of the archaeological excavations at St. Ilario					Collezioni fotografiche del Museo Corner, Museo Fortuny Palazzo essaro Orfei, Venezia inv. 01391			4	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1aQnNUl8ug_nCtWsdONMhVTXpUambtqTY?usp=share_link	
1100	25 April 1883	Roma	handwritten document	digital reproduction	Dispatch from the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal Inspector of Excavations and Monuments, Cav. Tomaso Luciani	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to dispatch dated April 12, 1883	Correct acknowledgement of the paper cast of the Roman inscription and appreciation for the publication received as a gift and for the picture of the site. Further remarks about the Roman and Christian inscriptions: the two parts of which the second is composed could have been part of the same side instead of constituting the two smaller sides as assumed by Cav. Barozzi.					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione - Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti - Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) - Scavi, musei e gallerie, Il versamento, I parte - busta n. 327 - fascicolo 5568bis			1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1ioHz1kxbilWN7zFz3JL4UCt6p_Y2p637u?usp=share_link	
1101	28 April 1883	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal Inspector of Excavations and Monuments, Cav. Tomaso Luciani, to the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts at the Ministry of Education (RM)	Tomaso Luciani	Reply to dispatch dated April 25, 1883	Clarification of the doubts expressed by the Ministry about the Roman and Christian tombstone inscriptions, the latter belonging to a sarcophagus perhaps tampered with and then reassembled in another way and with the inscription, which in the beginning could perhaps have been part of the side divided by an emblem or similar representations	[...] Nel lavoro della pubblicazione Saibante non poche invero sono le omissioni e gli errori. [...] Il Marchese Saibante [...] non è stato felice nella scelta del disegnatore.	In Saibante publication there are indeed not a few omissions and errors		Graphic attachments: sketch of the two plates bearing the Christian inscription with their measurements and hypothesis about their original arrangement, perhaps forming part of the long side of a sarcophagus interspersed with a symbol, e.g., a cross; sepulchral slab representing a cross with hooked ends springing from half a globe (Inv. M. Corner, Cl. XXV-612, M. Arch 856)	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione - Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti - Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) - Scavi, musei e gallerie, Il versamento, I parte - busta n. 327 - fascicolo 5568bis			1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1J1y09P7Cto_BnSkUJEGfYtIKULv_Z7?usp=share_link	
1102	28 April 1883	Venezia	graphic elaboration	copy	Reconstructive hypothesis of the original arrangement of the Christian inscription found at St. Ilario; drawing of a sepulchral slab			Sketch of the two slabs bearing the Christian inscription with their measurements and assumptions about their original arrangement, perhaps forming part of the long side of a sarcophagus interspersed with a symbol, e.g., a cross; sepulchral slab representing a cross with hooked ends springing from a half-globe (Inv. M. Corner, Cl. XXV-612, M. Arch 856)					N.B. The graphic attachments were out of consultation for digitization and viewable only in photocopy form.	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione - Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti - Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) - Scavi, musei e gallerie, Il versamento, I parte - busta n. 9 - fascicolo 475			3	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1d14g7ZFFPate4dEPNcZ7x5o7ScvftFN?usp=share_link
1103	21 May 1883	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal Inspector of Excavations and Monuments, Cav. Tomaso Luciani	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Reply to dispatch dated April 28, 1883.	Acknowledgements from the Minister with the assurance to inform the Reale Accademia dei Lincei about the latest considerations regarding the stone inscriptions					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione - Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti - Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) - Scavi, musei e gallerie, Il versamento, I parte - busta n. 327 - fascicolo 5568bis			1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1J1DMULcn76o4rJp0s1CGYLcQM1Rm07u?usp=share_link	
1104	1883	Roma	printed edition	original	Description of some epigraphic fragments	Giuseppe Fiorelli		Description of some epigraphic fragments					<i>Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche</i> , s.3, v.11 (1882-1883), pp. 267-268			2	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1GShowF_JLcrowF_nj36c4cKv4v266rt0?usp=share_link	
1105	19 January 1885	Venezia	handwritten document	certified copy	Report of the Nob. Sig. Nicolò Comm. Barozzi, Member of the Advisory Commission pella conservation of Monuments and Director of the Civic Museum of Venice to the Royal Prefecture of Venice	Nicolò Barozzi		Arrangements about the payments made and to be made in reference to the laborers involved in the work at St. Ilario (stone cutter, photographer, mosaicist, assistant transport of objects to Venice)	[...] la spesa del trasporto Venezia degli oggetti fu pagata dal Municipio	January 19, 1885: <i>terminus ante quem</i> for the transport of materials from St. Ilario to the Civic Museum of Venice			Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione - Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti - Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) - Scavi, musei e gallerie, Il versamento, I parte - busta n. 327 - fascicolo 5568bis			1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1J3rWNOcBlw1TKv4Jk7T7t0c4MvPBLv4?usp=share_link	

1106	[21 January 1885]	Venezia	handwritten document	certified copy	Final "tend of works" report of Nob. Sig. Nicolò Comm. Barozzi, Member of the Advisory Commission for the Conservation of Monuments and Director of the Civic Museum of Venice to the Royal Prefecture of Venice	Nicolò Barozzi	Overview of the historical history of the Monastery of Saints Ilario and Benedetto and the excavations undertaken initially by Marquis Sabante and later by public institutions in cooperation with the owner of the land. List of materials transported from St. Ilario to the Civic Museum of Venice	[...] abbiamo una conferma del 1276 fatta da Giacomo Contarini a Prando abate di S. Ilario e di S. Benedetto, nella quale è indicata la Cappella di S. Ilario colle sue adiacenze e coi suoi confini. [...] da tale documento, le acque della laguna giungevano su un lato fino al Monastero e dall'altro erano i poderi di esso intersecati da canali che, se servivano di scolo alle acque, ne facilitavano l'accesso. [...] Dalla disposizione del mosaico del pavimento risulterebbe che due fossero state le Chiese, o che almeno attigua alla Chiesa o che almeno attigua alla chiesa principale vi fosse altra Cappella. A confermare la memoria della pianta della Chiesa e delle poche vestigia e rovine che si rinvennero, nonché dei muri di cinta di essa, venne presa la picture del luogo, tantopiù necessaria, in quanto ch'è, trasportato a Venezia quanto fu rinvenuto, va ad essere livellato il terreno e rimesso a coltivazione. Negli scavi effettuati descritti con ogni diligenza nei rapporti del Sign[or]r. Ispettore agli scavi del Circondario, Cav. Dian, vennero rinvenuti i marmi, di cui si dà infra l'elenco, e levata una buona parte del pavimento a mosaico, il quale diligentemente riunito e ripulito, fu posto in perfetto ordine e collocato nella Grande Loggia del Cortile del Museo Civico, dove fa bella mostra di sé, ed è certo il più importante ricordo di S. Ilario. Gli altri marmi scolpiti furono pure disposti nella Loggia suddetta. Non è più il caso di proseguire gli scavi, perché negli assaggi fatti si acquistò la persuasione che essi non condurrebbero ad alcun risultato. Quello però che è a desiderarsi, si è, che veglia fatta una memoria, un cippo con una breve iscrizione, che ricordi dove fu S. Ilario. Si uniscono numero sei fotografie			Attached are six pictures	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis		1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1kubE9Mh3GqGhYsE5EW9ozZySeOTquO7uss=share_link
1107	21 January 1885	Venezia	handwritten document	certified copy	Extract from the meeting of the Commission for the Preservation of Monuments in Venice (January 21, 1885)		List of materials transported from St. Ilario to the Civic Museum of Venice	Il Comm. Barozzi presenta la Relazione degli scavi fatti nella ex Abazia di S. Ilario, e sugli oggetti rinvenuti; ***; tre frammenti di iscrizioni romane; una iscrizione cristiana in vari pezzi; due frammenti di croce, uno dei quali con iscrizione; dieci basi di colonne; cinque pezzi di mosaico del pavimento dell'Avazia, che misurano da sei a sette metri; una croce intera con la lettera A; una frammentata. Presenta pure una picture del sito in cui vennero eseguiti gli escavi. La Commissione prende atto di tale Relazione, ed approva il collaudo dato.				Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis		1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1kubE9Mh3GqGhYsE5EW9ozZySeOTquO7uss=share_link
1108	20 March 1885	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal Prefect of the Province of Venice to the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.	Transmission of Nicolò Barozzi's letter dated January 19, 1882, his Report on the excavations presented at the meeting of January 21, 1882 of the Commission for the Preservation of Monuments in Venice, and the extract of the latter's report. Request for authorization to pay 1000 liras to Marquis Sabante.	Il Comm. Nicolò Barozzi, nella seduta del 21 January a.s. della Commission Conservatrice dei Monumenti, ha presentato la Relazione sugli scavi fatti eseguire nella località dove sorgeva la Abazia di S. Ilario. [...] e sulla distribuzione data agli oggetti rinvenuti, accompagnando tale Relazione di una lettera, che dichiara avere il predetto Marchese adempito agli obblighi portati dal Contratto 6 April 1881 [...]			Attached are Nicolò Barozzi's letter dated January 19, 1885, his Report on the excavations presented at the January 21, 1885 meeting of the Commission for the Preservation of Monuments in Venice. Two photographs	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis		1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1kubE9Mh3GqGhYsE5EW9ozZySeOTquO7uss=share_link
1109	1885	Venezia - Museo	picture	original	Picture depicting mosaic fragments from the early Church of St. Ilario and St. Benedict at the Civic Museum of Venice	n.i.	Picture depicting mosaic fragments from the early Church of St. Ilario and St. Benedict at the Civic Museum of Venice					Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – Raccolte Fotografiche – numero di inventario MP6076736		4	https://picture.cultura.gov.it/acc/Item/MP6076736
1110	13 April 1885	Roma	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM), to the Royal Prefect of the Venice district	Giuseppe Fiorelli	Response to dispatch dated March 20, 1885. Granted authorization for payment of 1,000 liras to Marquis Sabante. Additional specifics about payments of laborers.	[...] L. 80 per De Vecchi [...] per lo stacco del pavimento a mosaico				Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis		1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1kubE9Mh3GqGhYsE5EW9ozZySeOTquO7uss=share_link
1111	21 April 1885	Venezia	handwritten document	original (1)	Notifica dell'Ingeniere Lorenzo Marchese Saibante	Lorenzo Saibante	Notification of having received the payment of 333.34 lire as balance payment for the execution of excavation work in St. Ilario					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis		1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1kubE9Mh3GqGhYsE5EW9ozZySeOTquO7uss=share_link
1112	21 April 1885	Venezia	handwritten document	original (2)	Notifica dell'Ingeniere Lorenzo Marchese Saibante	Lorenzo Saibante	Notification of having received the payment of 333.34 lire as balance payment for the execution of excavation work in St. Ilario					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis		1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1kubE9Mh3GqGhYsE5EW9ozZySeOTquO7uss=share_link
1113	2 May 1885	Venezia	handwritten document	original (1)	Prefecture office: payments	n.i.						Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis		1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1kubE9Mh3GqGhYsE5EW9ozZySeOTquO7uss=share_link
1114	2 May 1885	Venezia	handwritten document	original (2)	Prefecture office: payments	n.i.						Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento, I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis		1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1kubE9Mh3GqGhYsE5EW9ozZySeOTquO7uss=share_link

1115	10 May 1885	Venezia	handwritten document	original	Dispatch from the Royal Prefect of the Province of Venice to the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts at the Ministry of Education (RM)	n.i.	Reply to dispatch dated April 13, 1885	Notification of payment of 1,000 liras to Marquis Saibante and further specifications about payments of laborers	[...] le lire pagate poi in February al De Vecchi					Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1JBC1LNHqHSmDDW6h2cFwUJA29HZQ?usp=share_link
1116	17 May 1885	Roma	handwritten document	original	Note from the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts, Giuseppe Fiorelli, at the Ministry of Education (RM)	Giuseppe Fiorelli		Authorization to pay 359 liras to Nicolò Barozzi and the laborers involved in the work at Sant'Illario						Archivio Centrale dello Stato (RM), Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti – Divisione scavi, musei e gallerie (1891-1897) – Scavi, musei e gallerie. Il versamento. I parte – busta n. 327 – fascicolo 5568bis			1	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1JEM1GXQ3xTFIAJtqSjR5vSynBIBQ?usp=share_link
1117	1912	[provincia di Venezia]	graphic elaboration	copy from drawings done in 1873 and belonging to Cav. Gidoni	Planimetry survey regarding the excavations at St. Ilario	Giuseppe Marzemin		Planimetry survey regarding the excavations at St. Ilario	The survey is oriented to the north. Represented in plan: floor plan of the late medieval Church with the division of the naves rectangular room adjoining the left aisle of the Church lower extent of the mosaic floors elevations Marked with letters the different components of the building: a: traces of mosaic floors b: traces of mosaic floor c: choir d: sepio or transenna e: area of the early Ducal Chapel where several stone avelli were discovered and removed that served as ossuaries at the time of the basilica's construction f: Foundations of the tower or bell tower Stratigraphy of the floor levels from the cultivated land and from elevation 0 of the hydrometer to the S. Ilario bridge over the Sforador Canal of Malcontenta (which corresponds to m. 0.34 supra comune): Basilica terrace floors: (First) placed at m. -1.00 from the level of cultivated land and at +3.215 from the 0 reference elevation (Second) spaced from the previous one by m. 0.44, placed at m. -1.44 from the cultivated ground level and at +2.775 from the reference 0 elevation Mosaic floors of the alleged Ducal Chapel: (First) spaced from the previous one by m. 0.60, placed at m. -2.04 from the cultivated ground level and at +2.175 from the reference 0 elevation (Second) spaced from the previous one by m. 0.145, placed at m. -2.185 from the level of cultivated land and at +2.030 from the reference 0 elevation Level of the bases of the exposed columns Level of the large raft of bell tower foundations placed at m. -4.14 from the level of cultivated land				G. Marzemin, Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio. Notizie storiche artistiche archeologiche, Venezia, Tipografia Libreria Emiliana Editrice, 1912, p. 123			3	https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1eukKHuSK8CuzSSnslUqVTIabTner20?usp=share_link	

TABLE II: Hypothesis Table

ID	TOPIC	AUTHOR	STATEMENT	CHRONOLOGY	TERMS OF COMPARISONS	RELATED SOURCES	SOURCES	IMAGES
2000	FAMILIAR CHAPEL DEDICATED TO ST. ILARIO	Giuseppe Marzemin	The first church dedicated to St. Ilario was founded in 784 by Agnello Partecipazio with the title of Ducal Chapel.	784		Marzemin quotes Gallicciolli who reports such a statement from the chronicler Matteo Corato in his <i>Corona Venetorum</i> , now lost	G. Marzemin, <i>Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio. Notizie storiche artistiche archeologiche</i> , Venezia, Tipografia Libreria Emiliana Editrice, 1912, p. 53.	
2001		Luigi Lanfranchi, Bianca Strina	The foundation date of the original chapel is unknown.	unknown			L. Lanfranchi, B. Strina, <i>SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio</i> , Venezia, 1965, Prefazione IX, note 2.	
2002		Maurizia Vecchi	The first <i>realtino</i> doke, Agnello Partecipazio, was the builder of the first church of St. Ilario.	811-828, maybe 812		She takes into consideration the so-called minor chronicles	M. Vecchi, <i>La cappella Palatina di Sant'Ilario: un problema di datazione</i> , Rivista di Archeologia, III, 1979, pp. 117-121: 119.	
2003		Anna Antonelli	The original building nucleus of the monastic complex was a pre-existing chapel dedicated to St. Ilario. The chapel of St. Ilario appears to be closely linked to the Partecipazi family (owned in ancient times or even built by them). In the original text of Corato, it appears perhaps written Doxe XI, which would be anachronistic	unknown			A. Antonelli, <i>Le vicende costruttive dell'Abbazia di Sant'Ilario presso Fusina</i> , Arte Veneta, 37, 1983, pp. 151-156: 151, 156 (note 16).	
2004		Giovanni Lorenzoni	Sources reporting the foundation of the ducal chapel in 784 are incorrect at least as far as the term "ducal" is concerned At the beginning of the second decade of the 9th century, Agnello Partecipazio built a ducal chapel in the lands of his rich estates. If it was born as a "ducal," it may have been built after the beginning of the first decade of the same century. It is possible that such a chapel was located in the area between the tower and the left aisle of the later basilica, that is, where the greatest extent of mosaic pavement was discovered. This first chapel was probably built in the area between the tower and the southern part of the left aisle of the later basilica. The three mosaic fragments, which are similar to each other, may belong to the chapel's floor	Early second decade of the 9th century			G. Lorenzoni, <i>Espressioni d'arte: i principali monumenti architettonici</i> , in <i>Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima, I, Origini – Età ducale</i> , edited by L. Cracco Ruggini, M. Pavan, Roma, 1992, pp. 865-91: 866, 869, 870.	
2005		Diego Calaon, Margherita Ferri	Chapel already in existence since the end of the 8th century	end of the 8th century			D. Calaon, M. Ferri, C. Bagato, <i>SS. Ilario e Benedetto (IX secolo). Un monastero del nascente dogato veneziano tra terra e laguna</i> , Atti del V Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale, edited by G. Volpe, G. Flavia (Firenze, 30 settembre-3 ottobre 2009) pp. 498-504: 498.	
2006		Sauro Gelichi Cecilia Moine	Decorated or inscribed marble elements, ceramic vessels datable between the 7th and 8th centuries, could be attributed introductory to the phases of life of the ducal chapel of St. Ilario that preceded the establishment of the monastery. However, the exact date of the chapel's foundation is unknown, and it may have preceded the 819 cession by only a few decades corresponding to the transfer of power to Rialto	unknown			S. Gelichi, C. Moine, <i>Peregrinazioni in sconfinati deserti. Quale archeologia per i monasteri della laguna veneziana?</i> , Hortus Artium Medievalium, 19, 2013, pp. 133-154: 139.	
2007		Stefano Riccioni	In this place, as early as the year 784, Agnello Partecipazio is said to have founded a chapel (Eigenkirche) dedicated to St. Ilario.	784			S. Riccioni, <i>I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario. Orditi 'venetico-carolingi' di una koinè alto Adriatica</i> , in <i>I tempi del consolidamento. Venezia, l'Adriatico e l'entroterra tra IX e X secolo</i> , VIII Seminario del Centro Interuniversitario di Storia e Archeologia dell'Alto Medio Evo (Venezia, 29-30 ottobre 2015), Turnhout (Belgio), 2017, pp. 279-336: 285.	
2008		Elisa Corrà Cecilia Moine Sandra Primon		unknown			C. Moine, E. Corrà, S. Primon, <i>Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia: archeologia e geologia nelle terre del monastero di Sant'Ilario tra alto Medioevo ed Età Moderna</i> , Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, p. 95-96.	
2009	EARLY MEDIEVAL CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO	Giuseppe Marzemin	It is conceivable that for a few decades, the Benedictines used the first ducal chapel for worship, enlarging it or adding some parts to it.	IX century			G. Marzemin, <i>Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio. Notizie storiche artistiche archeologiche</i> , Venezia, Tipografia Libreria Emiliana Editrice, 1912, p. 53.	
2010		Anna Antonelli	According to the legend given in Marzemin's plan, (a) Traces of mosaic floors could allude to multiple layers of mosaic pavements, while (b) Traces of mosaic floor would refer to a single floor layer. If this hypothesis is accepted, the area of the Palatine Chapel must have included both the first and second areas (western body toward the tower, left aisle of the Church of XII) drawn by Marzemin. This building had to undergo restoration at some time, which involved if nothing else the elevation of the mosaic floor. Based on the archaeological excavations one can assume a minimum area of m.16 (east to west) x 11.5(north to south). Given its size it can be assumed to have had a single-nave or, less likely, basilica plan; the case of a centralized plan is less acceptable. From Marzemin it can be deduced that it was oriented like the bell tower, in fact, the orientation of the mosaics reportedly turns out to be the same as the bell tower.	IX century			A. Antonelli, <i>Le vicende costruttive dell'Abbazia di Sant'Ilario presso Fusina</i> , Arte Veneta, 37, 1983, pp. 151-156: 153-154.	

2011		Giovanni Lorenzoni	<p>On the occasion of the monks' arrival, the extension of the building structures had to be carried out so that they would be suitable to accommodate the Benedictine community. Such work had not yet been completed in 829.</p> <p>The monks settled in the new monastery and used the ducal chapel as their church, later they felt the need to build a church perhaps more suitable for liturgical or ritual needs or just larger [St. Benedict]. On this occasion, they also rebuilt the floor of the ducal chapel</p>	IX century			G. Lorenzoni, <i>Espressioni d'arte: i principali monumenti architettonici</i> , in <i>Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima, I, Origini – Età ducale</i> , edited by L. Cracco Ruggini, M. Pavan, Roma, 1992, pp. 865-91: 866, 870.
2012		Stefano Riccioni	<p>On the occasion of the relocation of the monks, the pre-existing building was renovated, or entirely rebuilt with the extension of the building structures, to accommodate the Benedictine community.</p>	IX century			S. Riccioni, <i>I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario. Orditi 'venetico-carolingi' di una koinè alto Adriatica</i> , in <i>I tempi del consolidamento. Venezia, l'Adriatico e l'entroterra tra IX e X secolo</i> , VIII Seminario del Centro Interuniversitario di Storia e Archeologia dell'Alto Medio Evo (Venezia, 29-30 ottobre 2015), Turnhout (Belgio), 2017, pp. 279-336: 288.
2013	EARLY MEDIEVAL CHURCH OF ST. BENEDETTO	Anna Antonelli	<p>In the third area delineated by Marzemin (the apsidal area), as well as at the height of the AB line of the Raccolta, the deepest layer is not found: this seems to mean that this area was not part of the oldest building, but rather of a second one built at a time not very different from the one in which the chapel underwent restoration since the level of its floor is quite similar to that of the most superficial of the Chapel's floors.</p>	IX century			A. Antonelli, <i>Le vicende costruttive dell'Abbazia di Sant'Ilario presso Fusina</i> , <i>Arte Veneta</i> , 37, 1983, pp. 151-156: 153.
2014		Giovanni Lorenzoni	<p>The fragments discovered under the left aisle, about halfway up the building and at the height of the dividing wall of the central and left apses, may belong to the church of St. Benedetto, because in the stratigraphic scheme of the Raccolta, only one mosaic floor is mentioned to be inside the basilica.</p>	IX century			G. Lorenzoni, <i>Espressioni d'arte: i principali monumenti architettonici</i> , in <i>Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima, I, Origini – Età ducale</i> , edited by L. Cracco Ruggini, M. Pavan, Roma, 1992, pp. 865-91: 870.
2015		Stefano Riccioni	<p>The floor plan of St. Ilario's and perhaps St. Benedetto would also fall within the aula type, typical of churches prior to the year 1000.</p>	IX century			S. Riccioni, <i>I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario. Orditi 'venetico-carolingi' di una koinè alto Adriatica</i> , in <i>I tempi del consolidamento. Venezia, l'Adriatico e l'entroterra tra IX e X secolo</i> , VIII Seminario del Centro Interuniversitario di Storia e Archeologia dell'Alto Medio Evo (Venezia, 29-30 ottobre 2015), Turnhout (Belgio), 2017, pp. 279-336: 300.
2016	MOSAIC FRAGMENTS	Giuseppe Marzemin	<p>Found within the left aisle of the latest church, outside to the west, between the central and left apse.</p> <p>Opus vermiculatum as in the ancient floors of many pagan and Christian buildings, consisting of black and white marble tesserae with some red.</p> <p>The said mosaic floor ended against the foundations themselves so that the wall of the tower acted for a stretch as the inner wall of the chapel itself.</p> <p>Such floors [the Archaeological fragments] were found at a depth of m. -2.185.</p>	Late 8th century-early 9th century			G. Marzemin, <i>Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio. Notizie storiche artistiche archeologiche</i> , Venezia, Tipografia Libreria Emiliana Editrice, 1912, p. 54-56, 57.
2017		Wladimiro Dorigo	<p>Mosaics from the lower level of St. Ilario, a small fragment of which is also preserved in the Villa Bellati in Spinea.</p>	IX century			W. Dorigo, <i>Venezia. Origini. Fondamenti, ipotesi, metodi</i> , II, Milano, Electa, 1983, pp. 668-685, note 576.
2018		Anna Antonelli	<p>It would therefore seem that both at the third layer (Luciani speaks of mosaic floors with patterns and a variety of colors) and at the fourth (Marzemin states that the depth of the floors from the cultivated ground was m. -2.185) the decoration was similar. Nothing is said about the floor attributable to the restoration of the chapel.</p> <p>The mosaic fragments preserved at the Archaeological Museum cover a total area of sqm. 8,68</p>	IX century			A. Antonelli, <i>Le vicende costruttive dell'Abbazia di Sant'Ilario presso Fusina</i> , <i>Arte Veneta</i> , 37, 1983, pp. 151-156, 153-154.
2019		Xavier Barral I Altet	<p>In-depth reading focused on the technical, iconographic and symbolic features of the mosaic floors.</p>	IX century			X. Barral I Altet, <i>Les mosaïques de pavement médiévales de Venise</i> , Murano, Torcello, Picard editeur, Parigi, 1985.
2020		Giovanni Lorenzoni	<p>The evidence agrees that there were three layers, the oldest of which was mosaic, in the area of the basilica and a fourth layer in the area of the side chapel.</p> <p>The 70 cm. mentioned in the Collection would seem to refer to the distance between the second terrazzo floor, that is, the oldest in the basilica, and one of the mosaic floors, otherwise no other correspondence would be found.</p> <p>Since stylistically the mosaics can be attributed to the 9th century, we can come to a first firm point: that they are to be attributed to the ducal chapel, which we know existed in 819.</p> <p>On the testimony of Marzemin, we must consider the mosaics similarly oriented to the tower. These mosaics, which are so fragmentary, do not allow a plausible reconstruction of the floor as a whole: it must be said, however, that two of them show fairly close iconographic and stylistic similarities and even features of an identical frame; the third may have a curvilinear course, which could suggest the decoration of an apse, but the hypothesis that it is the central part of a panel, which was often circular, should not be discarded; the fourth, on the other hand, presents a completely different iconography, so that one could think of the floor of another building.</p>	IX century			G. Lorenzoni, <i>Espressioni d'arte: i principali monumenti architettonici</i> , in <i>Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima, I, Origini – Età ducale</i> , edited by L. Cracco Ruggini, M. Pavan, Roma, 1992, pp. 865-91: 868, 869.

2021		Sauro Gelichi Cecilia Moine Margherita Ferri	Critics have traditionally dated these mosaics to the 9th century, just as a similar chronology is assigned to the sarcophagi found in the monastery area. This chronology, however, is based exclusively on that of the founding of St. Ilario's abbey, namely 819. Recent studies on the stratigraphies of the site, and the mosaics, however, seem to introduce elements of uncertainty to this equation, lowering the chronology of the mosaic floors by a century, if not two, at least.	VII-VIII century			S. Gelichi, M. Ferri, C. Moine, <i>Venezia e la laguna tra IX e X secolo: strutture materiali, insediamenti, economie</i> , in <i>I tempi del consolidamento. Venezia, l'Adriatico e l'entroterra tra IX e X secolo</i> , VIII Seminario del Centro Interuniversitario di Storia e Archeologia dell'Alto Medio Evo (Venezia, 29-30 ottobre 2015), Turnhout, 2017, pp. 79-128: 122.
2022		Stefano Riccioni	In essence, however, the two testimonies agree in recognizing the presence, in almost the entire area of the excavation, of four levels of pavements overlapping, two of cocciopesto under the 12th-century church, and two mosaics, lower than the cocciopesto floors, but at two different elevations: one in the basilica at a depth of 2.03 meters, and one in the side compartment side of the entrance and partially outside the basilica, at 2.17 meters in depth. Of these mosaics, three fragments are decorated with figures of animals (found at a depth of 2.17 m.): two (A and B) near the east wall of the bell tower, extending in a southerly direction; one (C) found a few meters further northeast, in the west aisle. A fourth fragment (D) was found at a depth of 2.03 m., about 14 cm. above the other mosaics, in the area between the side chapel and the choir. Iconographic and iconological reading of the bestiary represented in the mosaic fragments.	IX century			S. Riccioni, <i>I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario. Orditi 'venetico-carolingi' di una koinè alto Adriatica</i> , in <i>I tempi del consolidamento. Venezia, l'Adriatico e l'entroterra tra IX e X secolo</i> , VIII Seminario del Centro Interuniversitario di Storia e Archeologia dell'Alto Medio Evo (Venezia, 29-30 ottobre 2015), Turnhout (Belgio), 2017, pp. 279-336: 294-296.
2023		Elisa Corrà Cecilia Moine Sandra Primon	The mosaics are attributable to the 9th century solely on stylistic bases.	9th century, but there are insufficient data to establish a chronological attribution			C. Moine, E. Corrà, S. Primon, <i>Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia: archeologia e geologia nelle terre del monastero di Sant'Ilario tra alto Medioevo ed Età Moderna</i> , Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, p. 95-965.
2024	CHIESA DEI SS. ILARIO E BENEDETTO	Giuseppe Marzemin	Northeast orientation. The unusual orientation of the church is justified by the desire to maintain/preserve pre-existing buildings (the two churches). The septo spanned all three aisles of the church on the line of the second columns to count from the apse, almost a third of the length of the nave; a relationship common with many other churches of the time. Constructed inferiorly of solid masonry with front pilasters, probably closed at the top by small arches, it rose without a doubt to a considerable height from the floor of the nave, so as to obtain a chancel that was certainly very elevated, as is also indicated by the greater height at which the bases of the columns were placed toward the chancel. Enclosed on the front, it must have had communication entrances or steps in correspondence with the extension of the aisles. 4 door thresholds were found.	1110-1136			G. Marzemin, <i>Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio. Notizie storiche artistiche archeologiche</i> , Venezia, Tipografia Libreria Emiliana Editrice, 1912, p. 58-60.
2025		Anna Antonelli		after 1136 - 1247 (maybe 1242)			A. Antonelli, <i>Le vicende costruttive dell'Abbazia di Sant'Ilario presso Fusina</i> , Arte Veneta, 37, 1983, pp. 151-156: 155.
2026		Giovanni Lorenzoni	The floor plan of the large triapsidal church may refer to typologies widespread in the Venetian area in the 11th century. If we take into account that the end of the 10th century and especially the 11th century represents a moment of great prestige and economic and political power, it will not appear out of place that it was decided to completely renovate the structure of the monastic churches: the church of St. Benedetto would have been destroyed first, in order to build also on its area the new building, according to a new orientation, which could later - but in the same planning idea - include also the old ducal chapel. Once the new church-which retained the title of St. Benedetto was finished, the old ducal chapel, identifiable in the rectangular-plan room outside the beginning of the left aisle, would be rebuilt in a more limited area. Rather than a chapel of the church, it appears to be a separate building, with an entrance from the church but also with one from the outside, maintaining the old dedication to St. Ilario: which would justify the documented presence of two churches, of St. Ilario and St. Benedetto, still in the 12th century.	XI century	Orseolian reconstruction of the cathedral of St. Maria Madre di Dio in Torcello (early 11th cent.) S. Nicolò di Lido, from the early second half of the 11th century		G. Lorenzoni, <i>Espressioni d'arte: i principali monumenti architettonici</i> , in <i>Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima, I, Origini - Età ducale</i> , edited by L. Cracco Ruggini, M. Pavan, Roma, 1992, pp. 865-91: 870.
2027		Sauro Gelichi Cecilia Moine		XI century			S. Gelichi, C. Moine, <i>Peregrinazioni in sconfinati deserti. Quale archeologia per i monasteri della laguna veneziana?</i> , Hortus Artium Medievalium, 19, 2013, pp. 133-154: 137.
2028		Stefano Riccioni	The two churches are no longer mentioned after 1136.	XII century			S. Riccioni, <i>I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario. Orditi 'venetico-carolingi' di una koinè alto Adriatica</i> , in <i>I tempi del consolidamento. Venezia, l'Adriatico e l'entroterra tra IX e X secolo</i> , VIII Seminario del Centro Interuniversitario di Storia e Archeologia dell'Alto Medio Evo (Venezia, 29-30 ottobre 2015), Turnhout (Belgio), 2017, pp. 279-336: 290.
2029		Cecilia Moine Elisa Corrà Sandra Primon	When the second terrazzo floor was built, only the upper base of the columns remained visible, and perhaps the transenna was demolished; in fact, it seems that the remains of this masonry septum were found leveled at the height of the new floor level.	XI-XII century	Correlation with churches of the Venetian area between the 11th and 12th centuries St. Nicolò in Treviso Ss. Giovanni e Paolo Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari		C. Moine, E. Corrà, S. Primon, <i>Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia: archeologia e geologia nelle terre del monastero di Sant'Ilario tra alto Medioevo ed Età Moderna</i> , Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, p. 89-91.

2030	VANO RETTANGOLARE	Giuseppe Marzemin	A fourth [doorway threshold] near the front of the church and used to access the burial ground or ossuary, which occupied part of the formerly proper site of the old Ducal Chapel. This burial ground was enclosed by a wall of collectible material, consisting of the foundations of various bricks (i.e., large Roman bricks measuring m. 0.444x0.304x0.087, <i>embrici</i> and <i>altinelle</i> (bricks of small form generally believed to be a low medieval production) and also marble fragments).				G. Marzemin, <i>Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio. Notizie storiche artistiche archeologiche</i> , Venezia, Tipografia Libreria Emiliana Editrice, 1912, p. 60.	
2031		Giovanni Lorenzoni	Once the new church-which retained the title of St. Benedetto was finished, the old ducal chapel, detectable in the rectangular-plan room outside the beginning of the left aisle, would have been rebuilt in a more limited area. Rather than a chapel in the church, it appears to be a building in its own right, with an entrance from the church but also with one from outside, maintaining the old dedication to St. Ilario.	XI century			G. Lorenzoni, <i>Espressioni d'arte: i principali monumenti architettonici</i> , in <i>Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima, I, Origini – Età ducale</i> , edited by L. Cracco Ruggini, M. Pavan, Roma, 1992, pp. 865-91: 870.	
2032		Elisa Corrò Cecilia Moine Sandra Primon	sacristy				E. Corro, C. Moine, S. Primon, <i>Reazioni uguali e contrarie. Evoluzione paleoambientale e trasformazioni storiche intorno al monastero dei Sant'Ilario e Benedetto (Dogaletto di Mira)</i> , in <i>Costruire territori/costruire identità: lagune a confronto tra antichità e medioevo</i> , edited by S. Gelichi, <i>Reti Medievali Rivista</i> , 16, 2, 2015, pp. 103-150: 136.	
2033		Elisa Corrò Cecilia Moine Sandra Primon	Within this room, and underneath one of the floors, some stone sarcophagi would have been found, others made of earthen material, perhaps brick cases, in both cases reused as charnel houses.				C. Moine, E. Corrò, S. Primon, <i>Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia: archeologia e geologia nelle terre del monastero di Sant'Ilario tra alto Medioevo ed Età Moderna</i> , Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, p. 91-92.	
2034	TOWER	Giuseppe Marzemin	The foundations of the bell tower were uncovered almost at ground level, forming a quadrilateral of m. 10,30x8.40 with a thickness of m. 3, about m. 4 deep below the level of the cultivated ground. Material: bricks of different shapes for about 1 meter; then stones of various sizes of Istrian stone and Monselice trachyte; some pieces measured m. 1.60x0.75x0.80 undoubtedly belonging to some famous Roman buildings because they were shaped into cornices or crowns and some of them bore Roman inscriptions. These boulders rested on top of a double layer of oak beams lying along their entire length (12 cm.) The orientation corresponds to that of the mosaics found in the subsoil of the left aisle. Primarily the tower was to serve as a defense of a place far from the city and exposed to enemy raids. Chronicler Da Canal mentions the war of the Padovani and Venetians under Jacopo Tiepolo: the Saracens had fortified themselves there as it was very high and well armed [ancient tower]; but they learned to fly there, that is, they threw themselves down, because the Venetians set fire to it by burning the door. The events refer to the invasion of the territory	It cannot be later than the foundation of the Ducal Chapel, 9th century			G. Marzemin, <i>Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio. Notizie storiche artistiche archeologiche</i> , Venezia, Tipografia Libreria Emiliana Editrice, 1912, p. 56-57, 61-62.	
2035		Luigi Lanfranchi, Bianca Strina	Referring to the violence suffered by the monastery at the hands of Jacopo di Sant'Andrea, it is stated that the abbot Teonisto had taken refuge in the bell tower. Quoting Dandolo: Ezzelino, wanting to attack the Veneti, eorum confines invadit et Sancto Ylario, expulsis monacis, turim munitissimam construit et in regione per flumina navigantibus damna intulit, and goes on to say that the tower was attacked and destroyed by Giovanni Tiepolo, son of Doge Jacopo.				L. Lanfranchi, B. Strina, <i>SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio</i> , Venezia, 1965, Prefazione XVII, note 2; Prefazione XIX, note 1.	
2036		Wladimiro Dorigo	In the Venetian lagoon area, Dorigo places the tower of S. Ilario within a list of bell towers included within the 12th century: St. Marco (12th century) Santa Maria Assunta in Torcello (11th century) St. Agnese (12th) St. Angelo (12th)	XII century			W. Dorigo, <i>Venezia. Origini. Fondamenti, ipotesi, metodi</i> , II, Milano, Electa, 1983, pp. 394-400.	figg. 260-261, p. 397 figg. 262-263, p. 398
2037		Anna Antonelli	The tower was built after the chapel; it is not credible that it was the bell tower of the small chapel before the monastic complex was attached to it. Built with defensive functions at a time of danger to the monastic complex, such as the Hungarian raids in the late 9th and early 10th centuries. Perhaps it was during the construction of the bell tower that the older chapel was restored. During the episode of Ezzelino da Romano (1242), the entire monastery was transformed into a fortress, taking advantage especially of the bell tower, which was "...very large and fit for defense..." (from: Martino da Canal, <i>Les estoires de Venise</i>)	late 9th century - early 10th century			A. Antonelli, <i>Le vicende costruttive dell'Abbazia di Sant'Ilario presso Fusina</i> , <i>Arte Veneta</i> , 37, 1983, pp. 151-156, 154, 156 (note 20).	
2038		Giovanni Lorenzoni	If indeed the mosaic ended, toward the east, "against the foundations" of the tower one would have to assume the existence of a kind of <i>Westwerk</i> reduced to a single tower. The possibility that the tower was subsequent to the ducal chapel would seem to preclude the observation that in order to excavate the foundations, a pit would have had to be opened much larger than the base of the tower itself, and this would have entailed the destruction of the mosaic near it, a mosaic that does seem to have been there. Against this interpretive possibility, however, stands the bell tower of Aquileia erected in the 11th century in the area of the northern hall of the 4th century: its construction in it did not result in the ruin of the surrounding mosaic, which still exists today (869). That the tower belongs to the ducal chapel phase seems difficult to assume since it was a massive construction, therefore, which it seems may not relate to a building like the ducal chapel, which must not have been very extensive. Possible defensive structure during attacks by the Hungarians (late 9th century)	late IX century			G. Lorenzoni, <i>Espressioni d'arte: i principali monumenti architettonici</i> , in <i>Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima, I, Origini – Età ducale</i> , edited by L. Cracco Ruggini, M. Pavan, Roma, 1992, pp. 865-91: 869, 870, 871.	

2039		Sauro Gelichi Cecilia Moine		XI century			S. Gelichi, C. Moine, <i>Peregrinazioni in sconfinati deserti. Quale archeologia per i monasteri della laguna veneziana?</i> , Hortus Artium Medievalium, 19, 2013, pp. 133-154: 137.	
2040		Stefano Riccioni	Such a reconstructive hypothesis could also contemplate the presence of a western body, not a true <i>Westwerk</i> , but a reduction of it, a <i>tour-porche</i> , i.e., a bell tower on the façade, in axis with the chapel, carries major implications because it would lead us to reason about a Franco-Carolingian model and the symbolism of the Westwerk, functional to the private foundation character of the church, and its connection to the hegemonic power.	IX century	Westwerk-like presences on the Italian peninsula: Abbey of Farfa Church of St. Sofia in Padua, similar sequence to be traced back to the late 8th early 9th century More substantial examples in the Upper Adriatic area that fell within the scope of Venice's political, religious, and commercial relations, particularly in the Croatian principality where the façade tower (entrance and elevated loggia reserved for the lord) was adopted since the beginning of the 9th century in a certain type of churches bequest of princes or dignitaries whose remains they often guarded S. Maria of Crkvina in Biskupija S. Salvatore in Cettina Rural churches built or renovated in the 9th century on the initiative of rulers or their zuppani, along the road that joined Tenin with Nona or Zara S. Tommaso near Rovinj S. Lorenzo in Zadar to be traced, according to Milosevic, to the pre-Romanesque age	Dorigo, Venezia Origini, II, pp. 556-81; Idem, <i>Una discussione e nuove precisazioni sulla cappella Sancti Marci nel IX-X sec.</i> , Venezia Arti, 7 (1993), pp. 17-36; Idem, <i>La cultura carolingia della prima Capella Sancti Marci</i> , Hortus Artium Medievalium, 8, 2002, pp. 149-57; A. Milošević, <i>Campanili preromanici della Dalmazia e della Croazia altomedievale</i> , Dubrovnik-Split, 2011;	S. Riccioni, <i>I mosaici altomedievali di Venezia e il monastero di S. Ilario. Orditi 'venetico-carolingi' di una koinè alto Adriatica</i> , in <i>I tempi del consolidamento. Venezia, l'Adriatico e l'entroterra tra IX e X secolo</i> , VIII Seminario del Centro Interuniversitario di Storia e Archeologia dell'Alto Medio Evo (Venezia, 29-30 ottobre 2015), Turnhout (Belgio), 2017, pp. 279-336: 299.	fig.15, p. 307 fig.16, p. 306 fig.17, p. 307
2041		Elisa Corrò Cecilia Moine Sandra Primon	Common construction technique among Venetian buildings until the 15th century. The different orientation of the two structures (tower and church) would suggest two distinct construction phases and not a single coherent planning of the entire complex. Istria stone seems to have been introduced to Venice only with the conquest of Parenzo in 1267 however, early uses of this material, capable of intercepting rising waters, included foundation structures. In Roman times the use of this limestone is documented only in Istra and does not seem to have gone beyond Aquileia, where it is attested in episodic maniera.	XI-XII century	Examples of bell towers from the Venetian area, however it would not seem akin to these as it lacks a square or circular plan: St. Marco Santa Maria Assunta in Torcello Sant'Agnese in Venice Additional low-medieval bell towers distributed in the historic center of Venice: Sant'Aponal San Barnaba Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari Major similarity to the rectangular structures of low-medieval defensive towers: Bebbe Tower Caligo Tower Mestre Clock Tower, part of a complex system of fortifications dated to the 13th-14th centuries, known as Castelnuovo		C. Moine, E. Corrò, S. Primon, <i>Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia: archeologia e geologia nelle terre del monastero di Sant'Ilario tra alto Medioevo ed Età Moderna</i> , Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, p. 92-95.	fig.4.1.8, p. 93
2043	MONASTIC STRUCTURES	Giuseppe Marzemin	It was located toward the northwest of the churches and also had a tower. In front of the 12th-century church, a short distance away was a small, low building that could probably resemble an ancient baptistery				G. Marzemin, <i>Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio. Notizie storiche artistiche archeologiche</i> , Venezia, Tipografia Libreria Emiliana Editrice, 1912, p. 57-58.	
2045		Sauro Gelichi Cecilia Moine	The excavation conducted between 2007-2010 brought to light: (a) the monastery must have been built on at least two different bumps, separated by a canal (b) structures connected with the monastery (UTS 1000) (c) a rectangular room with burials (uts 4000) (d) probably the church must have been in the adjoining field, beyond the carriageway to the west (e) ceramic artifacts and remains of liturgical furnishings found. The material settlement certifies its quantitative peak in the 9th-10th centuries.				S. Gelichi, C. Moine, <i>Peregrinazioni in sconfinati deserti. Quale archeologia per i monasteri della laguna veneziana?</i> , Hortus Artium Medievalium, 19, 2013, pp. 133-154: 138-140.	p.139, fig. 9 p.139, fig.10 p.140, fig. 11

2046		Elisa Corrò Cecilia Moine Sandra Primon	<p>The excavation conducted between 2007-2010 revealed:</p> <p>(a) a building (UTS 1000), investigated only in a small portion and datable to the 9th-10th centuries, obliterated in the 10th-11th centuries when the area began to be exploited as a cemetery.</p> <p>(b) cemetery space (UTS 4000) whose exploitation seems to have been long-lasting and extended even into areas distant from the core of structured burials. (p.140)</p> <p>(c) traces of some canals (UTS 7000, UTS 6000).</p> <p>Possible to assume that the site was, at least in the early period, completely surrounded by a ditch, as some geological surveys seem to suggest (Google earth).</p>				E. Corro, C. Moine, S. Primon, <i>Reazioni uguali e contrarie. Evoluzione paleoambientale e trasformazioni storiche intorno al monastero dei Sant'Ilario e Benedetto (Dogaletto di Mira)</i> , in <i>Costruire territori/costruire identità: lagune a confronto tra antichità e medioevo</i> , edited by S. Gelichi, Reti Medievali Rivista, 16, 2, 2015, pp. 103-150: 138-140.	p.139, fig. 21 p.142, fig. 22a (possible location of the church)
2047		Elisa Corrò Cecilia Moine Sandra Primon	<p>The artifacts found during the 2007-2010 excavations were concentrated in two nearby but topographically distinct areas:</p> <p>(a) area where ancient land registers indicated the presence of the monastic enclosure.</p> <p>(b) the second was smaller and located SE of the first.</p> <p>Identified:</p> <p>(a) a bare earth burial with NS orientation (UTS 200).</p> <p>(b) traces of a wall septum with probable NS orientation, made of large module bricks (UTS 300)</p> <p>(c) the cleaning of the agricultural drain (UTS 400) identified the presence of bare-earth burials on both the eastern and western slopes with EO orientation and appeared to be set on more superficial preserved archaeological levels</p>				C. Moine, E. Corro, S. Primon, <i>Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia: archeologia e geologia nelle terre del monastero di Sant'Ilario tra alto Medioevo ed Età Moderna</i> , Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, p. 131-132.	

TABLE 3:Cultural Context Table

ID	TOPIC	AUTHOR	TERMS OF COMPARISONS	SOURCES	STRUCTURAL REFERENCES
3000	Monasticism between Lombards and Carolingians	Mayke De Jong Peter Erhart		M. De Jong, P. Erhart, Monachesimo tra i Longobardi e i Carolingi, in <i>Il futuro dei Longobardi: l'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno: saggi</i> , edited by C. Bertelli, G.P. Brogiolo, Milano, Skira, 2000, pp. 105-127.	
3001		Gisella Cantino Wataghin		G. Cantino Wataghin, <i>Monasteri tra VIII e IX secolo: evidenze archeologiche per l'Italia settentrionale</i> , in <i>Il futuro dei Longobardi: l'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno: saggi</i> , edited by C. Bertelli, G.P. Brogiolo, Milano, Skira, 2000, p. 129-141: 132-133.	
3002		Stefano Gasparri		S. Gasparri, <i>Italia longobarda: il regno, i Franchi, il papato</i> , Roma, Bari, GLF editori Laterza, 2016	
3003	Rule of St. Benedetto	n.i.		La Regola di san Benedetto e le regole dei Padri, edited by S. Pricoco, Milano, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, A. Mondadori, 1995	
3004	Private funerary oratories between the 7th and 9th centuries in northern Italy	Gian Pietro Brogiolo		G.P. Brogiolo, <i>Oratori Funerari tra VII e VIII secolo nelle campagne transalpine</i> , in <i>Hortus Artium Medievalium</i> , 8, 2002, pp. 9-31.	
3005		Serena Zanetto		S. Zanetto, <i>Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico (secoli VII-XI): eredità e innovazione nell'alto Medioevo</i> , Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, pp. 179-181	figs.3-4, p. 180 fig.66, pp. 228
3006	Towers and monasteries in the early and late Middle Ages	Adriano Peroni	(Bell) tower of the monastery of Santa Maria Teodote, Pavia	A. Peroni, <i>Il monastero alto medievale di S. Maria "Teodote" a Pavia. Ricerche urbanistiche e architettoniche</i> , Studi medievali, 3, 13, 1972, pp. 1-93: 68-69.	TAVV. VII-VIII-IX
3007		Adriano Prandi	Farfa "Torrione"	A. Prandi, <i>Osservazioni sull'abbazia di Farfa, in Roma e l'età carolingia: Atti delle giornate di studio 3-8 maggio 1976</i> , Roma, Multigrafica editrice, 1976, pp.357-368	
3008		Charles Bixby McClendon David Whitehouse	Farfa "Torrione" and Westwerk	C.B. McClendon, D. Whitehouse, <i>La badia di Farfa, Fara in Sabina (Rieti). Terza nota preliminare</i> , Archeologia medievale. Cultura Materiale, insediamenti, territorio, 9, 1982, p. 323-330.	fig.4, p. 328.
3009		n.i.		Monasteri benedettini nella laguna veneziana, catalogo di mostra (Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 1983), edited by G. Mazzucco, Venezia, Arsenale, 1983.	
3010		Gia Pietro Brogiolo Sauro Gelichi	Monselice Tower	G.P. Brogiolo, S. Gelichi, <i>Nuove ricerche sui castelli altomedievali in Italia settentrionale</i> , Firenze, All'insegna del giglio, 1996, pp. 165-170.	fig.54, p. 166 fig.55, p. 168
3011		Gisella Cantino Wataghin	Role of towers within monasteries Torba Tower	G. Cantino Wataghin, <i>Monasteri tra VIII e IX secolo: evidenze archeologiche per l'Italia settentrionale</i> , in <i>Il futuro dei Longobardi: l'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno: saggi</i> , edited by C. Bertelli, G.P. Brogiolo, Milano, Skira, 2000, p. 129-141: 133-141.	
3012	Pre-Romanesque bell towers of Dalmatia and early medieval Croatia	Ante Milošević	S. Salvatore in Cettina (ca. 880) S. Lorenzo in Zara (IXc.) St. Etienne in Golubić (IXc.) St. Giovanni in Banjevici (Xlc.) St. Vito in Dobrinj (Xlc.)	A. Milošević, <i>Campanili preromanici della Dalmazia e della Croazia altomedievale</i> , Dubrovnik-Split, 2011.	fig.10, p.24 fig.11, p.25 fig.31, p. 40 figs.70,72,73, pp. 70-71
3013	Palatine Chapel of S. Marco	Wladimiro Dorigo	Palatine Chapel of St. Marco	W. Dorigo, Venezia. Origini. Fondamenti, ipotesi, metodi, II, Milano, Electa, 1983, pp. 556-81. Idem, <i>Una discussione e nuove precisazioni sulla cappella Sancti Marci nel IX-X sec.</i> , Venezia Arti, 7 (1993), pp. 17-36. Idem, <i>Lo stato della discussione storico-archeologica dopo i lavori nella cripta di San Marco</i> , in <i>San Marco, Basilica patriarcale in Venezia: la cripta, il restauro</i> , Milano, Vallardi & associati, 1993, pp. 25-41. Idem, <i>La cultura carolingia della prima Capella Sancti Marci</i> , Hortus Artium Medievalium, 8, 2002, pp. 149-57.	W. Dorigo, <i>La cultura carolingia della prima Capella Sancti Marci</i> , Hortus Artium Medievalium, 8, 2002, fig.8, p. 153.
3014	Selection of the site for the construction of the religious building. Drawing of the plan by means of geometric, metric, and astronomical instruments. Building orientation	Serena Zanetto		S. Zanetto, <i>Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico (secoli VII-XI): eredità e innovazione nell'alto Medioevo</i> , Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, pp. 147-162.	

3015	Orientation of religious buildings of lagoon area and proportional ratios (width/height)	Wladimiro Dorigo		W. Dorigo, <i>Venezia. Origini. Fondamenti, ipotesi, metodi</i> , II, Milano, Electa, 1983, pp. 617-621, 465, 470.	
3016	Lagoon and upper and middle Adriatic construction techniques	Mario Piana		M. Piana, Accorgimenti costruttivi e sistemi statici dell'architettura veneziana, in <i>Dietro i Palazzi. Tre secoli di architettura minore a Venezia (1492-1803)</i> , edited by G. Gianighian, P. Pavanini, Catalogo della mostra organizzata dal Comune di Venezia, 29 settembre-9 dicembre 1984, Venezia, Arsenale, 1984, pp. 33-37.	
3017		Maurizia de Min		M. de Min, Nuovi dati sullo sviluppo insediativo lagunare nel periodo delle origini della Civitas veneciarum. Forme e tecniche del costruire, in <i>...ut... rosae... ponerentur: scritti di archeologia in ricordo di Giovanna Luisa Ravagnan</i> , edited by E. Bianchin Citton, M. Tirelli Venezia, Edizioni Quasar-Canova, 2003, pp. 227-243.	
3018		Marco Bortoletto		M. Bortoletto, <i>Elementi di edilizia religiosa a Venezia tra X e XII secolo: le evidenze archeologiche</i> , in <i>Archeologia Veneta</i> , XXXIV, 2011, pp. 152-181.	figs.4-5, p. 157 fig.10, p. 164 fig.15, p. 167
3019	Construction techniques in the upper and middle Adriatic area	Serena Zanetto		S. Zanetto, <i>Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico (secoli VII-XI): eredità e innovazione nell'alto Medioevo</i> , Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, pp. 237s.	
3020	Vertical and horizontal structural elements	Serena Zanetto		S. Zanetto, <i>Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico (secoli VII-XI): eredità e innovazione nell'alto Medioevo</i> , Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, pp. 283-326.	
3021	The monastery of St. Severo in Classe	Enrico Cirelli		E. Cirelli, La dieta dei monaci. Cultura materiale e alimentazione nei monasteri benedettini tra IX e X secolo, <i>Hortus Artium Medievalium</i> , 19 (2013), pp. 227-241.	

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(Elaboration: Asja Lazzari)

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(Elaboration: Asja Lazzari)

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(Elaboration: Asja Lazzari)

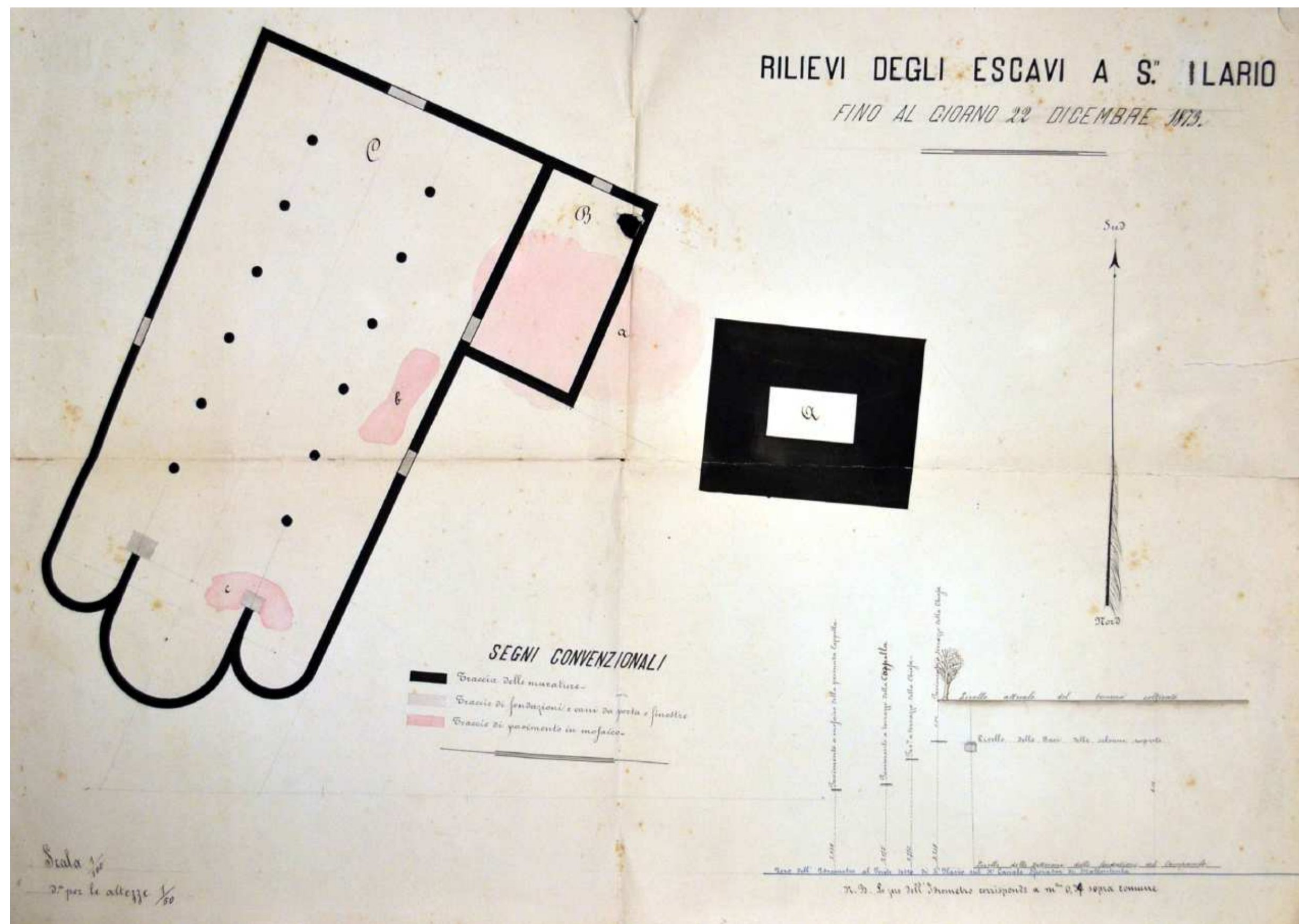
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(Elaboration: Asja Lazzari)

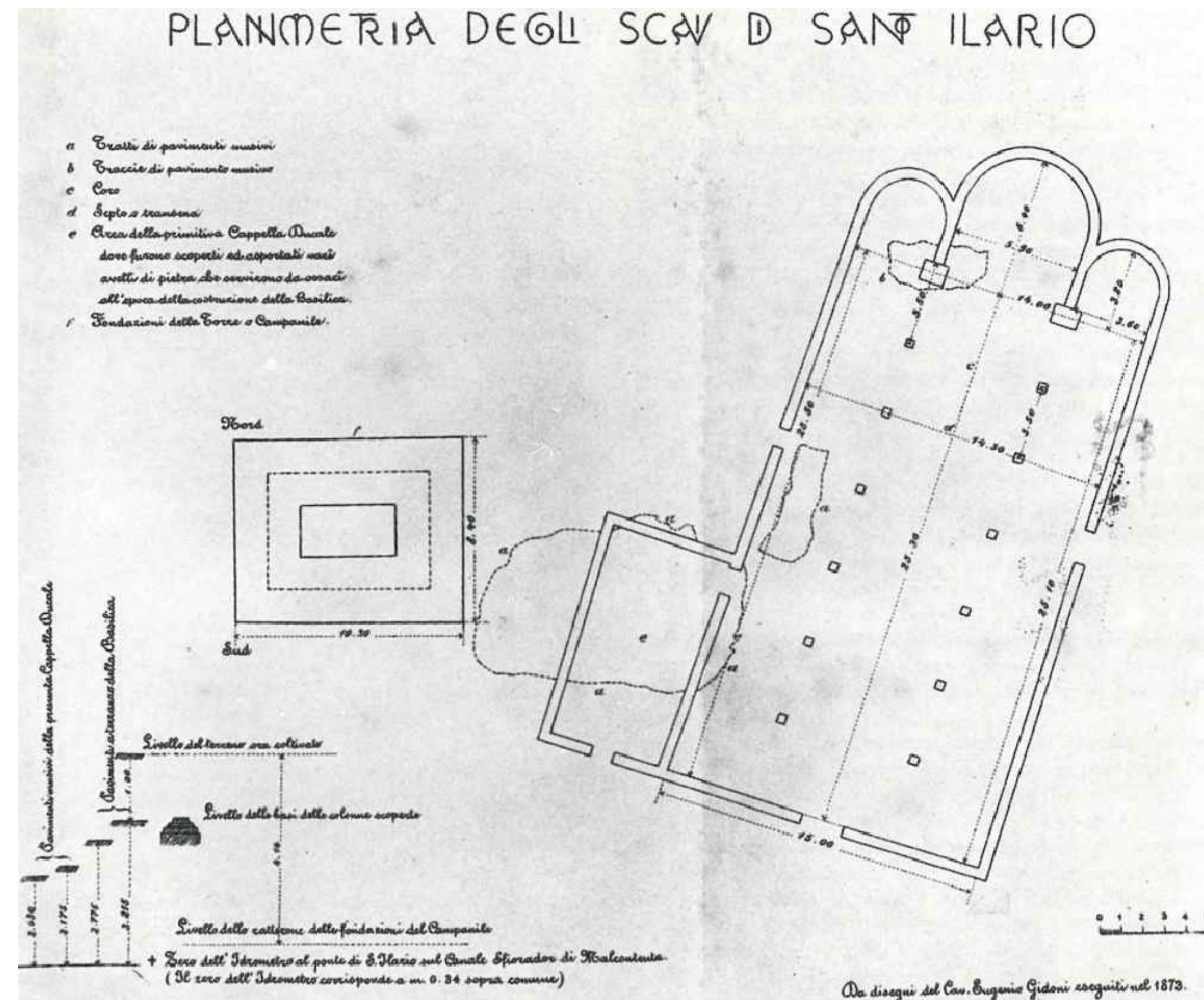
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(Elaboration: Asja Lazzari)

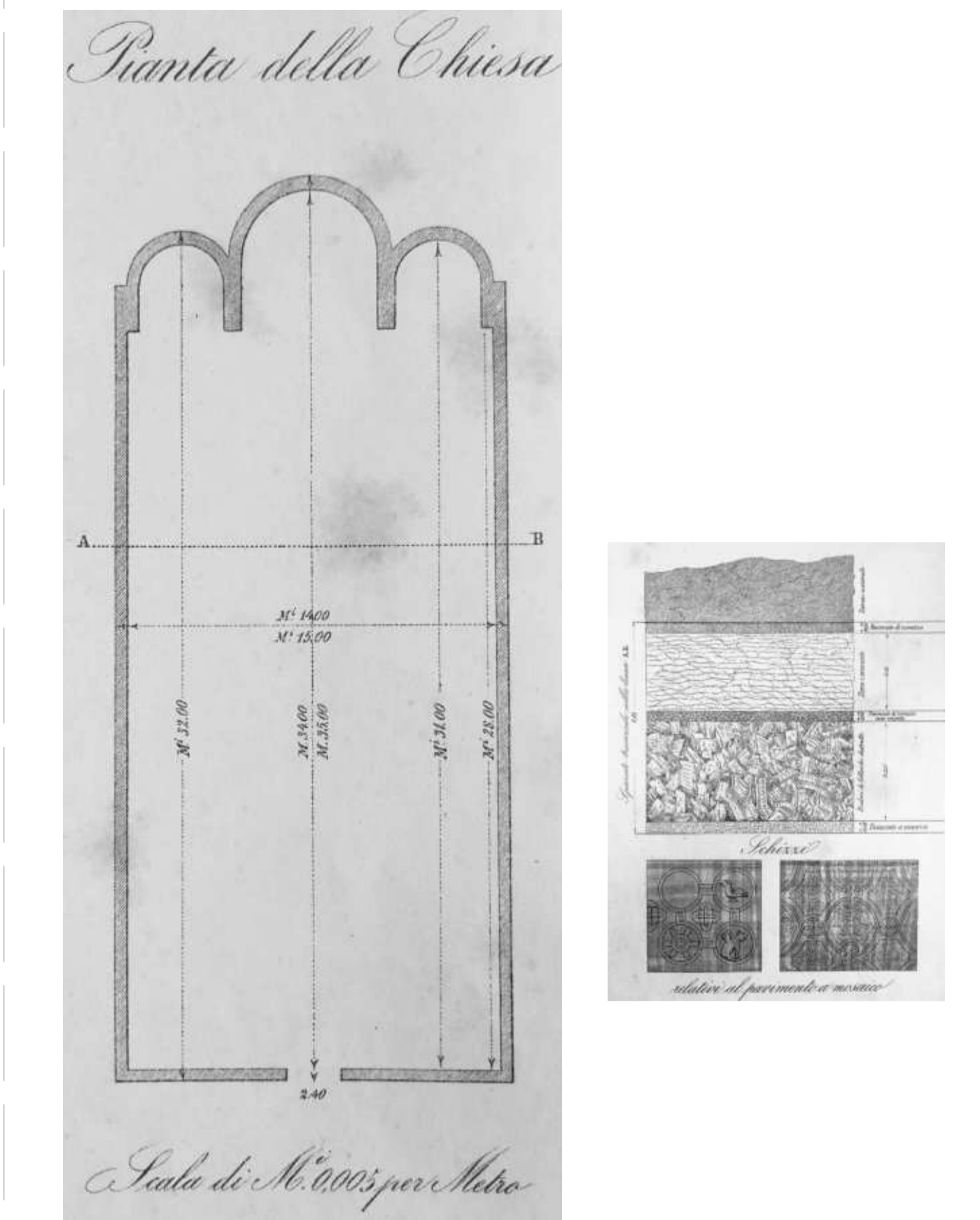
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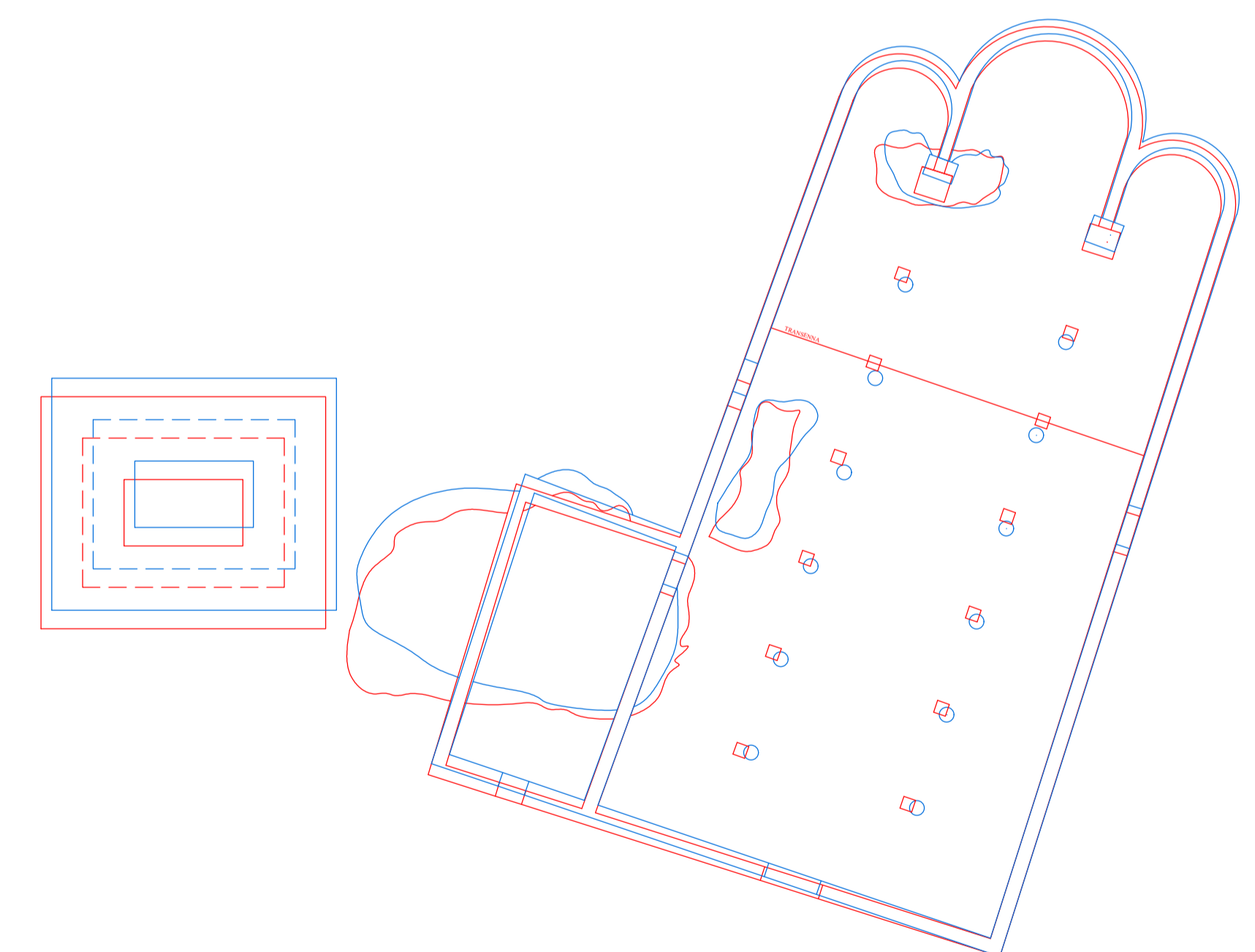
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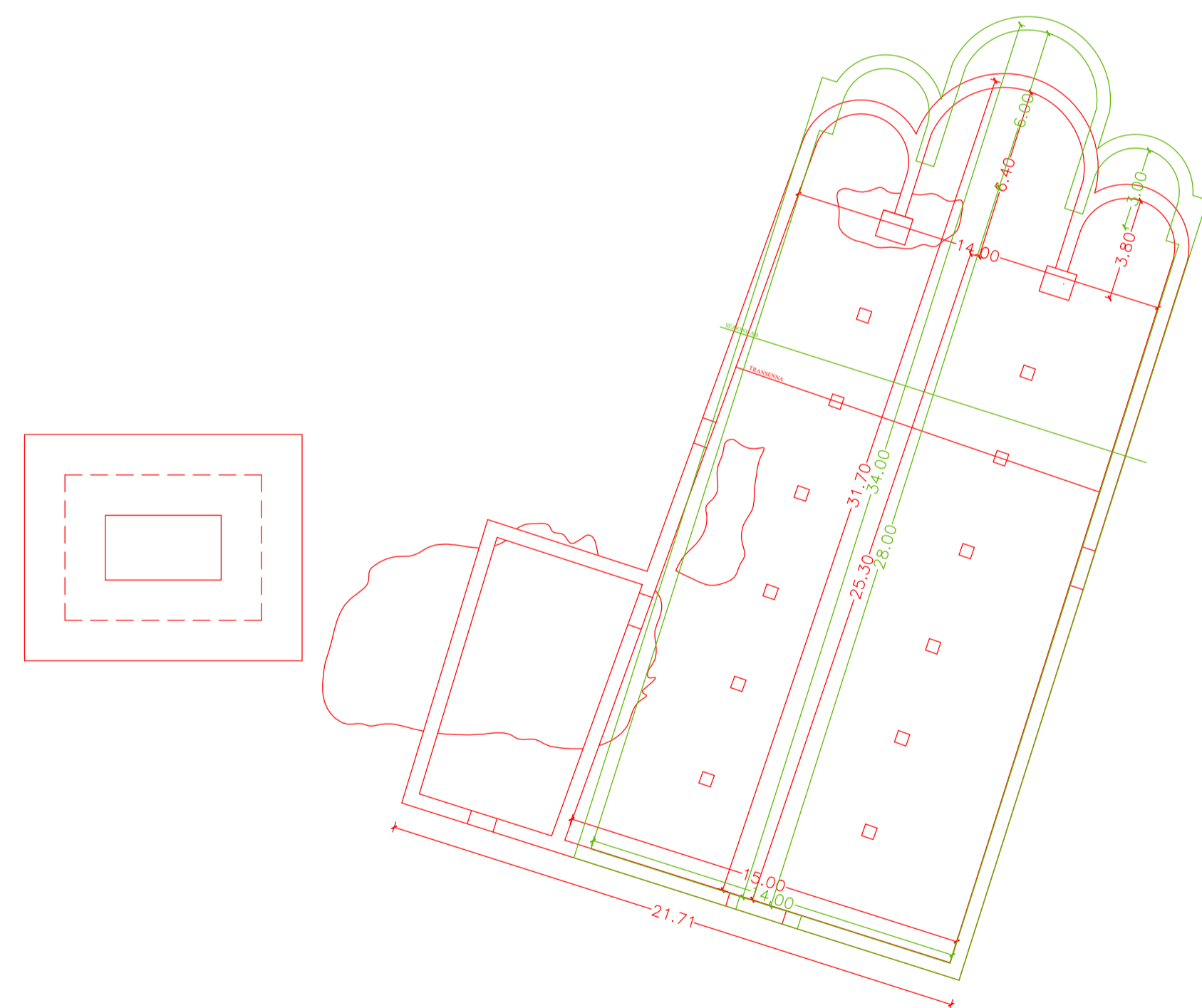
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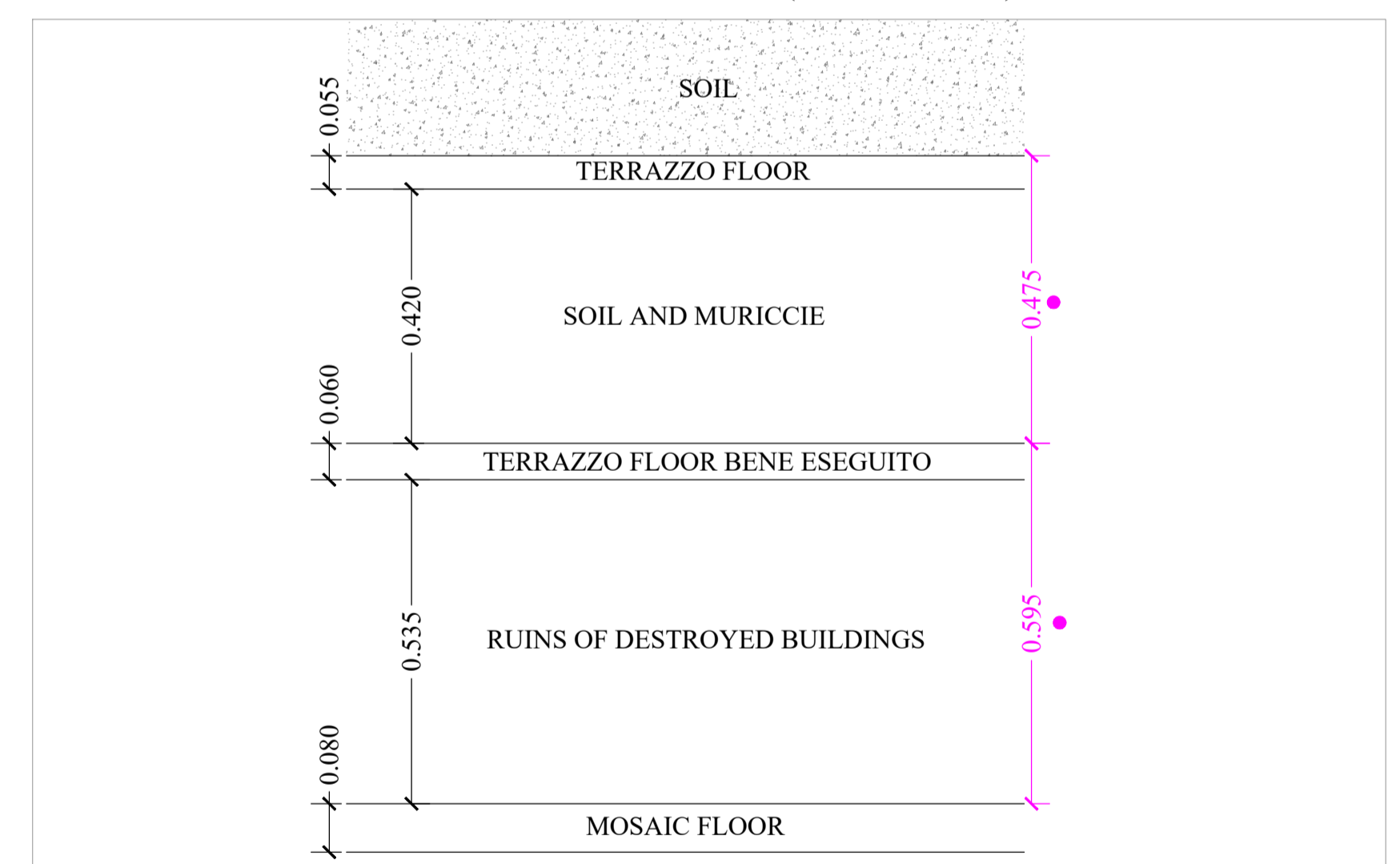
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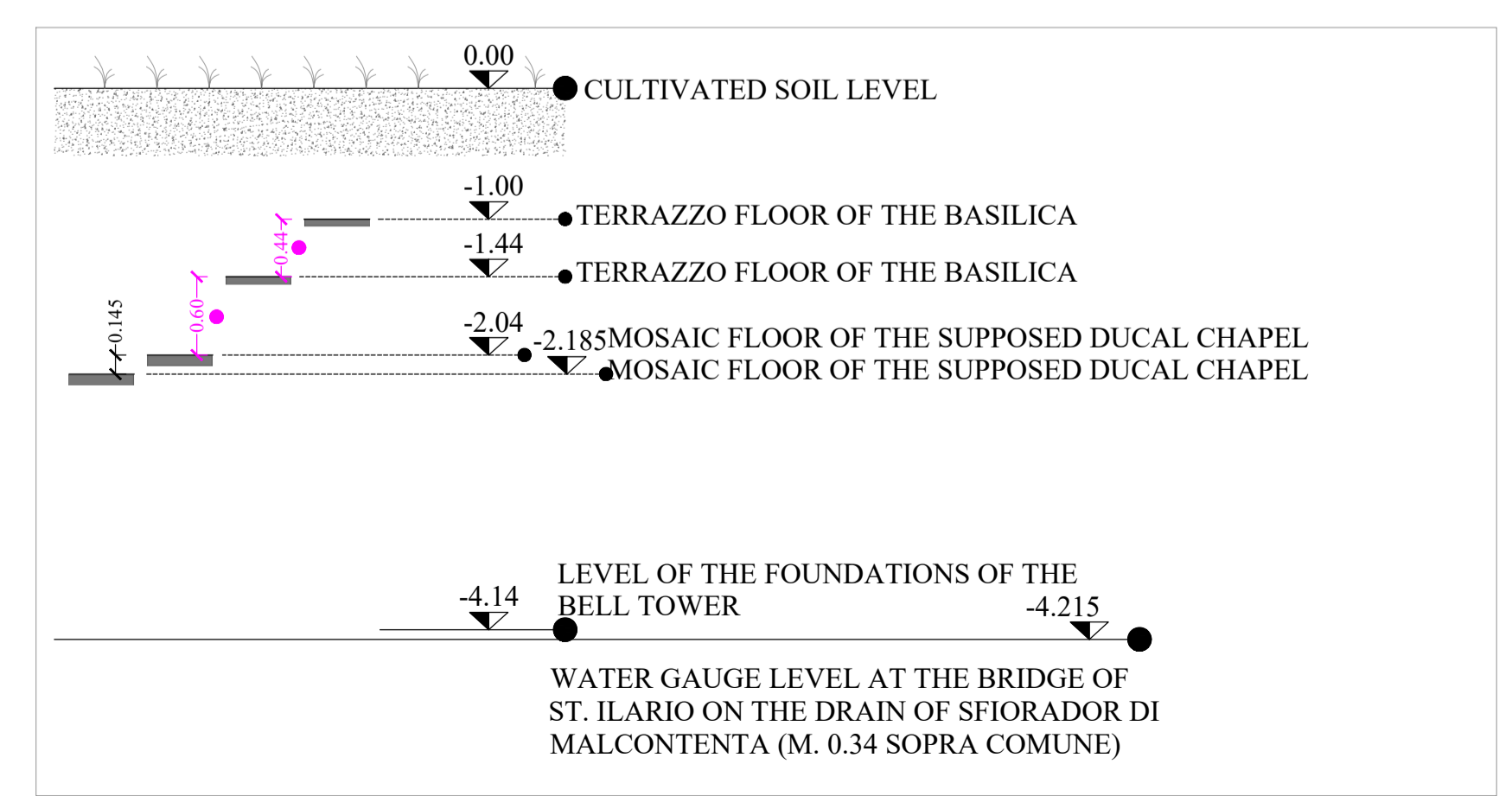
COMPARISON BETWEEN THE PLANIMETRIC SURVEY REPRODUCED BY MARZEMIN AND THE ONE MADE BY THE SUBCOMMISSION



SUB-COMMISSION STRATIGRAPHY (AB SECTION) SCALE 1:10



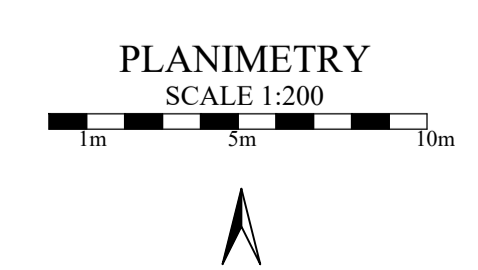
STRATIGRAPHY COMMON TO THE WATERCOLOUR DRAWING AND MARZEMIN PLANIMETRY SCALE 1:50



COMPARISON OF THE SURVEYS CONDUCTED BETWEEN 1873 AND 1874 AT ST. ILARIO, DOGALETTO DI MIRA (VE) BASED ON ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEYS

LEGEND:

- WATERCOLOUR DRAWING PLANIMETRY
- MARZEMIN PLANIMETRY
- SUB-COMMISSION PLANIMETRY
- ALTITUDE COMPARISON

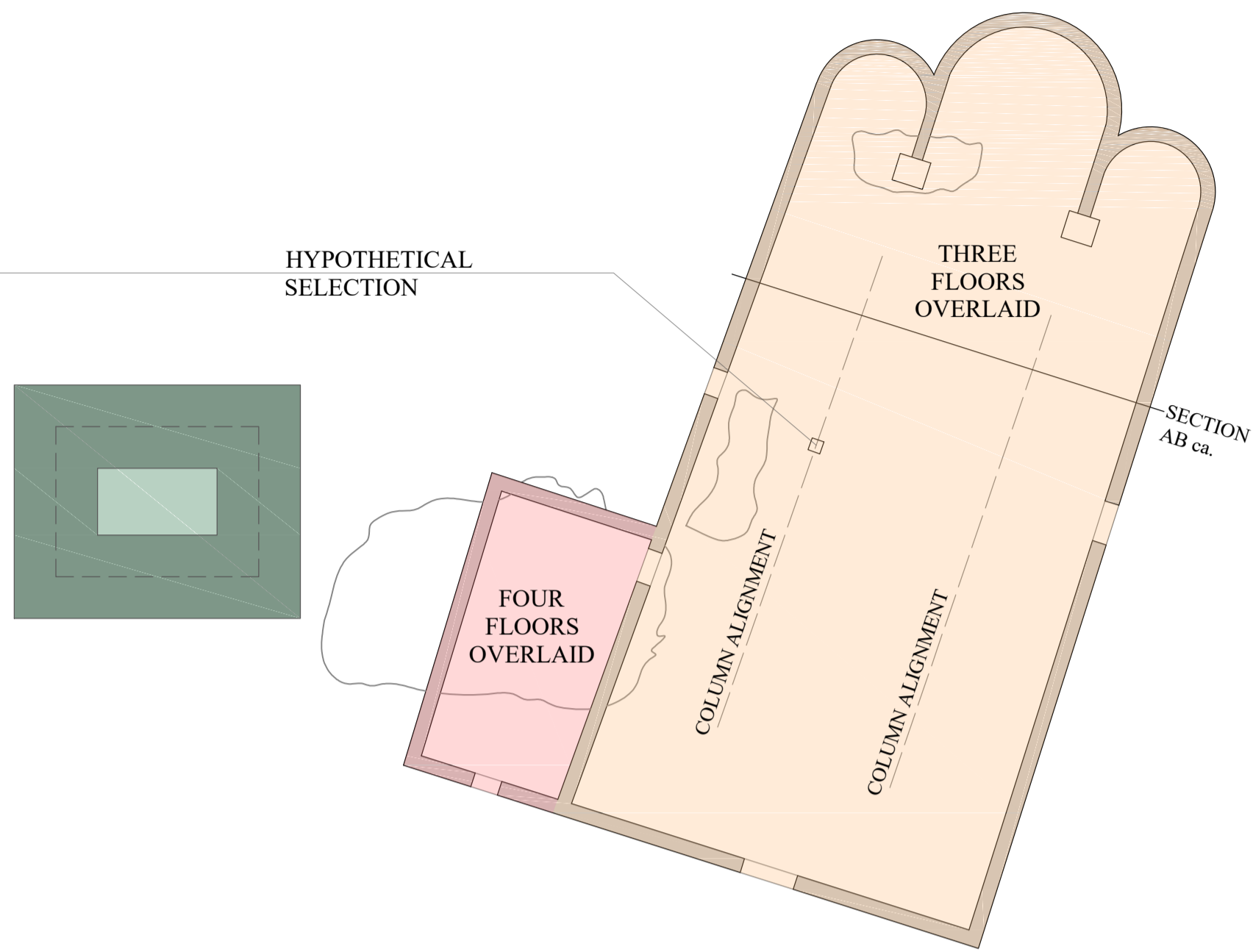


DIGGINGS PROGRESSION BY 25 APRIL 1874
IT WAS DECIDED TO MAINTAIN THE EXTENSION OF THE MOSAIC FRAGMENTS ALREADY DEPICTED IN 1873

[...] Questi avanzi [reperiti rinvenuti a Sant'Ilario] sono le **fondazioni della chiesa, e quelli della cappella** [...] Dalle fondazioni della chiesa se ne riconosce la disposizione basilicale, con a capo i tre absidi; e s'indovinano gli allineamenti delle navate **mercè la base scoperta d'una colonna.**

Negli scavi fatti si ravvisano **gli orli dei pavimenti, gli uni agli altri sovrapposti, tre nella chiesa e quattro nella cappella**, con distanza tra l'inferiore e il superiore di circa settanta centimetri. Quà e là poi, o ammonticchiati o sparsi, sonovi rottami di qualche capitello, **frammenti di mosaici, frantumi di marmi** [...].Meritano attenzione alcuni grandi massi che stavano sotto la **torre di fortificazione.**[...]

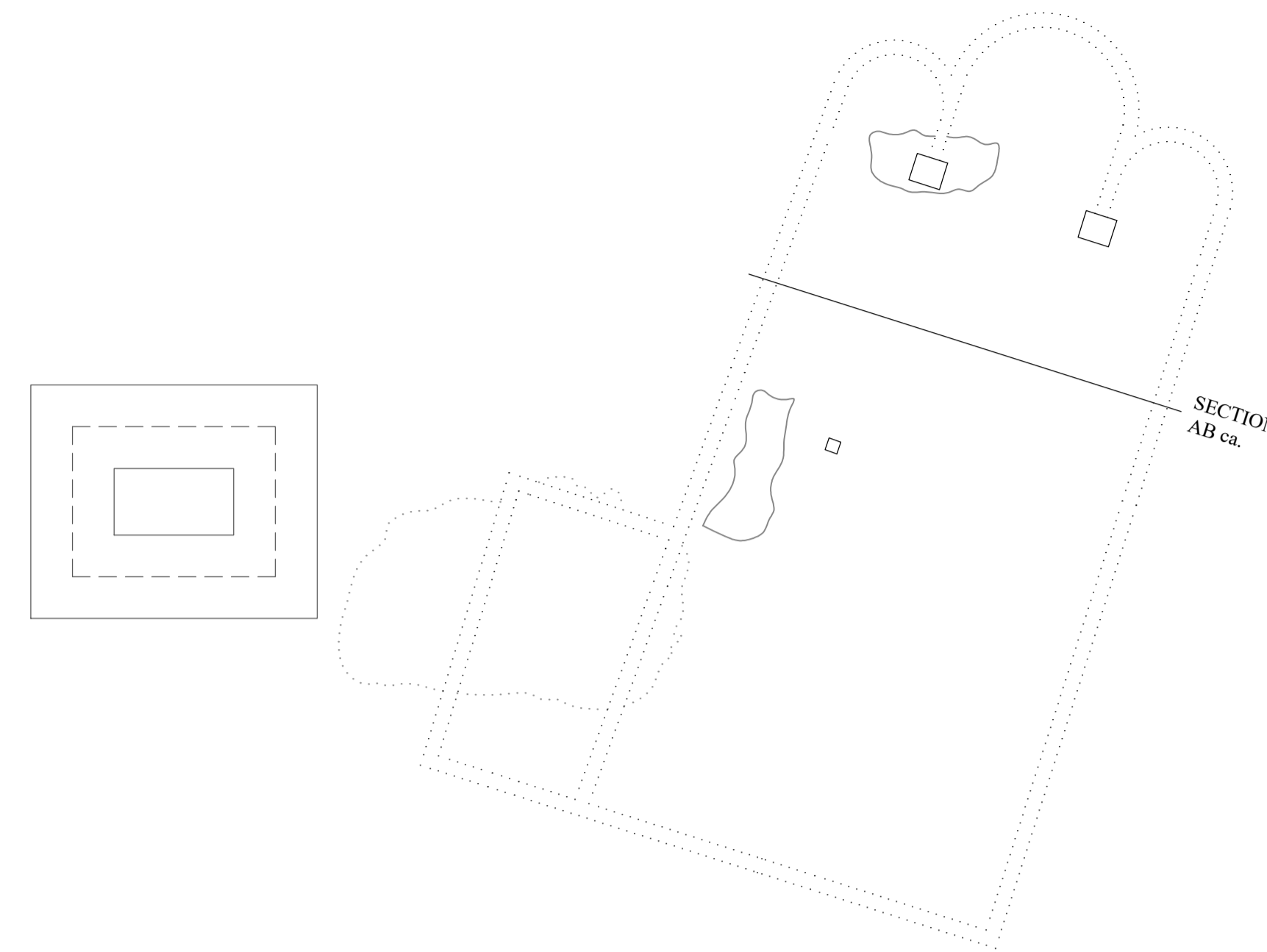
Report of the Sub-commission of fine Arts and Antiquity
Venice, 25 April 1874



[...] entro il perimetro della detta chiesa tre pavimenti costruiti l'uno sopra l'altro in tre epoche distinte ma comprese nel citato periodo dei **secoli IX al XIV** [...] ho potuto assicurarmi che il più basso dei tre pavimenti, che è a dire il più antico, è **lavorato, con bell'intreccio di disegni e non senza qualche varietà di colori, a mosaico.** Gli altri due sono a terrazzo [...].

Report of the Royal Inspector of Excavations and Monuments of Venice
Tomaso Luciani
Venice, 23 November 1875

DIGGINGS PROGRESSION BY SEPTEMBER 1877

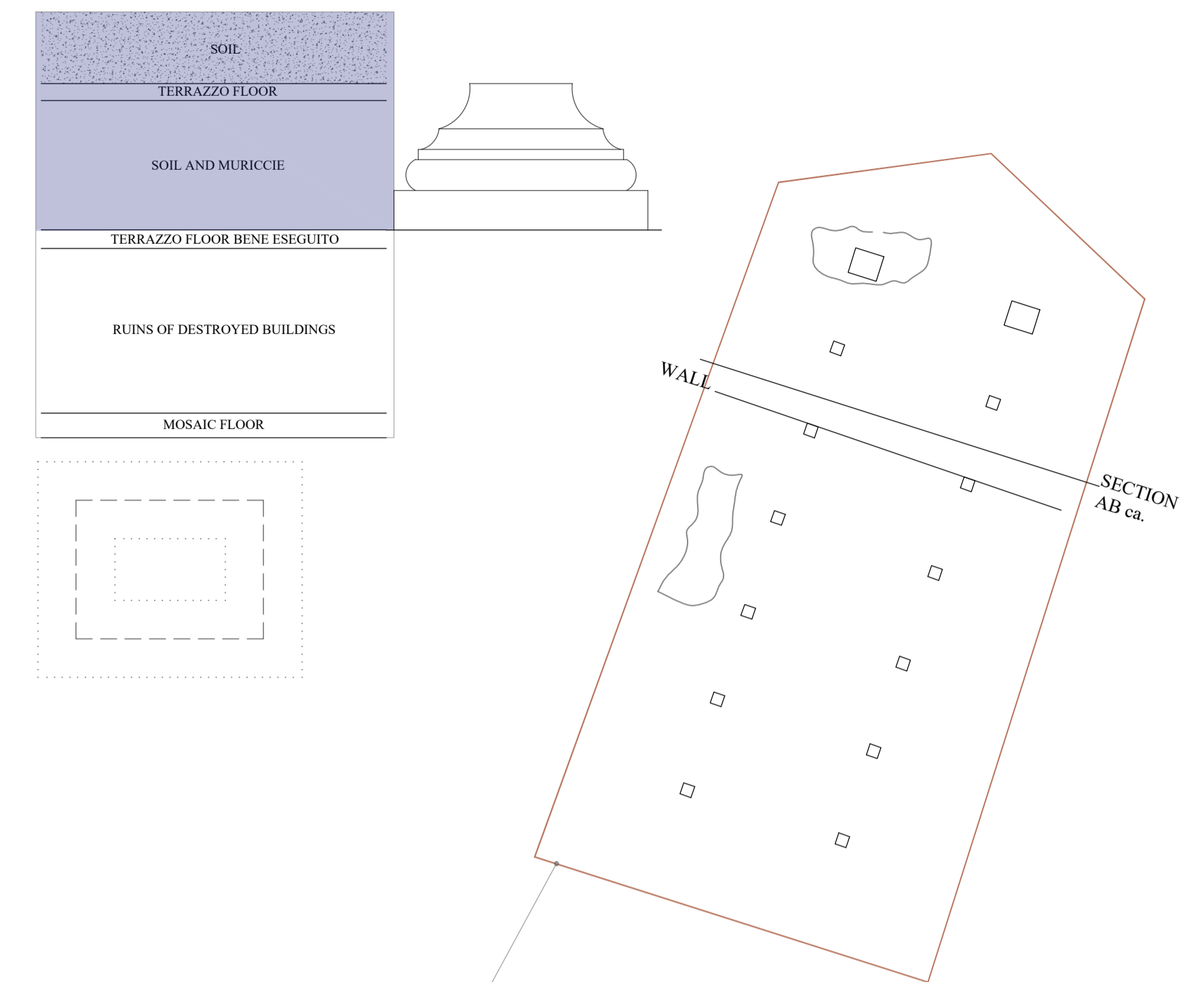


[...] nel vedere totalmente **distrutti i muri perimetrali**, che a fior di terra segnavano ancora prima del 1874 l'antica e veneranda basilica, **distrutti egualmente tutti gli avanzi di un'edicola a cappella che le sorgeva a un lato.**[...]

[...] gli **oggetti dello scavo già posti in disparte nel 1874** come i più pregevoli dalla Sottocommissione di belle arti e antichità, ed accumulati in una stalla di proprietà del Marchese Saibante. Sono **grandi frammenti del pavimento in mosaico della distrutta edicola a cappella, con ornamenti di figure geometriche e naturali, formelle varie, croci ed altre sculture bizantine, ed alcune iscrizioni tra le quali una romana** [...], e due cristiane [...]

Report of the Royal Inspector of Excavations and Monuments of Verona, Pier Paolo Martinati
Padua, 10 January 1878

DIGGINGS PROGRESSION BY 27 DECEMBER 1881



[...] dopo la stipulazione del convegno 6 maggio a.c. [1881] si è affrettato di far **asportare i grandi massi di macigno che formavano le fondazioni della torre delle Bebbe** [...] fece costruire un **recinto in legname**, al di là del perimetro segnato dalle fosse ove esistevano le fondazioni della chiesa [...]

[...] agli ultimi dello stesso mese [Settembre], si pose mano all'escavo del primo strato quello superiore al primo pavimento in terrazzo asportando una grande quantità di terra [...] del primo pavimento in terrazzo, che non presentava alcun particolare si continuò [...] l'asporto del secondo strato, cioè fra il primo ed secondo pavimento di terrazzo.

In questo tratto si trovarono le **basi di undici colonne di varie quantità di pietra** [...] Si è scoperto di più un **muro di fondazione** che divide l'abside del corpo principale della basilica [...]

Report of the Royal Inspector of excavations and monuments in the Dolo district, Luigi Dian
Vigonovo, 27 December 1881

DIGGINGS PROGRESSION BY 6 MAY 1882

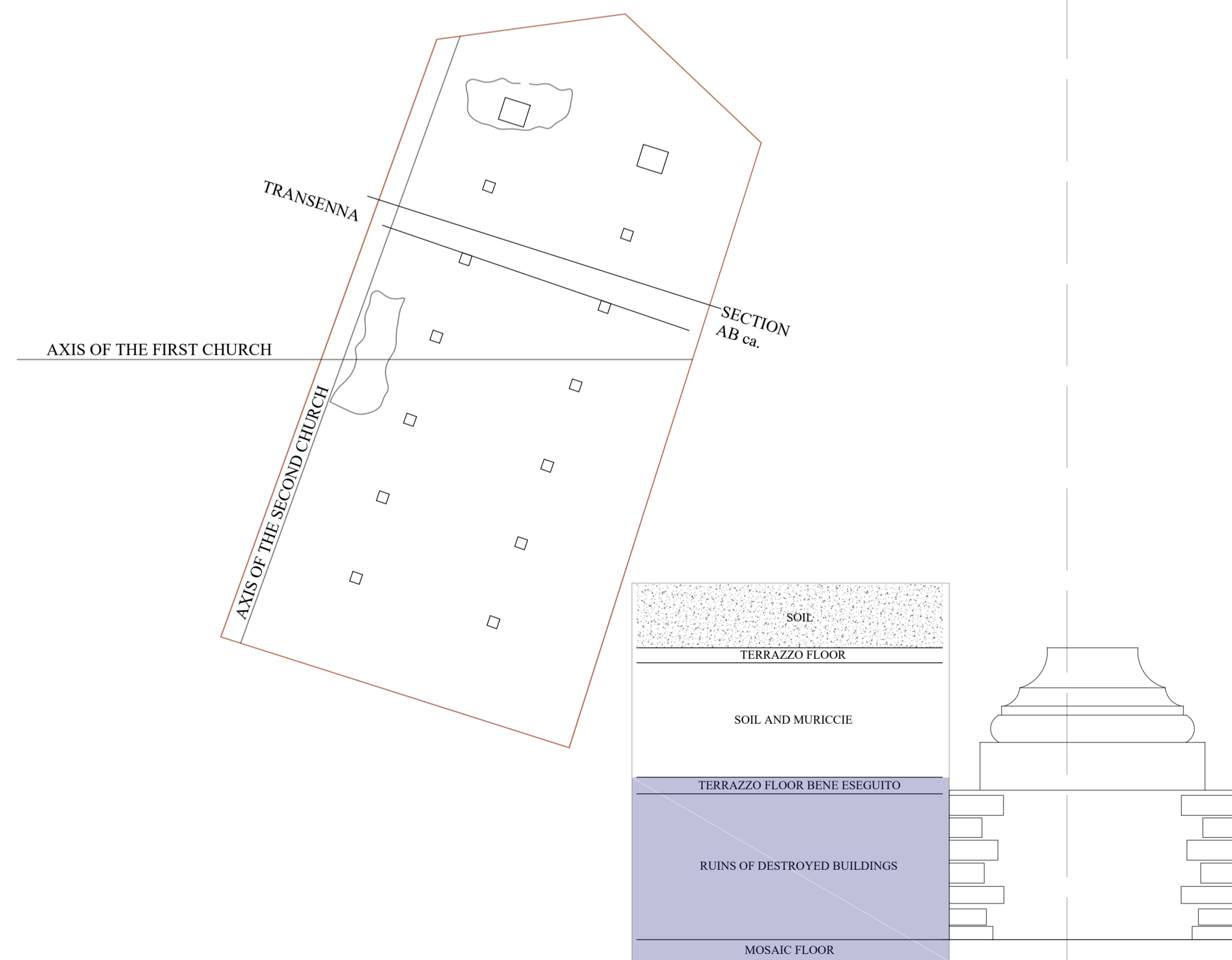
[...] bellissimo **mosaico disegnato in circoli dal diametro di circa centi. 35 nei quali appariscono alternativamente delle croci, degli animali e croci, cavalli alati, volatili che sommamente disegnati e variopinti** [...] Furono poste a nudo le basi delle colonne con i loro zoccoli che presentavano la loro parte superiore o sommità all'altezza del secondo pavimento [...]. le colonne sono di varie qualità di pietra, però tutte delle cave di Verona [rosso, giallo, bianco]

[...] le **fondazioni in cotto** di dette basi, sono **appoggiate sul piano del pavimento a mosaico e più ancora che la direzione del tratto di pavimento a mosaico è divergente da quello della Chiesa sovrapposta e va fuori del perimetro di quest'ultima, cioè a dire mentre l'asse della prima si dirige a tramontana, quello della seconda piega a Levante, formando così i due assi un angolo acuto.**

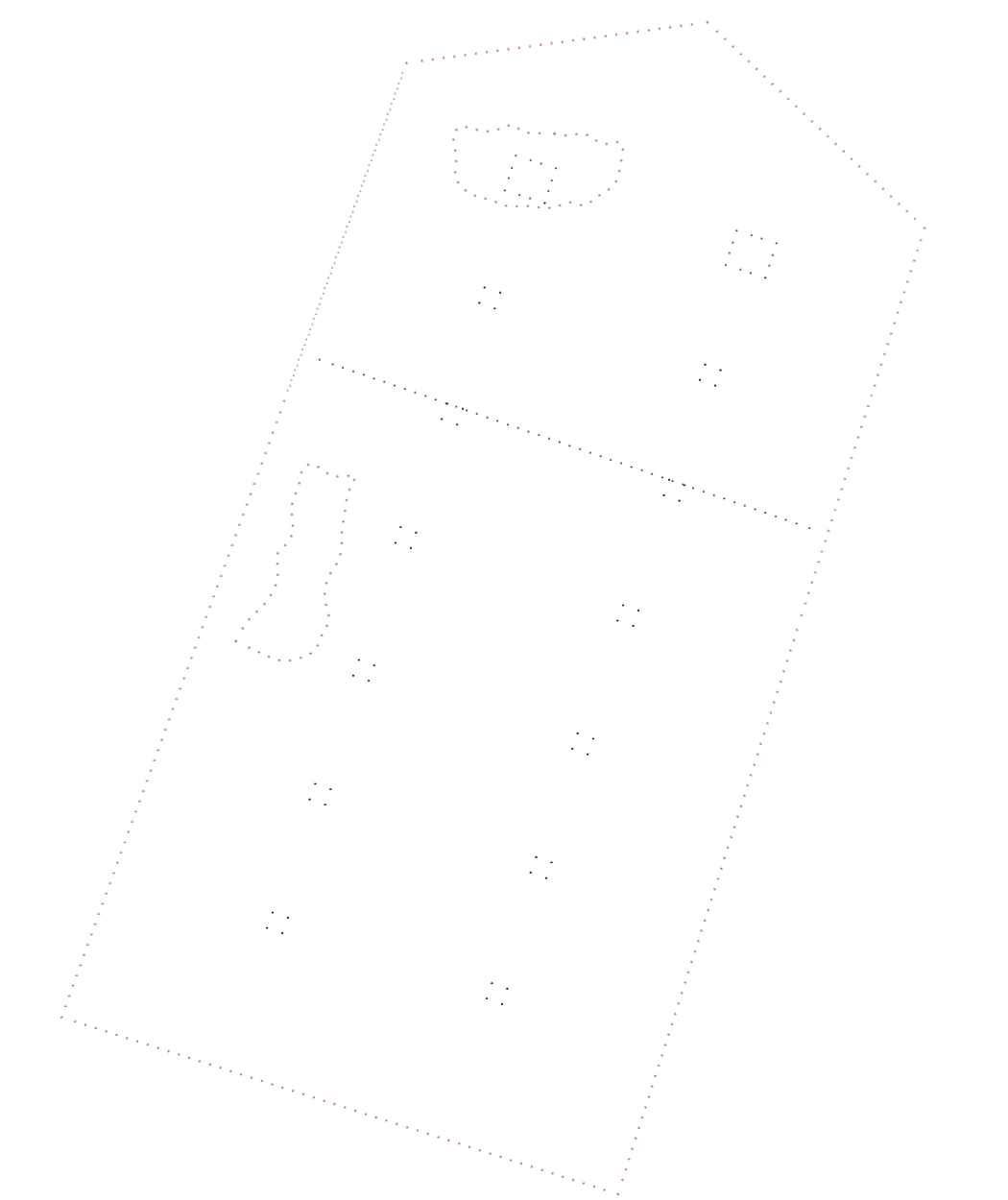
[...] Quel muro divisorio [...] presentava tredici spazi della larghezza di cm. 50 circa, uno più largo nel mezzo [...] uno solo che la conserva [...] è dipinto un affresco di presenza cioè una mano abbastanza chiaramente

[...] nel **corpo dell'abside** della seconda chiesa ad un'altezza **relativa al piano del mosaico della prima chiesa** si sono scoperti **due tratti di pavimento in mosaico** uno angolare chiuso a due lati da *** di m. 0.20 *** di mosaico nella direzione del pavimento di mosaico trovato nella chiesa [...]

Report of the Royal Inspector of excavations and monuments in the Dolo district, Luigi Dian
Vigonovo, 6 May 1882



DIGGINGS PROGRESSION BY 21 JANUARY 1885



[...] trasportato a Venezia quanto fu rinvenuto, **va ad essere livellato il terreno e rimesso a coltivazione** [...]

Closing Report of Nicolò Barozzi, Member of the
Advisory Commission for the Conservation of Monuments
Venice, 21 January 1885

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS
UNDERTAKEN AT ST. ILARIO,
DOGALETTO DI MIRA (VE)

BASED ON ROYAL INSPECTORS' DISPATCHES (1874-1885)

PLANIMETRY
SCALE 1:200



LEGEND:

- WALLS
- COLUMN BASES
- LATE MEDIEVAL CHURCH
- CHAPEL (RECTANGULAR SPACE)
- TOWER
- MOSAICS
- WOODEN FENCE
- REMOVED MATERIALS
- REMOVED SOIL LAYERS

LOCATION OF THE MOSAICS FOUND IN THE TERRITORY OF ST. ILARIO, DOGALETTO DI MIRA (VE)

BASED ON ROYAL INSPECTORS' DISPATCHES (1874-1885) AND PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

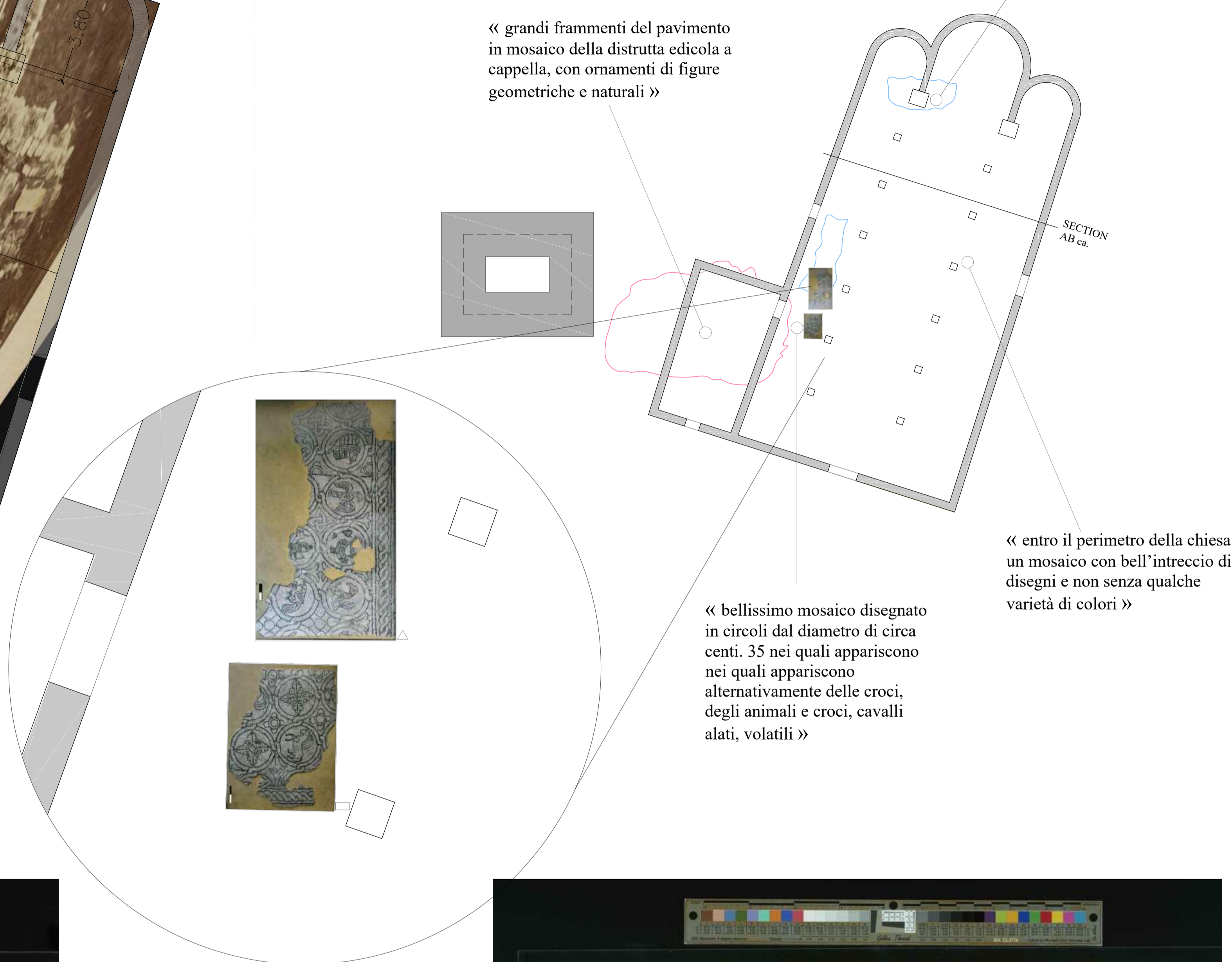


PLANIMETRY AND THE IMAGE RECTIFICATION SCALE 1:100

MOSAICS LOCATION SCALE 1:200

LEGEND:

- WALLS
- TOWER FOUNDATIONS
- DETACHMENT OF MOSAICS BETWEEN 1874 AND 1877
- DETACHMENT OF MOSAICS BETWEEN 1882 AND 1884



Mosaic fragments with (fantastic) creatures within intertwined circles made of regular-sized black, white, some red, tesserae and flanked on two sides by a braided frame of two ribbons inscribed between two laths



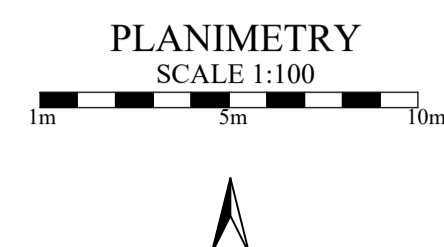
(left) Mira, Gambarare - Monastery of Ss. Ilario and Benedetto, Church of Ss. Ilario and Benedetto during excavations, 1882 ca.

(right) Venice - Museo Correr, mosaic fragments from the early Church of S. Ilario and S. Benedetto, 1882-1887 ca.








CERTAIN AND UNCERTAIN LOCATION OF THE MOSAICS FOUND IN THE TERRITORY OF ST. ILARIO, DOGALETTO DI MIRA (VE)

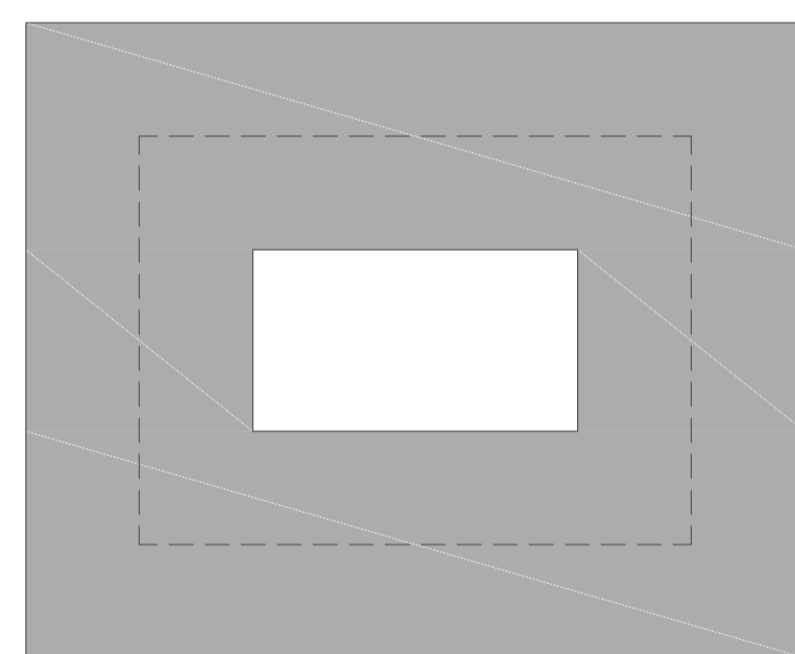
BASED ON ROYAL INSPECTORS' DISPATCHES (1874-1885)
AND MOSAIC FRAGMENTS KEPT AT THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (VE)



« nel corpo dell'abside della seconda chiesa ad un'altezza relativa al piano del mosaico della prima chiesa si sono scoperti due tratti di pavimento in mosaico uno angolare chiuso a due lati da fasce di m. 0.20 [pure] di mosaico »

LEGEND:

-  WALLS
-  TOWER FOUNDATIONS
-  DETACHMENT OF MOSAICS BETWEEN 1874-1877
-  DETACHMENT OF MOSAICS BETWEEN 1882 AND 1885
-  UNCERTAIN ELEMENTS

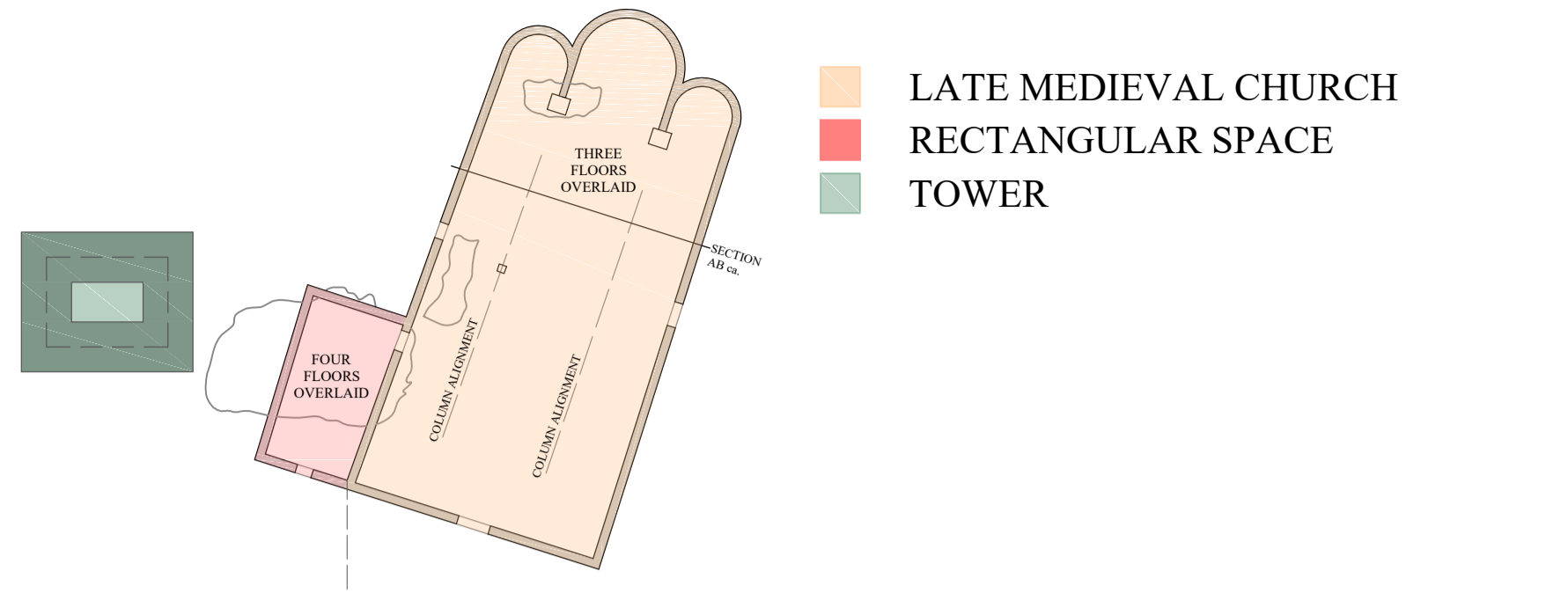


« grandi frammenti del pavimento in mosaico della distrutta edicola a cappella, con ornamenti di figure geometriche e naturali »

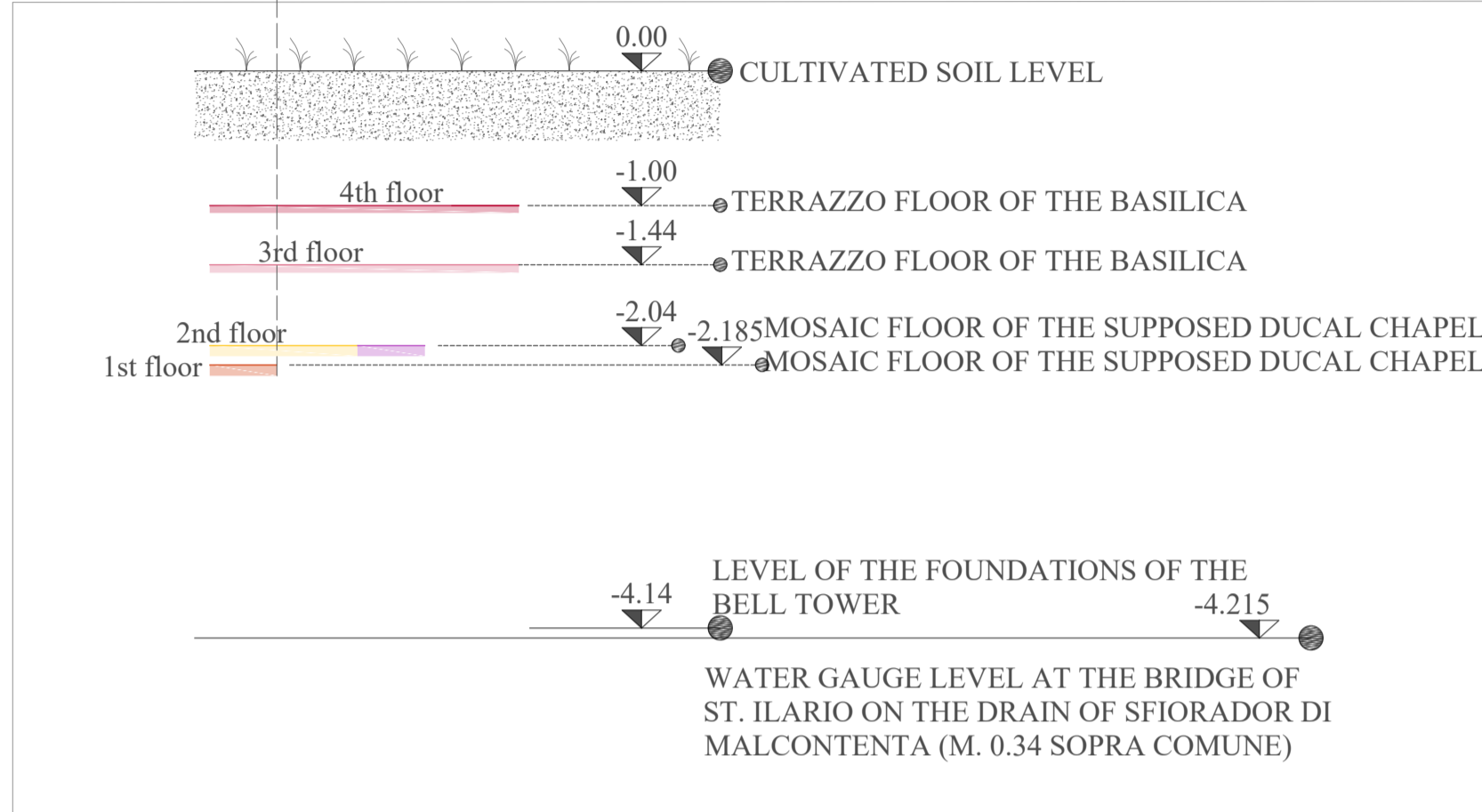
« entro il perimetro della chiesa un mosaico con bell'intreccio di disegni e non senza qualche varietà di colori »

(right) Venice - Museo Correr, mosaic fragments from the early Church of S. Ilario and S. Benedetto, 1882-1885 ca.





STRATIGRAPHY 1873 SCALE 1:50

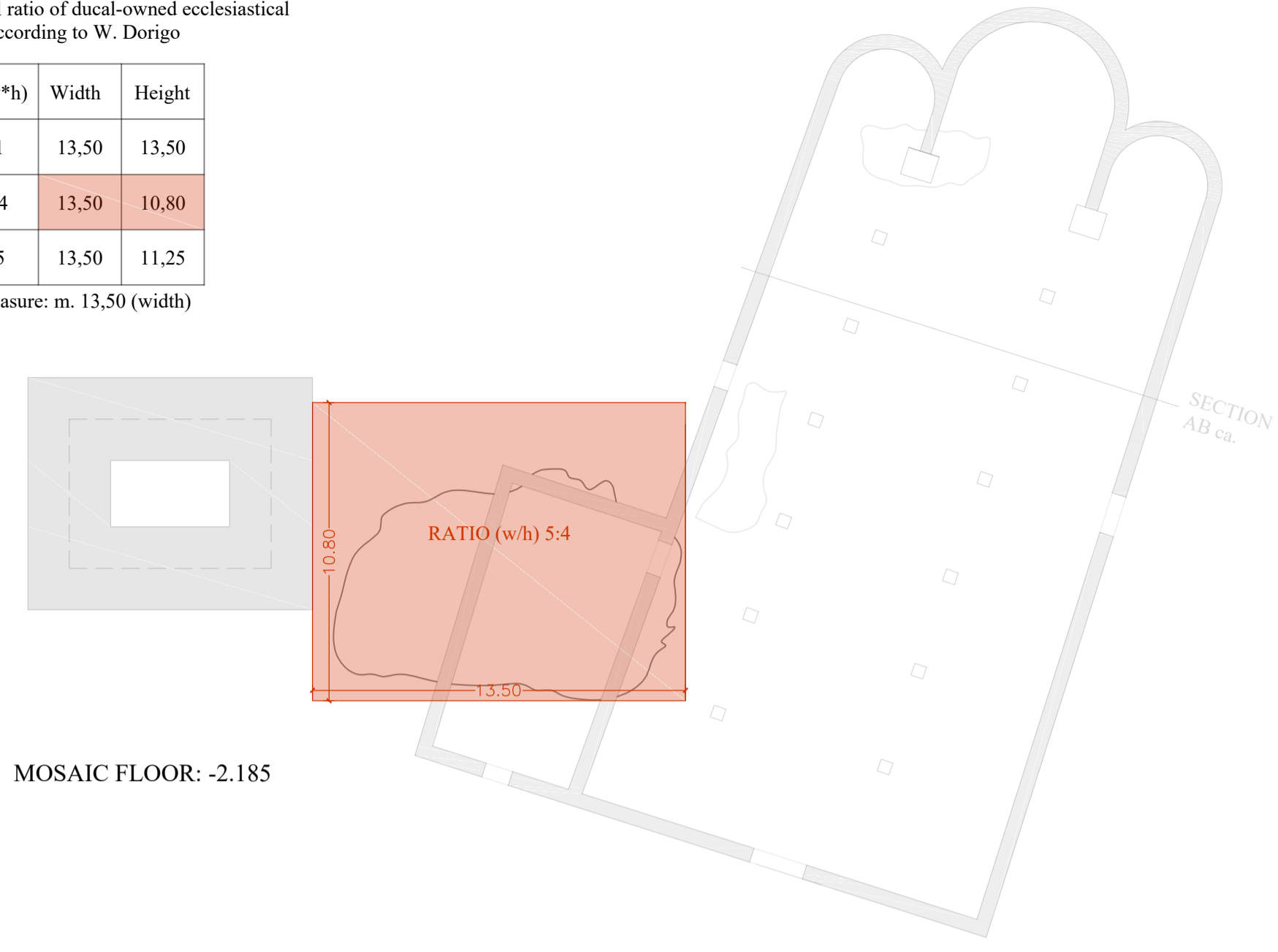


1) BEFORE 819: FAMILY CHAPEL DEDICATED TO ST. ILARIO

Proportional ratio of ducal-owned ecclesiastical buildings according to W. Dorigo

RATIO (w*h)	Width	Height
RATIO 1:1	13,50	13,50
RATIO 5:4	13,50	10,80
RATIO 6:5	13,50	11,25

Baseline measure: m. 13,50 (width)



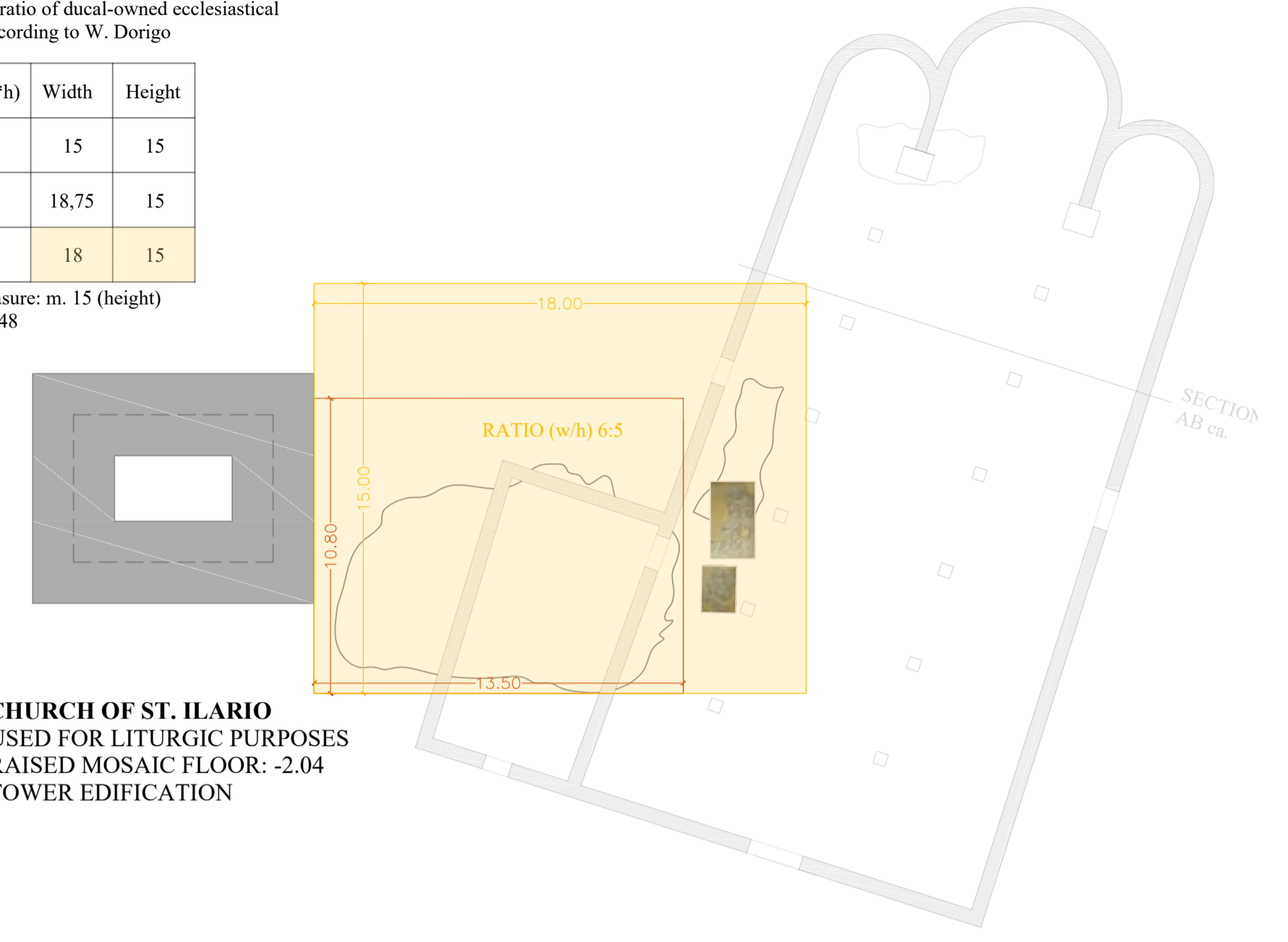
MOSAIC FLOOR: -2.185

2) AFTER MONKS' ARRIVAL (819): BUILDINGS EXPANSION

Proportional ratio of ducal-owned ecclesiastical buildings according to W. Dorigo

RATIO (w*h)	Width	Height
RATIO 1:1	15	15
RATIO 5:4	18,75	15
RATIO 6:5	18	15

Baseline measure: m. 15 (height)
Roman feet: 48

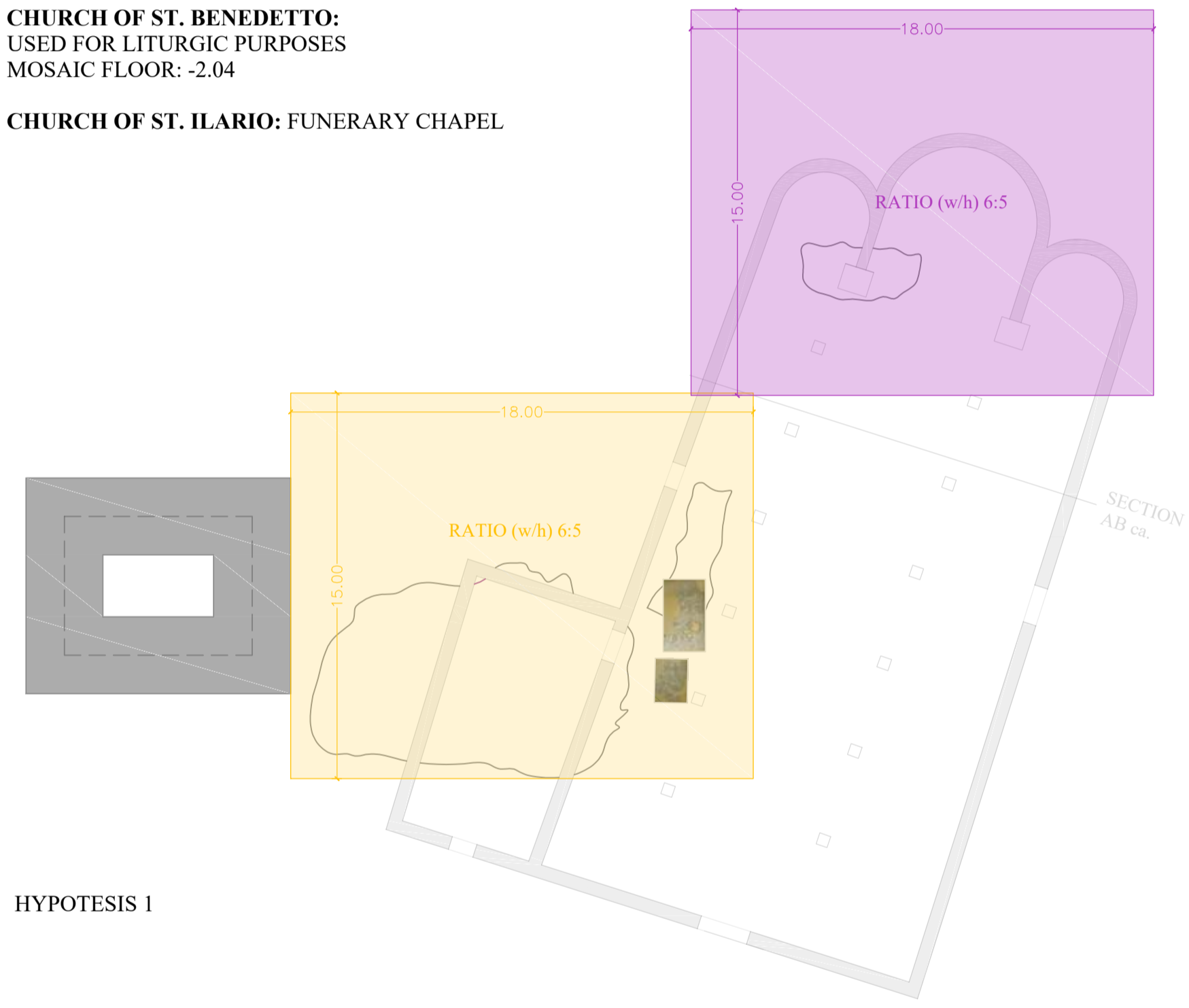


CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO
USED FOR LITURGIC PURPOSES
RAISED MOSAIC FLOOR: -2.04
TOWER EDIFICATION

3a) 819-883-XIc.: CHURCHES OF ST. ILARIO AND ST. BENEDETTO

CHURCH OF ST. BENEDETTO:
USED FOR LITURGIC PURPOSES
MOSAIC FLOOR: -2.04

CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO: FUNERARY CHAPEL



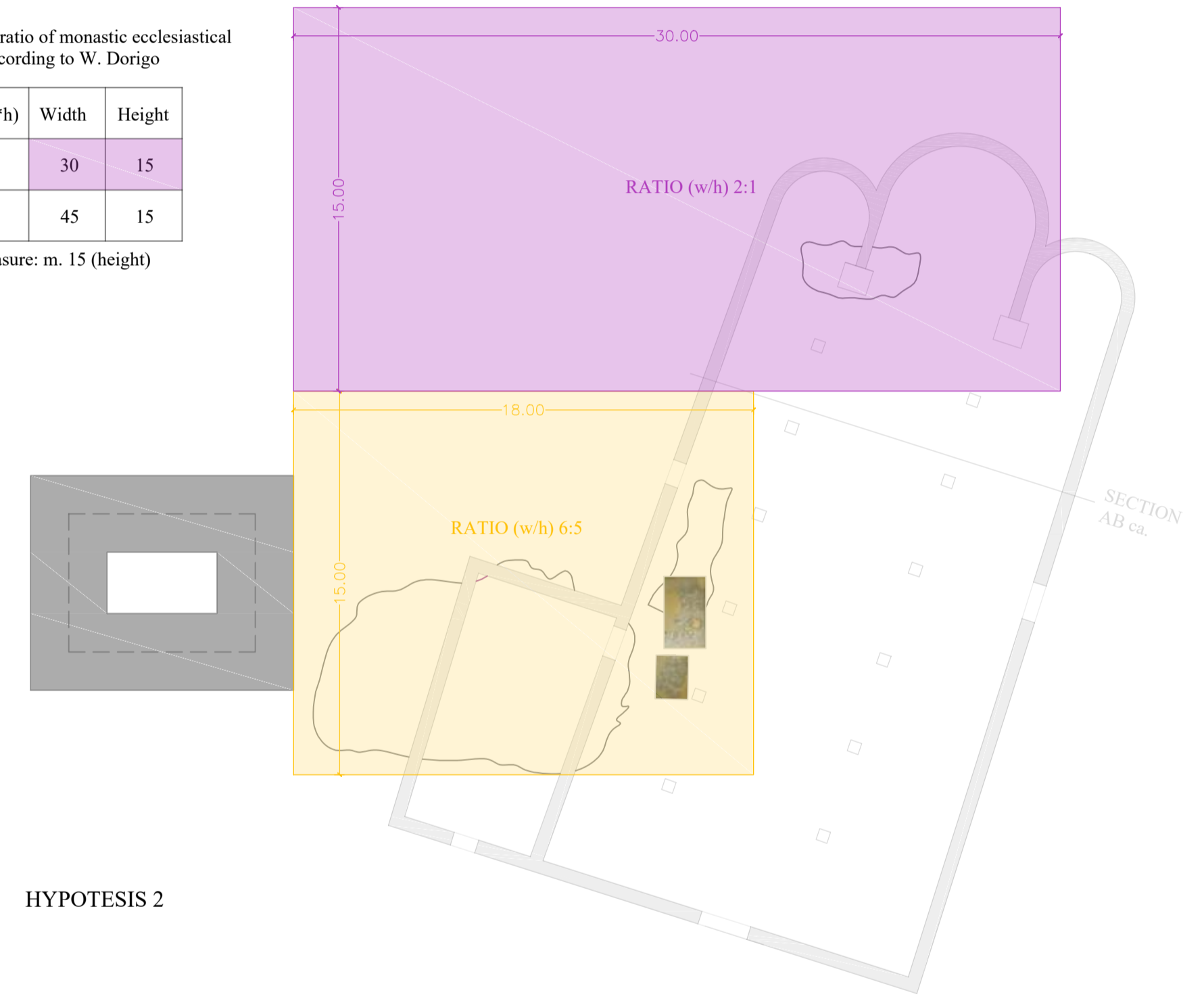
HYPOTESIS 1

3b) 819-883-XIc.: CHURCHES OF ST. ILARIO AND ST. BENEDETTO

Proportional ratio of monastic ecclesiastical buildings according to W. Dorigo

RATIO (w*h)	Width	Height
RATIO 2:1	30	15
RATIO 3:1	45	15

Baseline measure: m. 15 (height)



HYPOTESIS 2

ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS EXTENSIONS AND EVOLUTION OVER THE CENTURIES (IX-XV)

BASED ON ROYAL INSPECTORS' DISPATCHES (1881-1885),
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEYS, SOURCES AND COMPARISONS

HYPOTHESIS 1

4 FLOOR LEVELS IN THE CHAPEL: LAST ONE = ANCIENT ONE

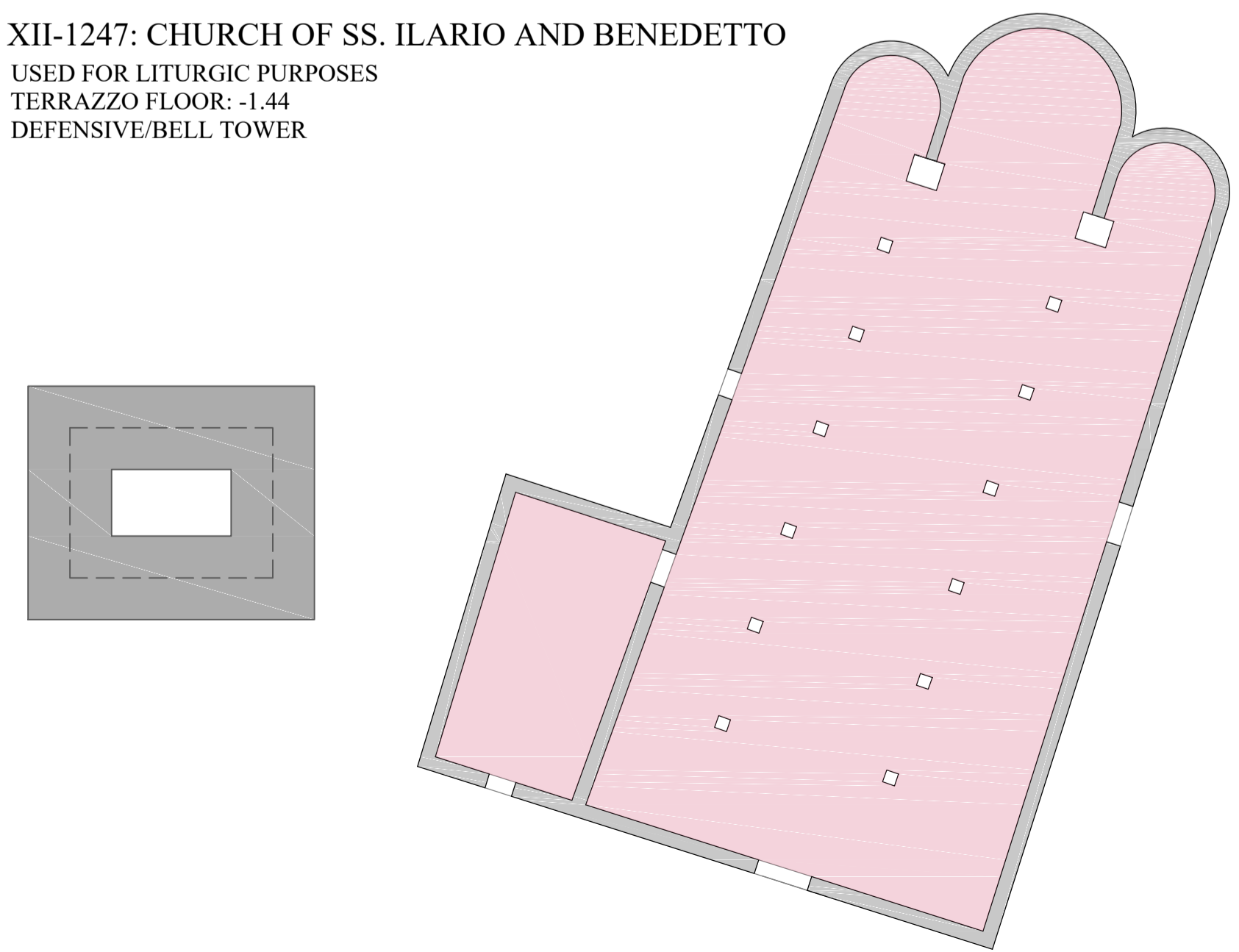


LEGEND
GRAYSCALE: EXACT STRUCTURES
COLORED ELEMENTS: SIMULATIONS

- WALLS
- TOWER FOUNDATIONS
- COLUMN BASES
- MOSAICS
- CHAPEL OF ST. ILARIO
- CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO
- CHURCH OF ST. BENEDETTO
- CHURCH OF SS. ILARIO AND BENEDETTO (TERRAZZO FLOOR)
- CHURCH OF SS. ILARIO AND BENEDETTO (RAISED TERRAZZO FLOOR)

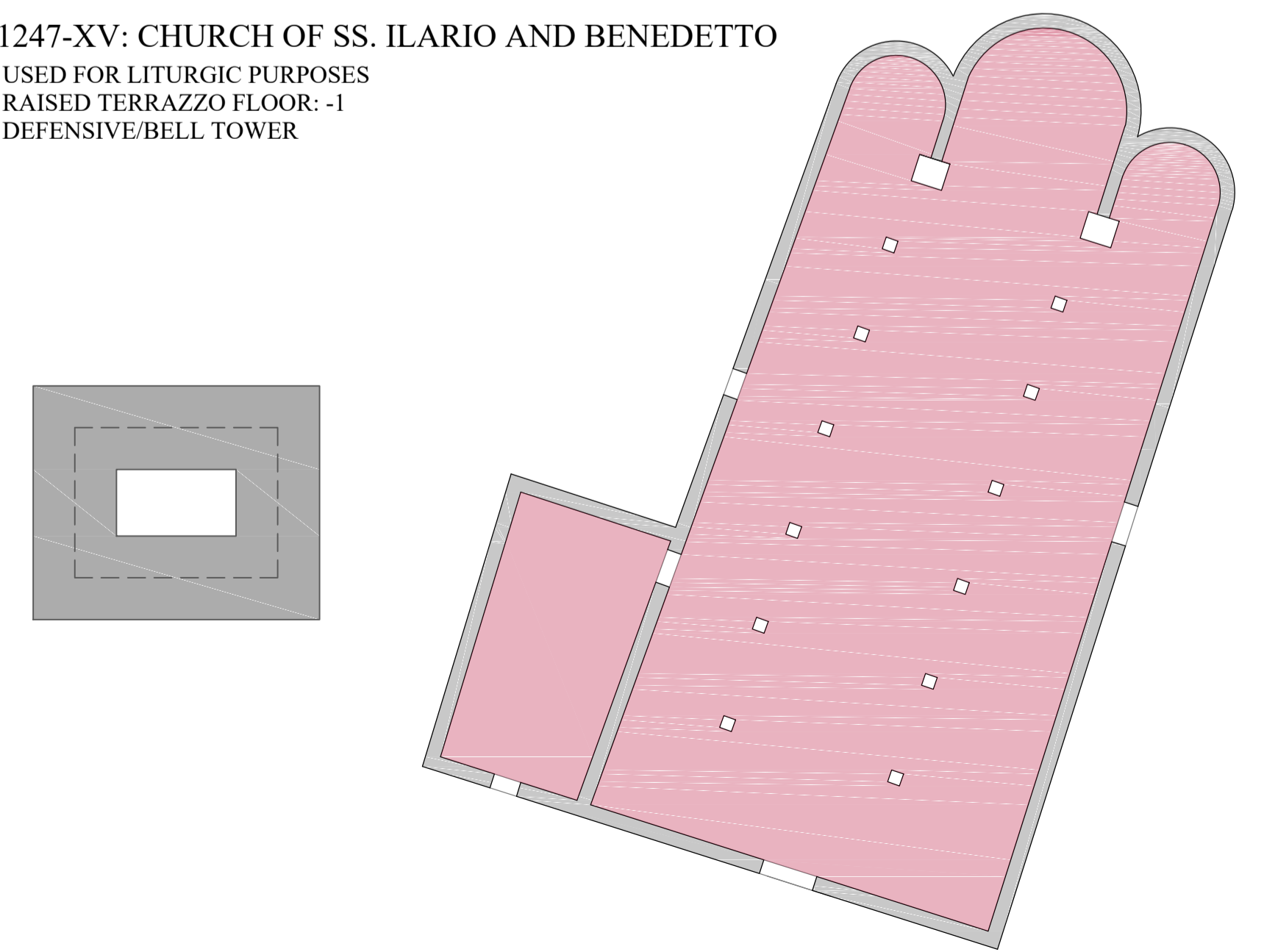
4) XII-1247: CHURCH OF SS. ILARIO AND BENEDETTO

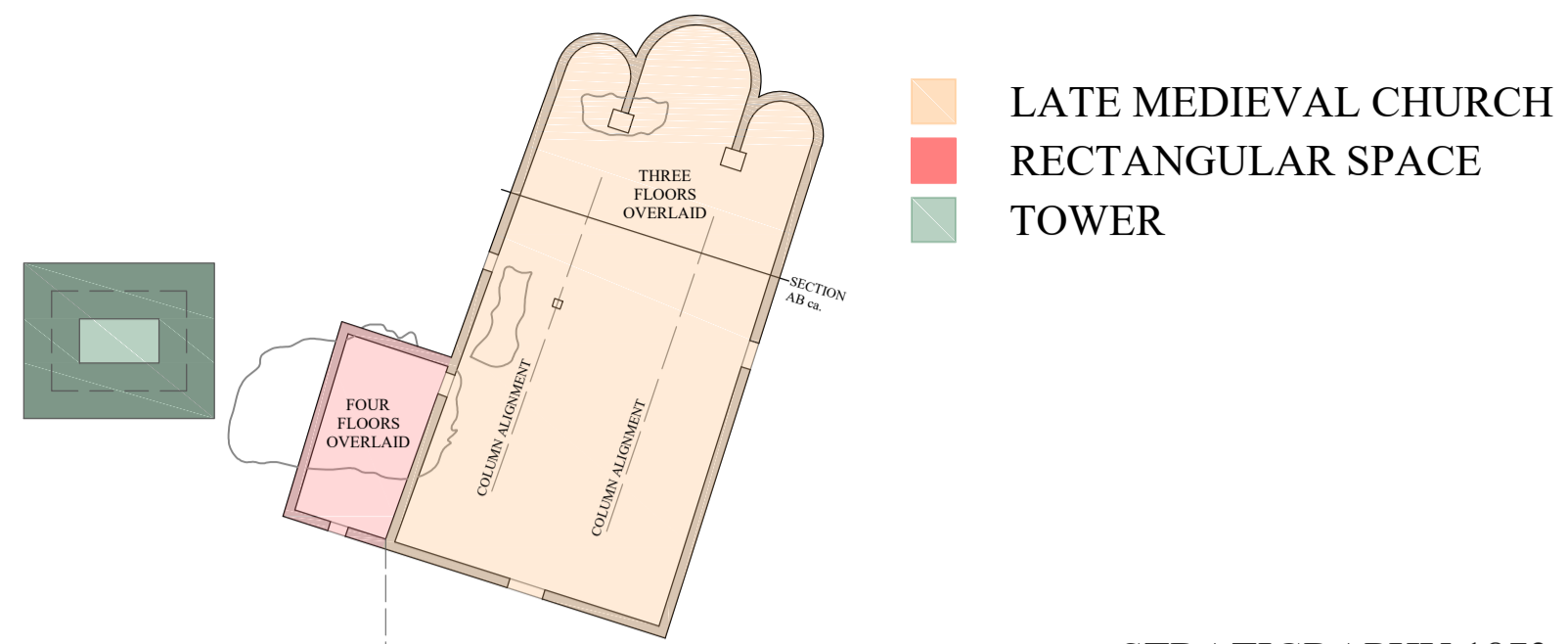
USED FOR LITURGIC PURPOSES
TERRAZZO FLOOR: -1.44
DEFENSIVE/BELL TOWER



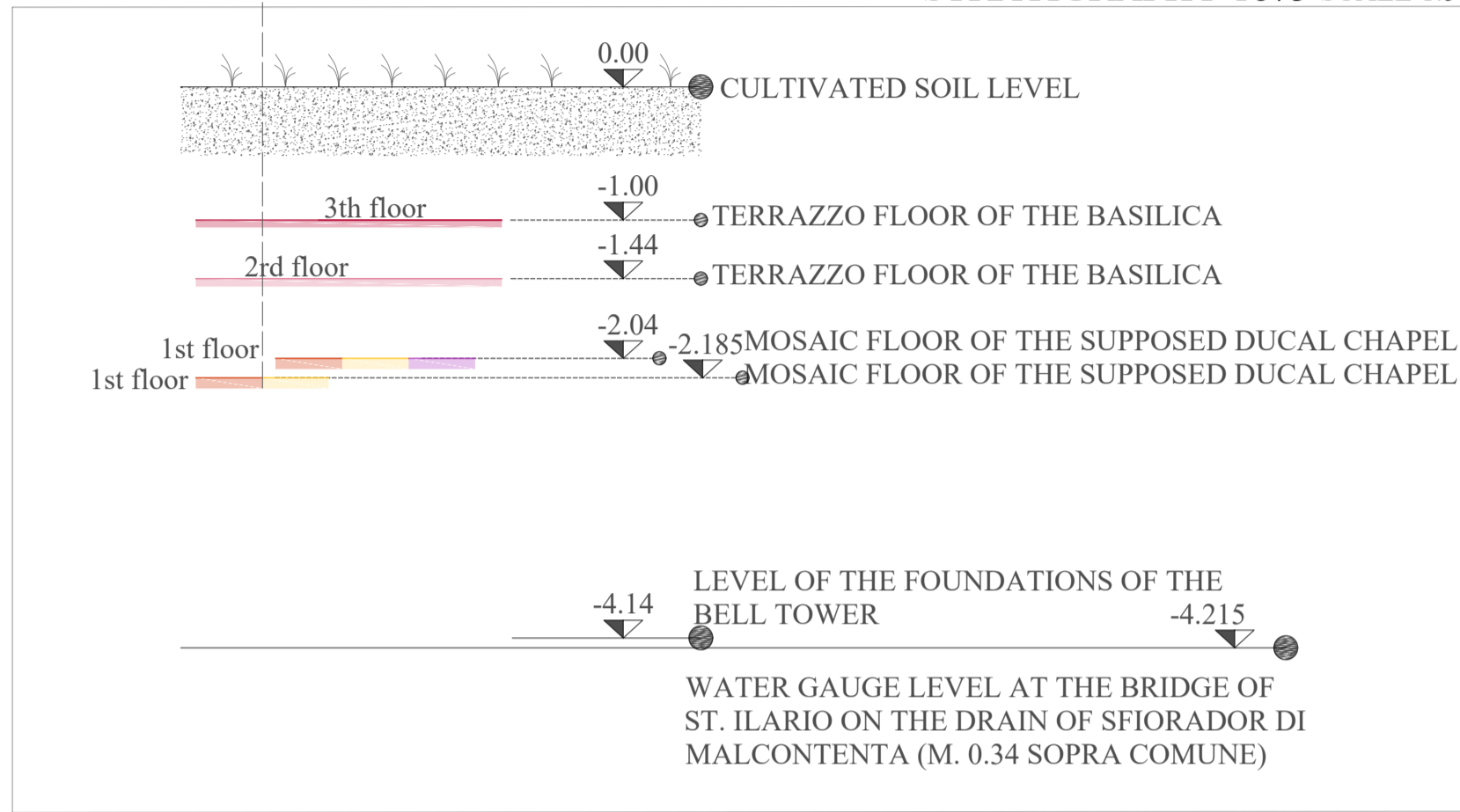
5) 1247-XV: CHURCH OF SS. ILARIO AND BENEDETTO

USED FOR LITURGIC PURPOSES
RAISED TERRAZZO FLOOR: -1
DEFENSIVE/BELL TOWER





STRATIGRAPHY 1873 SCALE 1:50



ECCLESIASTIC BUILDINGS EXTENSIONS AND EVOLUTION OVER THE CENTURIES (IX-XV)

BASED ON ROYAL INSPECTORS' DISPATCHES (1881-1885), ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEYS, SOURCES AND COMPARISONS

HYPOTHESIS 2

3 FLOOR LEVELS IN THE CHAPEL WITH A RAISED PRESBYTERY NAVE INTERPRETED AS THE 4TH FLOOR



LEGEND
 GRAYSCALE: EXACT STRUCTURES
 COLORED ELEMENTS: SIMULATIONS

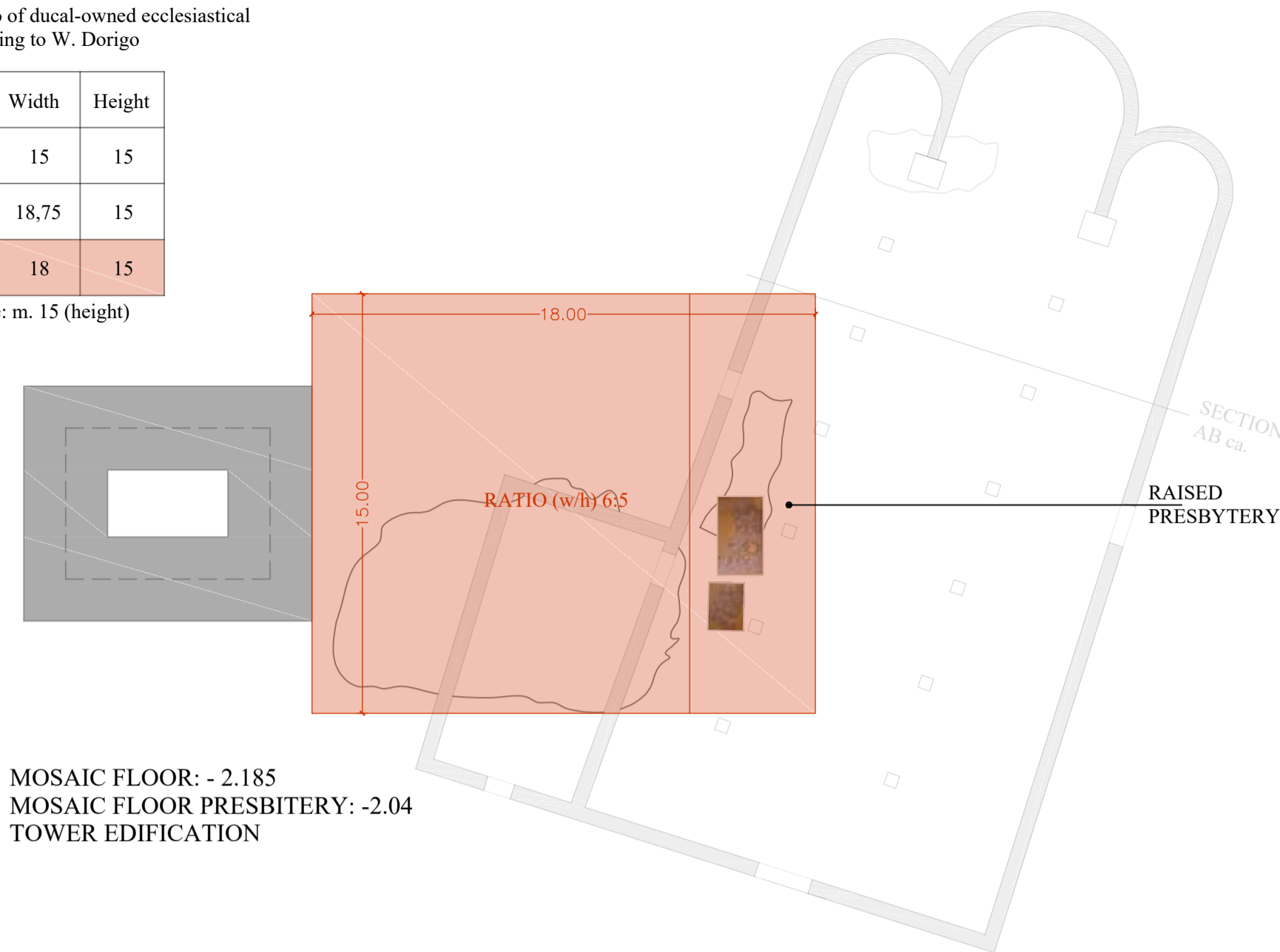
- WALLS
- TOWER FOUNDATIONS
- COLUMN BASES
- MOSAICS
- CHAPEL OF ST. ILARIO
- CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO
- CHURCH OF ST. BENEDETTO
- CHURCH OF SS. ILARIO AND BENEDETTO (TERRAZZO FLOOR)
- CHURCH OF SS. ILARIO AND BENEDETTO (RAISED TERRAZZO FLOOR)

1) BEFORE 819: FAMILY CHAPEL DEDICATED TO ST. ILARIO

Proportional ratio of ducal-owned ecclesiastical buildings according to W. Dorigo

RATIO (w*h)	Width	Height
RATIO 1:1	15	15
RATIO 5:4	18,75	15
RATIO 6:5	18	15

Baseline measure: m. 15 (height)
 Roman feet: 48

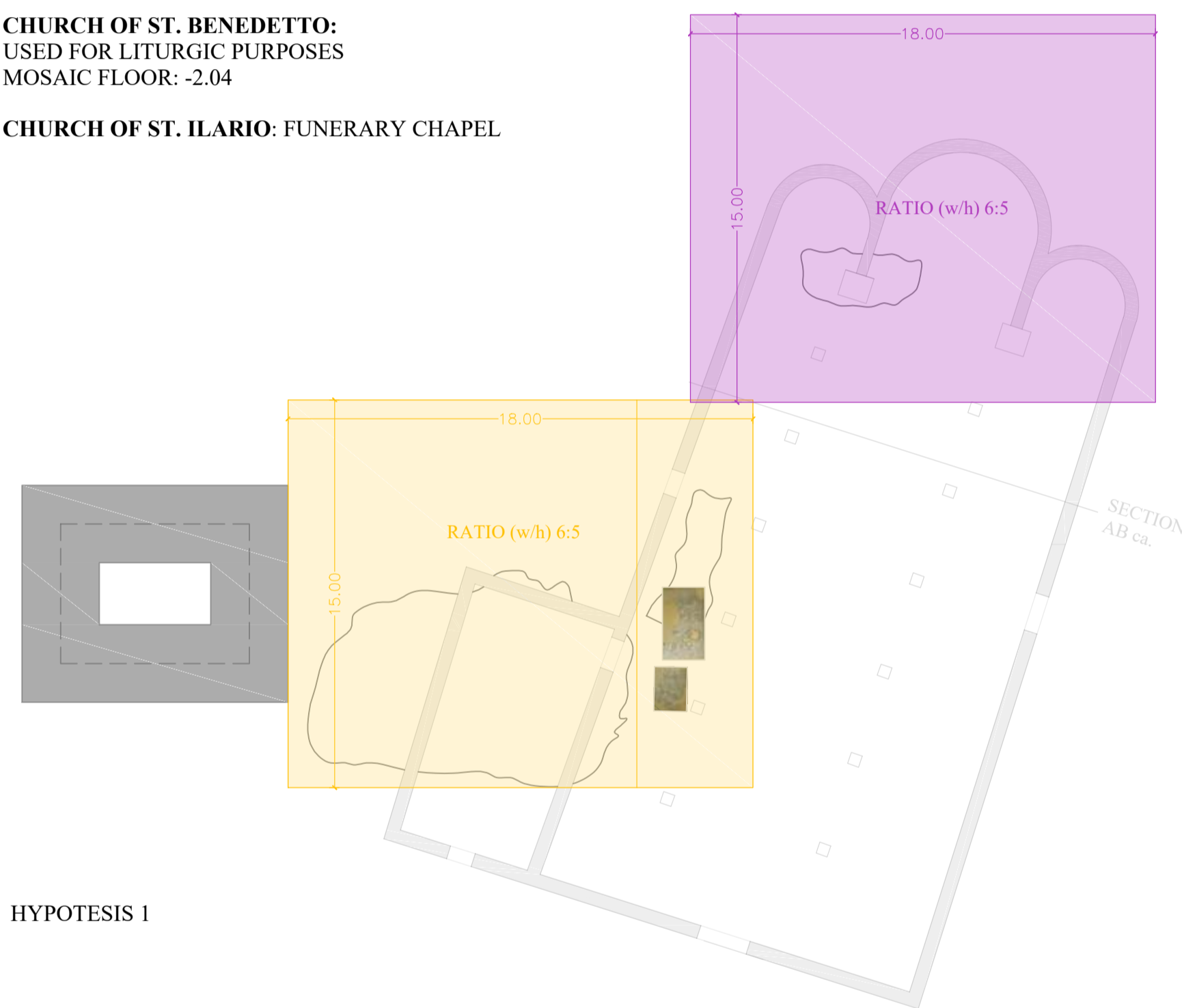


MOSAIC FLOOR: -2.185
 MOSAIC FLOOR PRESBITERY: -2.04
 TOWER EDIFICATION

3a) 819-883-XIIc.: CHURCHES OF ST. ILARIO AND ST. BENEDETTO

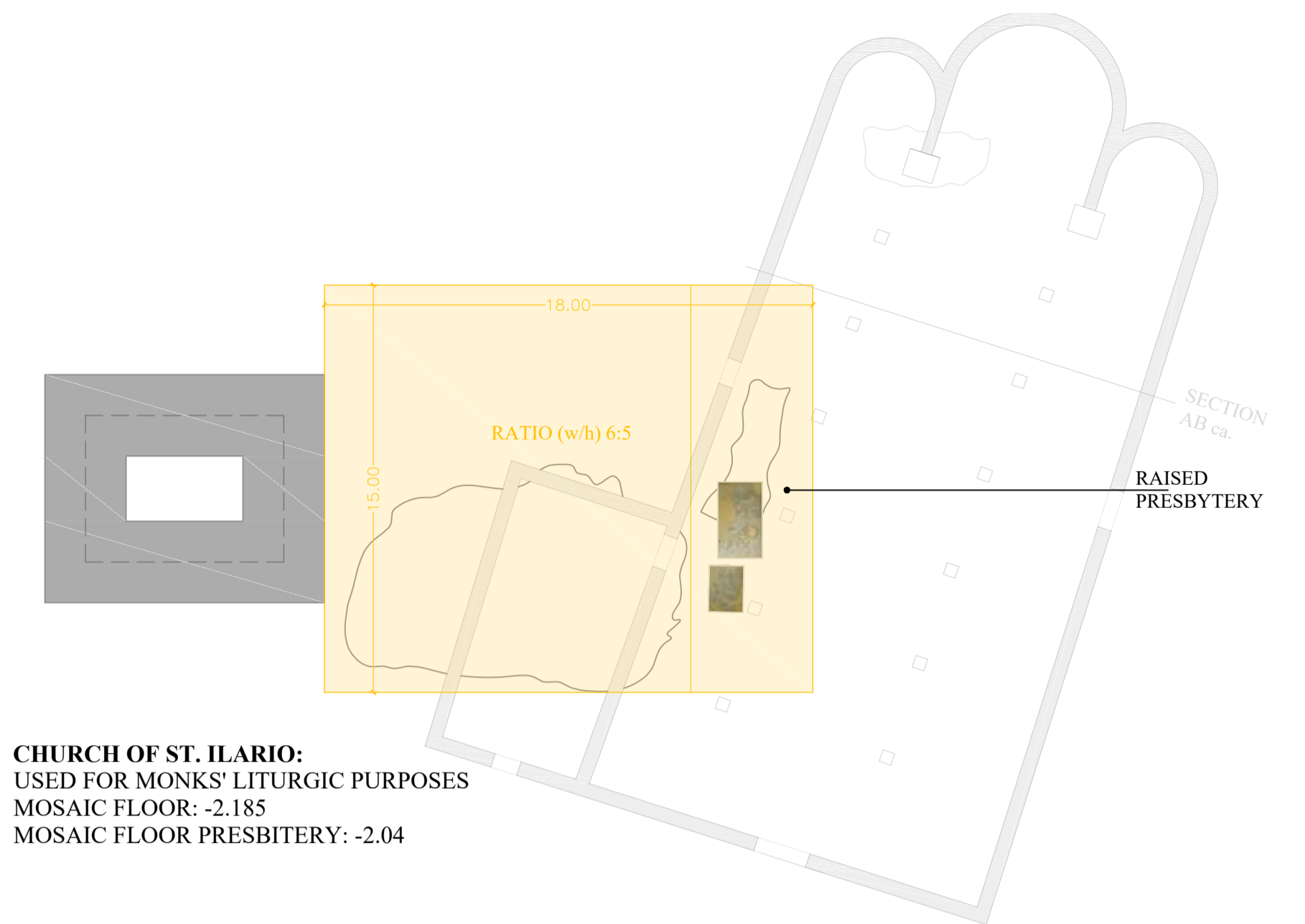
CHURCH OF ST. BENEDETTO:
 USED FOR LITURGIC PURPOSES
 MOSAIC FLOOR: -2.04

CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO: FUNERARY CHAPEL



HYPOTESIS 1

2) AFTER MONKS' ARRIVAL (819): BUILDINGS EXPANSION



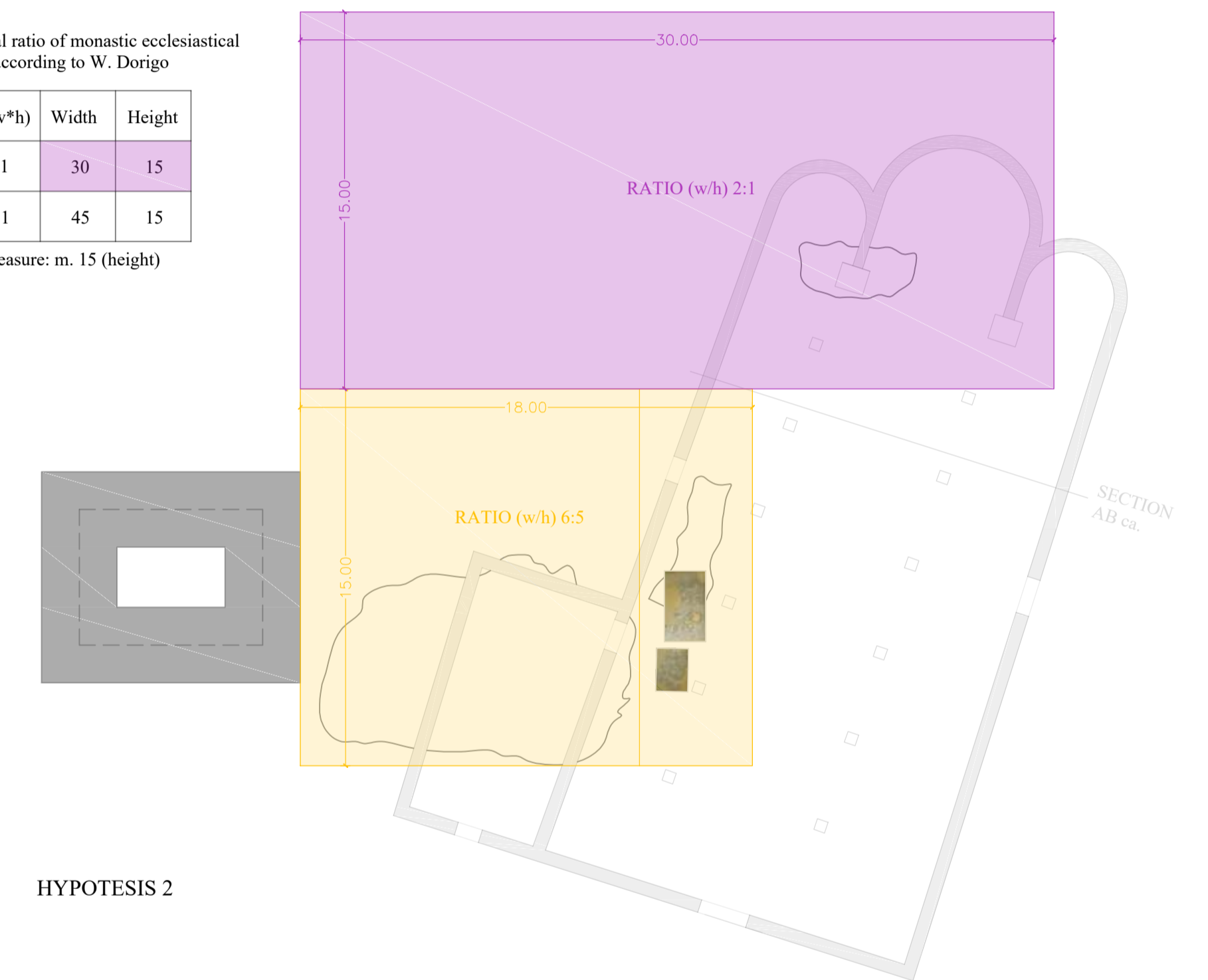
CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO:
 USED FOR MONKS' LITURGIC PURPOSES
 MOSAIC FLOOR: -2.185
 MOSAIC FLOOR PRESBITERY: -2.04

3b) 819-883-XIIc.: CHURCHES OF ST. ILARIO AND ST. BENEDETTO

Proportional ratio of monastic ecclesiastical buildings according to W. Dorigo

RATIO (w*h)	Width	Height
RATIO 2:1	30	15
RATIO 3:1	45	15

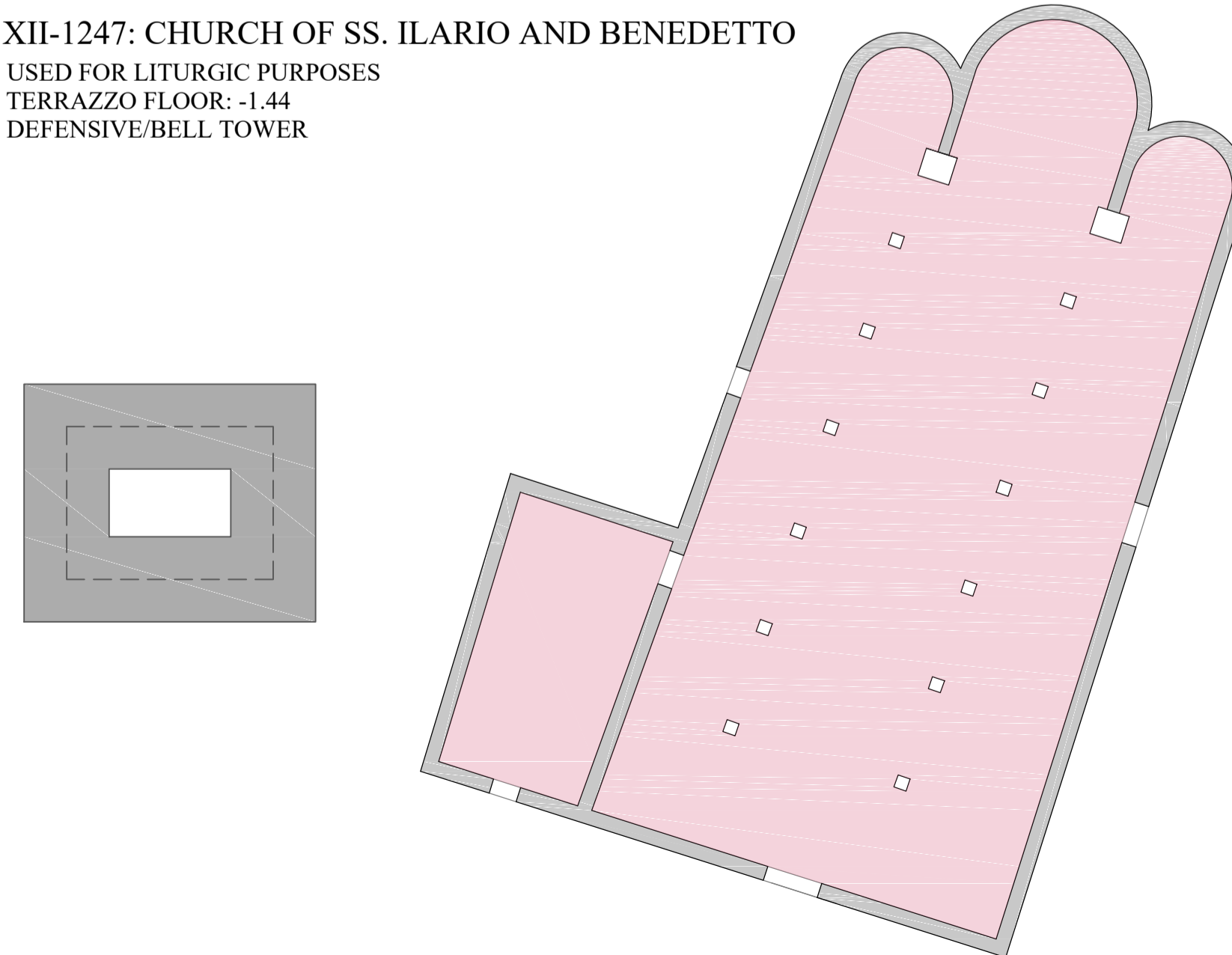
Baseline measure: m. 15 (height)



HYPOTESIS 2

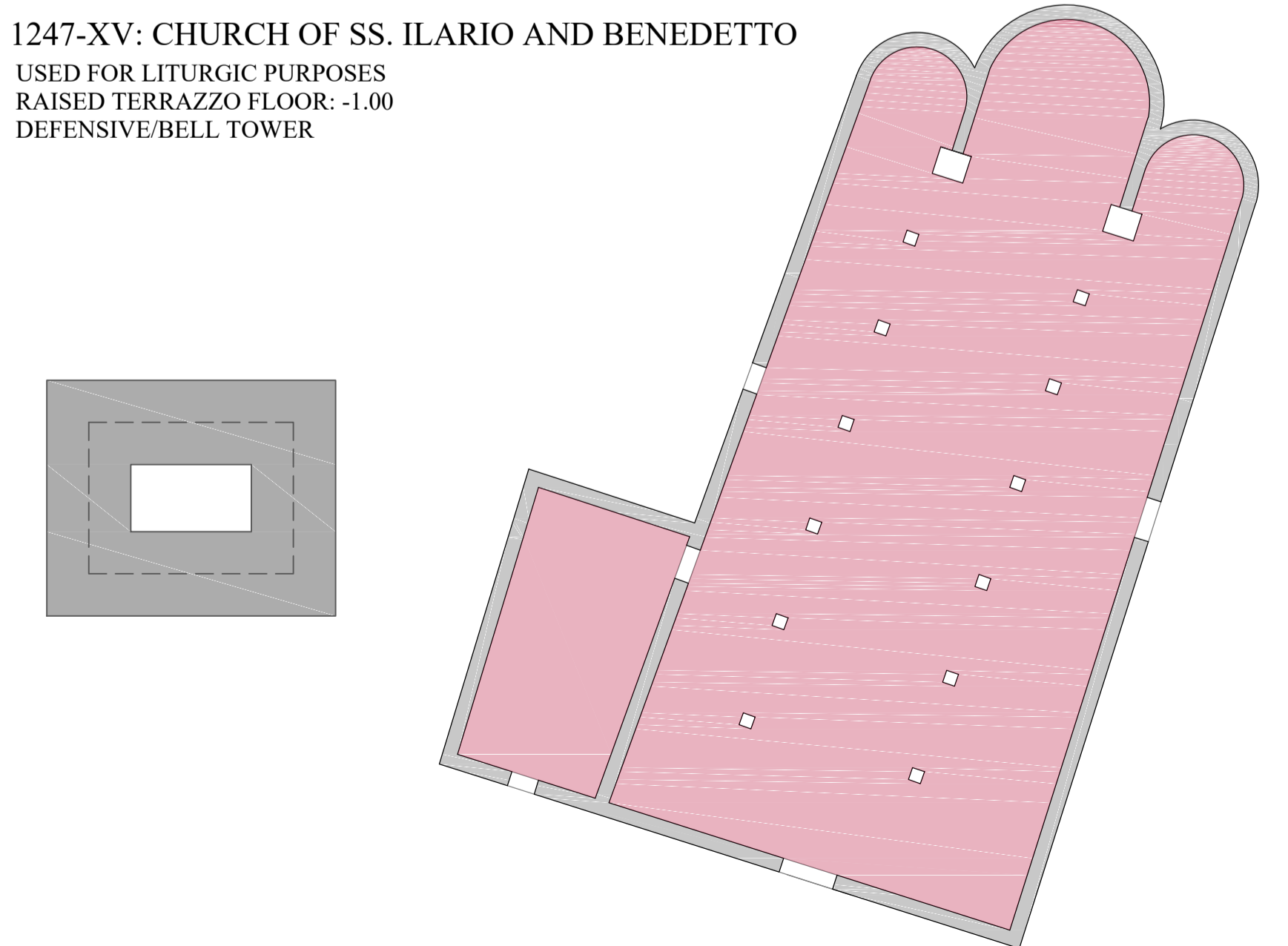
4) XII-1247: CHURCH OF SS. ILARIO AND BENEDETTO

USED FOR LITURGIC PURPOSES
 TERRAZZO FLOOR: -1.44
 DEFENSIVE/BELL TOWER

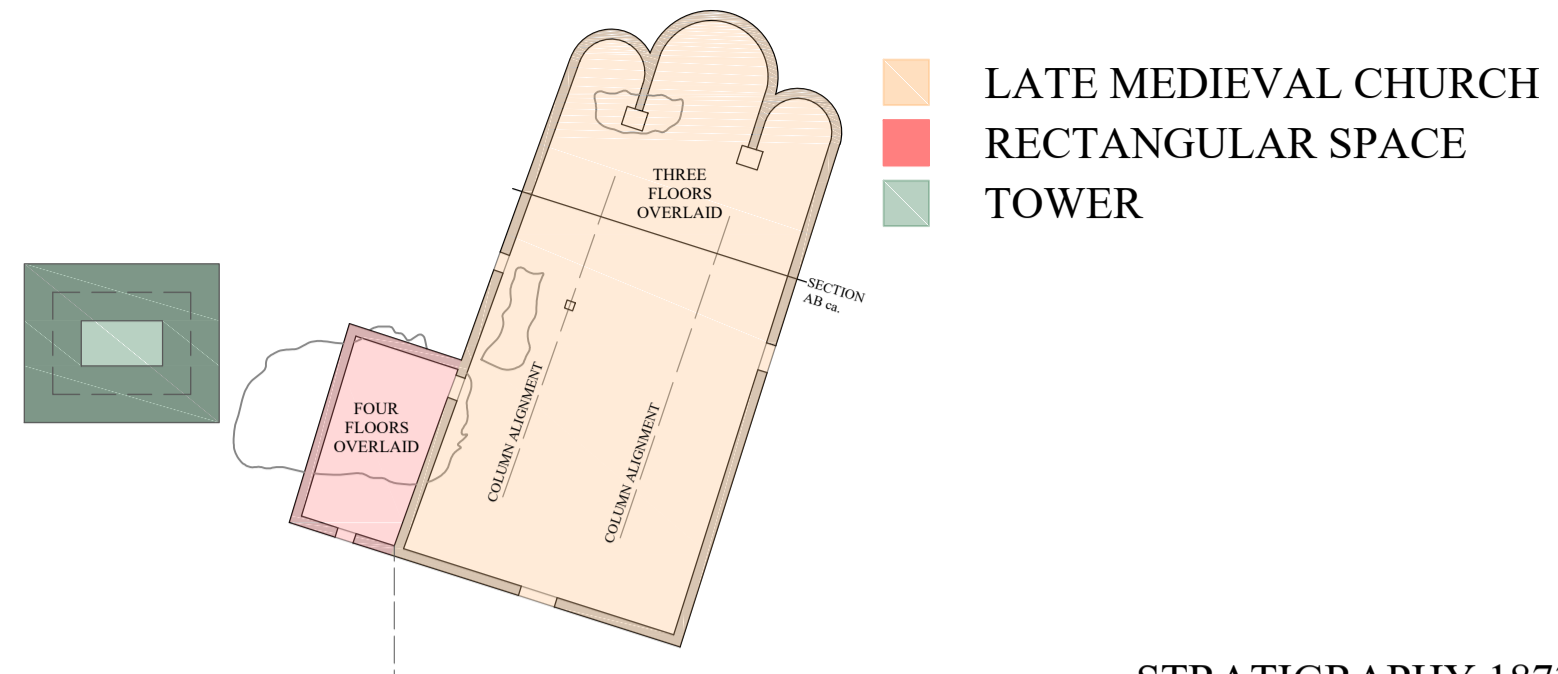


5) 1247-XV: CHURCH OF SS. ILARIO AND BENEDETTO

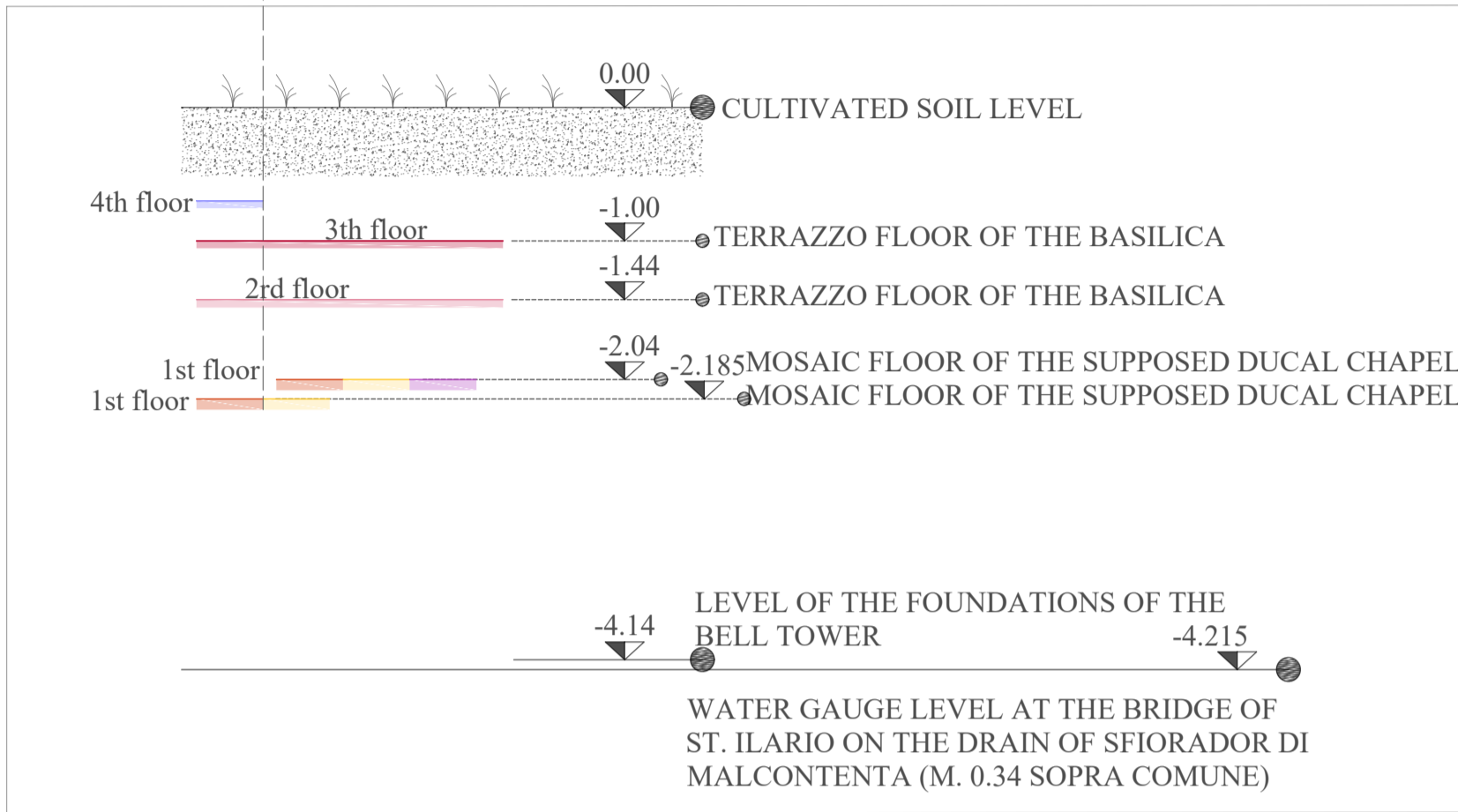
USED FOR LITURGIC PURPOSES
 RAISED TERRAZZO FLOOR: -1.00
 DEFENSIVE/BELL TOWER



'STATE OF FACTS' BY 25 APRIL 1874 SCALE 1:400



STRATIGRAPHY 1873 SCALE 1:50

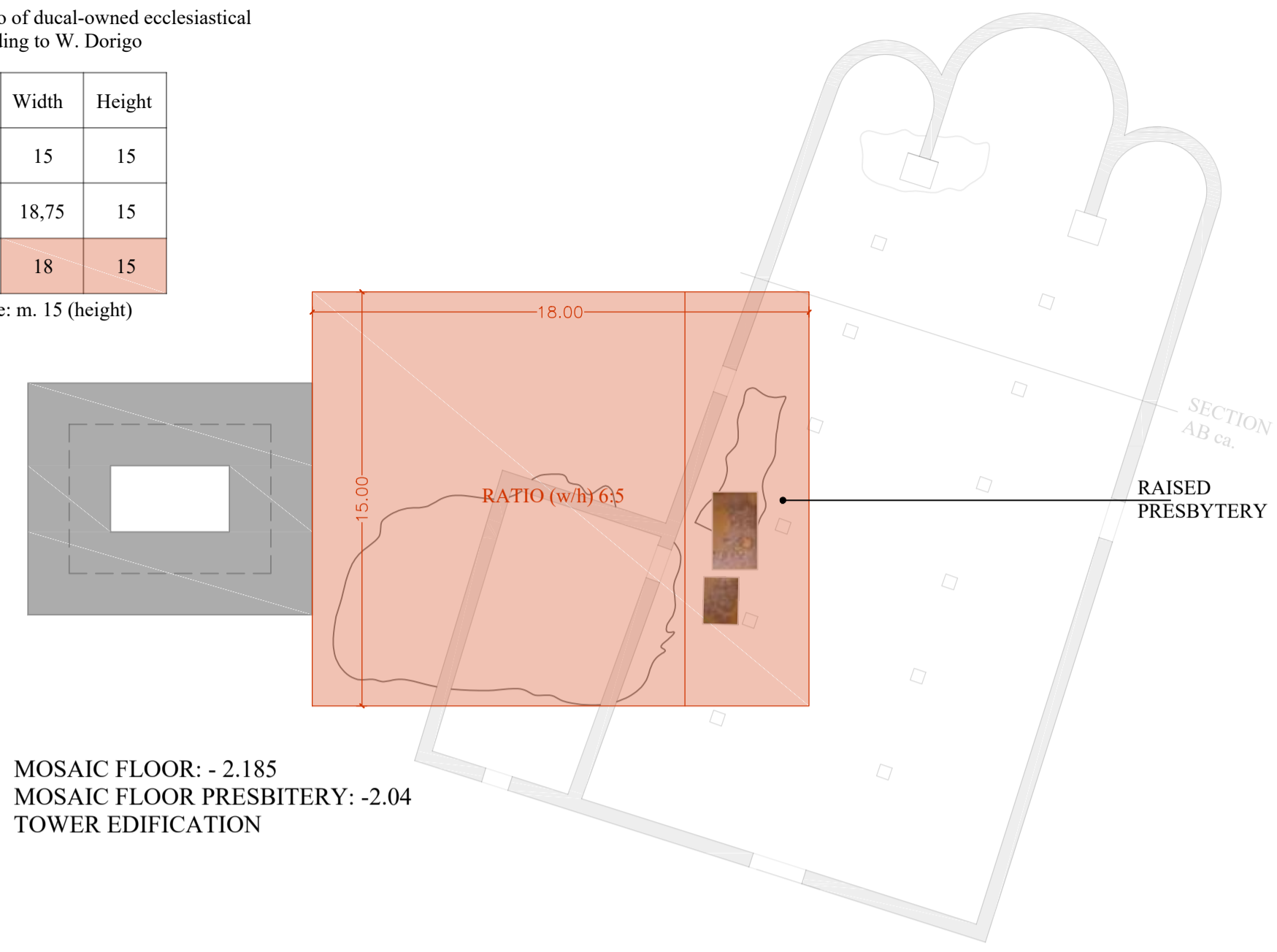


1) BEFORE 819: FAMILY CHAPEL DEDICATED TO ST. ILARIO

Proportional ratio of ducal-owned ecclesiastical buildings according to W. Dorigo

RATIO (w*h)	Width	Height
RATIO 1:1	15	15
RATIO 5:4	18,75	15
RATIO 6:5	18	15

Baseline measure: m. 15 (height)
Roman feet: 48

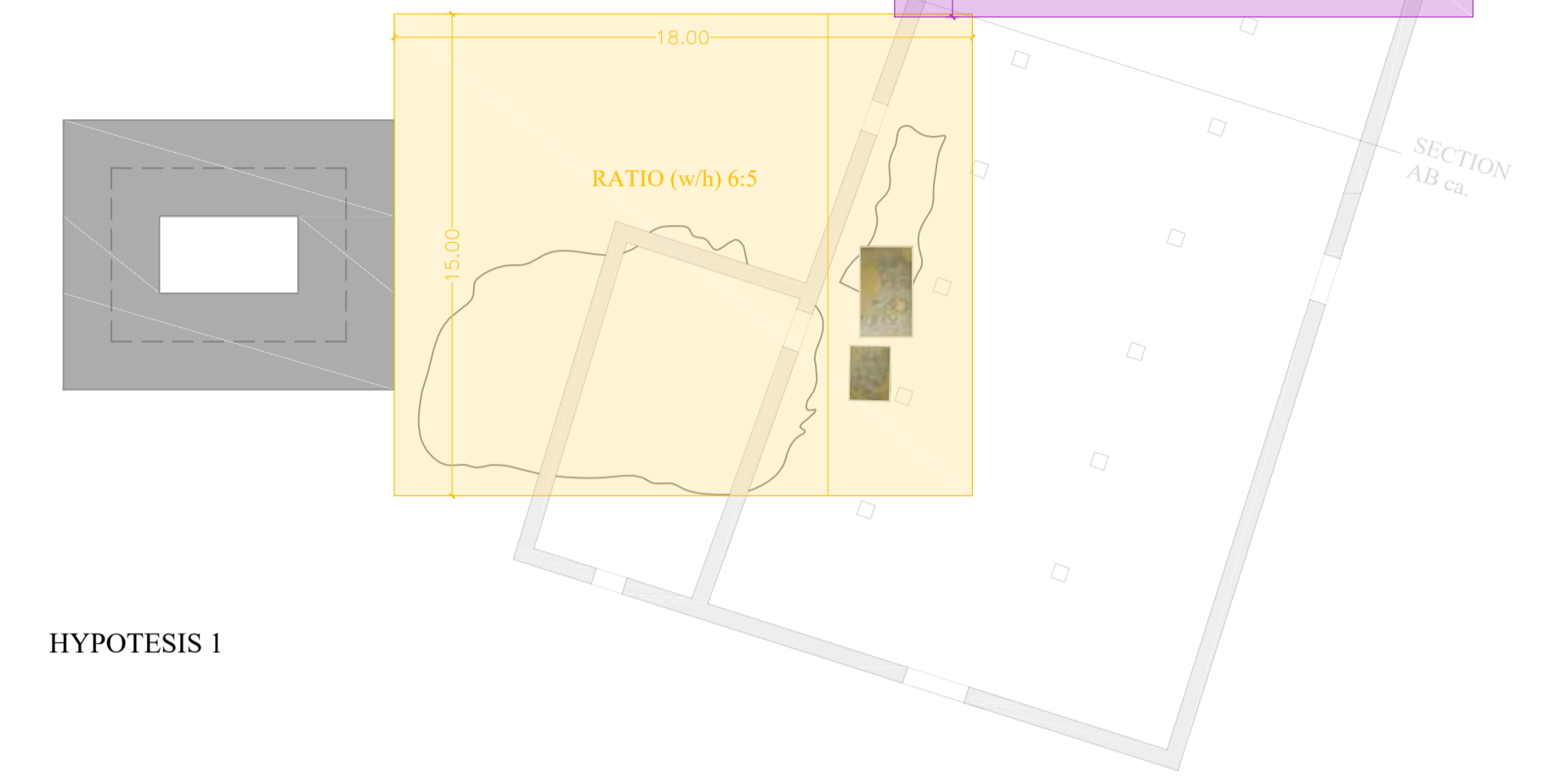


MOSAIC FLOOR: - 2.185
MOSAIC FLOOR PRESBITERY: -2.04
TOWER EDIFICATION

2-3a) AFTER MONKS' ARRIVAL (819-883-XIIc.): CHURCHES OF ST. ILARIO AND ST. BENEDETTO

CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO:
USED AT THE BEGINNINGS FOR MONKS' LITURGIC PURPOSES
MOSAIC FLOOR: -2.185
MOSAIC FLOOR PRESBITERY: -2.04

CHURCH OF ST. BENEDETTO:
USED LATER FOR LITURGIC PURPOSES
MOSAIC FLOOR: -2.04
CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO: FUNERARY CHAPEL



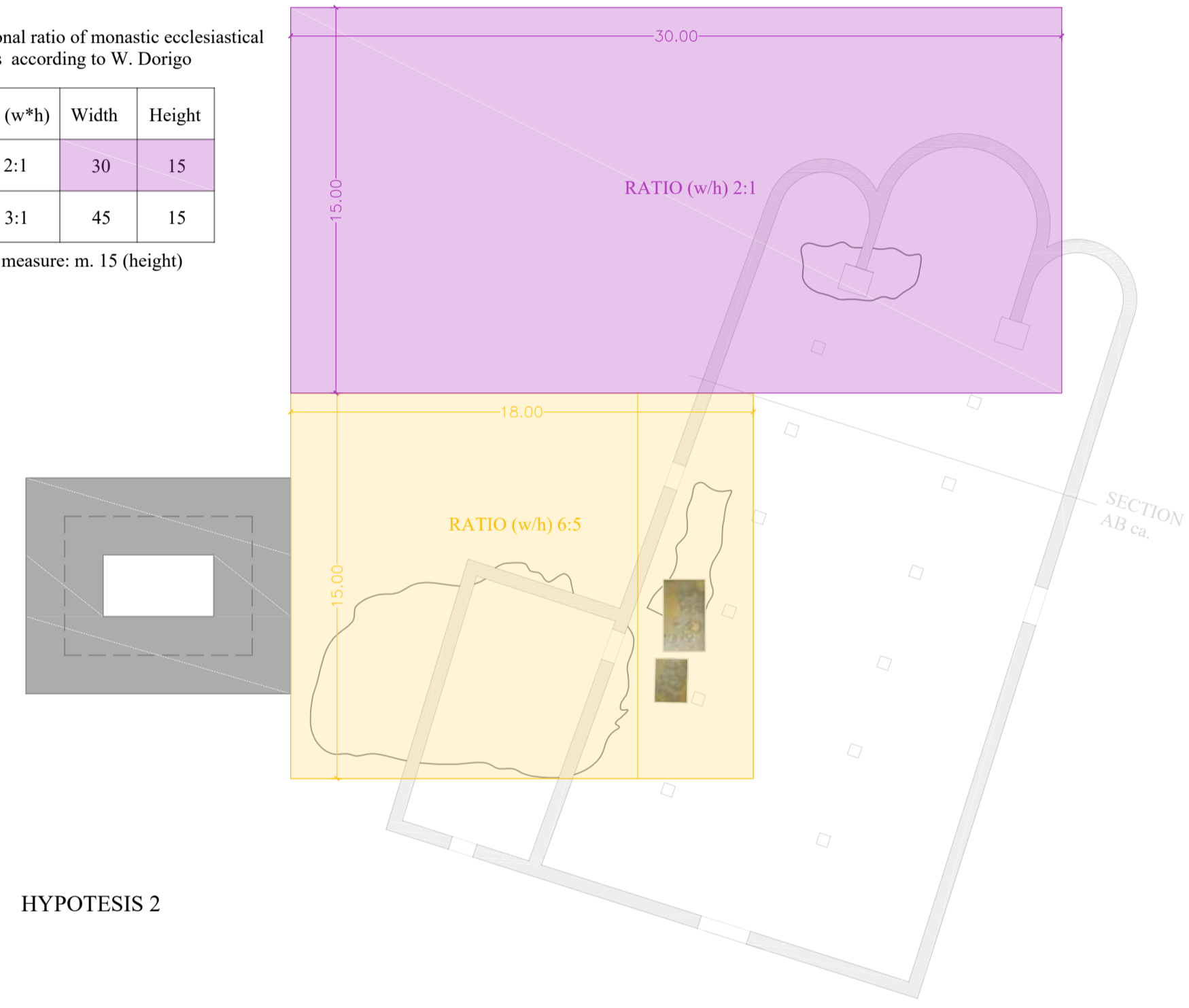
HYPOTESIS 1

3b) 819-883-XIIc.: CHURCHES OF ST. ILARIO AND ST. BENEDETTO

Proportional ratio of monastic ecclesiastical buildings according to W. Dorigo

RATIO (w*h)	Width	Height
RATIO 2:1	30	15
RATIO 3:1	45	15

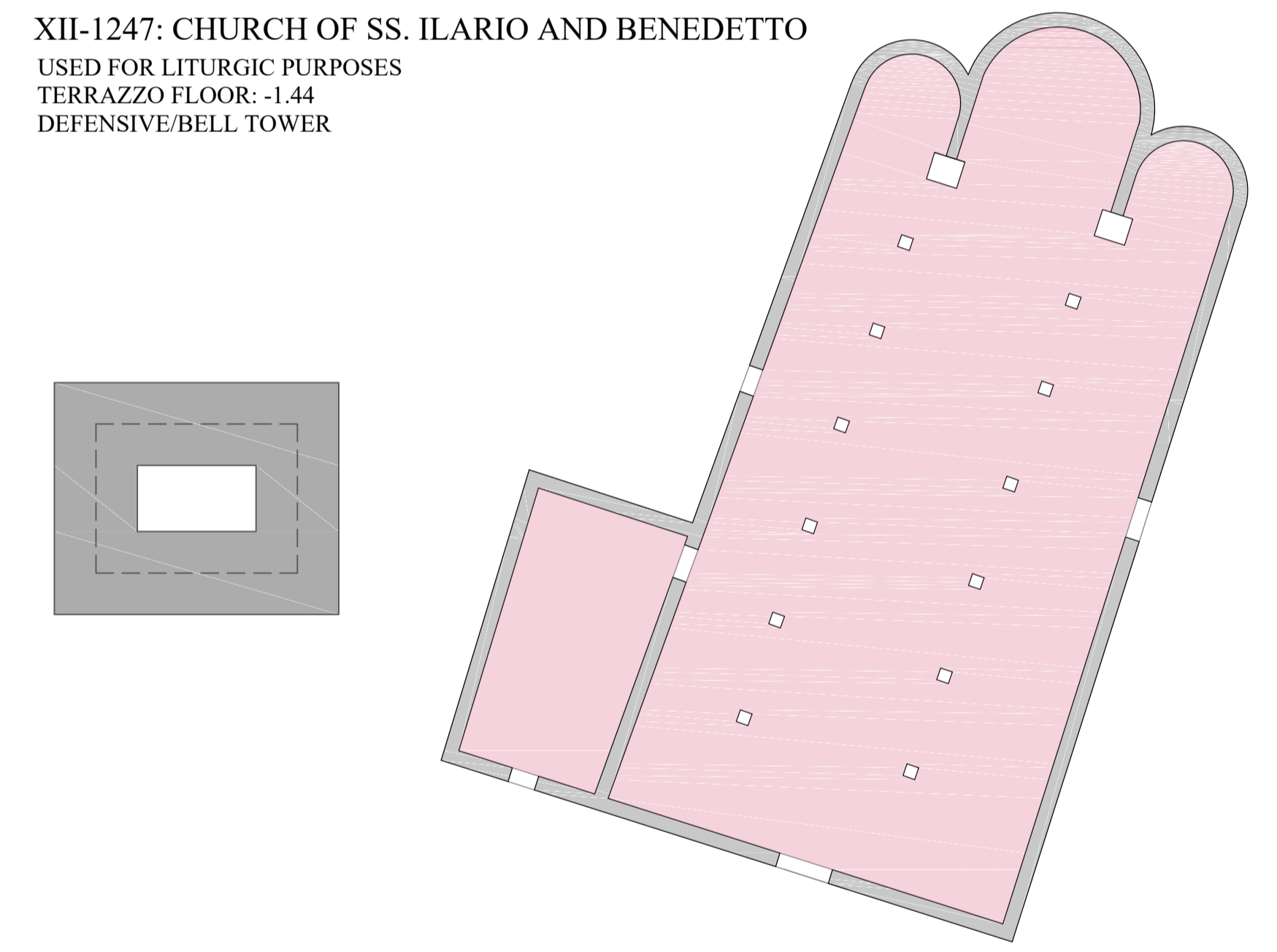
Baseline measure: m. 15 (height)



HYPOTESIS 2

4) XII-1247: CHURCH OF SS. ILARIO AND BENEDETTO

USED FOR LITURGIC PURPOSES
TERRAZZO FLOOR: -1.44
DEFENSIVE/BELL TOWER

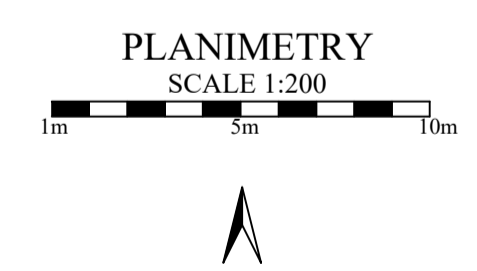


ECCLESIASTIC BUILDINGS EXTENSIONS AND EVOLUTION OVER THE CENTURIES (IX-XV)

BASED ON ROYAL INSPECTORS' DISPATCHES (1881-1885), ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEYS, SOURCES AND COMPARISONS

HYPOTHESIS 3

3 FLOOR LEVELS IN THE CHAPEL WITH A RAISED PRESBYTERY
4TH FLOOR RAISED DURING NAPOLEONIC AGE

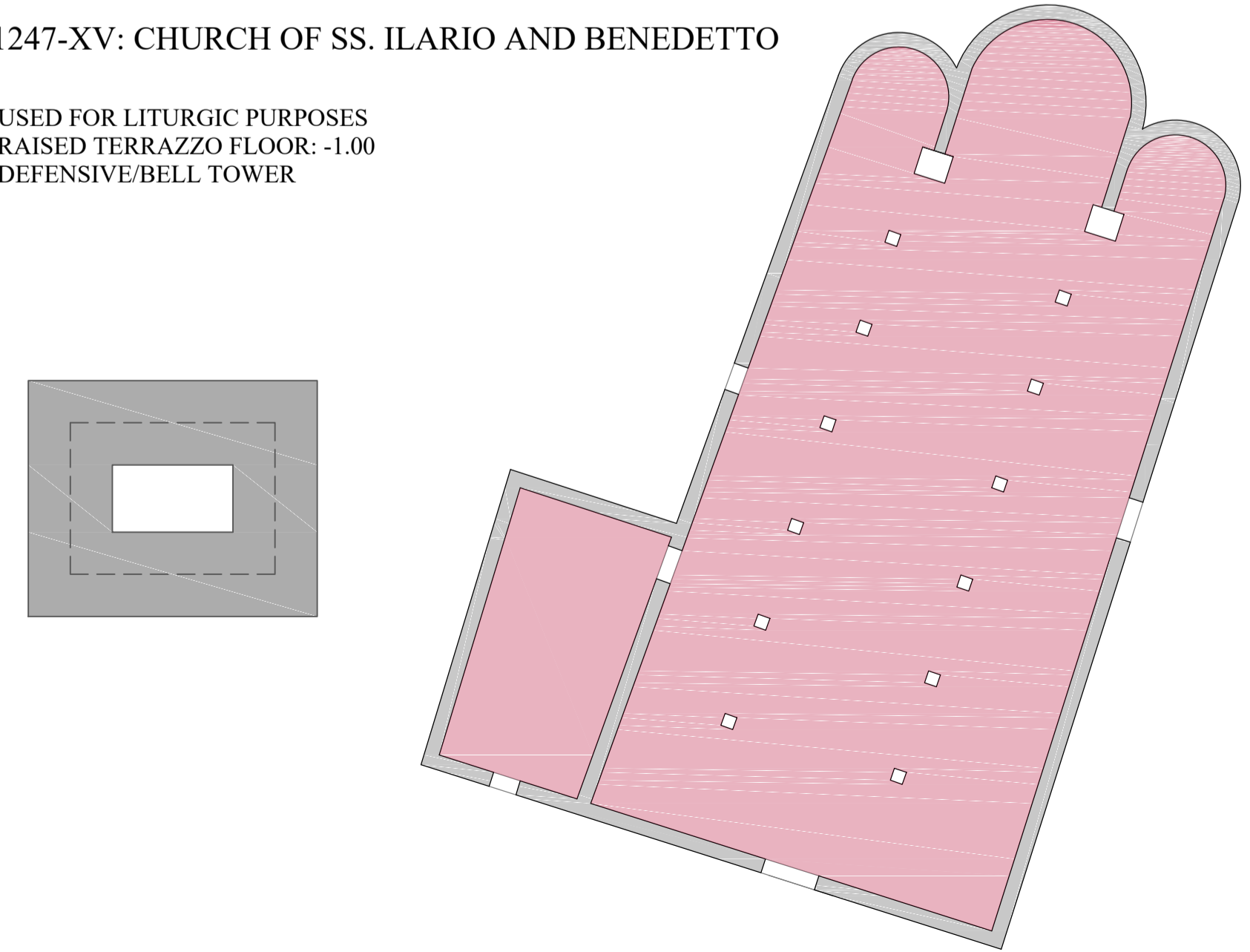


LEGEND
GRAYSCALE: EXACT STRUCTURES
COLORED ELEMENTS: SIMULATIONS

- WALLS
- TOWER FOUNDATIONS
- COLUMN BASES
- MOSAICS
- CHAPEL OF ST. ILARIO
- CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO
- CHURCH OF ST. BENEDETTO
- CHURCH OF SS. ILARIO AND BENEDETTO (TERRAZZO FLOOR)
- CHURCH OF SS. ILARIO AND BENEDETTO (RAISED TERRAZZO FLOOR)
- CHURCH OF SS. ILARIO AND BENEDETTO (4TH FLOOR)

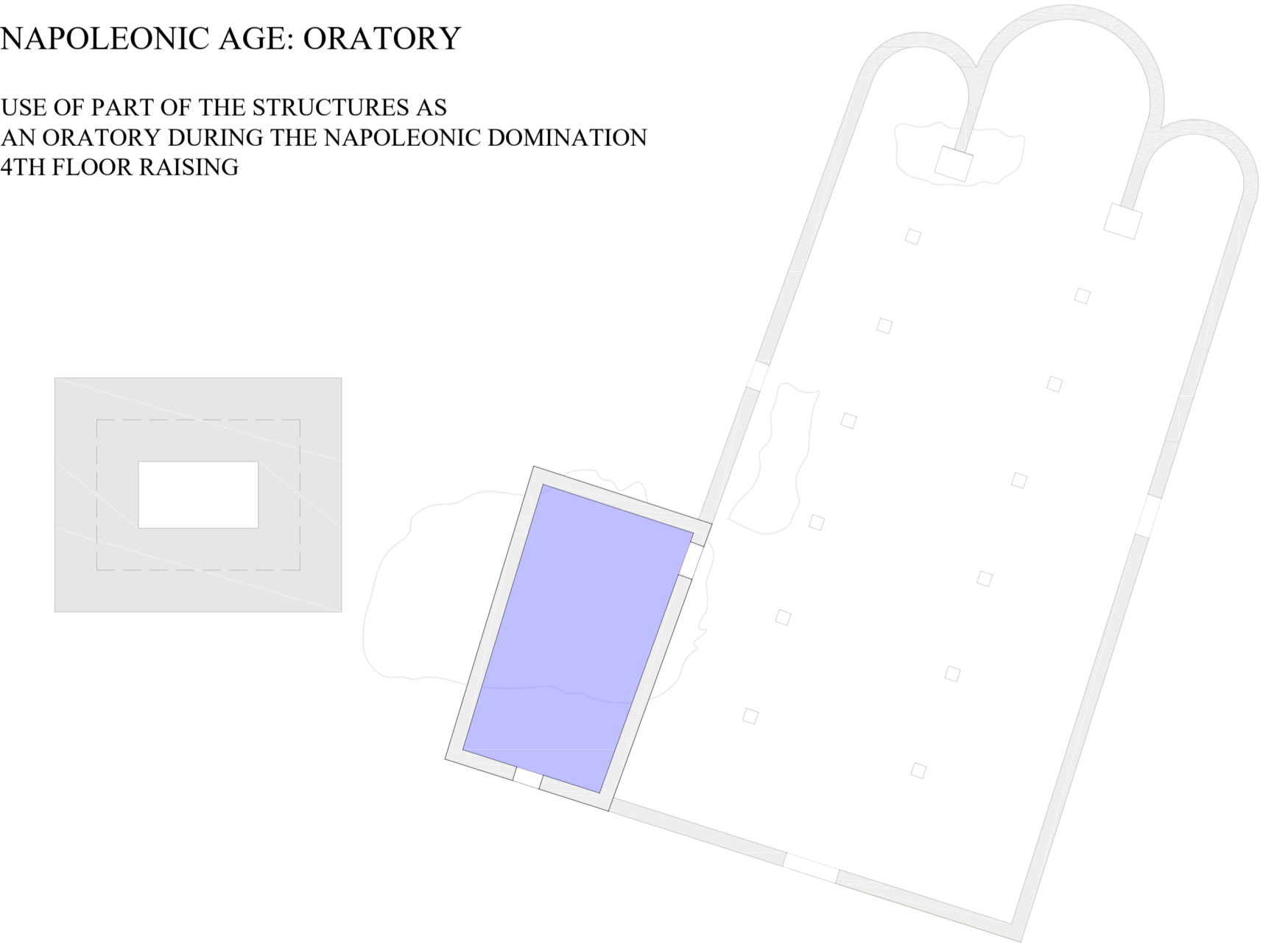
5) 1247-XV: CHURCH OF SS. ILARIO AND BENEDETTO

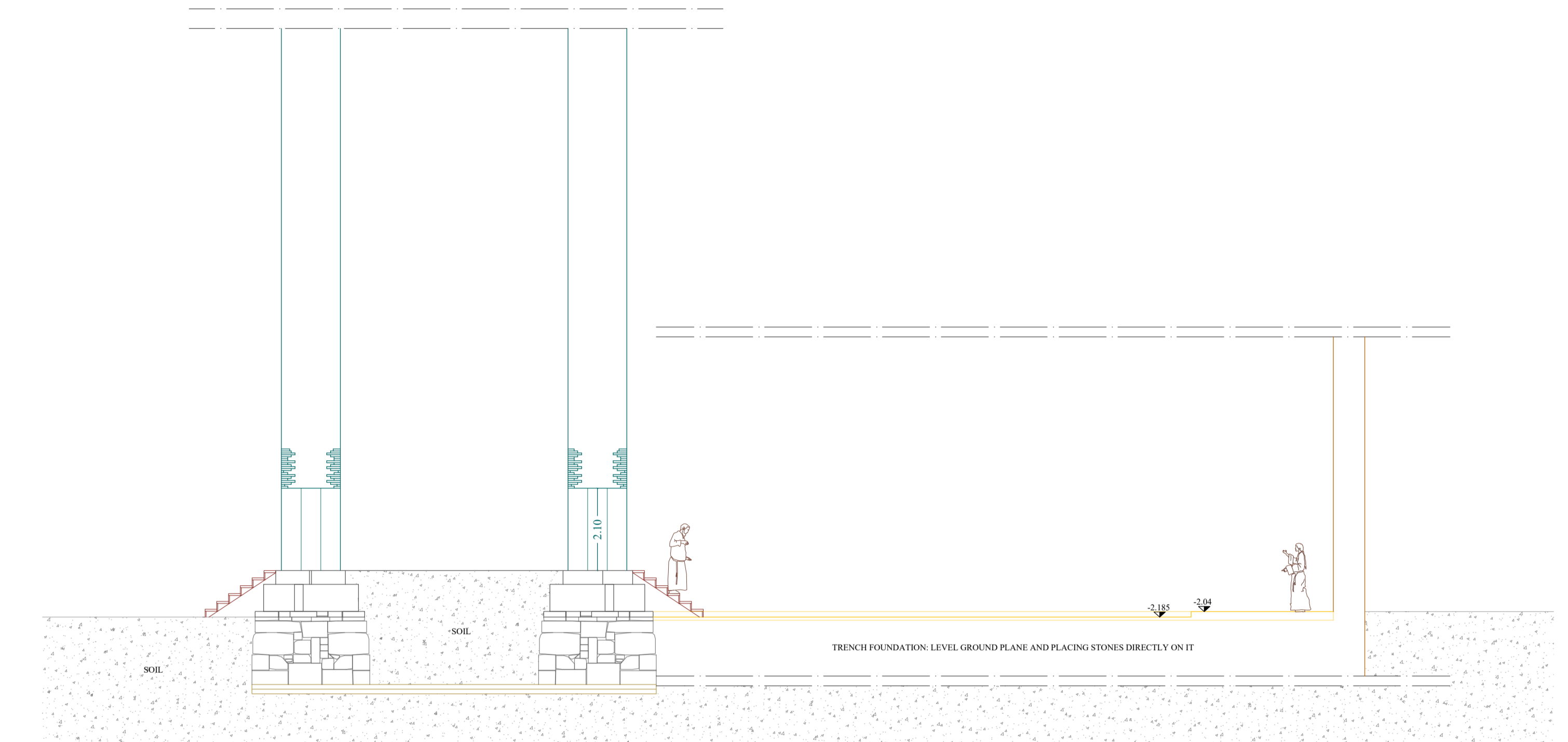
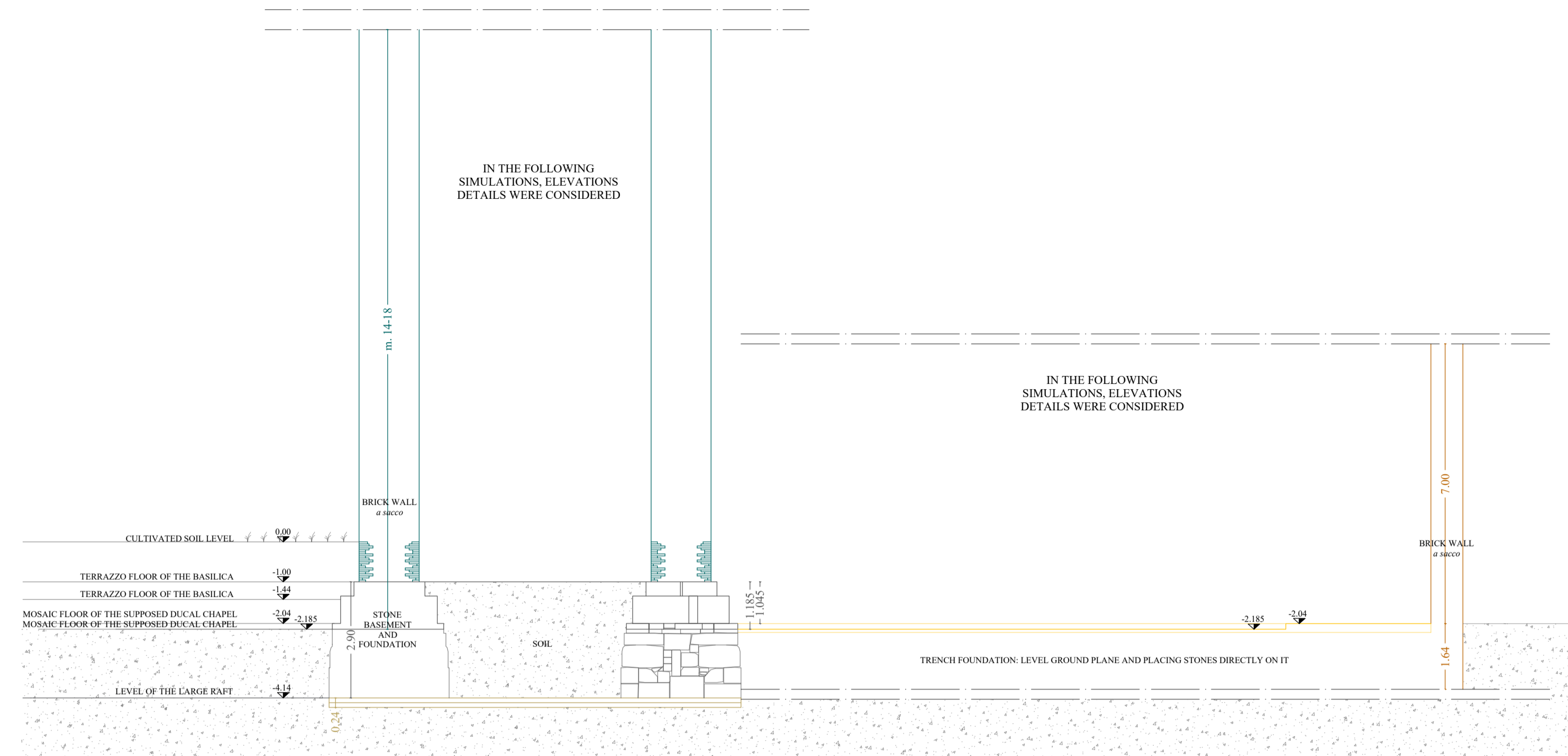
USED FOR LITURGIC PURPOSES
RAISED TERRAZZO FLOOR: -1.00
DEFENSIVE/BELL TOWER



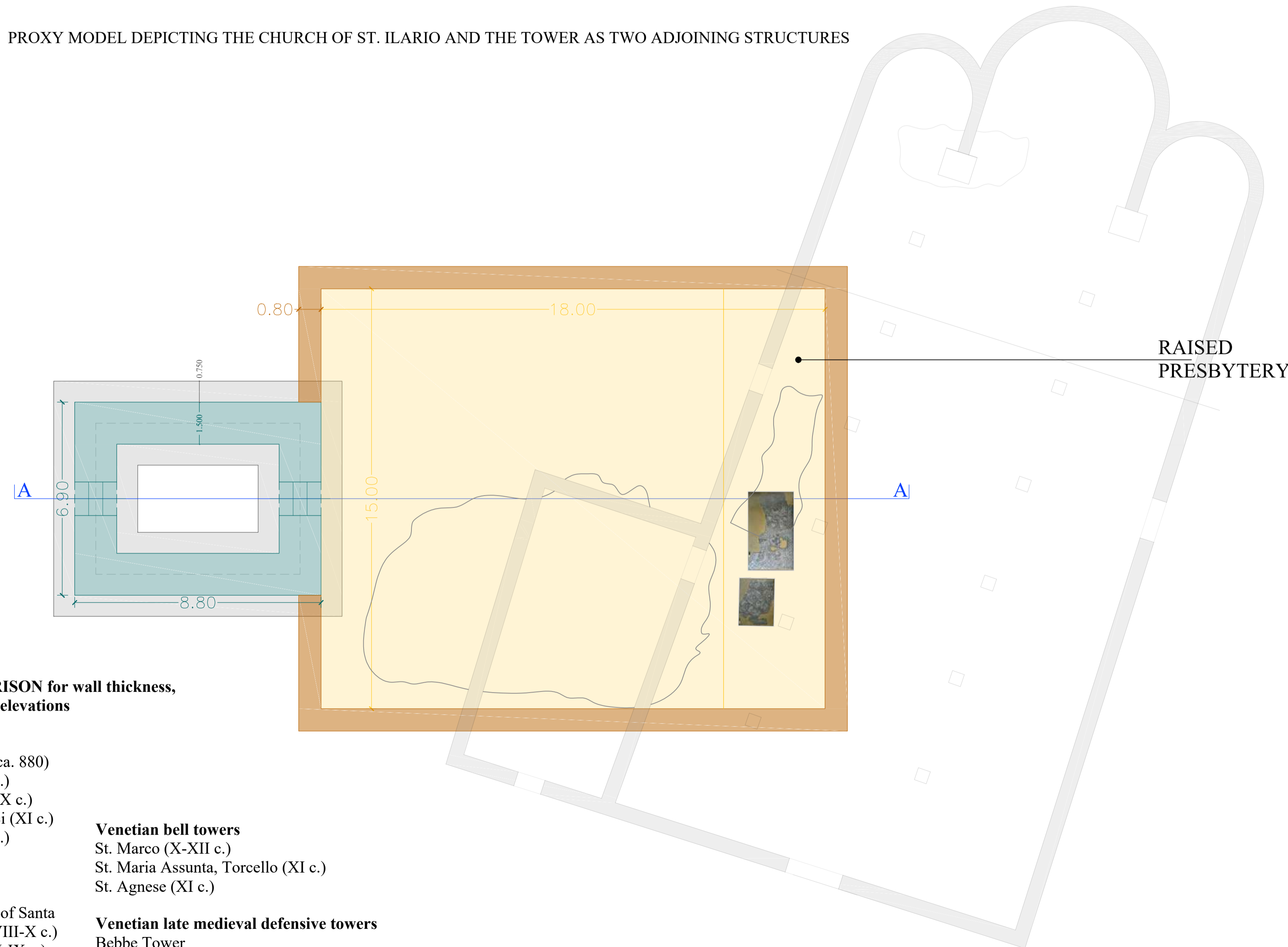
6) NAPOLEONIC AGE: ORATORY

USE OF PART OF THE STRUCTURES AS AN ORATORY DURING THE NAPOLEONIC DOMINATION
4TH FLOOR RAISING

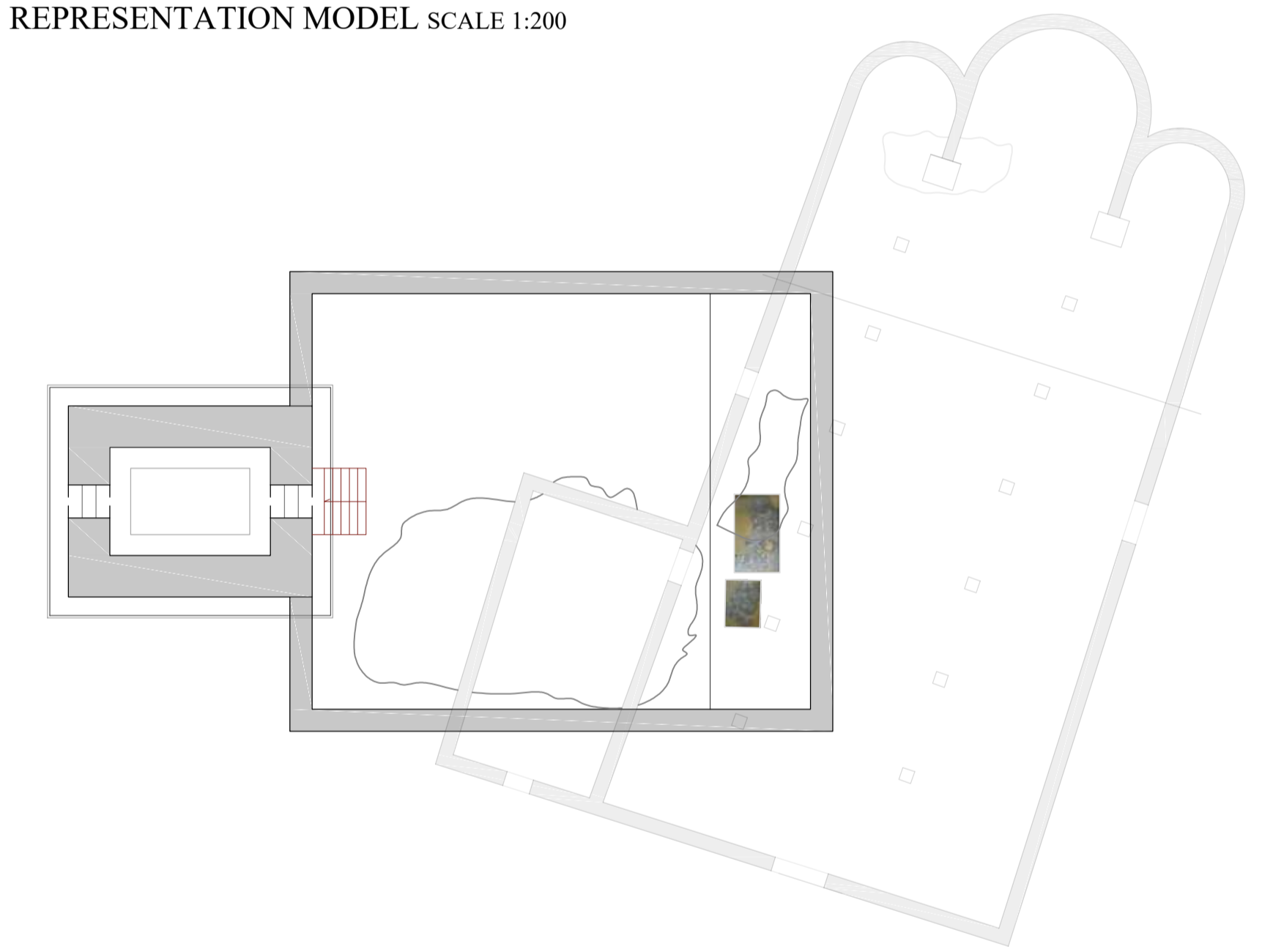




PROXY MODEL DEPICTING THE CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO AND THE TOWER AS TWO ADJOINING STRUCTURES



REPRESENTATION MODEL SCALE 1:200



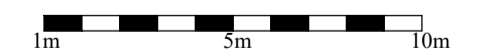
EARLY MEDIEVAL *TOUR-PORCHE* ON THE FAÇADE (IX-XIIc.)

BASED ON EARLY (AND LATE) MEDIEVAL COMPARISONS

HYPOTHESIS 1

- TOWER WALL AT THE CENTER OF TRAPEZOIDAL FOUNDATIONS
- DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TOWER AND CHURCH PLANKING LEVELS
- ACCESS TO THE TOWER BY A WOODEN STAIRCASE
- THICKNESS OF THE TOWER WALLS: 1.5 METERS

PLANIMETRY AND ELEVATIONS
SCALE 1:100



LEGEND

GRAYSCALE: EXACT STRUCTURES
COLORED ELEMENTS: SIMULATIONS

- WALLS
- TOWER FOUNDATIONS
- OPENINGS
- MOSAICS
- CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO (819)
- CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO: WALLS
- TOWER
- WOODEN STAIRS
- LARGE RAFT

TERMS OF COMPARISON for wall thickness, building material, and elevations

Croatian churches

- S. Salvatore in Cettina (ca. 880)
- S. Lorenzo in Zara (IX c.)
- St. Etienne in Golubić (IX c.)
- St. Giovanni in Banjevici (XI c.)
- St. Vito in Dobrinj (XI c.)

Venetian bell towers

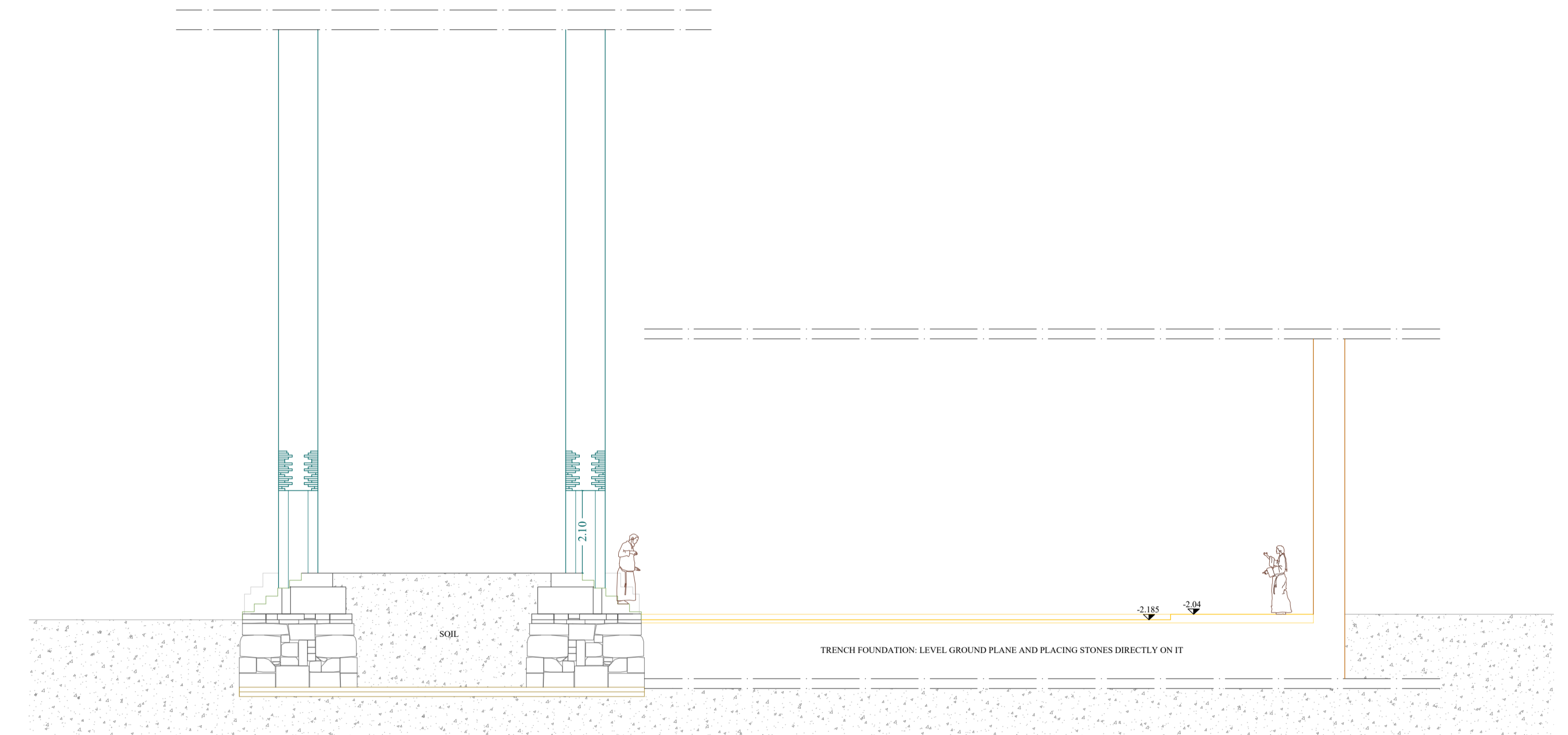
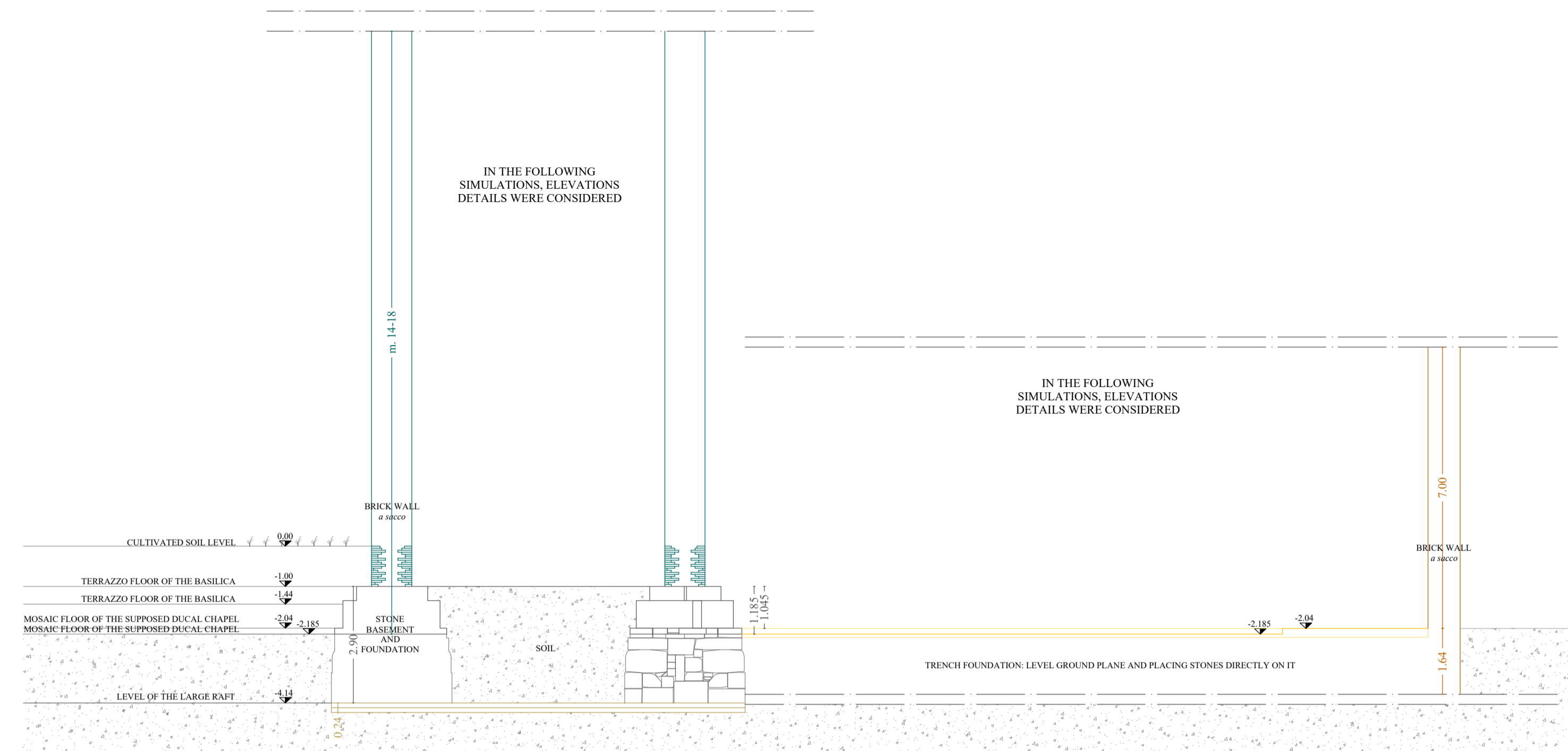
- St. Marco (X-XII c.)
- St. Maria Assunta, Torcello (XI c.)
- St. Agnese (XI c.)

Italic structures

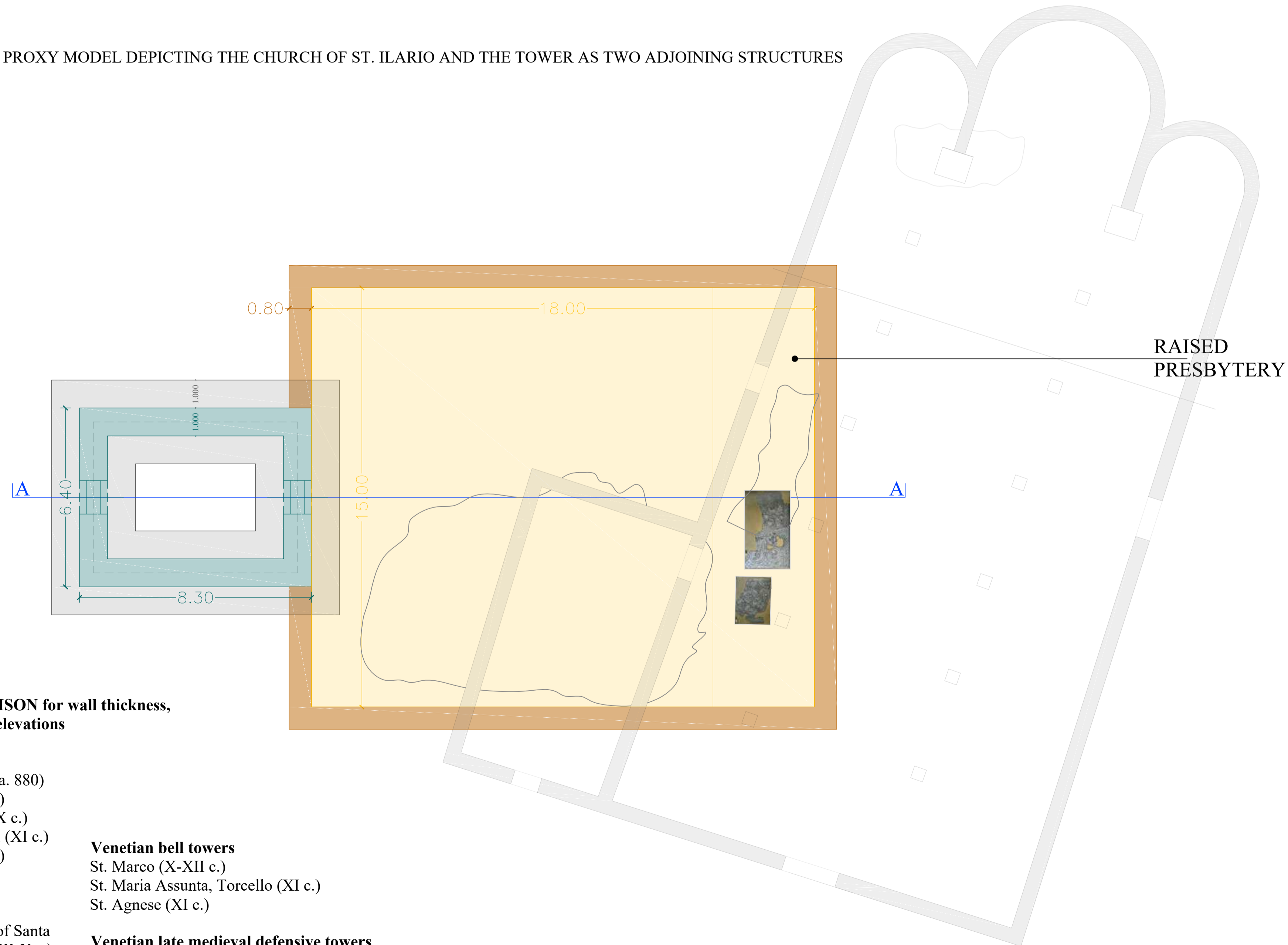
- Monselice Tower (VII)
- Tower of the monastery of Santa Maria Teodote, Pavia (VIII-X c.)
- Torba Tower (V-VI/VIII-IX c.)
- Farfa 'Torrione' (ca. IX c.)

Venetian late medieval defensive towers

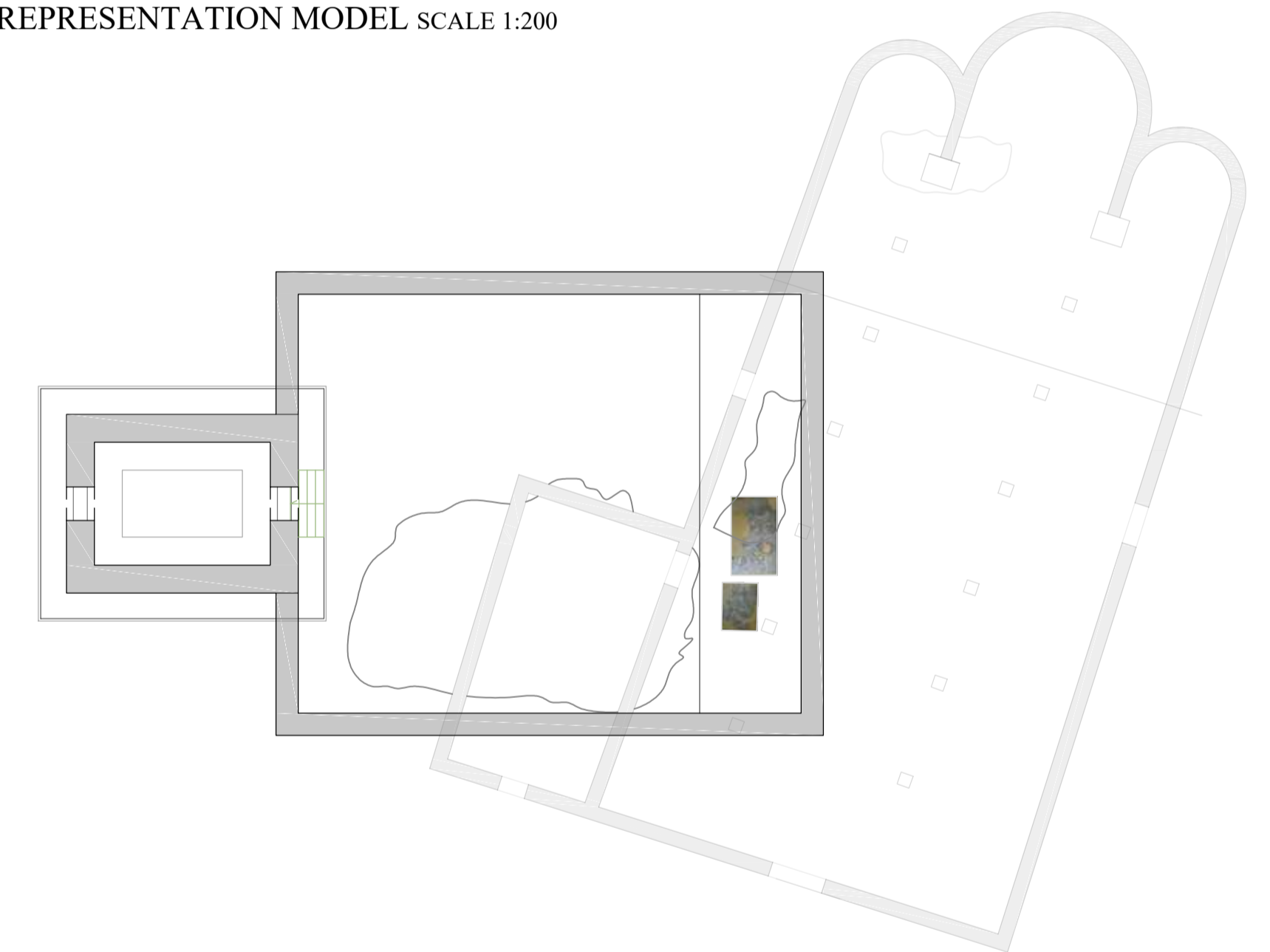
- Bebbe Tower
- Caligo Tower



PROXY MODEL DEPICTING THE CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO AND THE TOWER AS TWO ADJOINING STRUCTURES



REPRESENTATION MODEL SCALE 1:200



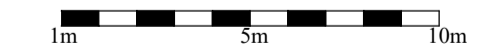
EARLY MEDIEVAL TOUR-PORCHE ON THE FAÇADE (IX-XIIc.)

BASED ON EARLY (AND LATE) MEDIEVAL COMPARISONS
HYPOTHESIS 2

TOWER WALL AT THE CENTER OF TRAPEZOIDAL FOUNDATIONS
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TOWER AND CHURCH PLANKING LEVELS
ACCESS TO THE TOWER BY A STONE STAIRCASE IN THE BASEMENT
THICKNESS OF THE TOWER WALLS: 1 METER

PLANIMETRY AND ELEVATIONS

SCALE 1:100



LEGEND

GRAYSCALE: EXACT STRUCTURES
COLORED ELEMENTS: SIMULATIONS

- WALLS
- TOWER FOUNDATIONS
- OPENINGS
- MOSAICS
- CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO (819)
- CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO: WALLS
- TOWER
- STONE STAIRS
- LARGE RAFT

TERMS OF COMPARISON for wall thickness, building material, and elevations

Croatian churches

- S. Salvatore in Cettina (ca. 880)
- S. Lorenzo in Zara (IX c.)
- St. Etienne in Golubić (IX c.)
- St. Giovanni in Banjevicci (XI c.)
- St. Vito in Dobrinj (XI c.)

Venetian bell towers

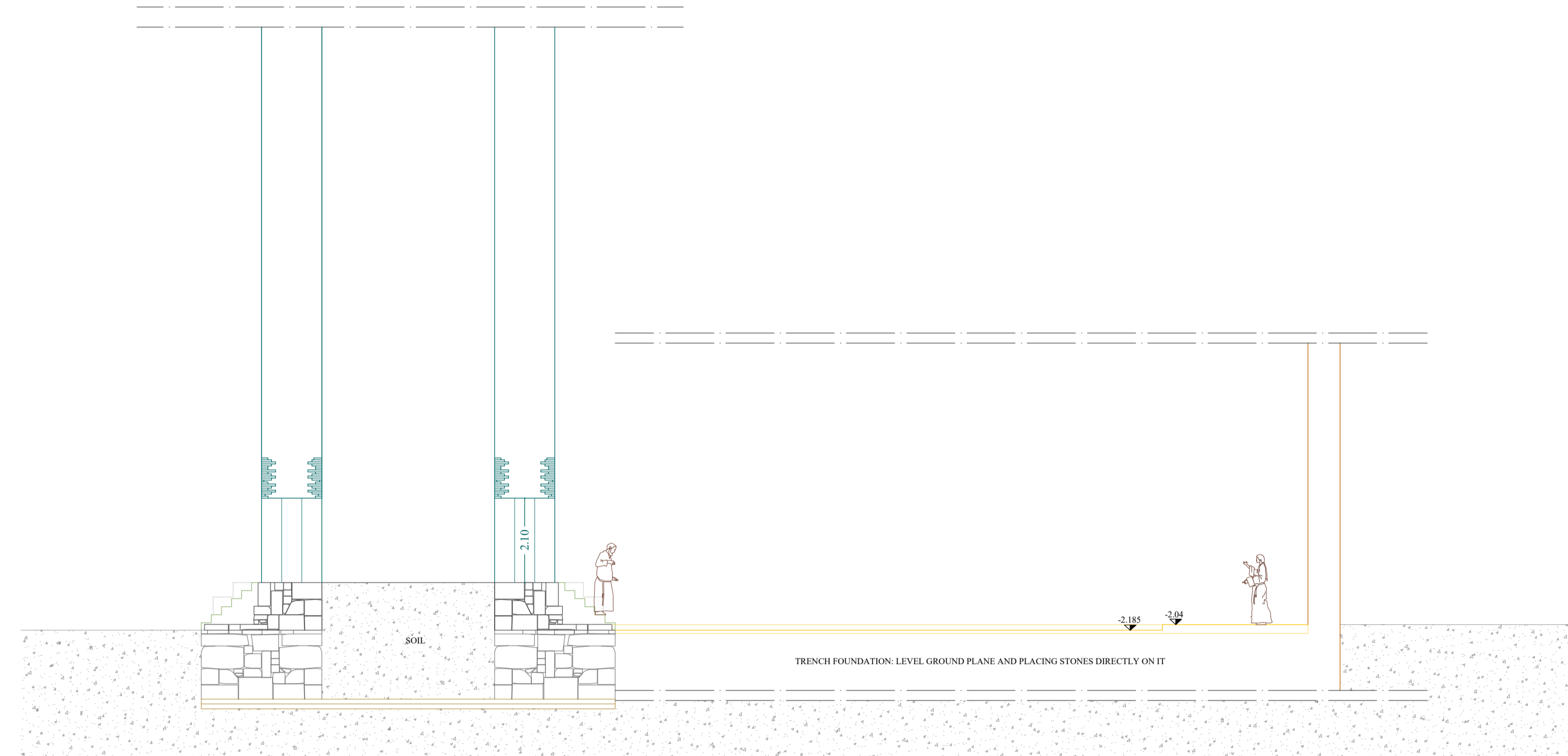
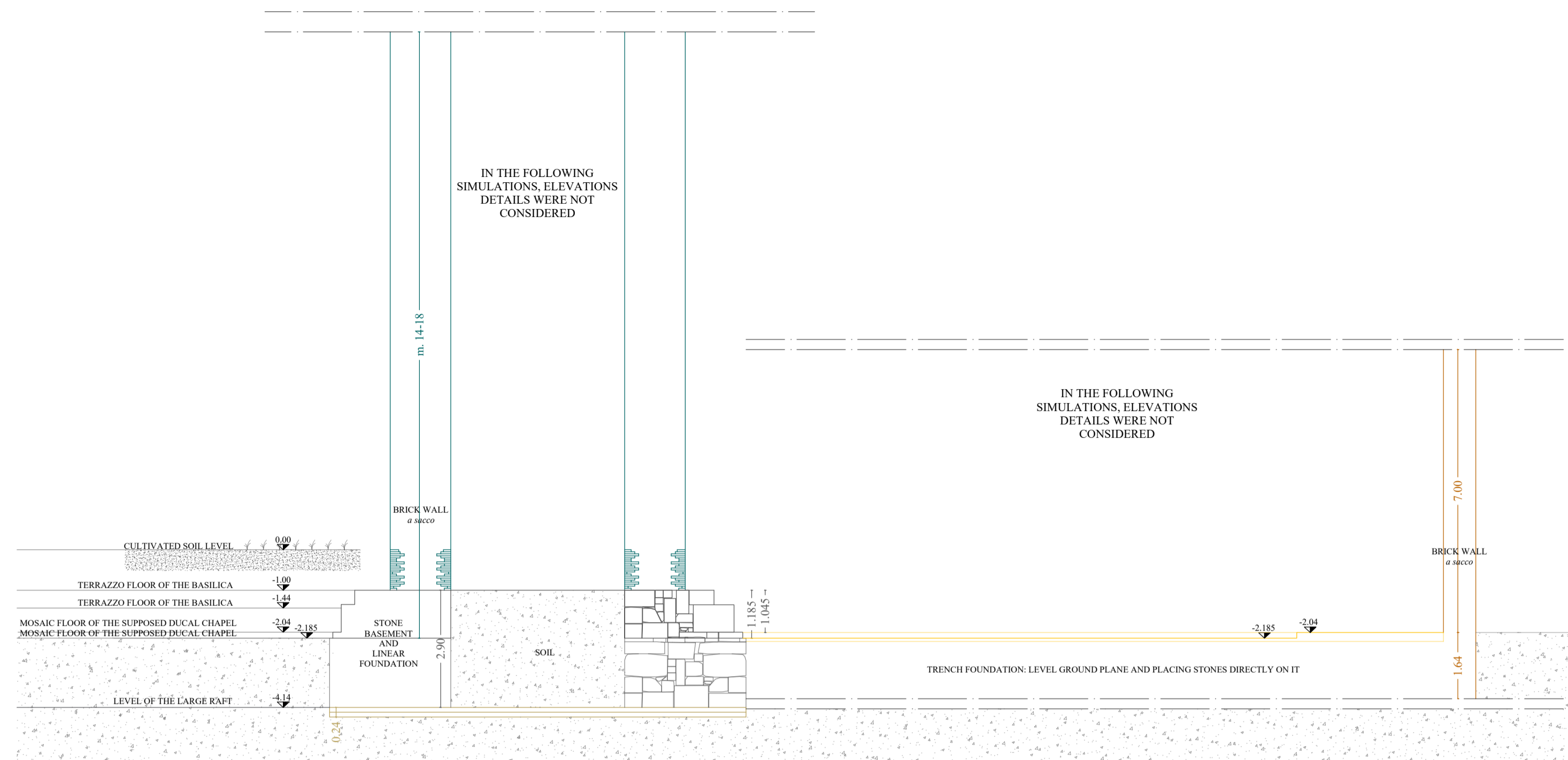
- St. Marco (X-XII c.)
- St. Maria Assunta, Torcello (XI c.)
- St. Agnese (XI c.)

Italic structures

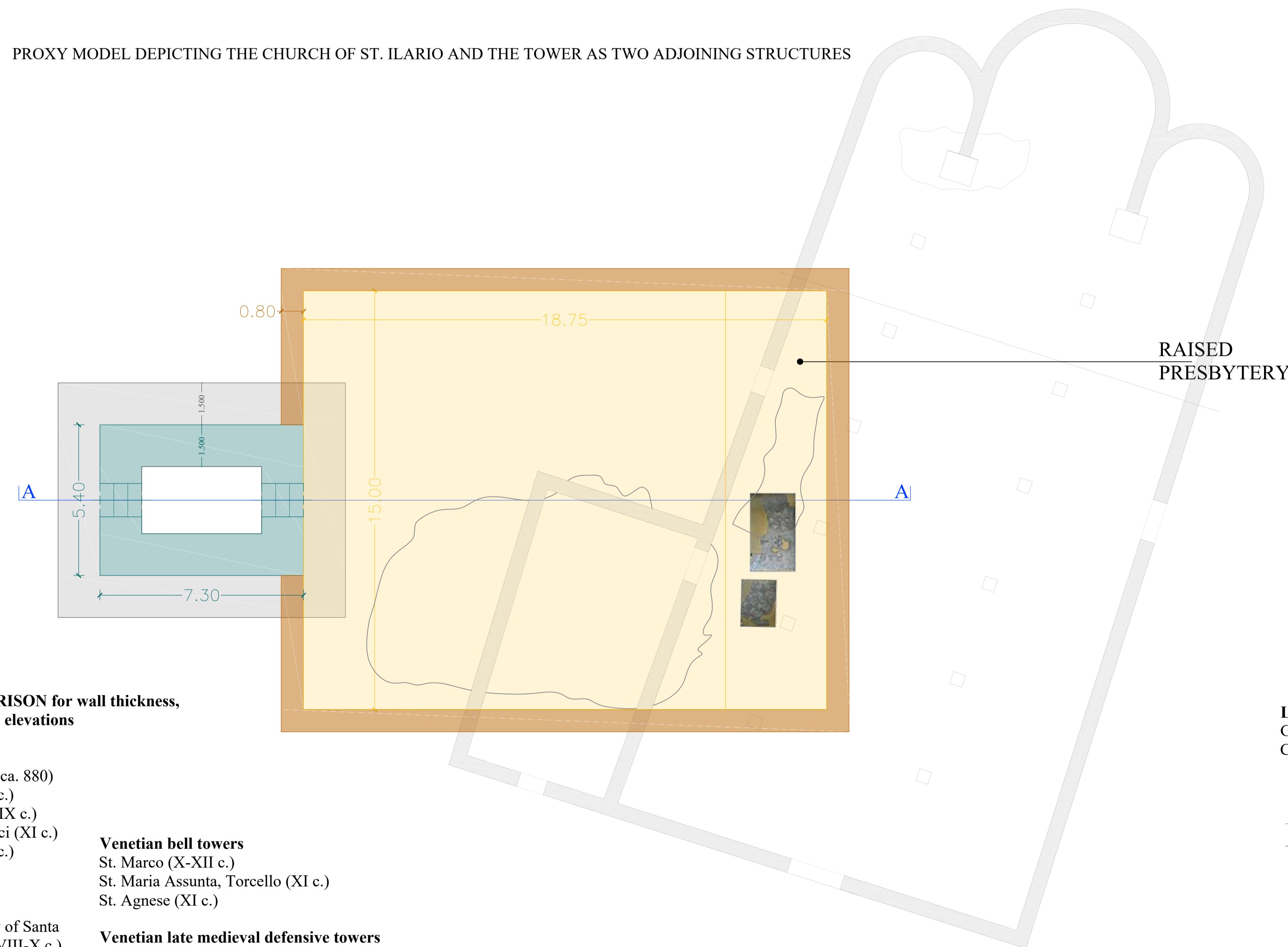
- Monselice Tower (VII)
- Tower of the monastery of Santa Maria Teodote, Pavia (VIII-X c.)
- Torba Tower (V-VI/VIII-IX c.)
- Farfa 'Torrione' (ca. IX c.)

Venetian late medieval defensive towers

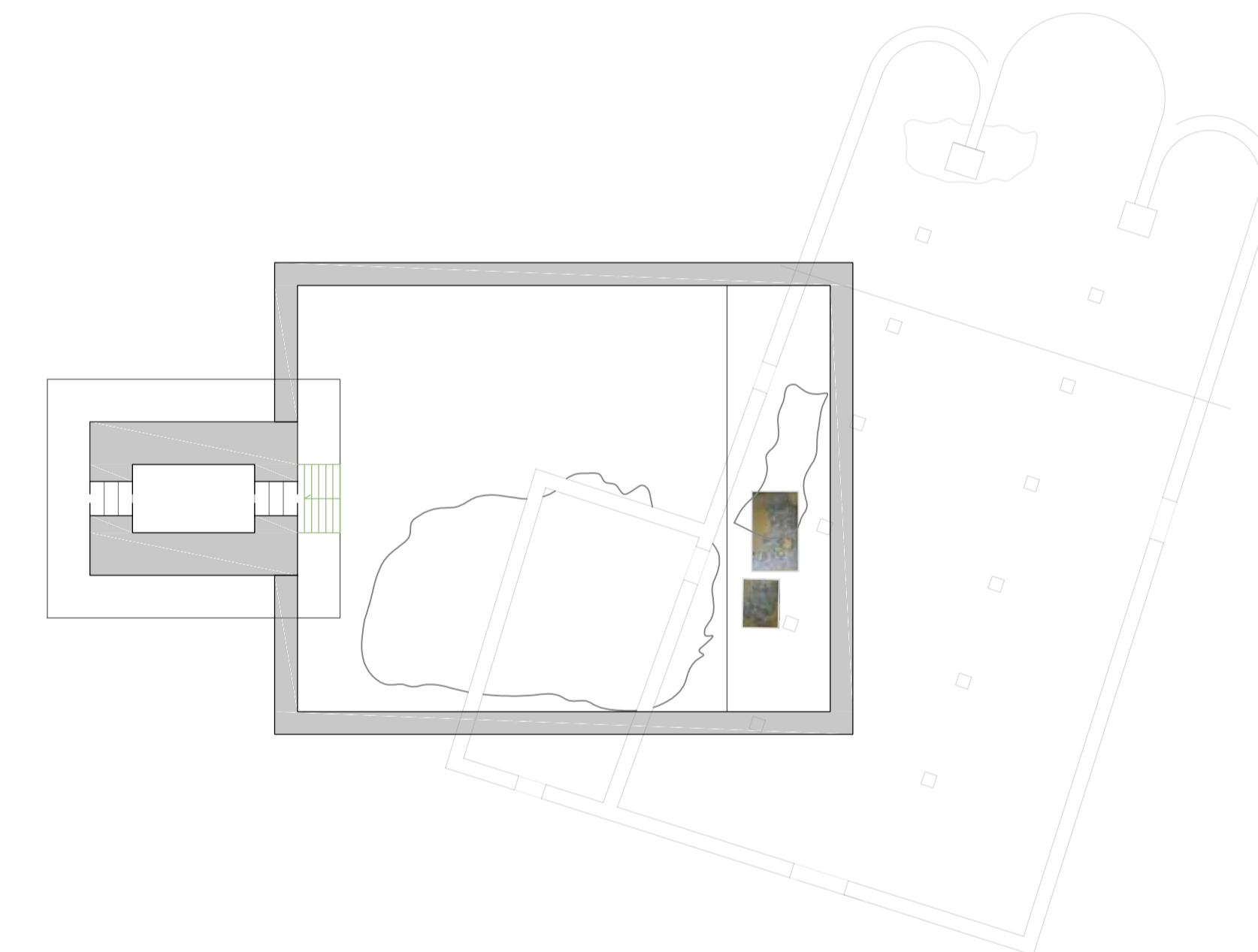
- Bebbe Tower
- Caligo Tower



PROXY MODEL DEPICTING THE CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO AND THE TOWER AS TWO ADJOINING STRUCTURES



REPRESENTATION MODEL SCALE 1:200



EARLY MEDIEVAL TOUR-PORCHE ON THE FAÇADE (IX-XIIc.)

BASED ON EARLY (AND LATE) MEDIEVAL COMPARISONS
 HYPOTHESIS 3
 CENTRELINE DRAWN BY MARZEMIN INTERPRETED AS THE TOWER FOOTPRINT SUPPORTED BY LINEAR FOUNDATIONS
 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TOWER AND CHURCH PLANKING LEVELS
 ACCESS TO THE TOWER BY A STONE STAIRCASE IN THE BASEMENT
 THICKNESS OF THE TOWER WALLS: 1.5 METERS

TERMS OF COMPARISON for wall thickness, building material, and elevations

- Croatian churches**
 S. Salvatore in Cettina (ca. 880)
 S. Lorenzo in Zara (IX c.)
 St. Etienne in Golubić (IX c.)
 St. Giovanni in Banjevici (XI c.)
 St. Vito in Dobrinj (XI c.)

- Venetian bell towers**
 St. Marco (X-XII c.)
 St. Maria Assunta, Torcello (XI c.)
 St. Agnese (XI c.)

- Italic structures**
 Monselice Tower (VII)
 Tower of the monastery of Santa Maria Teodote, Pavia (VIII-X c.)
 Torba Tower (V-VI/VIII-IX c.)
 Farfa 'Torrione' (ca. IX c.)

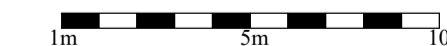
- Venetian late medieval defensive towers**
 Bebbe Tower
 Caligo Tower

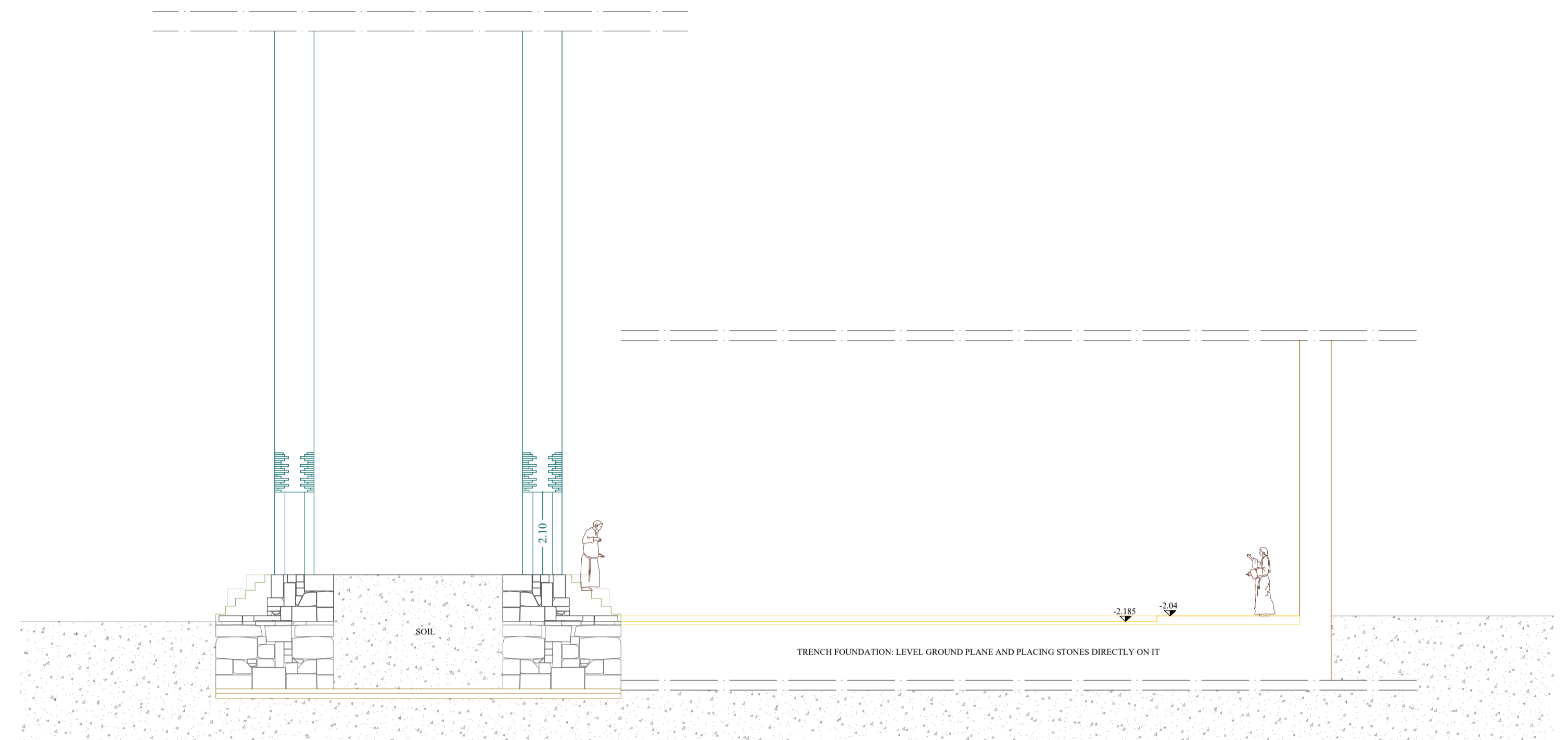
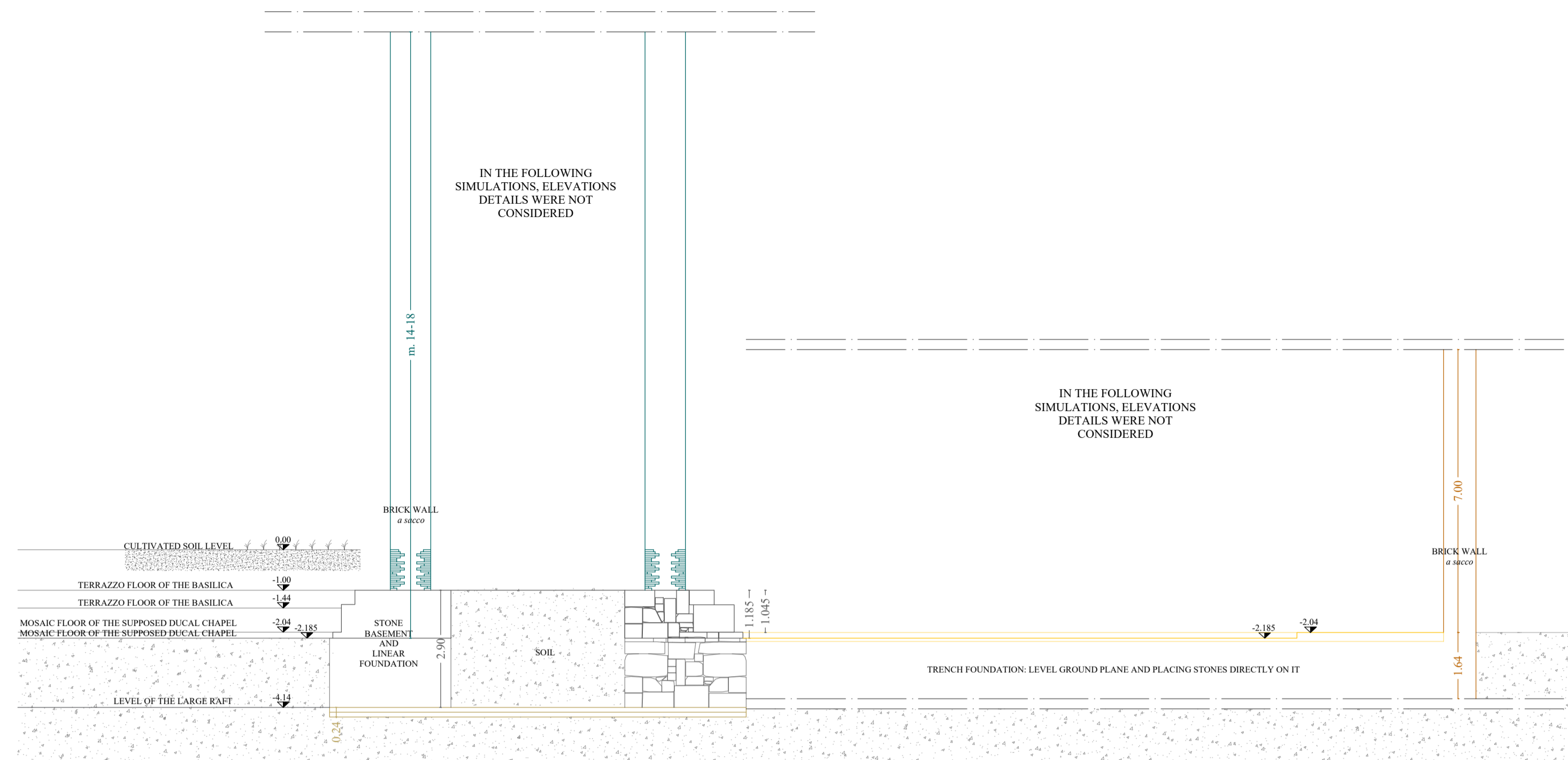
LEGEND
 GRAYSCALE: EXACT STRUCTURES
 COLORED ELEMENTS: SIMULATIONS

- WALLS
- TOWER FOUNDATIONS
- OPENINGS
- MOSAICS
- CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO (819)
- CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO: WALLS
- TOWER
- STONE STAIRS
- LARGE RAFT

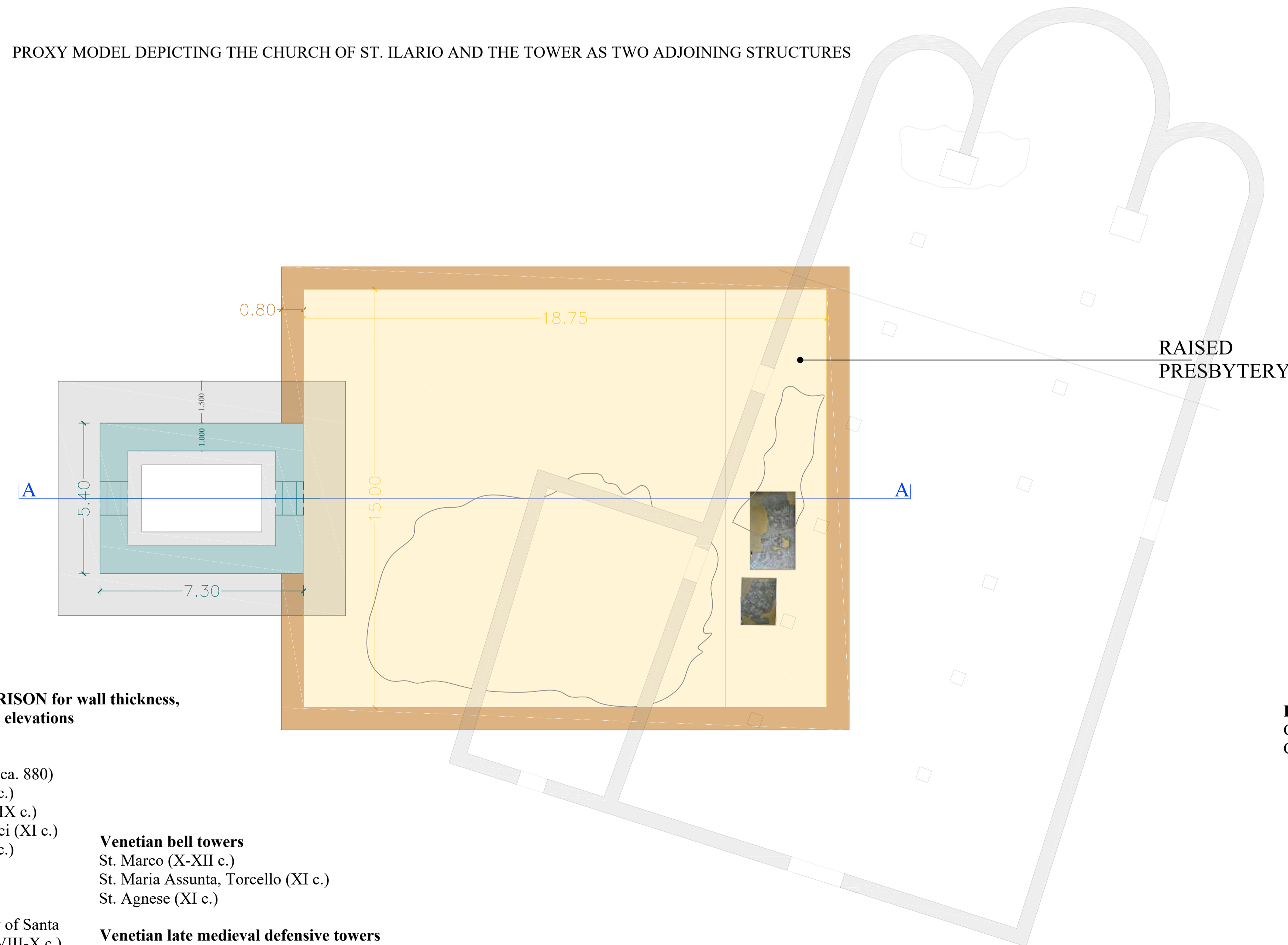
PLANIMETRY AND ELEVATIONS

SCALE 1:100

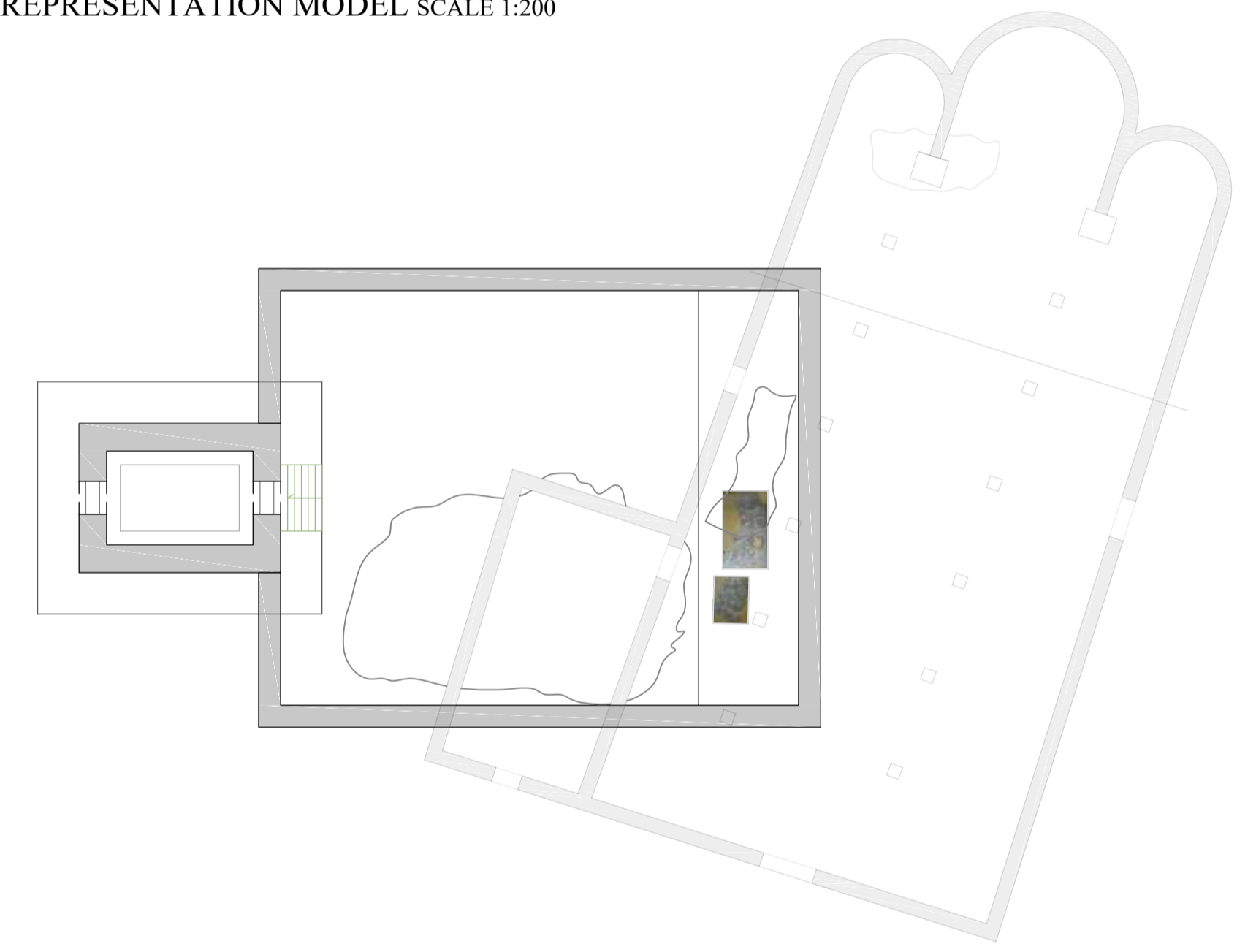




PROXY MODEL DEPICTING THE CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO AND THE TOWER AS TWO ADJOINING STRUCTURES



REPRESENTATION MODEL SCALE 1:200



EARLY MEDIEVAL *TOUR-PORCHE* ON THE FAÇADE (IX-XIIc.)

BASED ON EARLY (AND LATE) MEDIEVAL COMPARISONS
HYPOTHESIS 4

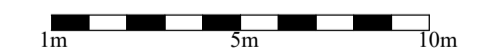
CENTRELINE DRAWN BY MARZEMIN INTERPRETED AS THE TOWER FOOTPRINT
SUPPORTED BY LINEAR FOUNDATIONS
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TOWER AND CHURCH PLANKING LEVELS
ACCESS TO THE TOWER BY A STONE STAIRCASE IN THE BASEMENT
THICKNESS OF THE TOWER WALLS: 1 METER

LEGEND

GRAYSCALE: EXACT STRUCTURES
COLORED ELEMENTS: SIMULATIONS

- WALLS
- TOWER FOUNDATIONS
- OPENINGS
- MOSAICS
- CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO (819)
- CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO: WALLS
- TOWER
- STONE STAIRS
- LARGE RAFT

PLANIMETRY AND ELEVATIONS
SCALE 1:100



TERMS OF COMPARISON for wall thickness, building material, and elevations

Croatian churches

- S. Salvatore in Cettina (ca. 880)
- S. Lorenzo in Zara (IX c.)
- St. Etienne in Golubić (IX c.)
- St. Giovanni in Banjevici (XI c.)
- St. Vito in Dobrinj (XI c.)

Venetian bell towers

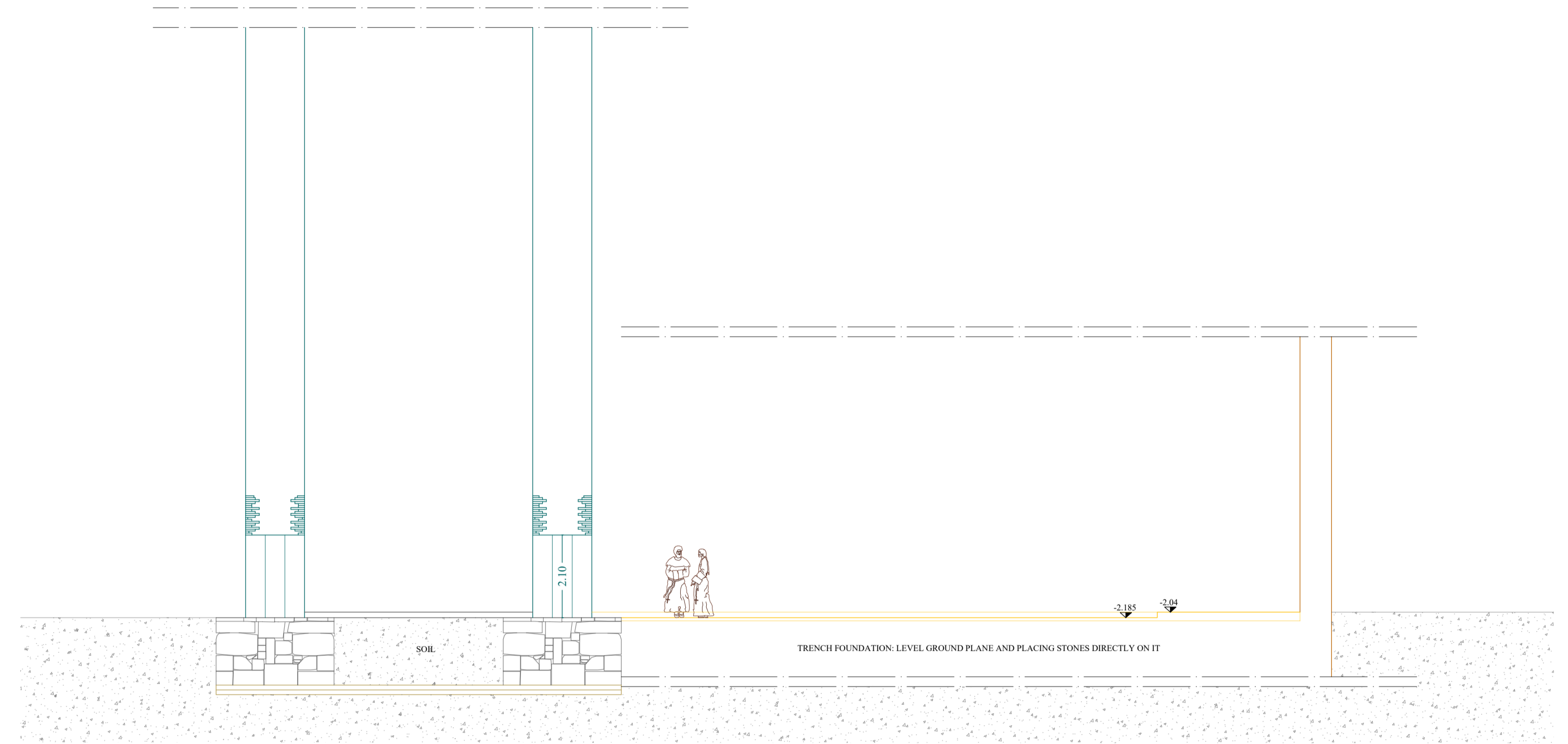
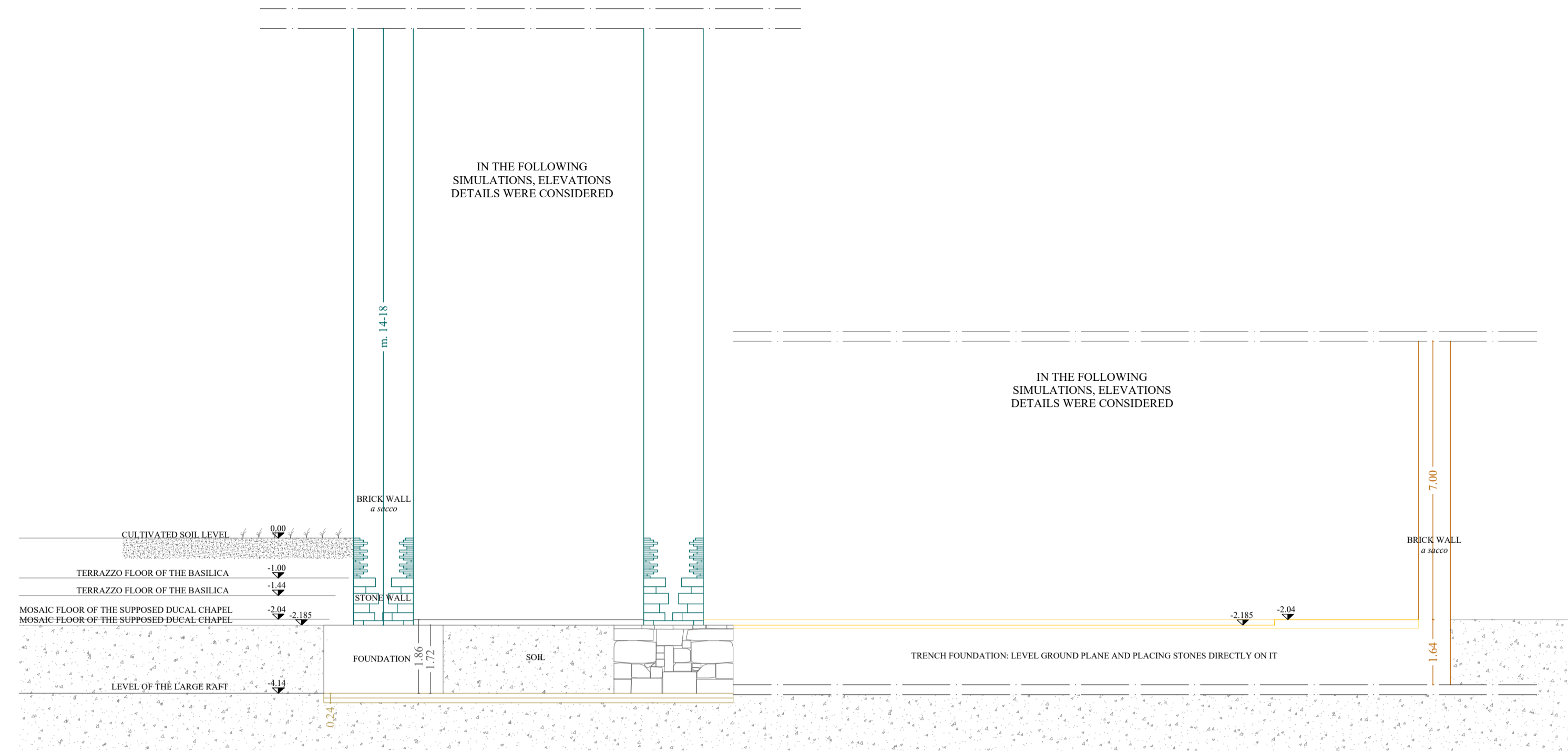
- St. Marco (X-XII c.)
- St. Maria Assunta, Torcello (XI c.)
- St. Agnese (XI c.)

Italic structures

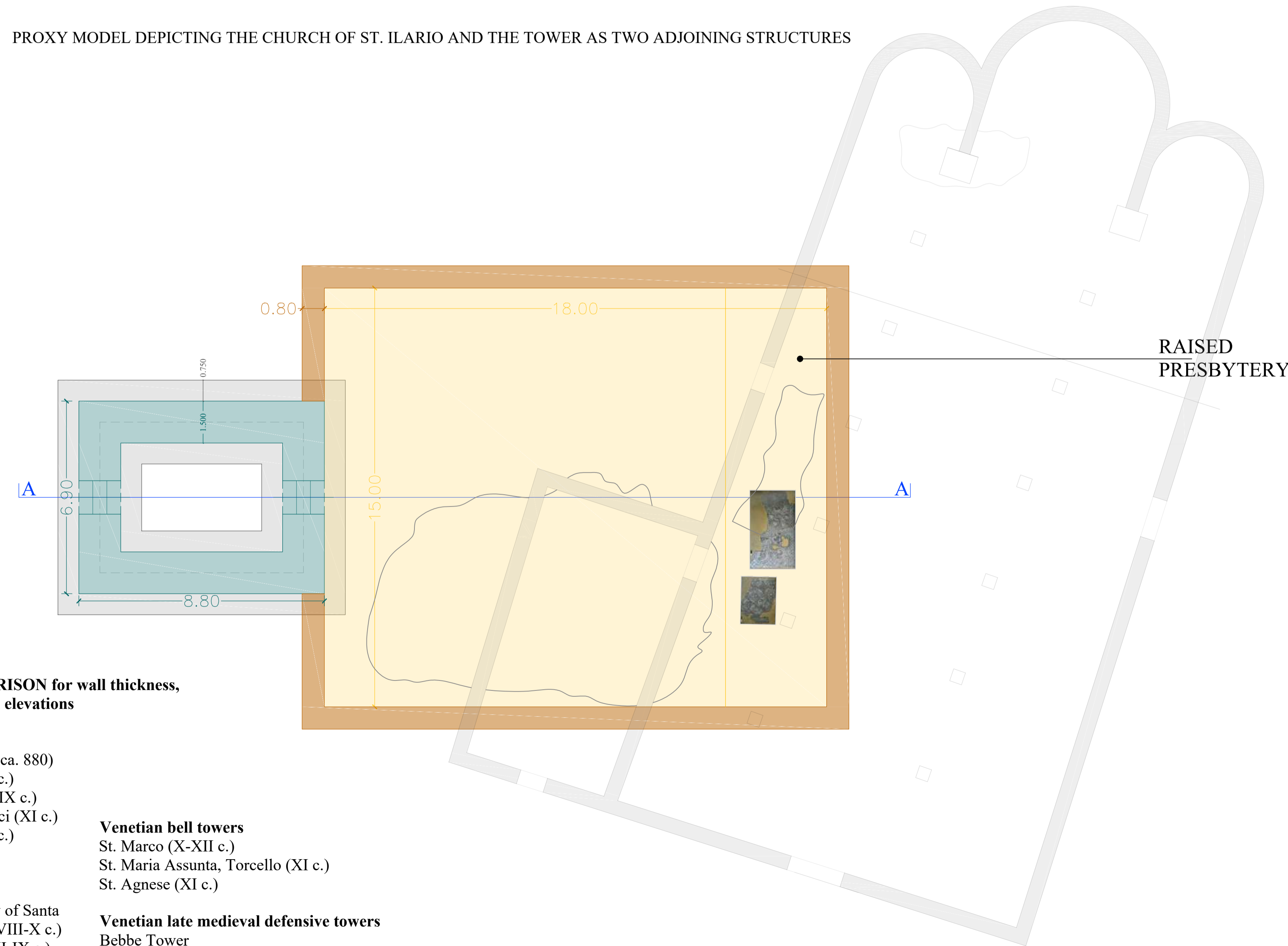
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- Torba Tower (V-VI/VIII-IX c.)
- Farfa 'Torrione' (ca. IX c.)

Venetian late medieval defensive towers

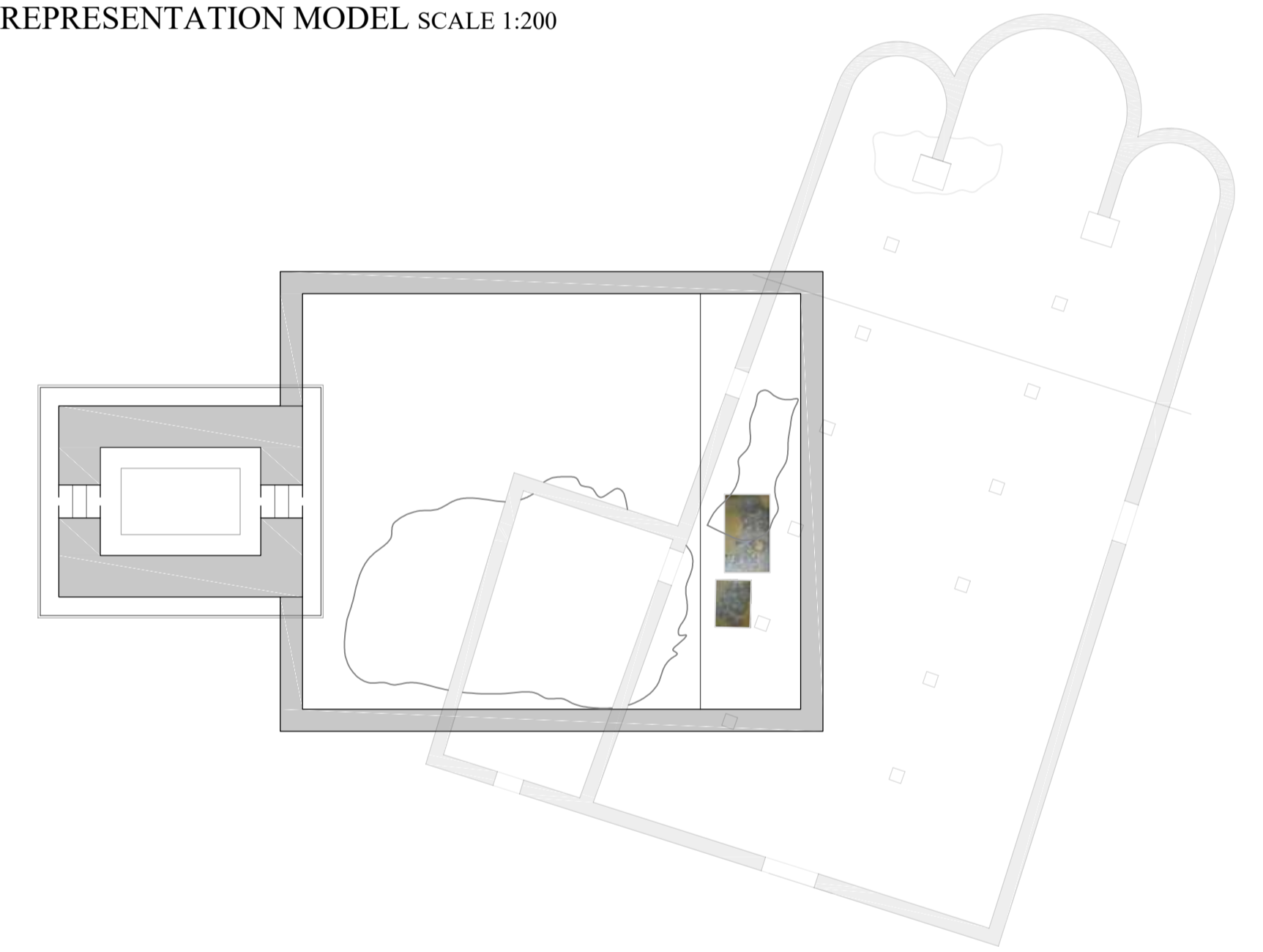
- Bebbe Tower
- Caligo Tower



PROXY MODEL DEPICTING THE CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO AND THE TOWER AS TWO ADJOINING STRUCTURES



REPRESENTATION MODEL SCALE 1:200



EARLY MEDIEVAL TOUR-PORCHE ON THE FAÇADE (IX-XIIc.)

BASED ON EARLY (AND LATE) MEDIEVAL COMPARISONS

HYPOTHESIS 5

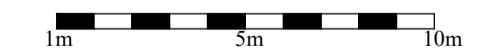
TOWER WALL AT THE CENTER OF LINEAR FOUNDATIONS
BOTH TOWER AND CHURCH SHARE THE SAME PLANKING LEVEL
THICKNESS OF THE TOWER WALLS: 1.5 METERS

LEGEND

GRAYSCALE: EXACT STRUCTURES
COLORED ELEMENTS: SIMULATIONS

- WALLS
- TOWER FOUNDATIONS
- OPENINGS
- MOSAICS
- CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO (819)
- CHURCH OF ST. ILARIO: WALLS
- TOWER
- LARGE RAFT

PLANIMETRY AND ELEVATIONS
SCALE 1:100



TERMS OF COMPARISON for wall thickness, building material, and elevations

Croatian churches

- S. Salvatore in Cettina (ca. 880)
- S. Lorenzo in Zara (IX c.)
- St. Etienne in Golubić (IX c.)
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Venetian bell towers

- St. Marco (X-XII c.)
- St. Maria Assunta, Torcello (XI c.)
- St. Agnese (XI c.)

Italic structures

- Monselice Tower (VII)
- Tower of the monastery of Santa Maria Teodote, Pavia (VIII-X c.)
- Torba Tower (V-VI/VIII-IX c.)
- Farfa 'Torrione' (ca. IX c.)

Venetian late medieval defensive towers

- Bebbe Tower
- Caligo Tower

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(From: S. Gelichi, C. Moine, *Peregrinazioni in sconfinati deserti. Quale archeologia per i monasteri della laguna veneziana?*, Hortus Artium Medievalium, 19, 2013, pp. 133-154: 135, Fig.2)

Fig.1.2: the ancient *Medoacus*-Brenta

(From: T. Temanza, *Dissertazione sopra l'antichissimo territorio di sant'Ilario nella Diocesi di Olivolo, in cui molte cose si toccano all'antico stato della Vezia marittima appartenenti*, Venezia, 1761, p. XIII, TAB 1

<https://www.bibliotecadigitale.unipv.eu/explore?bitstream_id=21555&handle=20.500.12460/174&provider=iiif-image&viewer=mirador>)

Fig.1.3: Fusina carriage or machinery

(From: M. Cornaro, *Scritture sulla laguna*, edited by di G. Pavanello, Venezia, Off. grafiche C. Ferrari, 1987, TAV. XIII)

Fig.1.4: the extension of the territories that belonged to the Monastery of SS. Ilario and Benedetto according to the *carta privilegii* dated 819 and two maps belonging to the late Middle Ages

(From: Temanza, Tommaso, *Dissertazione sopra l'antichissimo territorio di sant'Ilario nella Diocesi di Olivolo, in cui molte cose si toccano all'antico stato della Vezia marittima appartenenti*, Venezia, 1761, p. XXXIV, TAB 5

<https://www.bibliotecadigitale.unipv.eu/explore?bitstream_id=21555&handle=20.500.12460/174&provider=iiif-image&viewer=mirador>)

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(From: Temanza, Tommaso, *Dissertazione sopra l'antichissimo territorio di sant'Ilario nella Diocesi di Olivolo, in cui molte cose si toccano all'antico stato della Vezia*

marittima appartenenti, Venezia, 1761, p. XLIV, TAB 6

<https://www.bibliotecadigitale.unipv.eu/explore?bitstream_id=21555&handle=20.500.12460/174&provider=iiif-image&viewer=mirador>)

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(From: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Raccolta di scritti ed atti uffiziali relativi agli escavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abazia di sant'Ilario*, stab. tipo-litografico municipale di Gaetano Longo, Mestre, 1880)

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(From: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Raccolta di scritti ed atti uffiziali relativi agli escavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abazia di sant'Ilario*, stab. tipo-litografico municipale di Gaetano Longo, Mestre, 1880)

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(From: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Raccolta di scritti ed atti uffiziali relativi agli escavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abazia di sant'Ilario*, stab. tipo-litografico municipale di Gaetano Longo, Mestre, 1880)

Fig.1.9: sketches depicting sculptural fragments found at the territory of St. Ilario

(From: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Raccolta di scritti ed atti uffiziali relativi agli escavi fatti e da farsi nel sito della celebre abazia di sant'Ilario*, stab. tipo-litografico municipale di Gaetano Longo, Mestre, 1880)

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(Collezioni fotografiche del Museo Correr, Museo Fortuny-Palazzo esaro Orfei, Venezia inv. 01391)

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(From: G. Marzemin, *Le abbazie veneziane dei SS. Ilario e Benedetto e di S. Gregorio. Notizie storiche artistiche archeologiche*, Venezia, Tipografia Libreria Emiliana Editrice, 1912, p. 123)

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(Biblioteca Museo Correr, Venezia, Pdc 2323/2)

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(From: D. Calaon, M. Ferri, C. Bagato, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto (IX secolo). Un monastero del nascente dogato veneziano tra terra e laguna*, Atti del V Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale, edited by G. Volpe, G. Flavia (Firenze, 30 settembre-3 ottobre 2009) pp. 498-504: p. 501, fig.4)

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(From: C. Moine, E. Corrà, S. Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia: archeologia e geologia nelle terre del monastero di Sant'Ilario tra alto Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, p.101, fig.4.2.1)

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(From: C. Moine, E. Corrà, S. Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia: archeologia e geologia nelle terre del monastero di Sant'Ilario tra alto Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, p.102, fig.4.2.3)

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(From: C. Moine, E. Corrà, S. Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia: archeologia e geologia nelle terre del monastero di Sant'Ilario tra alto Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, p.103, fig.4.2.5)

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(From: C. Moine, E. Corrà, S. Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia: archeologia e geologia nelle terre del monastero di Sant'Ilario tra alto Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, p.104, fig.4.2.7)

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(From: M. Bortoletto, *Elementi di edilizia religiosa a Venezia tra X e XII secolo: le evidenze archeologiche*, in *Archeologia Veneta*, XXXIV, 2011, pp. 152-181: 157, fig.4)

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(From: M. Bortoletto, *Elementi di edilizia religiosa a Venezia tra X e XII secolo: le evidenze archeologiche*, in *Archeologia Veneta*, XXXIV, 2011, pp. 152-181: 157, fig.5)

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(From: S. Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico (secoli VII-XI): eredità e innovazione nell'alto Medioevo*, Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, p. 180, fig.3)

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(From: S. Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico (secoli VII-XI): eredità e innovazione nell'alto Medioevo*, Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, p. 180, fig.4)

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(2D elaboration: Asja Lazzari)

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(2D elaboration: Asja Lazzari)

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(2D elaboration: Asja Lazzari)

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(2D elaboration: Asja Lazzari)

Fig.2.30: planimetry of the excavation conducted in 1970 at the monastery of Santa Maria Teodote in Pavia, detail of the tower, tangent to the oratory of S. Michele alla Pusterla and included in the cloister, dated by Peroni between the VIII and X centuries
(From A. Peroni, *Il monastero alto medievale di S. Maria "Teodote" a Pavia. Ricerche urbanistiche e architettoniche*, Studi medievali, 3, 13, 1972, pp. 1-93, TAV IX)

Fig.2.31: axonometry of the early medieval tower and the oratory of St. Michele alla Pusterla, monastery of Santa Maria Teodote in Pavia
(From A. Peroni, *Il monastero alto medievale di S. Maria "Teodote" a Pavia. Ricerche urbanistiche e architettoniche*, Studi medievali, 3, 13, 1972, pp. 1-93, TAV VIII)

Fig.2.32: hypothetical reconstruction of the ground plan of the medieval complex of Farfa Abbey, showing the chapel and the 'Torrione', the latter dated around the IX century
(From: C.B. McClendon, D. Whitehouse, *La badia di Farfa, Fara in Sabina (Rieti). Terza nota preliminare*, Archeologia medievale. Cultura Materiale, insediamenti, territorio, 9, 1982, p. 323-330: 328, fig.4)

Fig.2.33: Torba Tower belonging to the monastery of Torba, ca V-VI centuries, central part remodeled between the VIII and IX centuries

(From: <https://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/architetture/schede/LMD80-00784/>)

Fig.2.34: Monselice Tower, first building belonging to first decades of the VII century

(From: G.P Brogiolo, S. Gelichi, *Nuove ricerche sui castelli altomedievali in Italia settentrionale*, Firenze, All'insegna del giglio, 1996, pp. 165-170: 168, fig.55)

Fig.2.35: Monselice Tower, new building belonging to the second half of the VII century

(From: G.P Brogiolo, S. Gelichi, *Nuove ricerche sui castelli altomedievali in Italia settentrionale*, Firenze, All'insegna del giglio, 1996, pp. 165-170: 166, fig.54)

Fig.2.36: survey of the Church of St. Salvatore in Cettina, ca 880

(From: A. Milošević, *Campanili preromanici della Dalmazia e della Croazia altomedievale*, Dubrovnik-Split, 2011; Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., p.24, fig.10)

Fig.2.37: cross-sections of the 'Westwerk' of the Church of St. Salvatore in Cettina, ca 880

(From: A. Milošević, *Campanili preromanici della Dalmazia e della Croazia altomedievale*, Dubrovnik-Split, 2011; Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., p.25, fig.12)

Fig.2.38: cross-sections of the 'Westwerk' of the Church of St. Etienne in Golubić, late IX century

(From: S. Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico (secoli VII-XI): eredità e innovazione nell'alto Medioevo*, Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, p. 228, fig.66)

Fig.2.39: cross-sections of the 'Westwerk' of the Church of St. Lorenzo in Zara, ca X-XI centuries

(From: A. Milošević, *Campanili preromanici della Dalmazia e della Croazia altomedievale*, Dubrovnik-Split, 2011; Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., p.40, fig.31)

Fig.2.40: possible Carolingian-type forepart, a *Westwerk*-like avant-corps in front of the martyr Chapel of St. Marco (ca 829-836)

(From: W. Dorigo, *La cultura carolingia della prima Capella Sancti Marci*, Hortus Artium Medievalium, 8, 2002, p. 153, fig.8)

Fig.2.41: massive bell tower on the façade of the Romanesque Church of St. Giovanni in Banjevici

(From: A. Milošević, *Campanili preromanici della Dalmazia e della Croazia altomedievale*, Dubrovnik-Split, 2011; Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., p.70, fig.70)

Fig.2.42: massive bell tower on the façade of the Romanesque Church of St. Vito in Dobrinj on the island of Veglia

(From: A. Milošević, *Campanili preromanici della Dalmazia e della Croazia altomedievale*, Dubrovnik-Split, 2011; Zanetto, *Tradizioni costruttive nell'alto e medio Adriatico* cit., p.71, fig.73)

Fig.2.43: massive bell tower on the façade of the Romanesque Church of St. Lucia in Bescanuova on the island of Kirk

(From: <https://www.info-krk.com/it/baska/cultura/62/abbazia-di-santa-lucia>)

Fig.2.44: Bell tower of the Church of Santa Maria della Lode in Vescovio, XI century

(From: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chiesa_di_Santa_Maria_della_Lode_a_Vescovio)

Fig2.45: survey of the bell tower of the Church of St. Marco, ca X-XII centuries

(From: C. Moine, E. Corro, S. Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia: archeologia e geologia nelle terre del monastero di Sant'Ilario tra alto Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, Sesto Fiorentino, All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017, p. 93, fig.4.1.8)

Fig2.46: survey of the bell tower of the Church of Santa Maria Assunta in Torcello, XI century

(From: W. Dorigo, *Venezia. Origini. Fondamenti, ipotesi, metodi*, II, Milano, Electa, 1983, p. 397, figg.260-261)

Fig2.47: survey of the bell tower of the Church of Santa Agnese, XII century

(From: W. Dorigo, *Venezia. Origini. Fondamenti, ipotesi, metodi*, II, Milano, Electa, 1983, p. 398, fig.262)

Fig2.48: late medieval Bebbe Tower near Chioggia

(From: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Torre_delle_Bebbe)

Fig2.49: late medieval Caligo Tower near Jesolo

(From: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Torre_Caligo)

Fig2.50: distribution of excavation UUTTSS with respect to the road (in red) and the site identified by surface surveys, Dogaletto di Mira (VE)

(From: E. Corro, C. Moine, S. Primon, *Reazioni uguali e contrarie. Evoluzione paleoambientale e trasformazioni storiche intorno al monastero dei Sant'Ilario e Benedetto (Dogaletto di Mira)*, in *Costruire territori/costruire identità: lagune a confronto tra antichità e medioevo*, edited by S. Gelichi, *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 16, 2, 2015, p.139, fig.21)

Fig.2.51: UTS 1000. Remains of one of the production structures forming part of the monastery, ca IX-X centuries, Dogaletto di Mira (VE)

(From: S. Gelichi, C. Moine, *Peregrinazioni in sconfinati deserti. Quale archeologia per i monasteri della laguna veneziana?*, Hortus Artium Medievalium, 19, 2013, pp. 133-154: 139, fig.9)

Fig.2.52: UTS 4000. Monastic setting with burials

(From: S. Gelichi, C. Moine, *Peregrinazioni in sconfinati deserti. Quale archeologia per i monasteri della laguna veneziana?*, Hortus Artium Medievalium, 19, 2013, pp. 133-154: 139, fig.10)

Fig.2.53: hypothetical position of the early medieval church of SS. Ilario and Benedetto (From: E. Corro, C. Moine, S. Primon, *Reazioni uguali e contrarie. Evoluzione paleoambientale e trasformazioni storiche intorno al monastero dei Sant'Ilario e Benedetto (Dogaletto di Mira)*, in *Costruire territori/costruire identità: lagune a confronto tra antichità e medioevo*, edited by S. Gelichi, Reti Medievali Rivista, 16, 2, 2015, p.142, fig.22a)



Fig.1.1: distribution map of the early medieval monasteries in the lagoon. In red those attested by the documents, in white the monasteries whose early Middle Ages dating is controversial

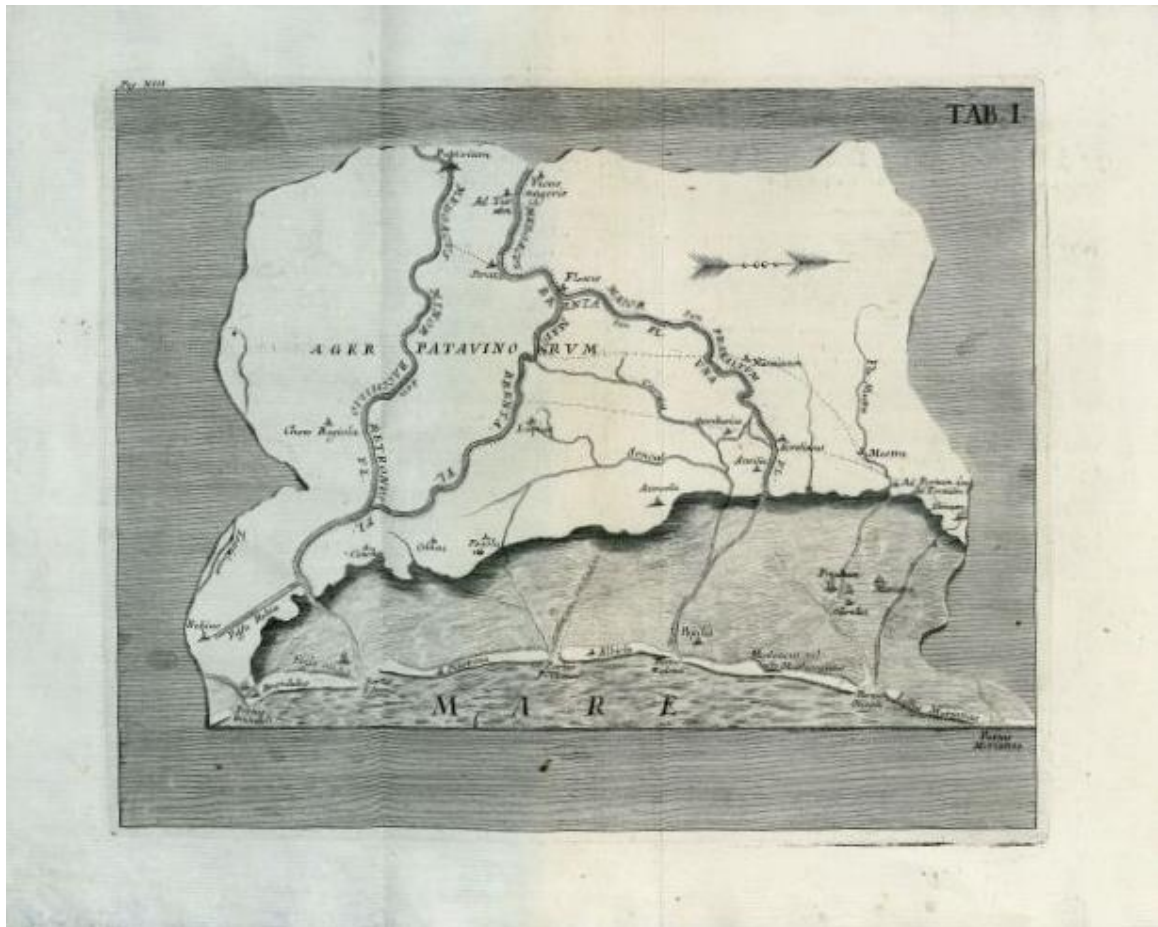
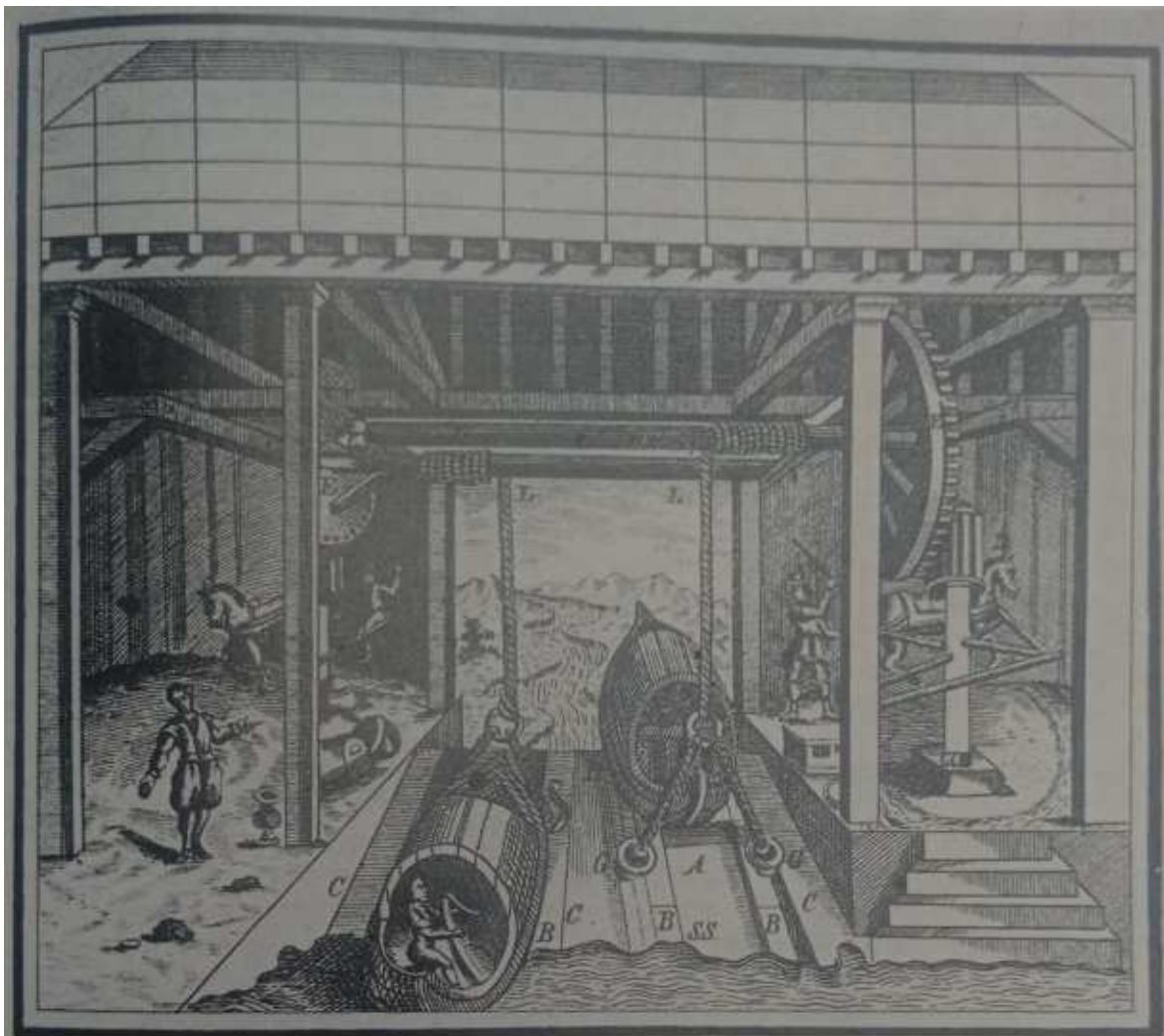


Fig.1.2: the ancient *Medoacus*-Brenta



- « A. Carro di legni quadrati colle sue ruote, le misure del quale saranno secondo il costume de' vasselli. »
- « B. Soiamento fatto in forma di angolo ottuso, per dove va il carro. »
- « C. Ruote di legno di noce o di rovere, con i suoi ferramenti. »
- « F. Perno di ferro di esse ruote, con i suoi armenti di ferro, che sono medesimamente segnati con lettere F. F. F. »
- « D. Lastre di pietra grosse nel montar del carro. »

- « S S. Fili di pietre forti. »
- « G. Anelli di ferro, dove vanno gli ancini della corda che tira il carro colle (sic) sopra. »
- « D D. Rocchelli sopra del fuso, che gira attorno il cavallo colle stanghe, che hanno 12 fusi per cadauno. »
- « E E. Timpani che contengono trentasei denti per uno. »
- « L L. Meli (sic) dove avvolgono le corde per tirare le barche innanti e indietro. »

Fig.1.3: Fusina carriage or machinery

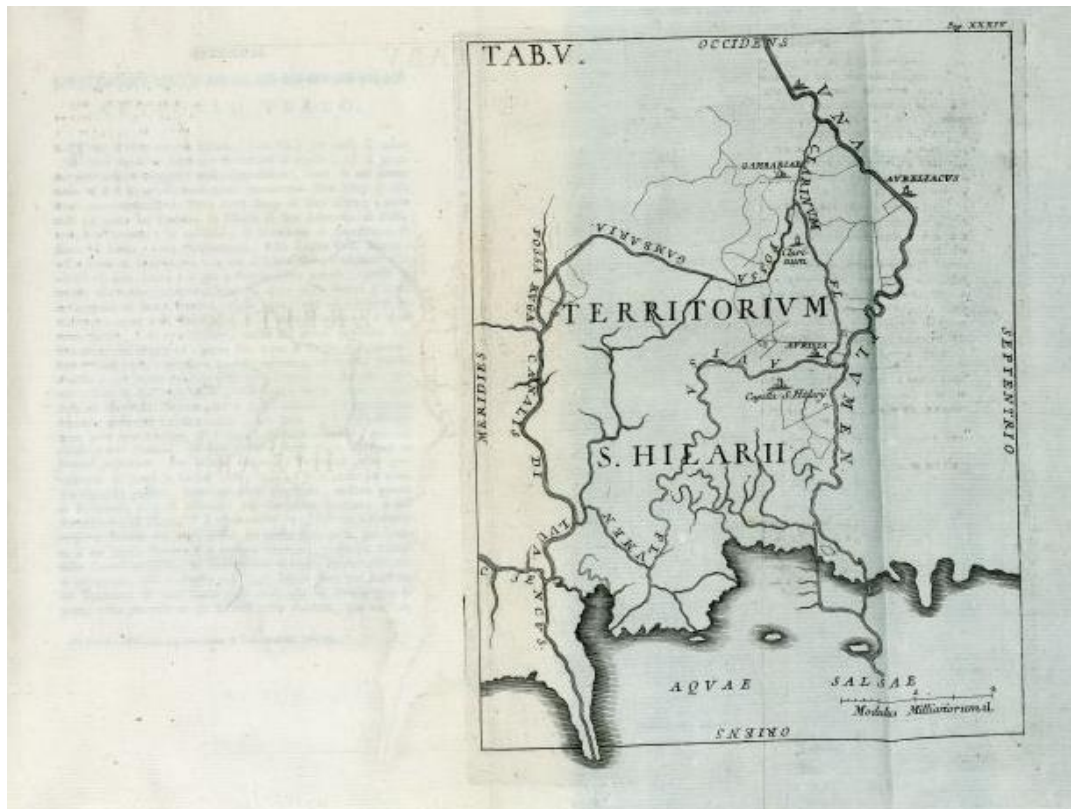


Fig.1.4: the extension of the territories that belonged to the Monastery of SS Ilario and Benedetto according to the *carta privilegii* dated 819 and two maps belonging to the late Middle Ages

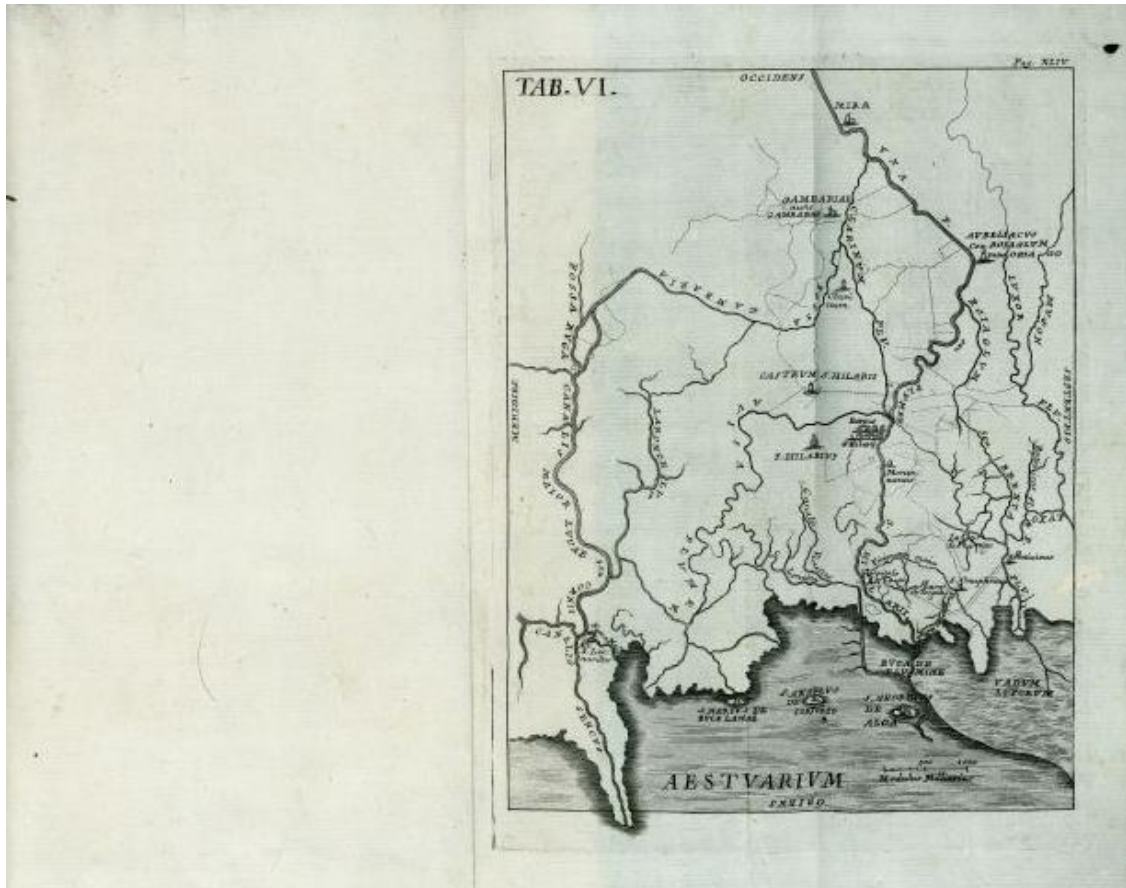


Fig.1.5: map of the hydrographic system of the territories belonging to St. Ilario

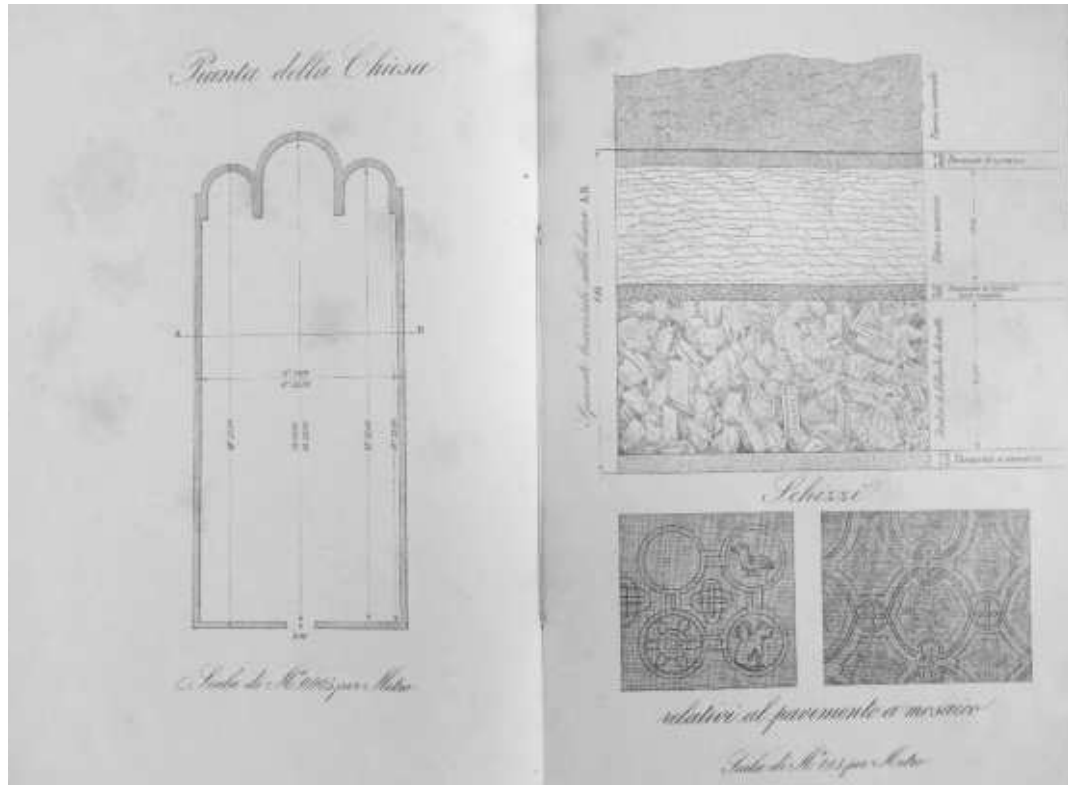


Fig.1.6: planimetric survey of the late medieval Church of SS. Ilario and Benedetto along with the stratigraphic description and mosaics sketches



Fig.1.7: sketches depicting Roman inscriptions found at the territory of St. Ilario

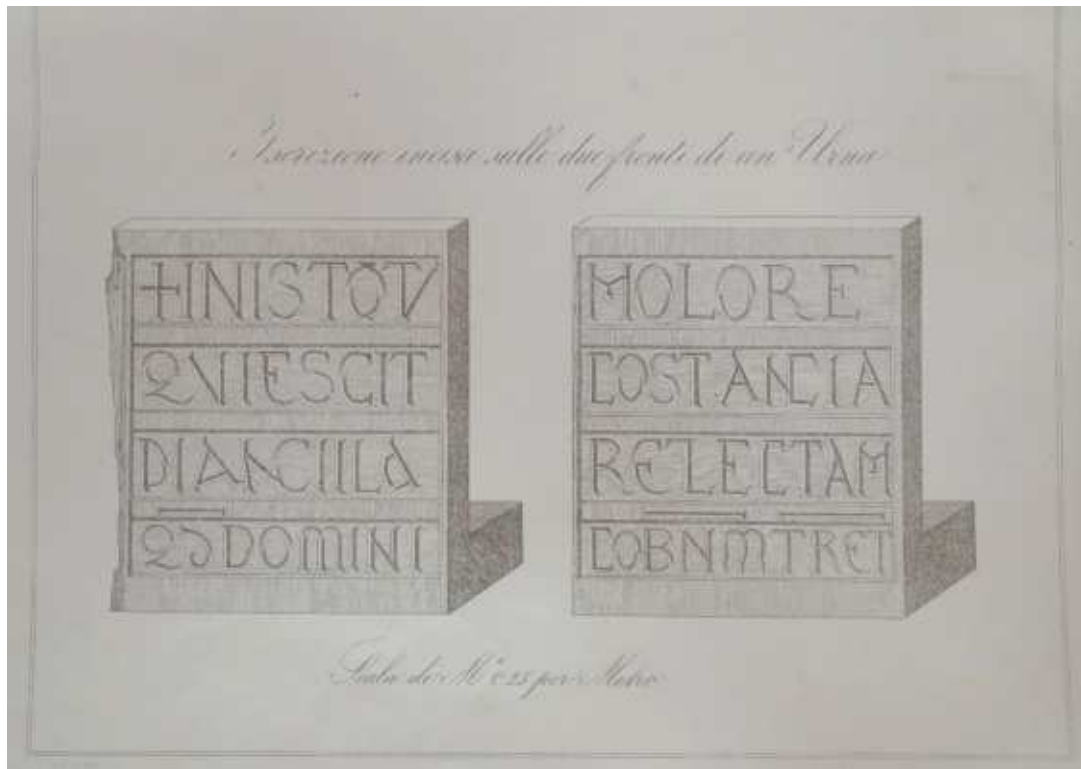


Fig.1.8: sketches depicting a Christian inscription found at the territory of St. Ilario

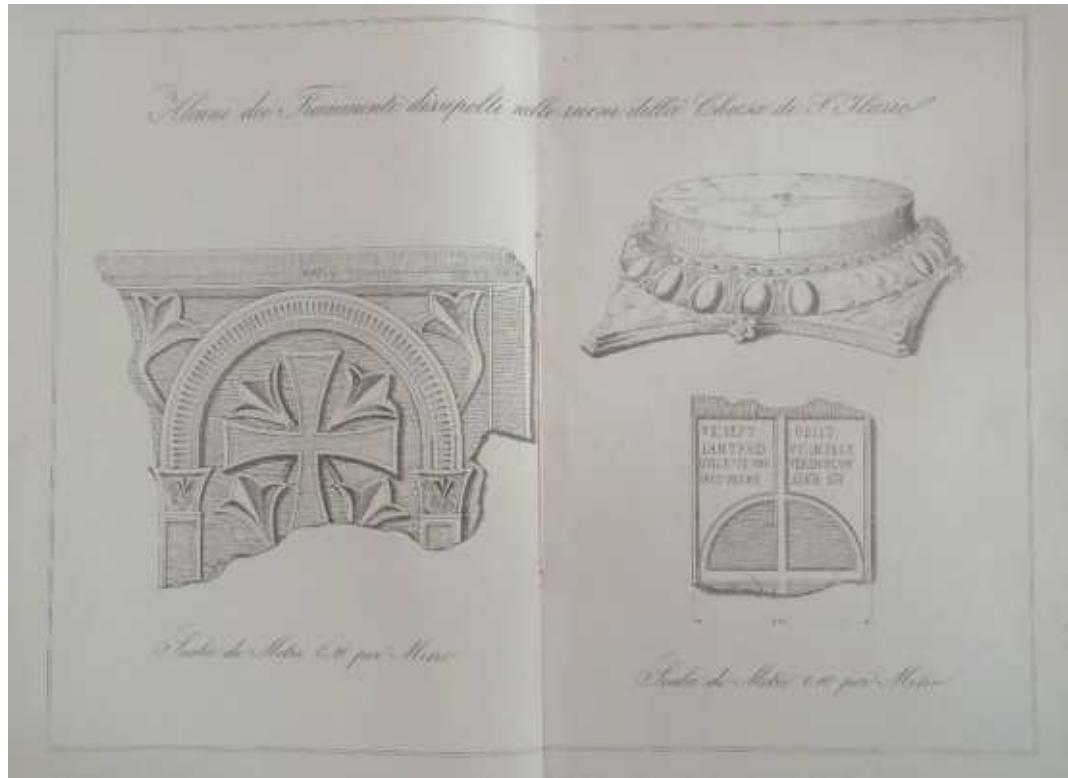


Fig.1.9: sketches depicting sculptural fragments found at the territory of St. Ilario



Fig.1.10: general view of the archaeological excavations conducted at St. Ilario, ca 1882

PLANIMETRIA DEGLI SCAVI D SANI ILARIO

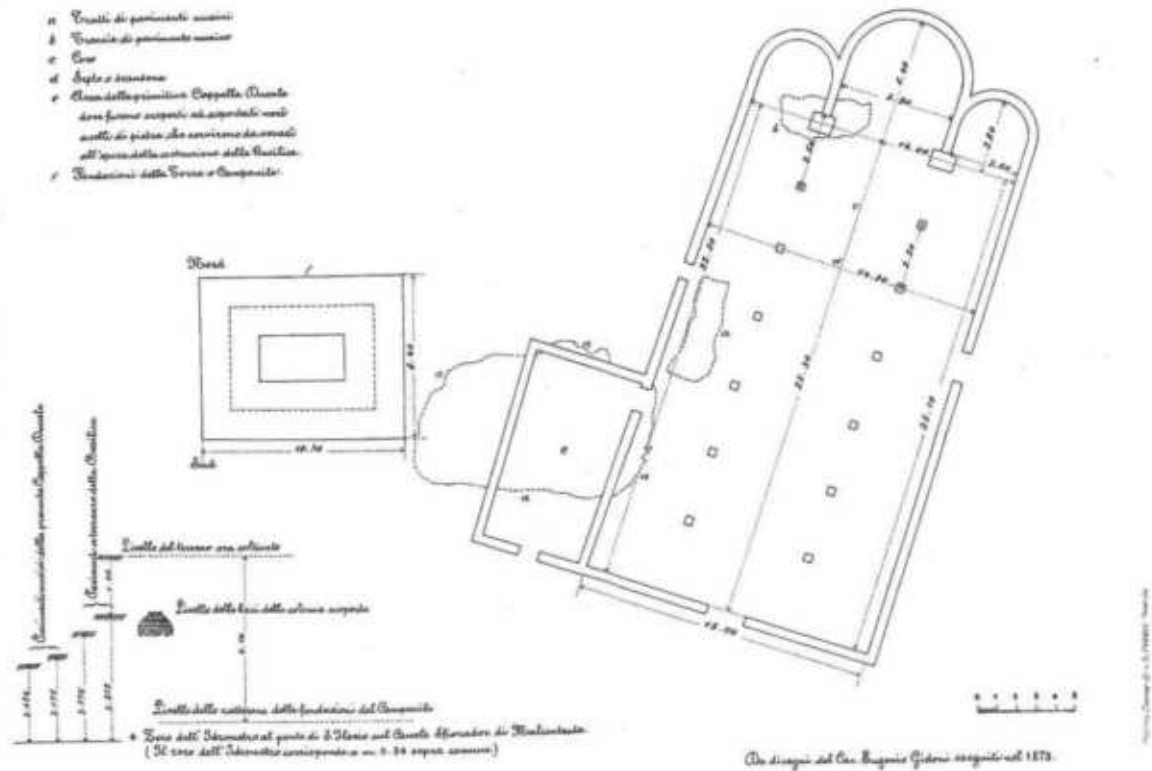


Fig.1.11: planimetric survey of the excavations at St. Ilario and related stratigraphy

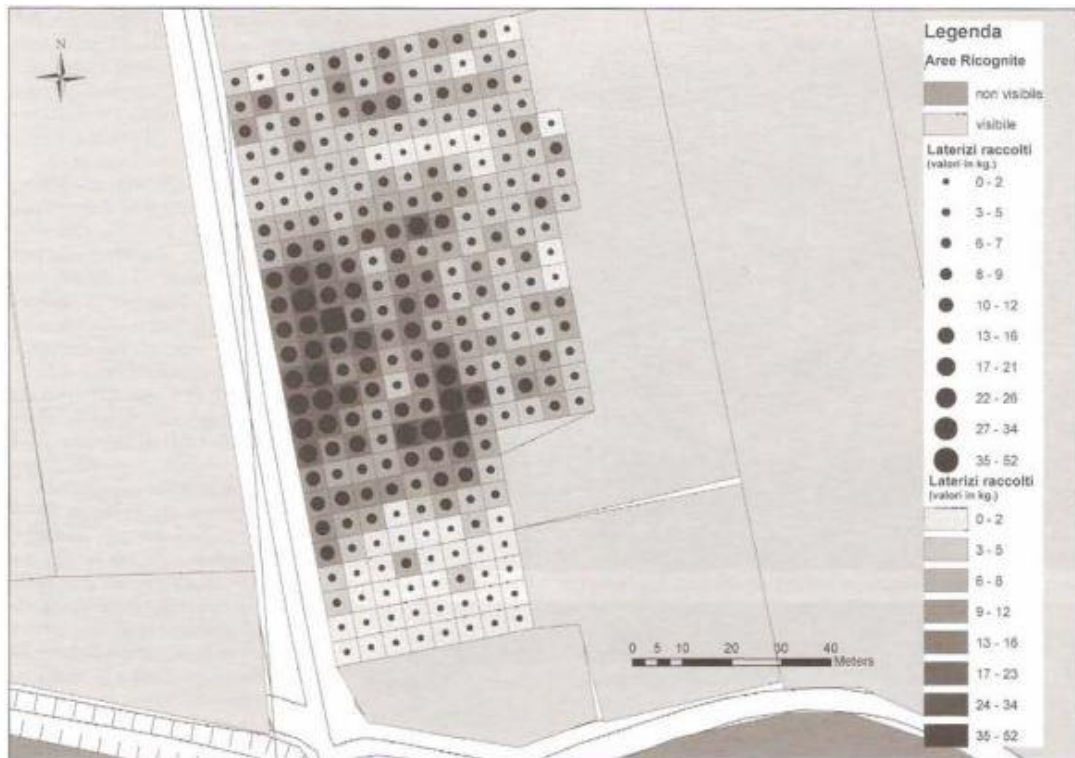


fig. 3 – La distribuzione dei materiali edilizi.

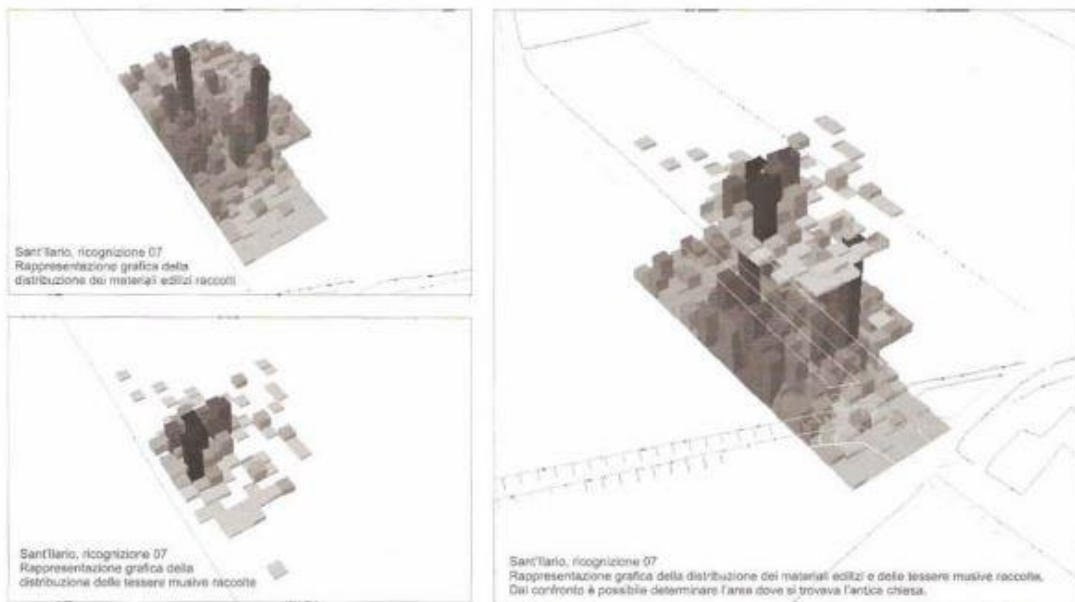


Fig.1.13: distribution of building materials and mosaic tesserae identified at St. Ilario

PROJECT WORKFLOW AND ACTIVITIES

Master's Degree programme in Digital and Public Humanities - Final Thesis
 Topic: the Benedictine monastery of SS. Ilario and Benedetto

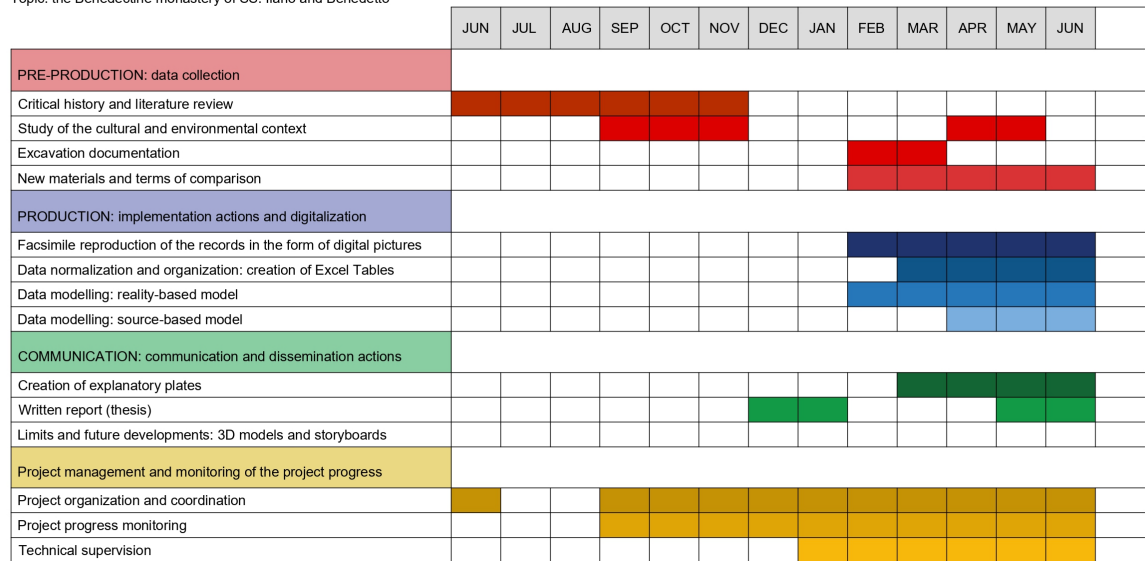


Fig.2.1: Gantt chart depicting the project workflow and activities

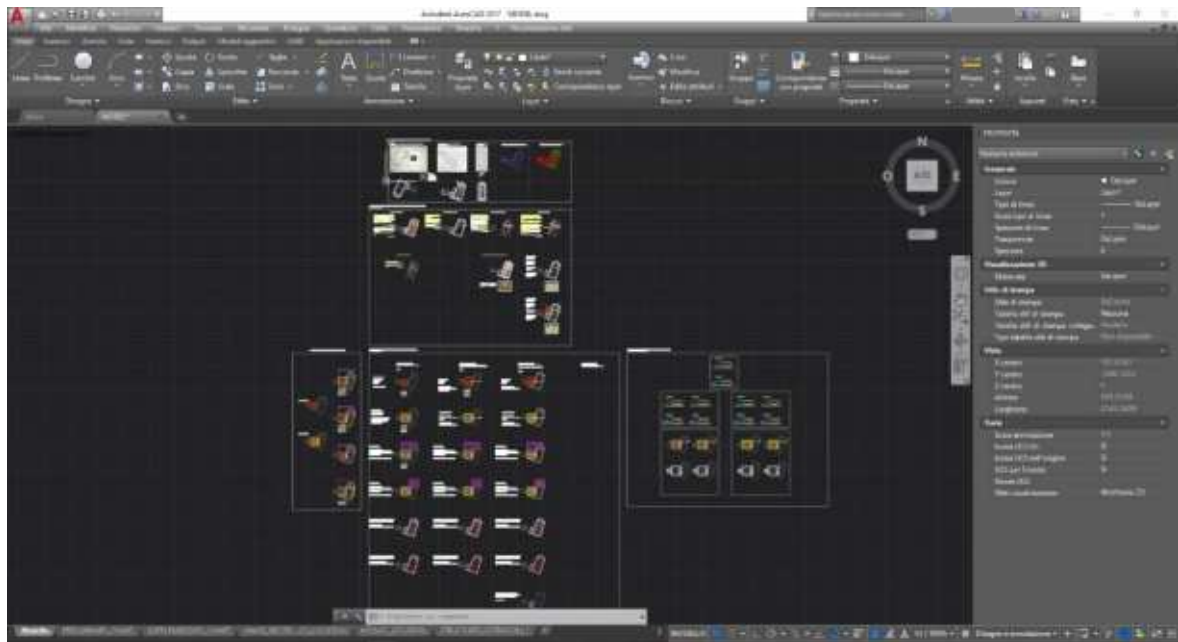


Fig.2.2: AutoCAD worksheet



Fig.2.4: the plot of land where the monastery of SS. Ilario and Benedetto arose, Dogaletto di Mira (VE)

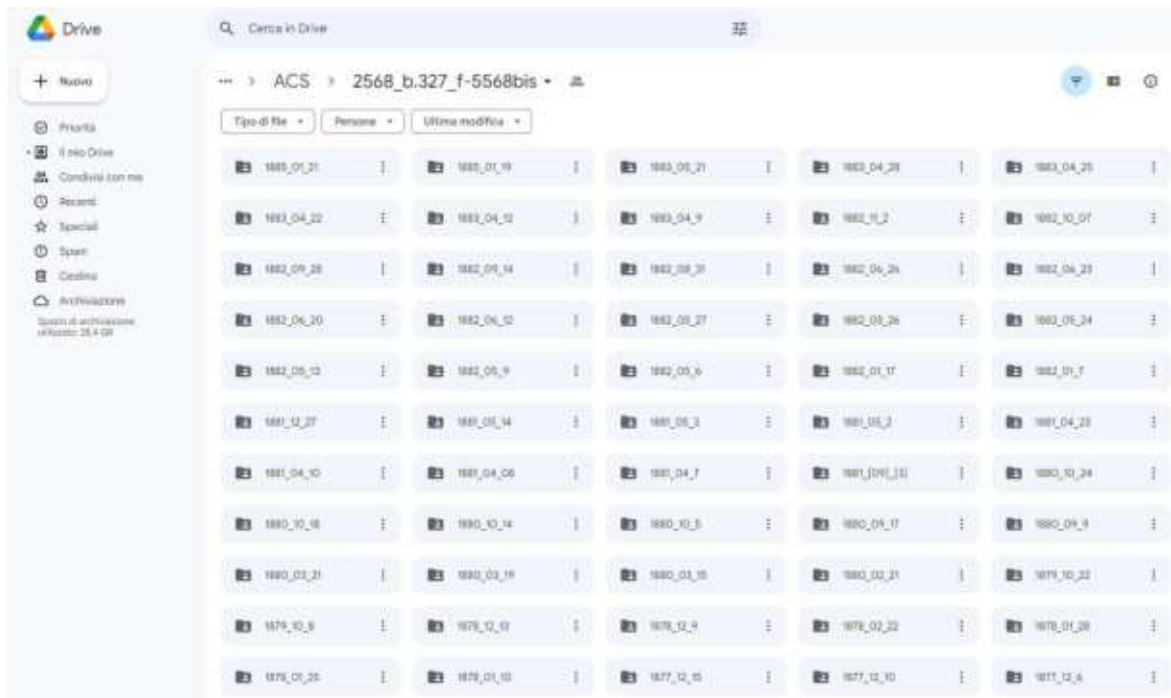


Fig.2.5: example of a Google Drive folder divided into sub-folders according to the type of document and the date

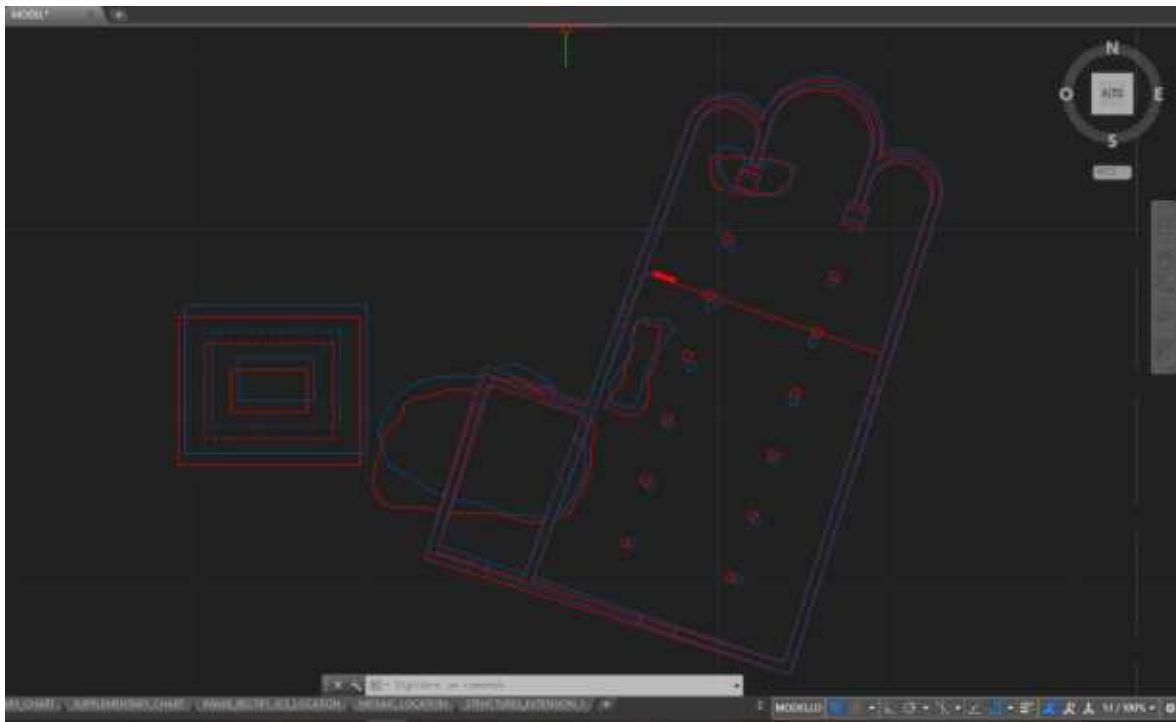


Fig.2.6: comparison between the planimetric survey of the watercolour drawing (Blue) and the one reproduced by Marzemin (Red)

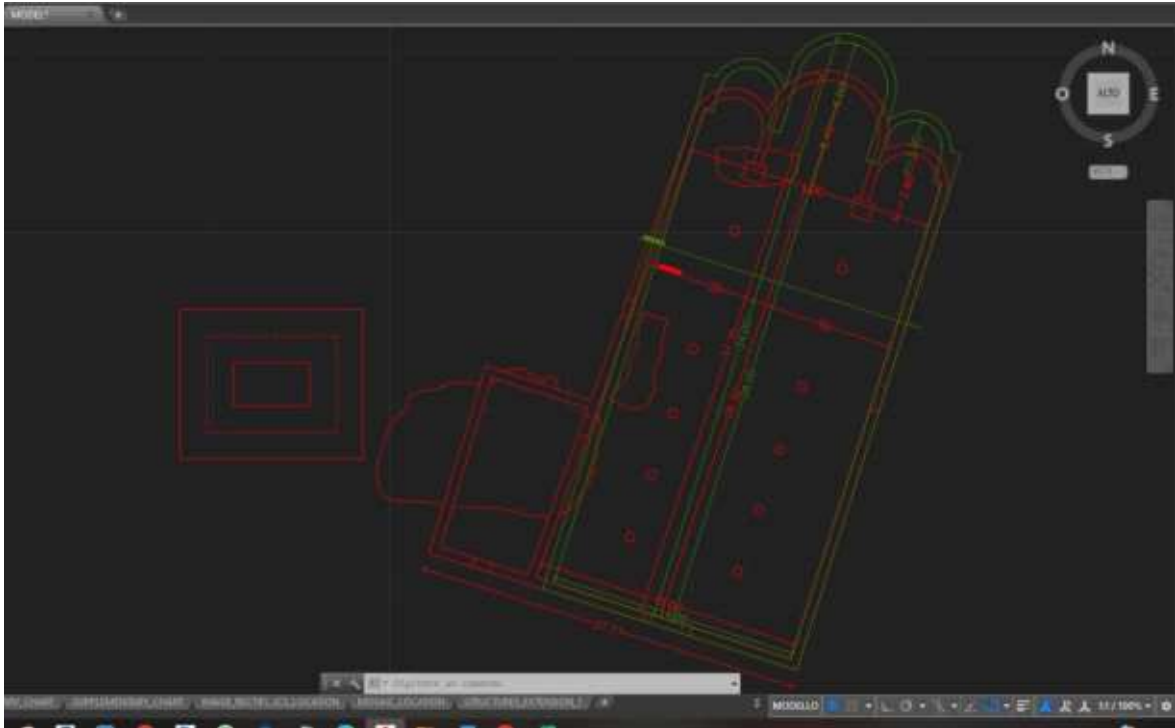


Fig.2.7: comparison between the planimetric survey reproduced by Marzemin (Red) and the one made by the Sub-commission (Green)

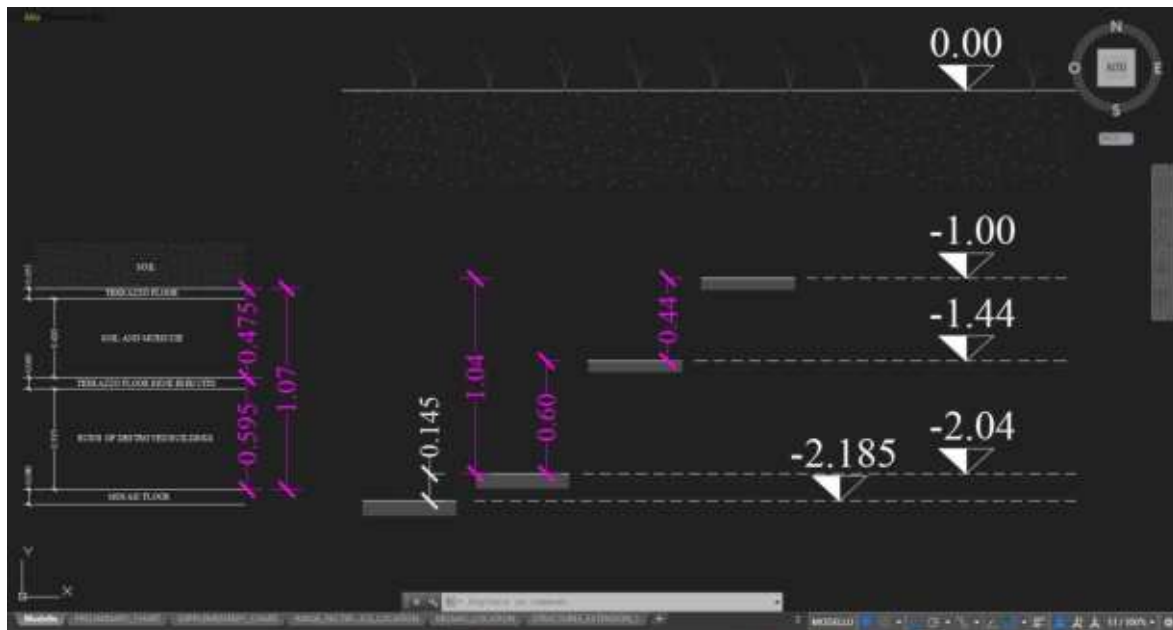


Fig.2.8: comparison between the stratigraphy reproduced by Marzemin (R) and the one made by the Sub-commission (L)



Fig.2.9: diggings progression at St. Ilario by 25 April 1874

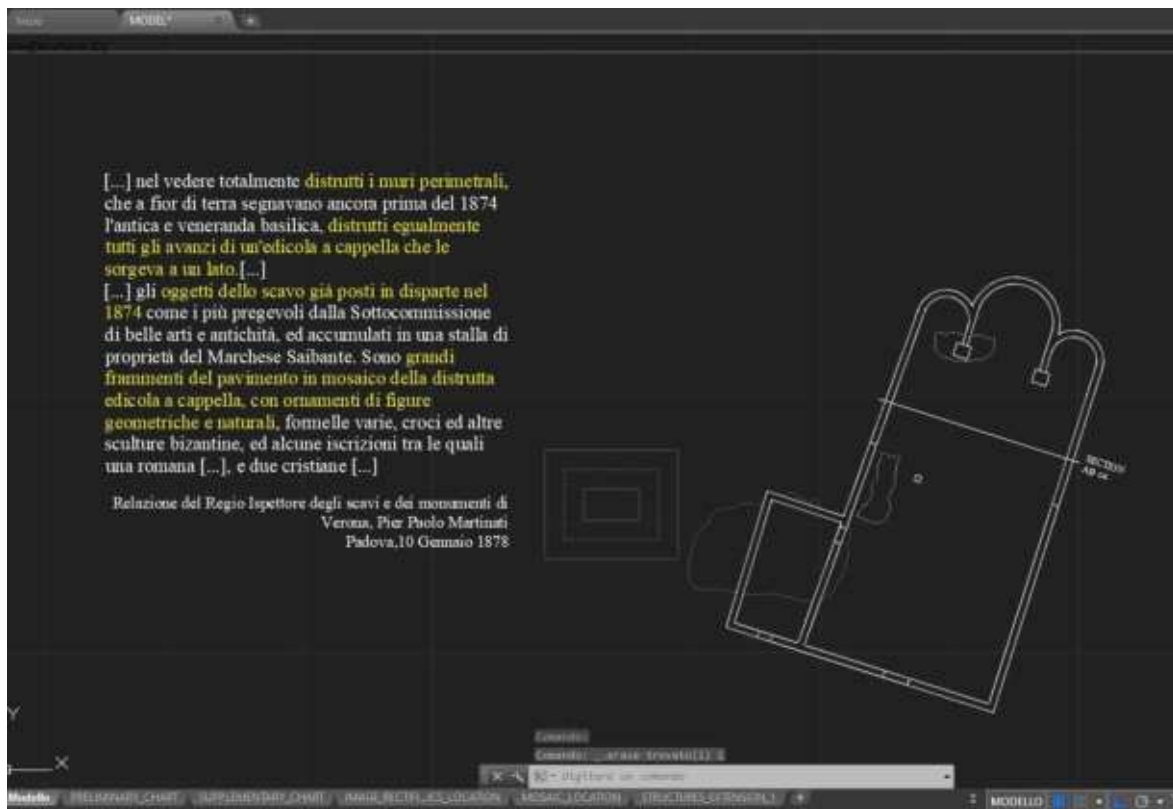


Fig.2.10: diggings progression at St. Ilario by September 1877

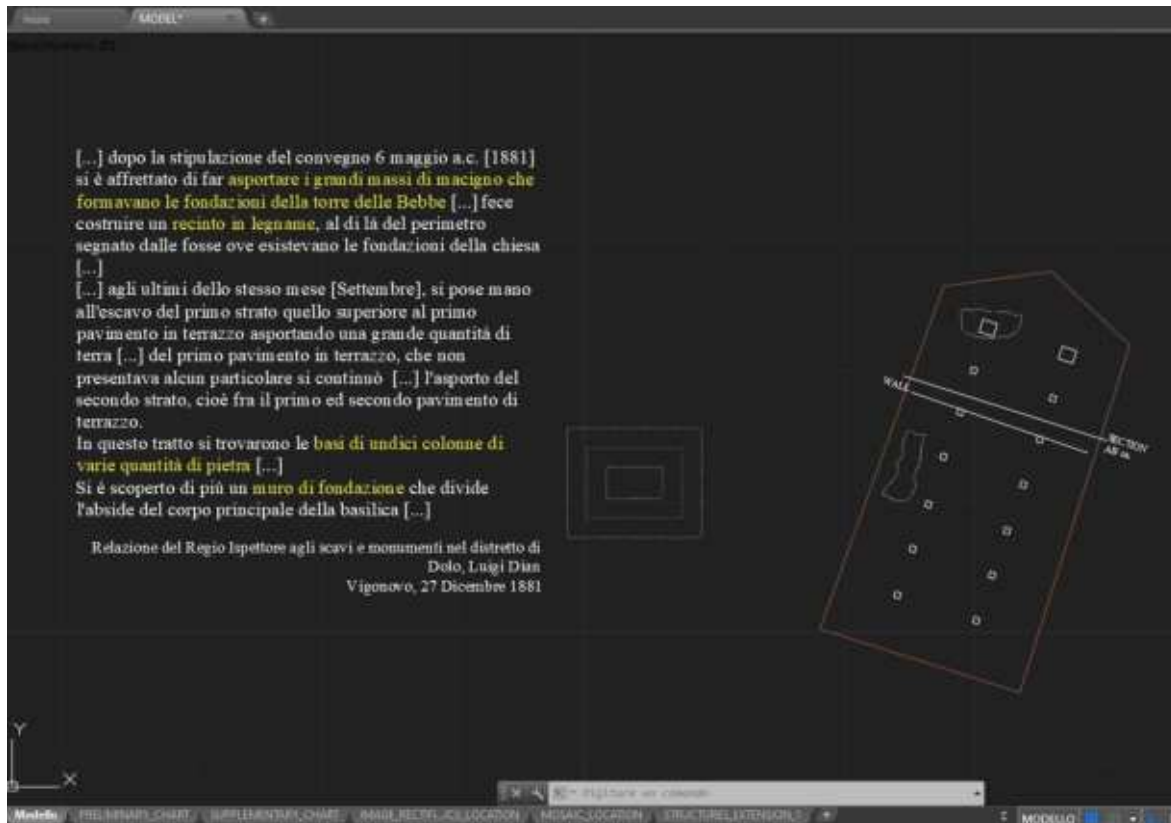


Fig.2.11: diggings progression at St. Ilario by 27 December 1881



Fig.2.12: diggings progression at St. Ilario by 6 May 1882

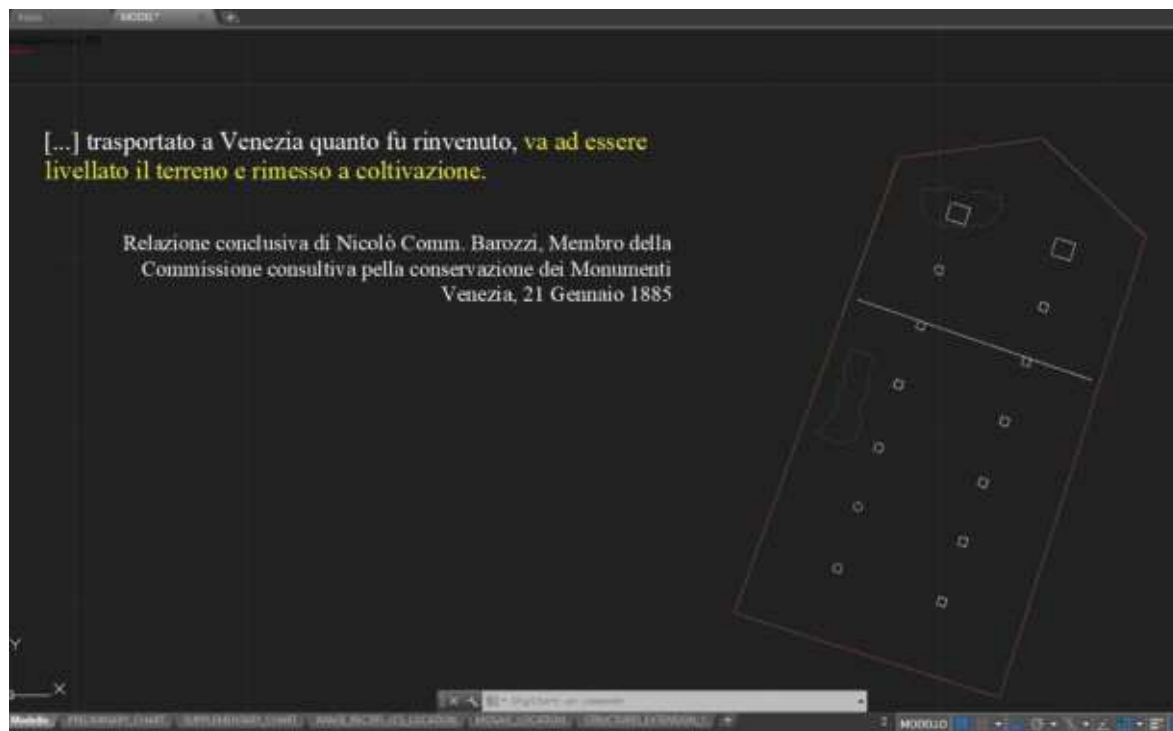


Fig.2.13: diggings progression at St. Ilario by 21 January 1885



Fig.2.14: Monastery of SS. Ilario and Benedetto, Church of SS. Ilario and Benedetto during excavations, ca 1882, Dogaletto di Mira (VE)



Fig.2.15: mosaic fragment (A) depicting a bestiary, IX century, Venezia, courtyard of the National Archaeological Museum (VE)

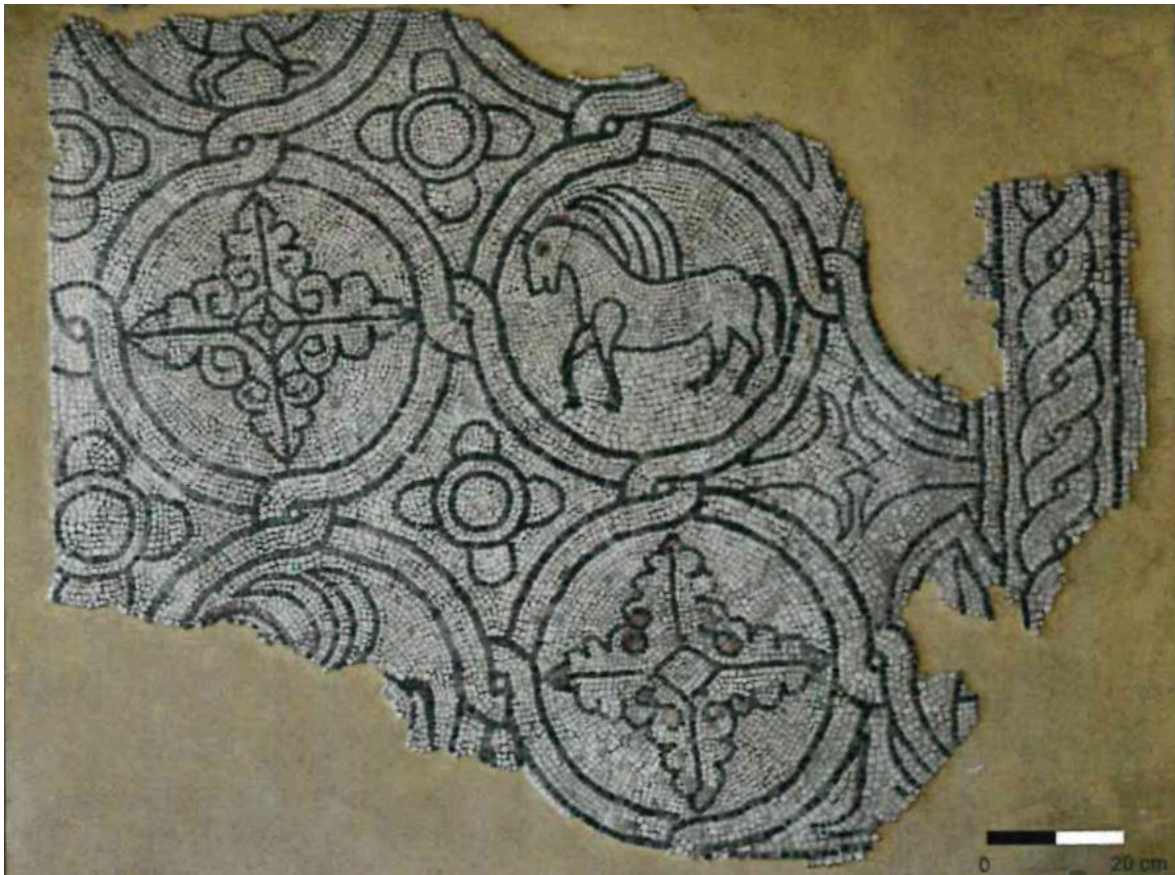


Fig.2.16: mosaic fragment (B) depicting a bestiary, IX century, Venezia, courtyard of the National Archaeological Museum (VE)



Fig.2.17: photo-rectification of the picture showing the diggings by means of RDF

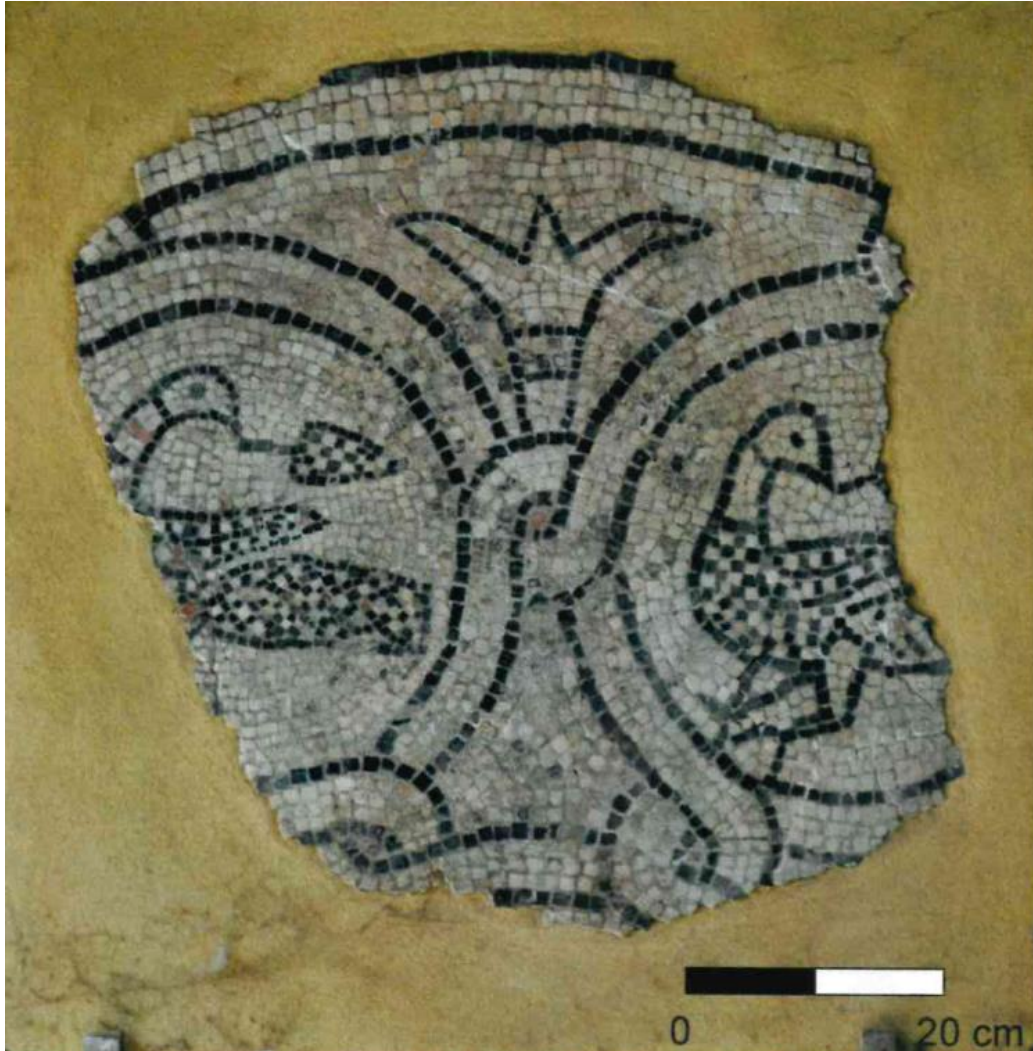


Fig.2.18: mosaic fragment (C) depicting a bestiary, IX century, Venezia, courtyard of the National Archaeological Museum (VE)

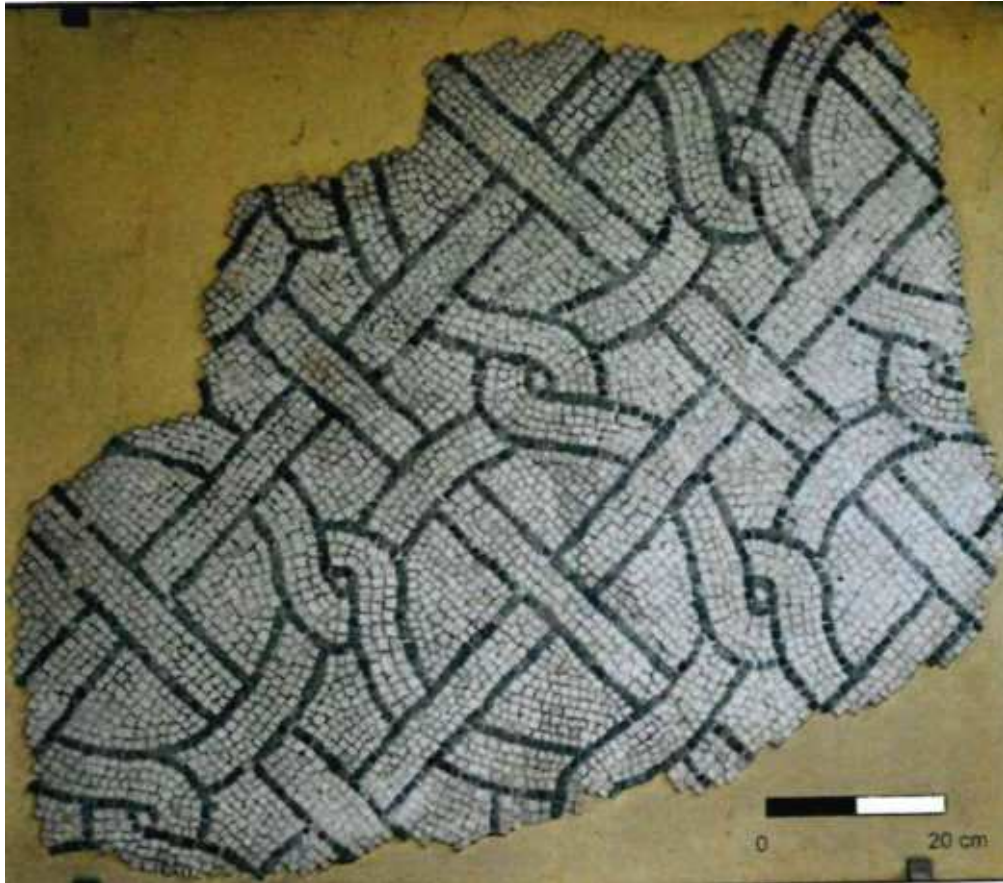


Fig.2.29: noniconic mosaic fragment (D), IX century, Venezia, courtyard of the National Archaeological Museum (VE)



Fig.2.20: mosaic fragments from the early Church of S. Ilario and S. Benedetto, ca 1882-1887, Venezia, Grande Loggia of the Civic Museo (Palazzo Correr)

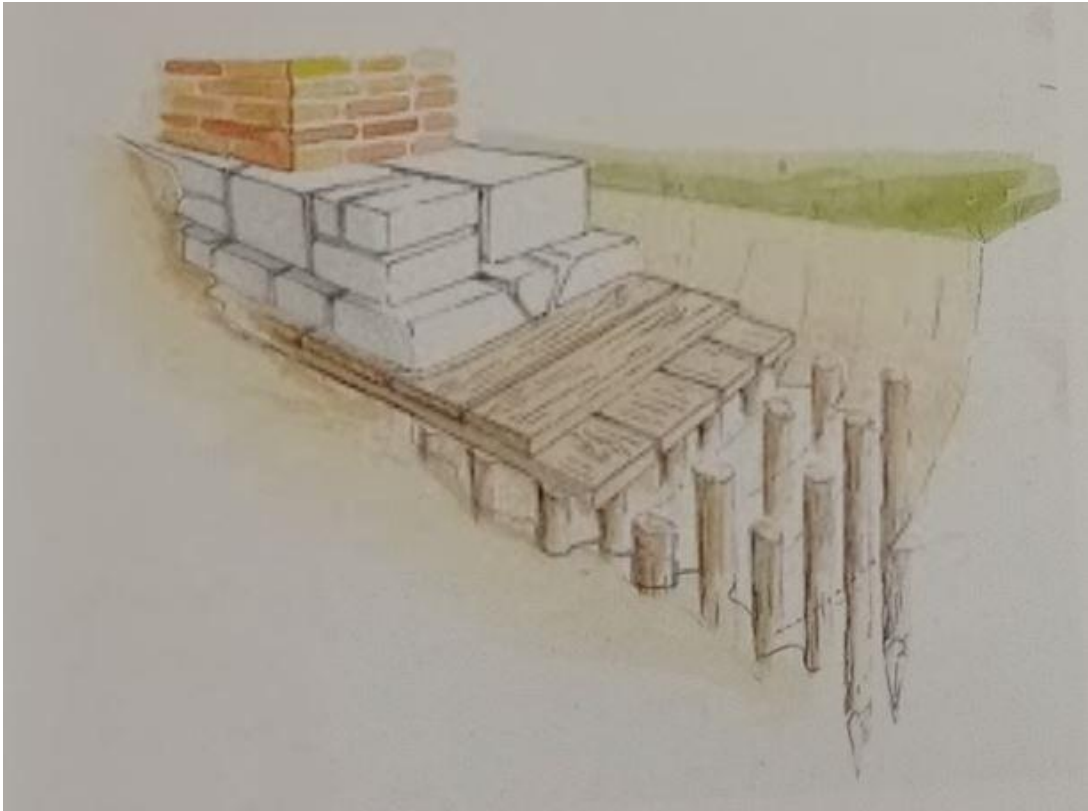


Fig.2.21: sub-foundations made of a wooden piling and a large raft

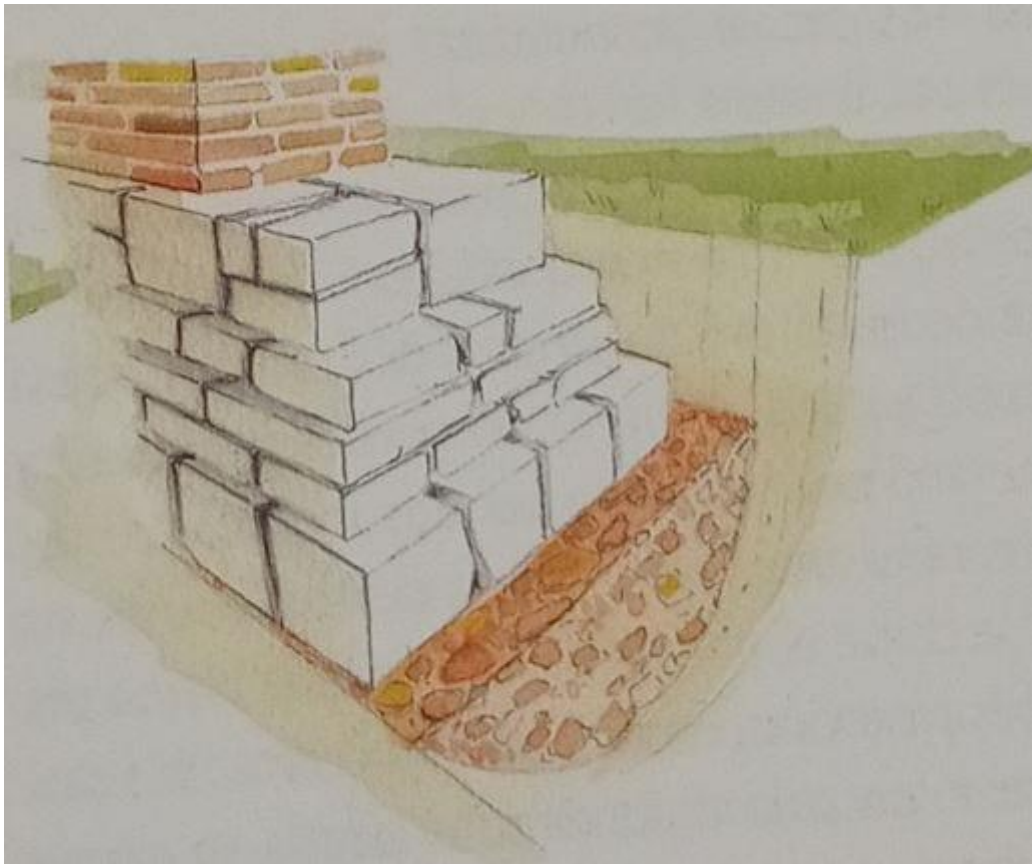


Fig.2.22: foundations set directly within the trenches

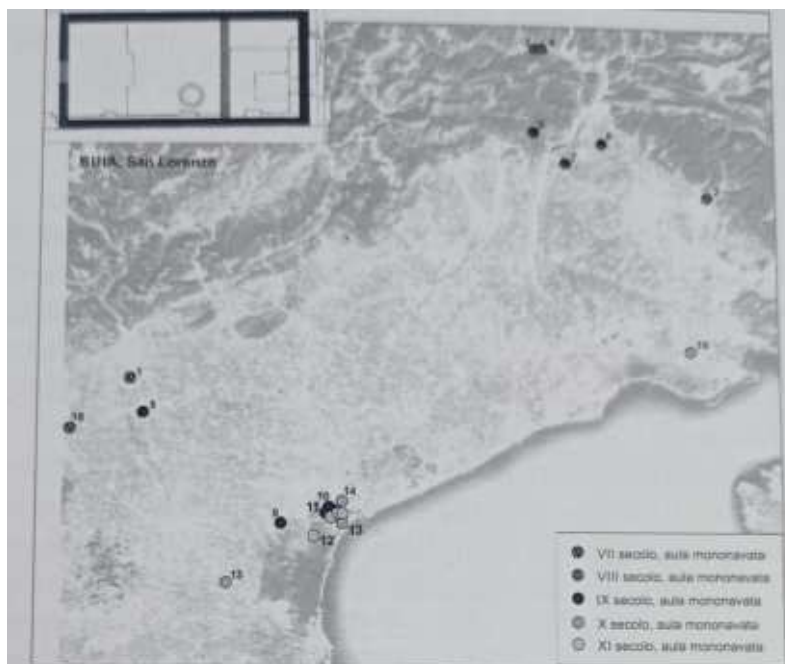


fig. 3 – Chiese anabsidi (tipologia A), mappa di diffusione. 1. ROSÀ (Vicenza), San Pietro I; 2. CIVIDALE DEL FRIULI (Udine), San Giovanni in Valle; 3. INVILLINO (Udine), Chiesa del Colle di Zuca; 4. INVILLINO (Udine), Santa Maria Maddalena sul Colle Sentino; 5. VITO D'ASIO (Udine), San Martino di Clauzetto; 6. SAN DANIELE DEL FRIULI (Udine), San Daniele in Castello; 7. BUIA (Udine), San Lorenzo; 8. CITTADELLA (Padova), San Donato I; 9. VENEZIA, Sant'Ilario a Dogaletto; 10. VENEZIA, Ss. Sergio e Bacco (VIII secolo); 11. VENEZIA, San Servolo; San Severo; San Provolo; Sant'Antonino; San Giovanni in Bragora; San Gregorio; San Barnaba (IX secolo); 12. VENEZIA, San Simeone; San Giacomo dell'Orio; San Cassiano (ora Santa Cecilia); San Nicolò dei Mendicoli; Ss. Biagio e Cataldo; Santa Eufemia; San Vito (ora Ss. Vito e Modesto)/San Samuele (X secolo); 13. VENEZIA, San Pantalon; Sant'Apollinare; San Silvestro; San Lio; Santa Maria Nova, Santissima Trinità; San Martino; San Biagio; San Leonardo; Santa Maria Maddalena (XI secolo); 14. MURANO (Venezia), San Salvatore; 15. PIOVE DI SACCO (Padova), San Martino I; 16. AQUILEIA (Udine), Chiesa dei Pagani; 17. TRIESTE, San Silvestro; 18. COSTABISSARA, San Zeno I.

Fig.2.23: examples of early medieval churches (VII-IX) without apses in northern Italy

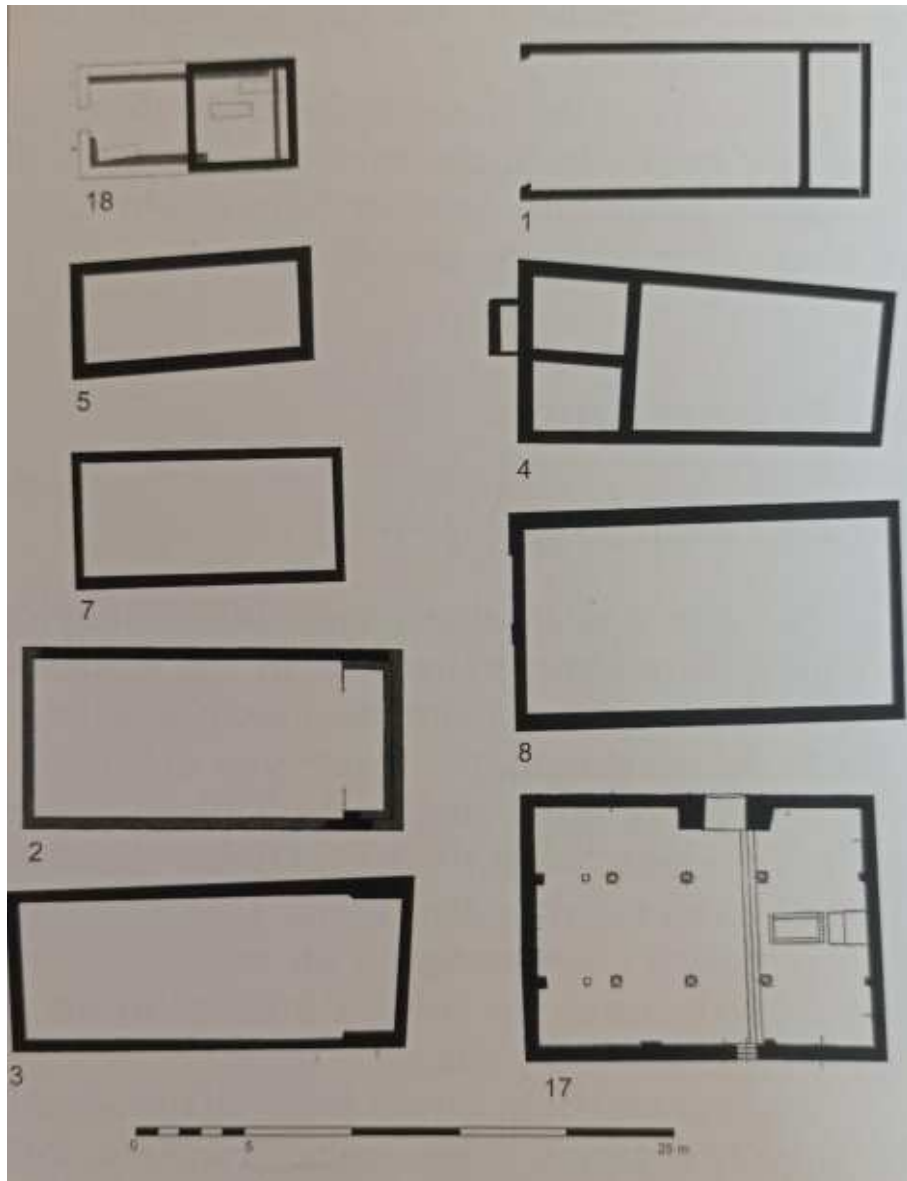


Fig.2.24: planimetric examples of early medieval churches (VII-IX) without apses in northern Italy

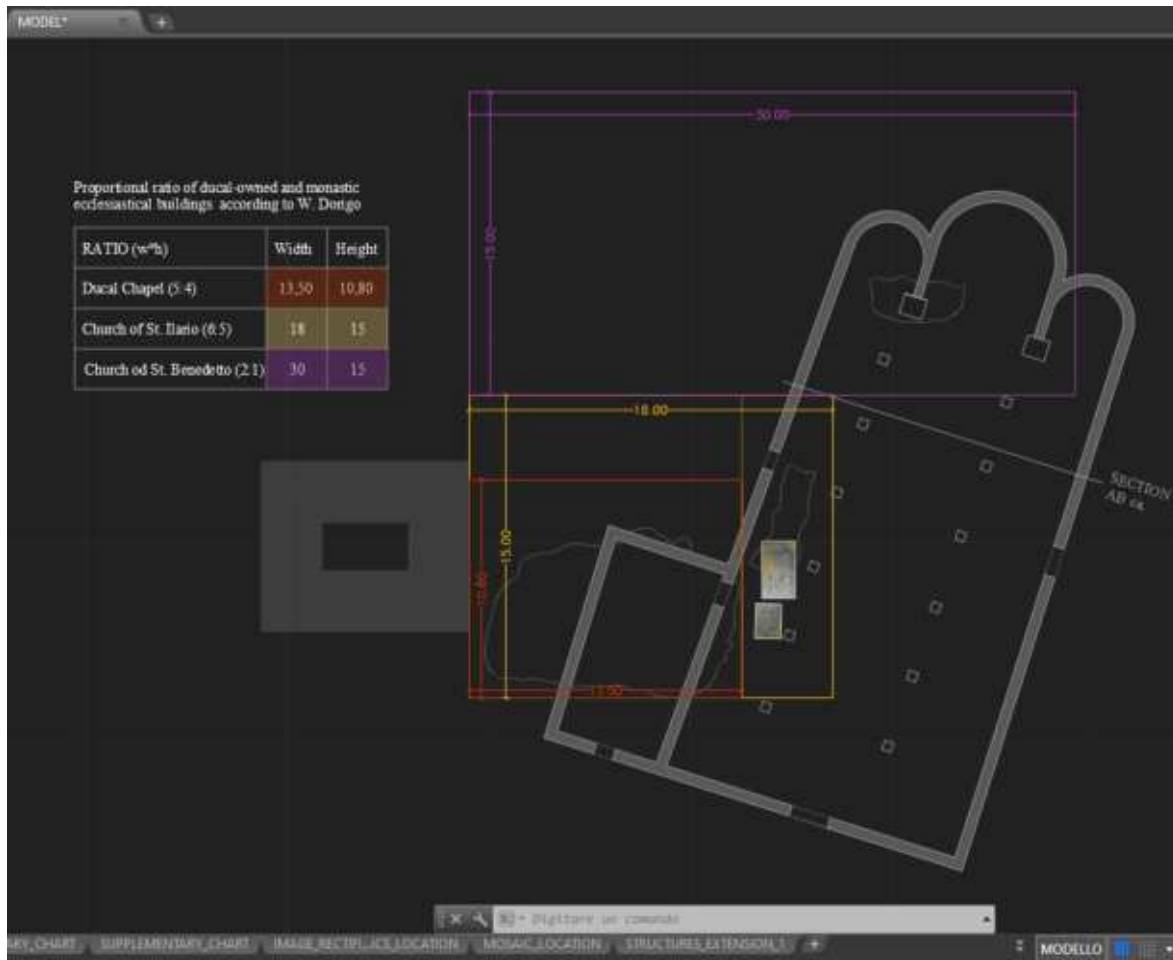


Fig.2.25: possible extension and ratios (w/h) of the early medieval building of St. Ilario and Benedetto (IX century). Alternative 1: Chapel of St. Ilario (red), Church of St. Ilario (yellow), Church of St. Benedetto (purple)

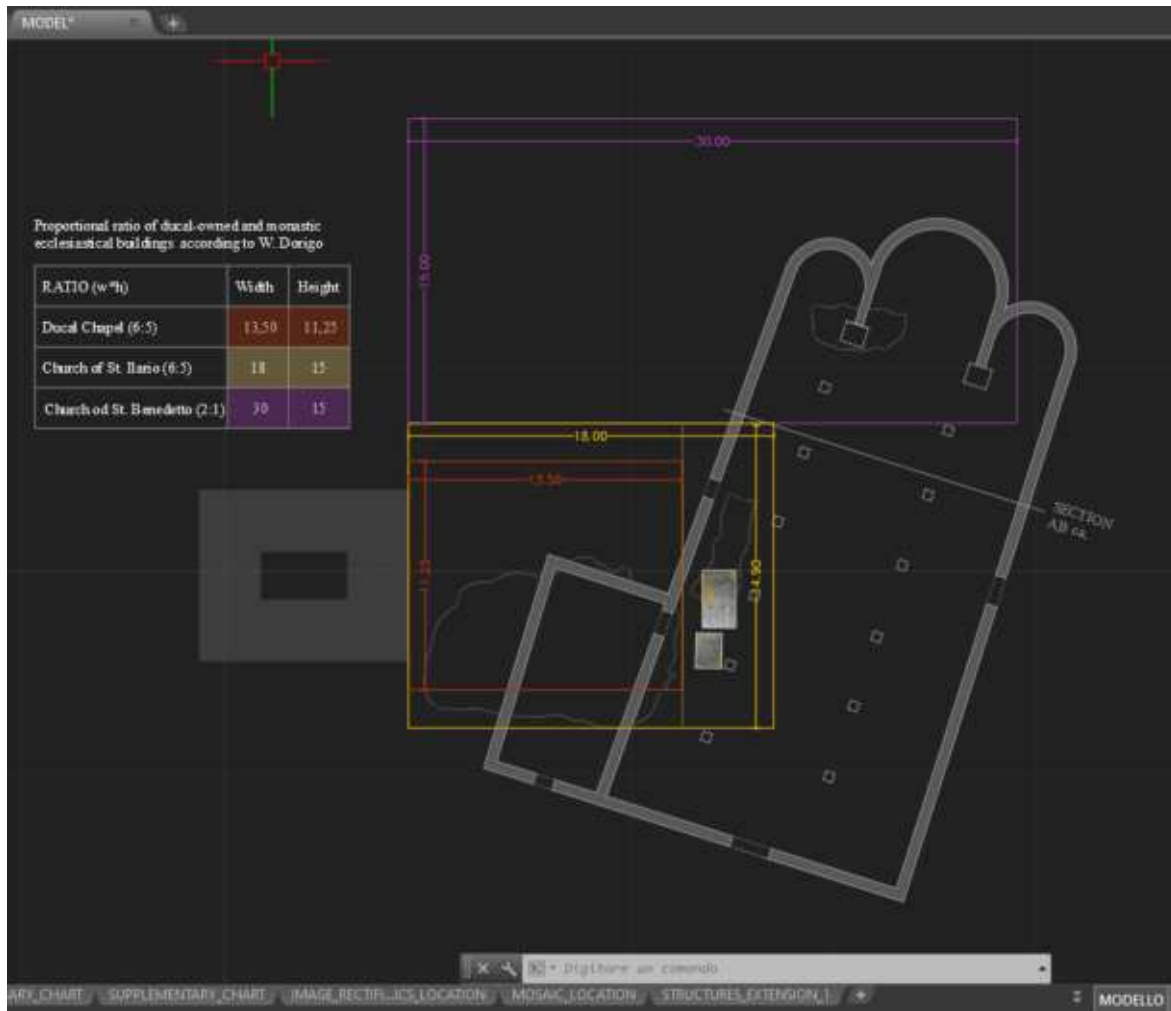


Fig.2.26: possible extension and ratios (w/h) of the early medieval building of St. Ilario and Benedetto (IX century). Alternative 2: Chapel of St. Ilario (red), Church of St. Ilario (yellow), Church of St. Benedetto (purple)

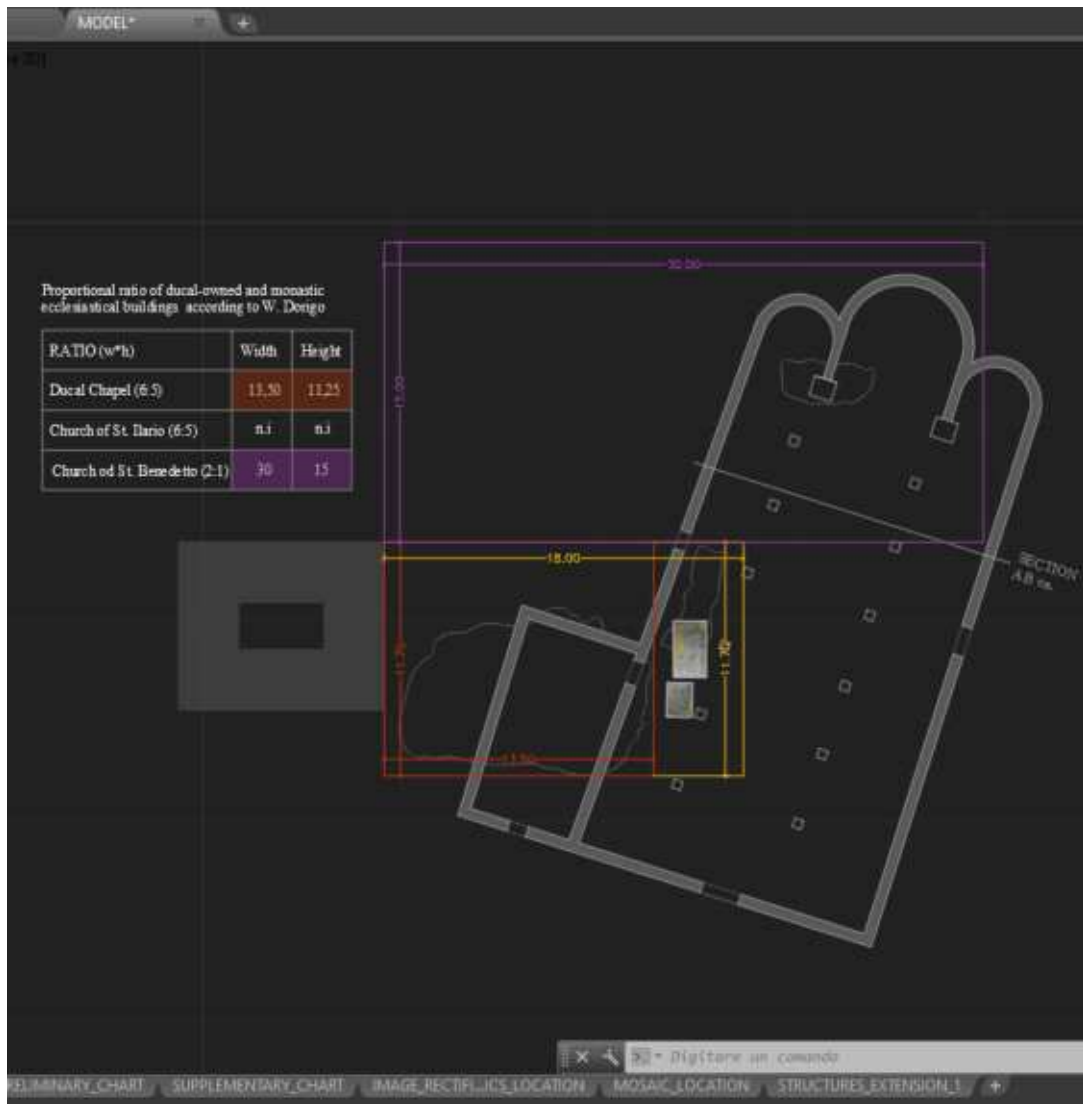


Fig.2.27: possible extension and ratios (w/h) of the early medieval building of St. Ilario and Benedetto (IX century). Alternative 3: Chapel of St. Ilario (red), Church of St. Ilario (yellow), Church of St. Benedetto (purple)

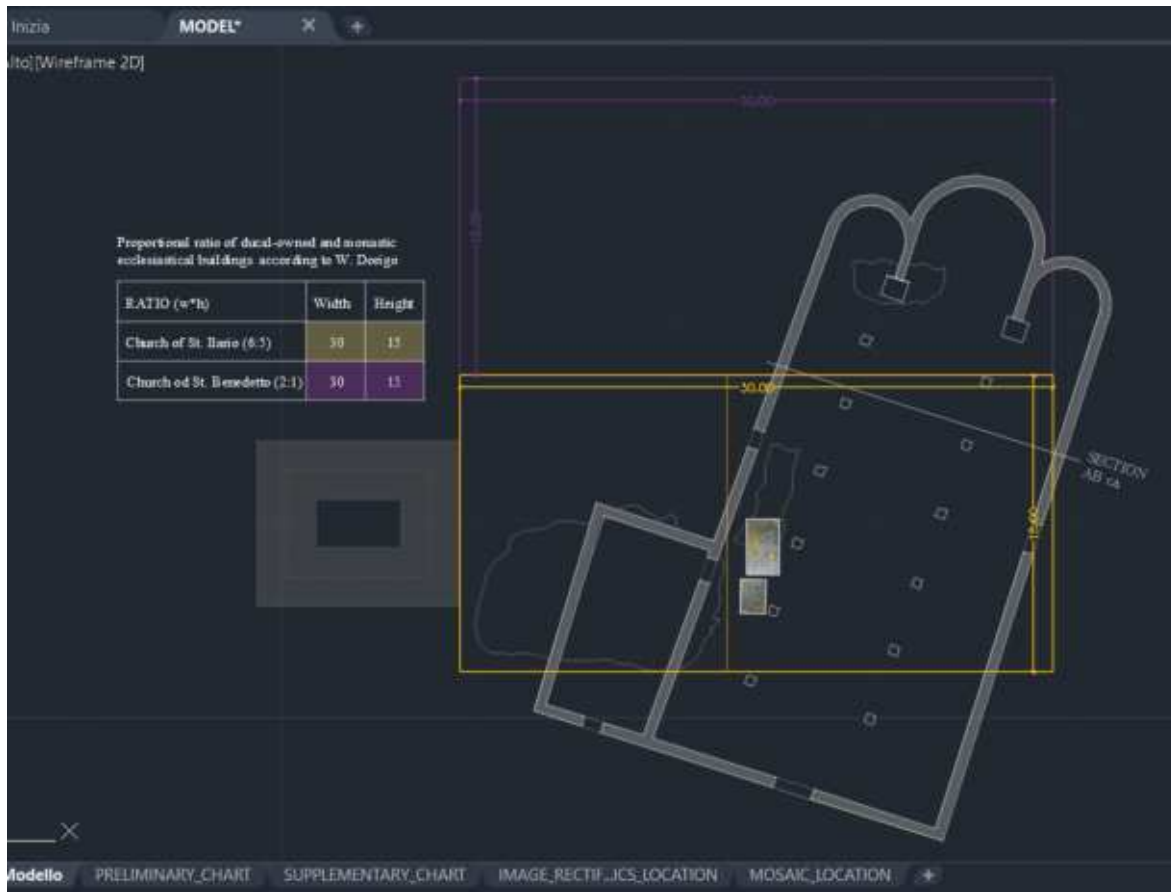


Fig.2.28: possible extension and ratios (w/h) of the early medieval building of St. Ilario and Benedetto (IX century). Scenario 4: Chapel of St. Ilario (red), Church of St. Ilario (yellow), Church of St. Benedetto (purple)

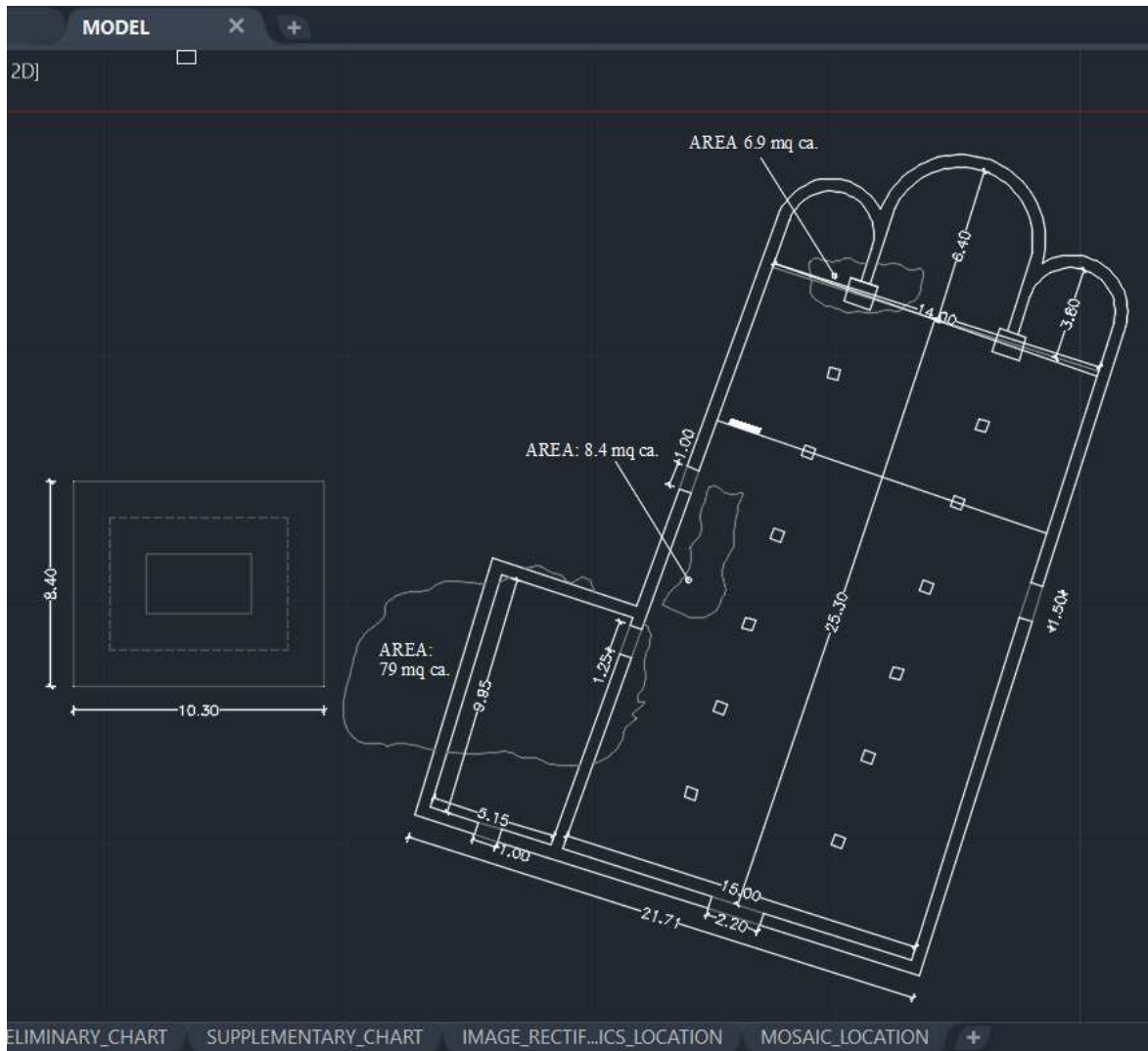


Fig.2.29: planimetric survey and measurements of the late medieval church of SS. Ilario and Benedetto

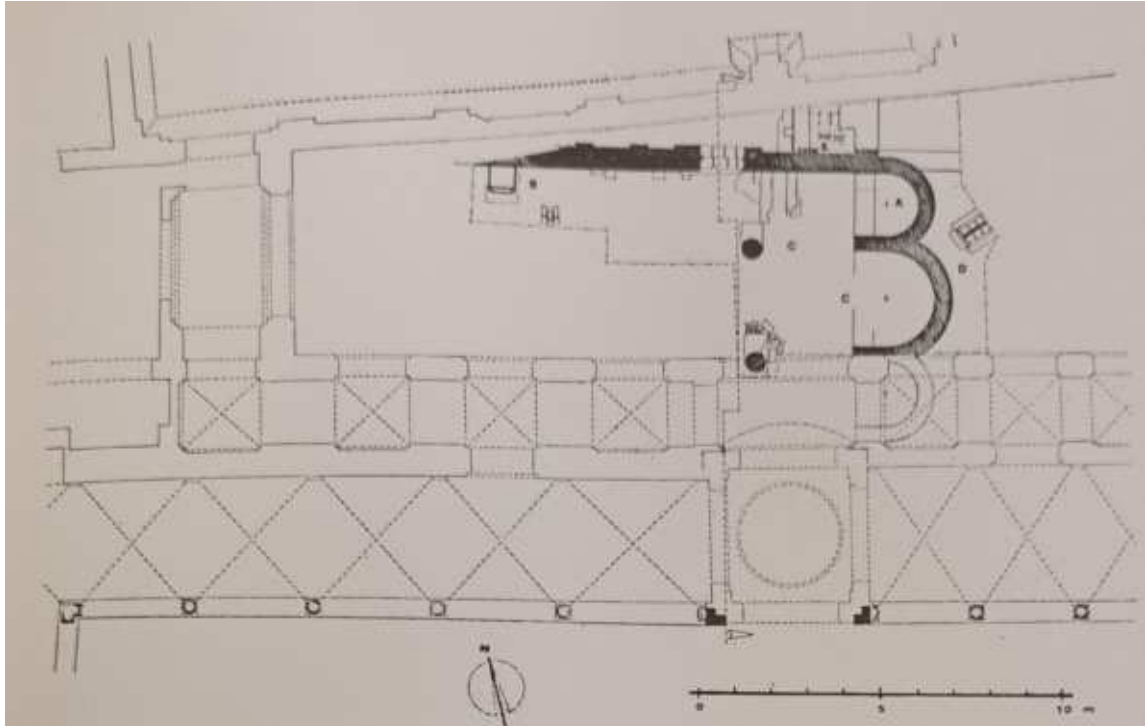


Fig.2.30: planimetry of the excavation conducted in 1970 at the monastery of Santa Maria Teodote in Pavia, detail of the tower, tangent to the oratory of S. Michele alla Pusterla and included in the cloister, dated by Peroni between the VIII and X centuries

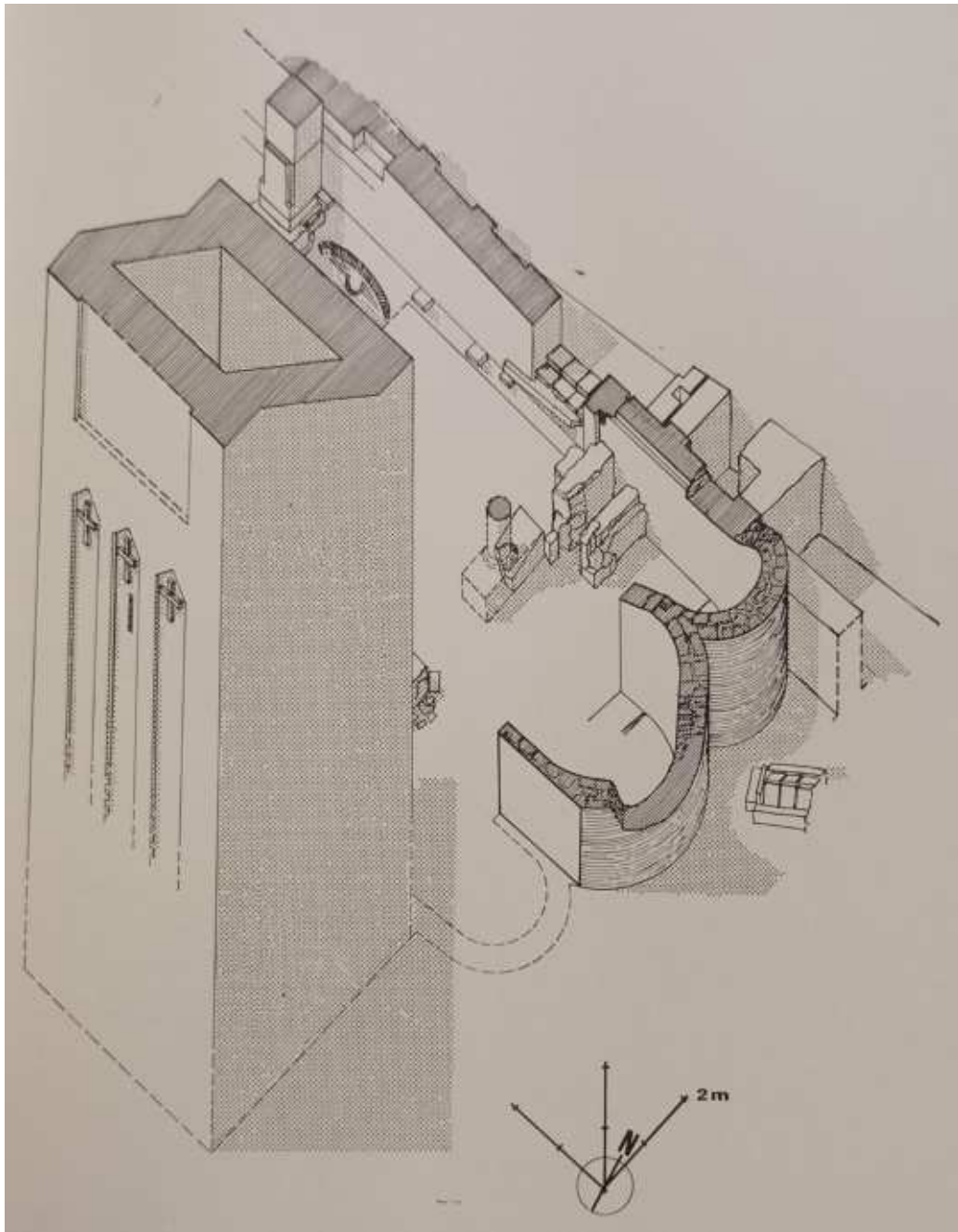


Fig.2.31: axonometry of the early medieval tower and the oratory of St. Michele alla Pusterla, monastery of Santa Maria Teodote in Pavia

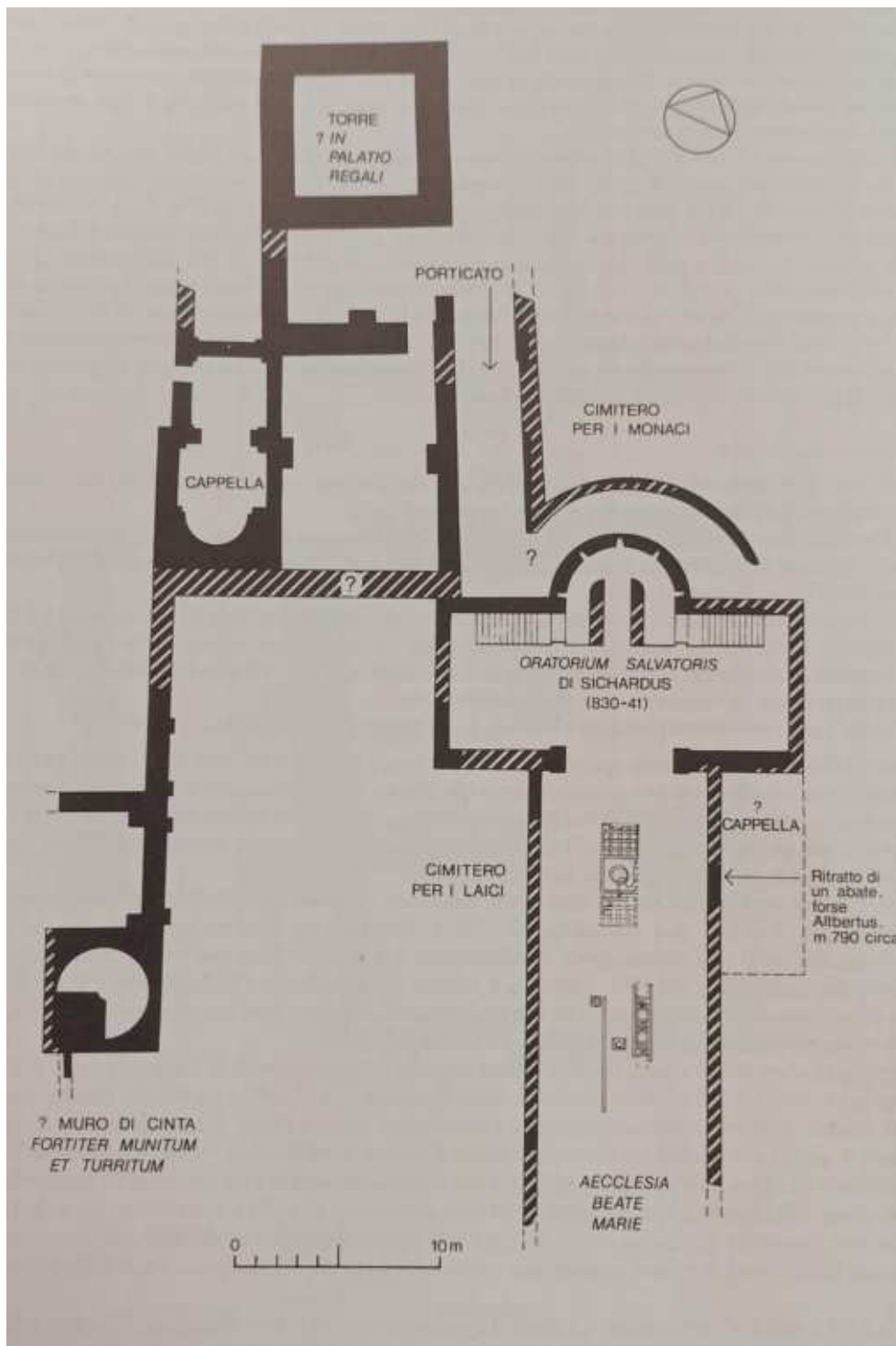


Fig.2.32: hypothetical reconstruction of the ground plan of the medieval complex of Farfa Abbey, showing the chapel and the 'Torrione', the latter dated around the IX century



Fig.2.33: Torba Tower belonging to the monastery of Torba, ca V-VI centuries, central part remodeled between the VIII and IX centuries

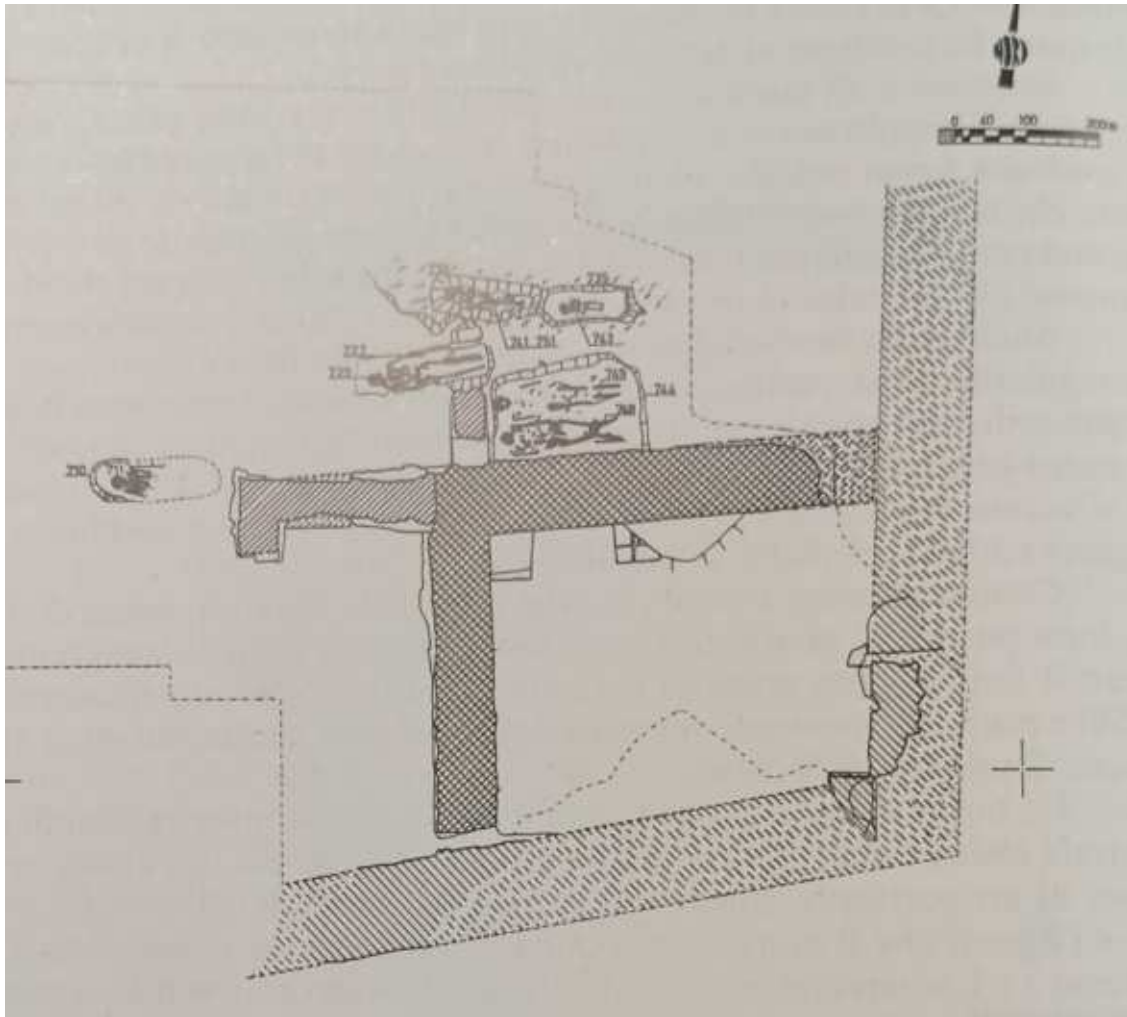


Fig.2.34: Monselice Tower, first building belonging to first decades of the VII century

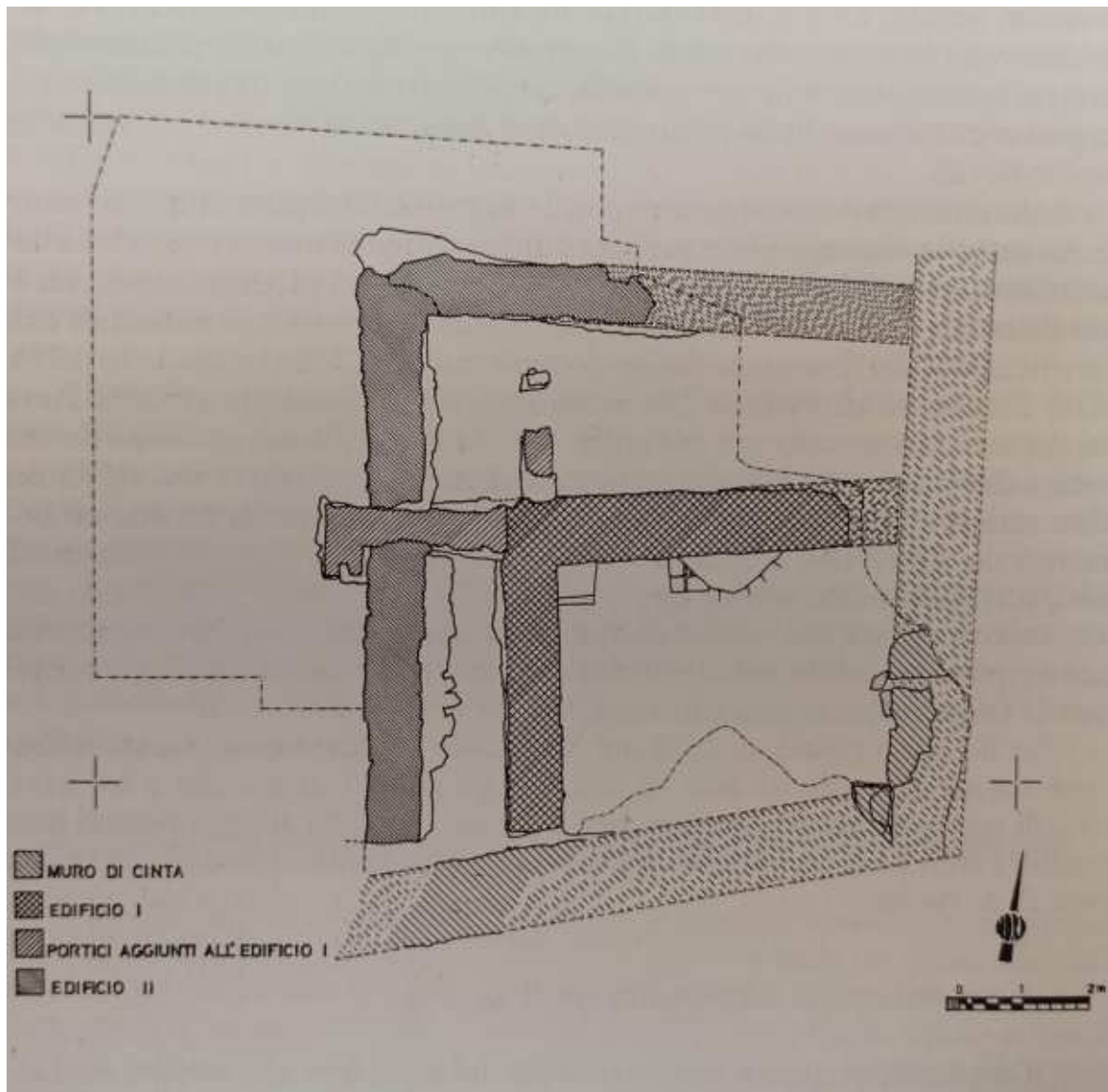


Fig.2.35: Monselice Tower, new building belonging to the second half of the VII century

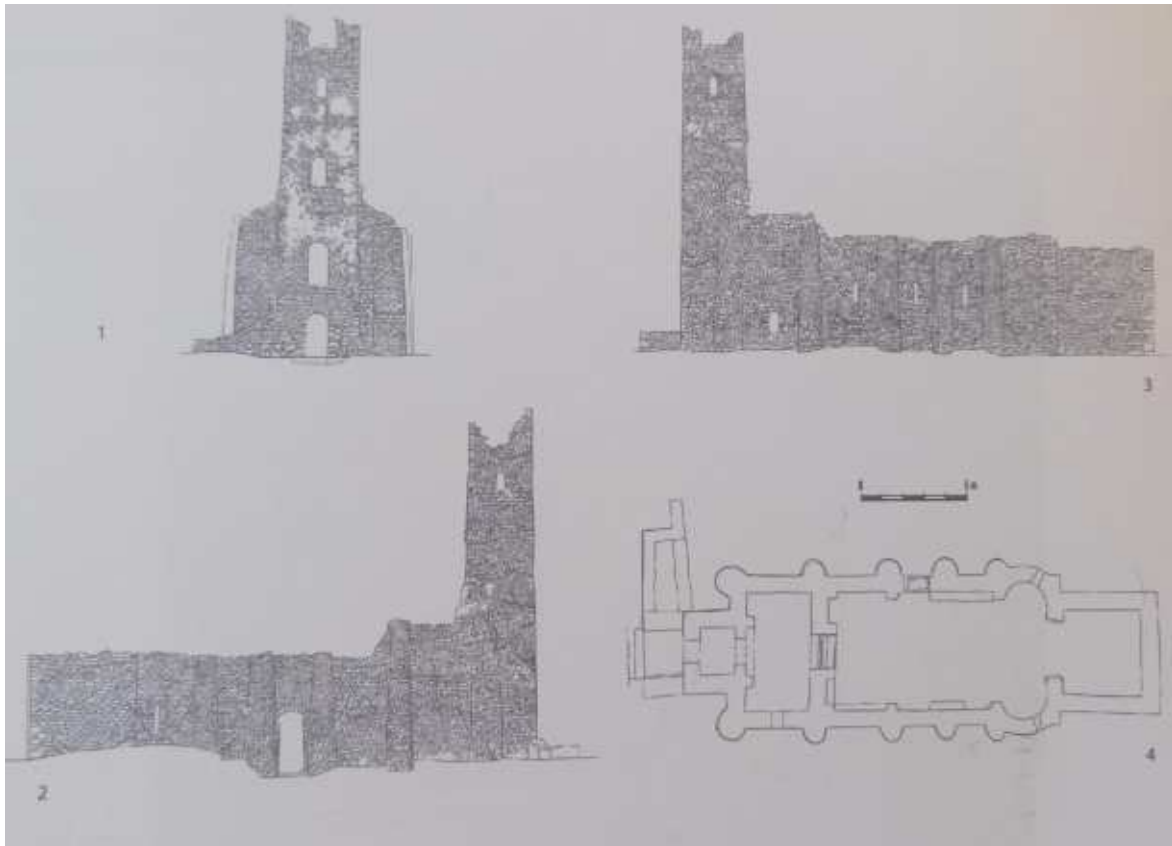


Fig.2.36: survey of the Church of St. Salvatore in Cettina, ca 880

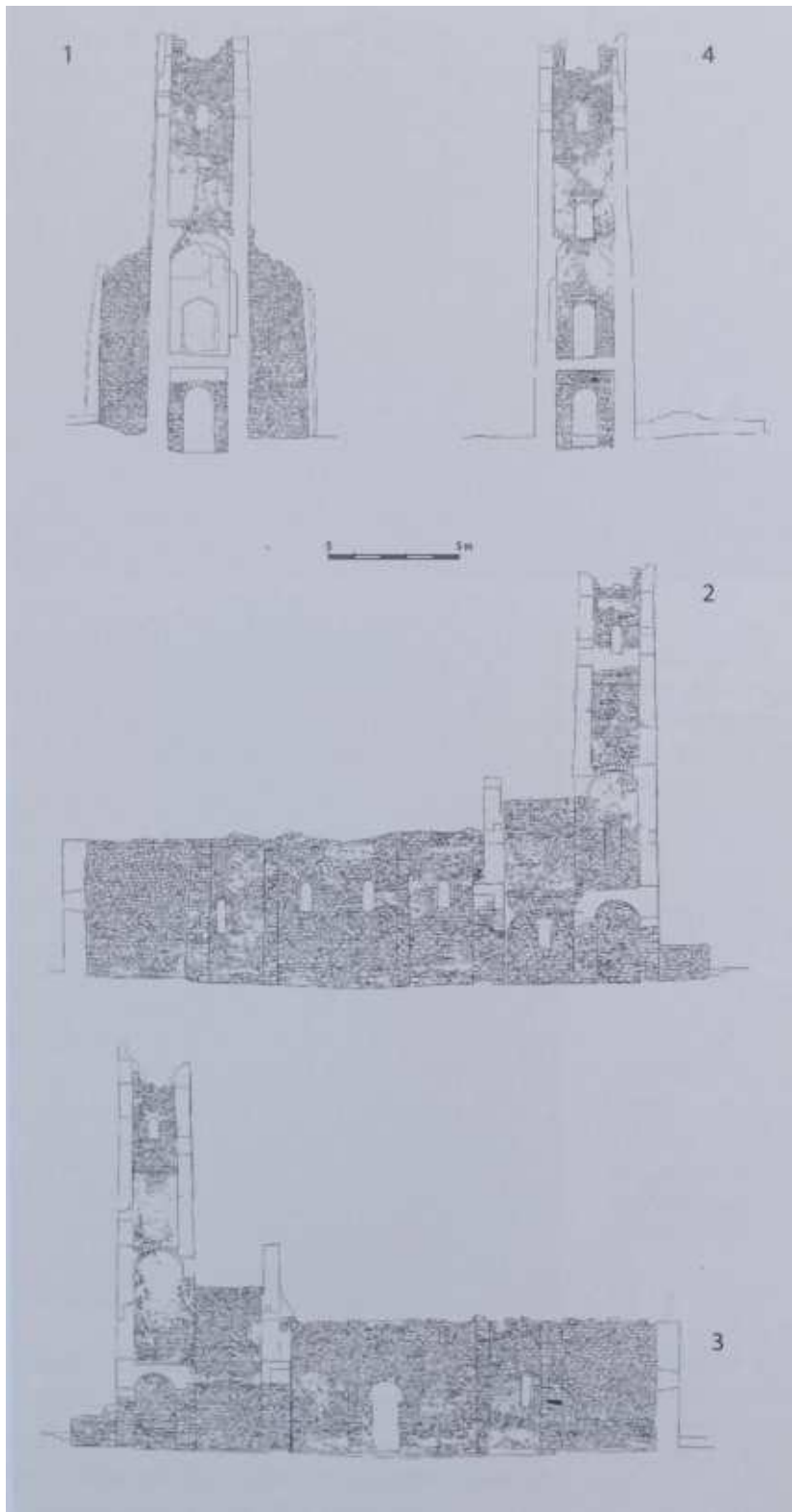


Fig.2.37: cross-sections of the 'Westwerk' of the Church of St. Salvatore in Cettina, ca 880

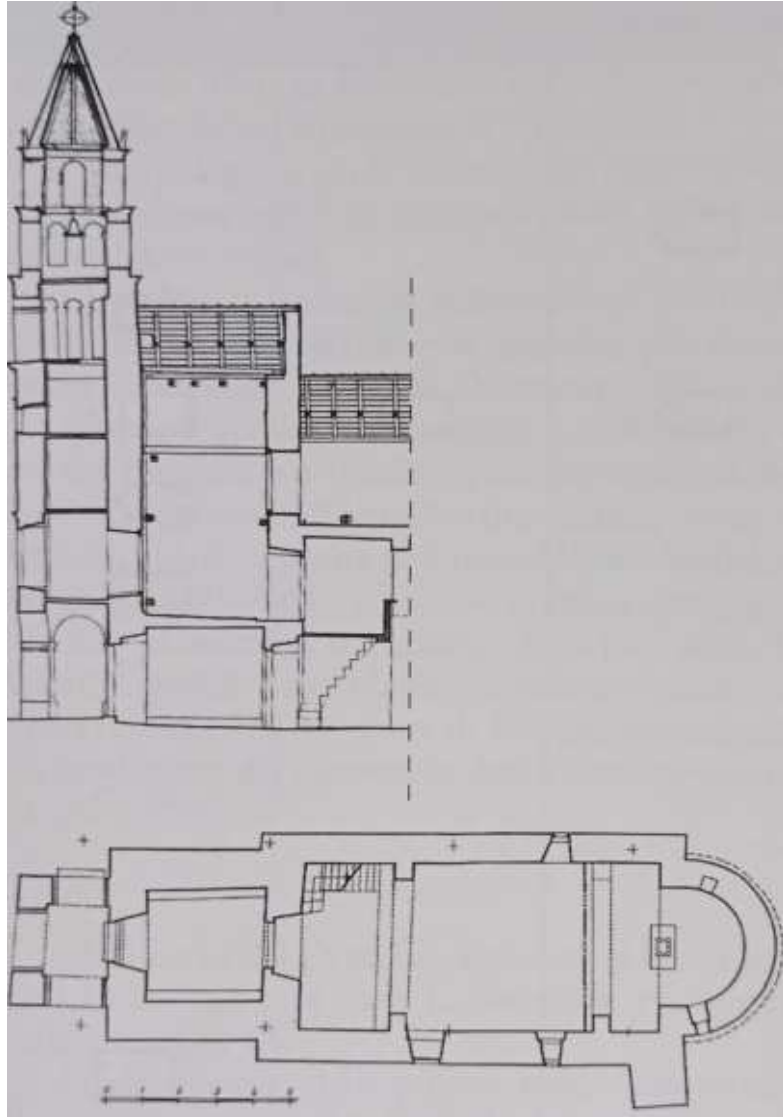


Fig.2.38: cross-sections of the 'Westwerk' of the Church of St. Etienne in Golubić, late IX century

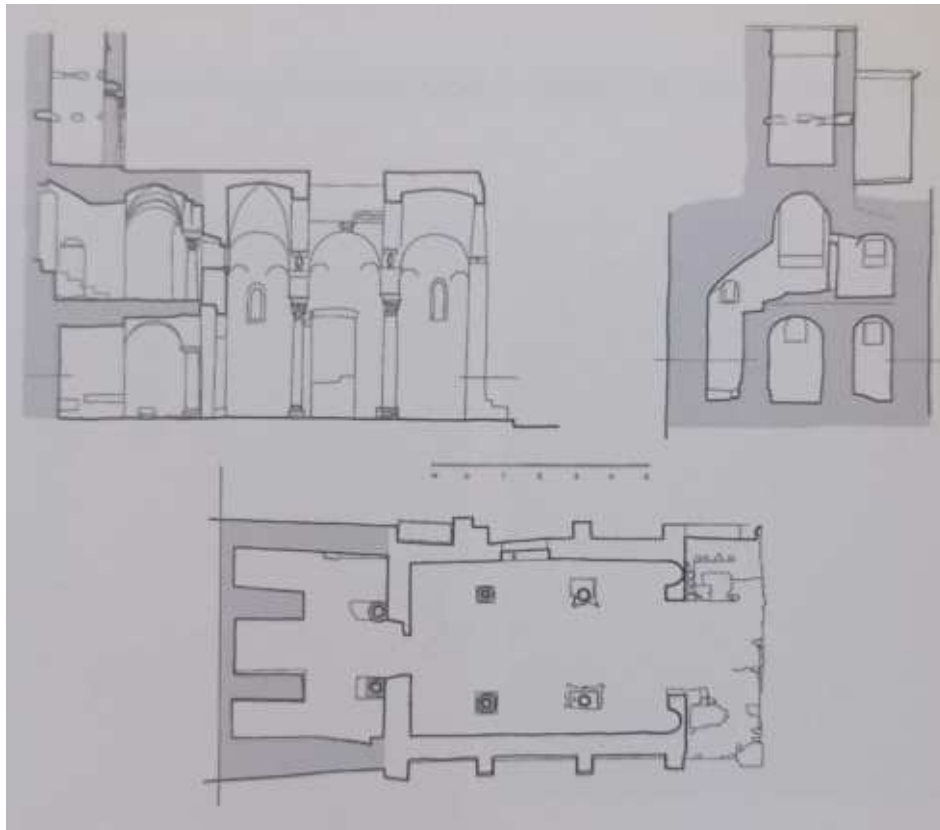


Fig.2.39: cross-sections of the 'Westwerk' of the Church of St. Lorenzo in Zara, ca X-XI centuries

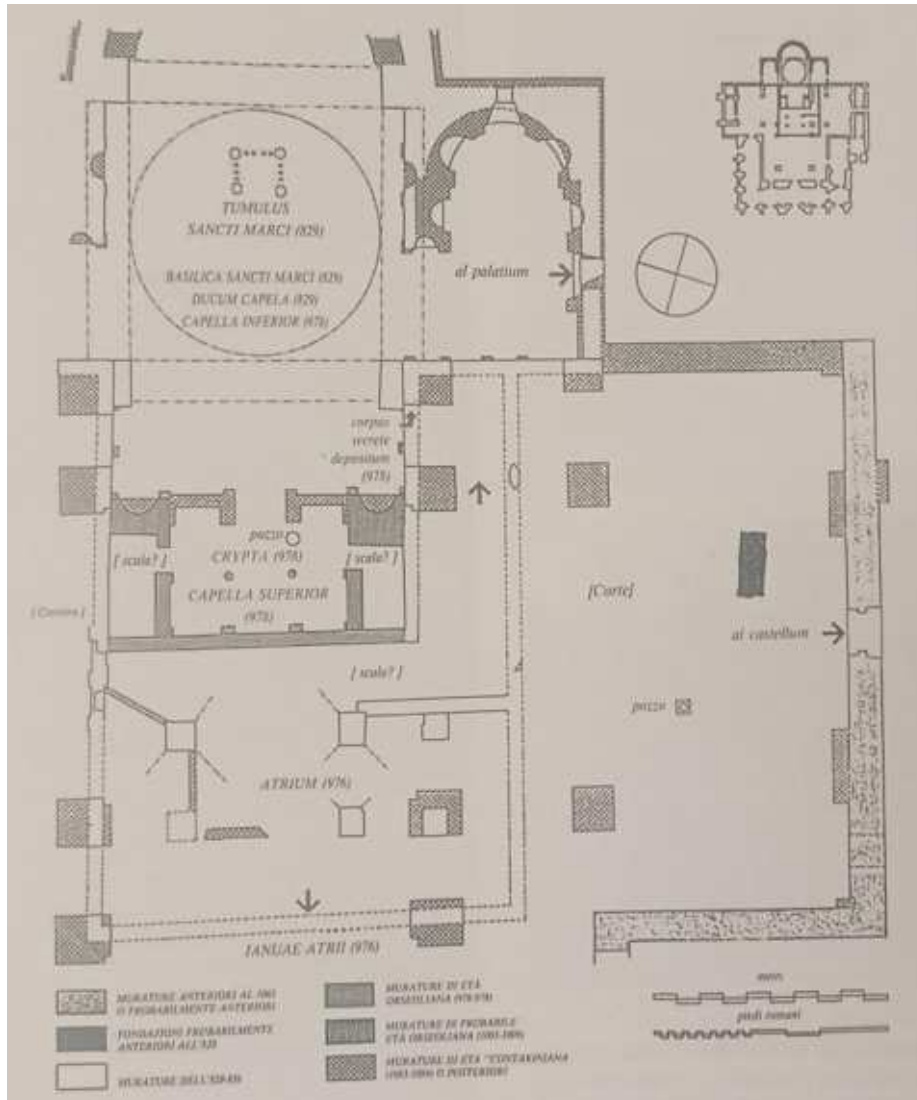


Fig.2.40: possible Carolingian-type forepart, a *Westwerk*-like avant-corps in front of the martyr Chapel of St. Marco (ca 829-836)

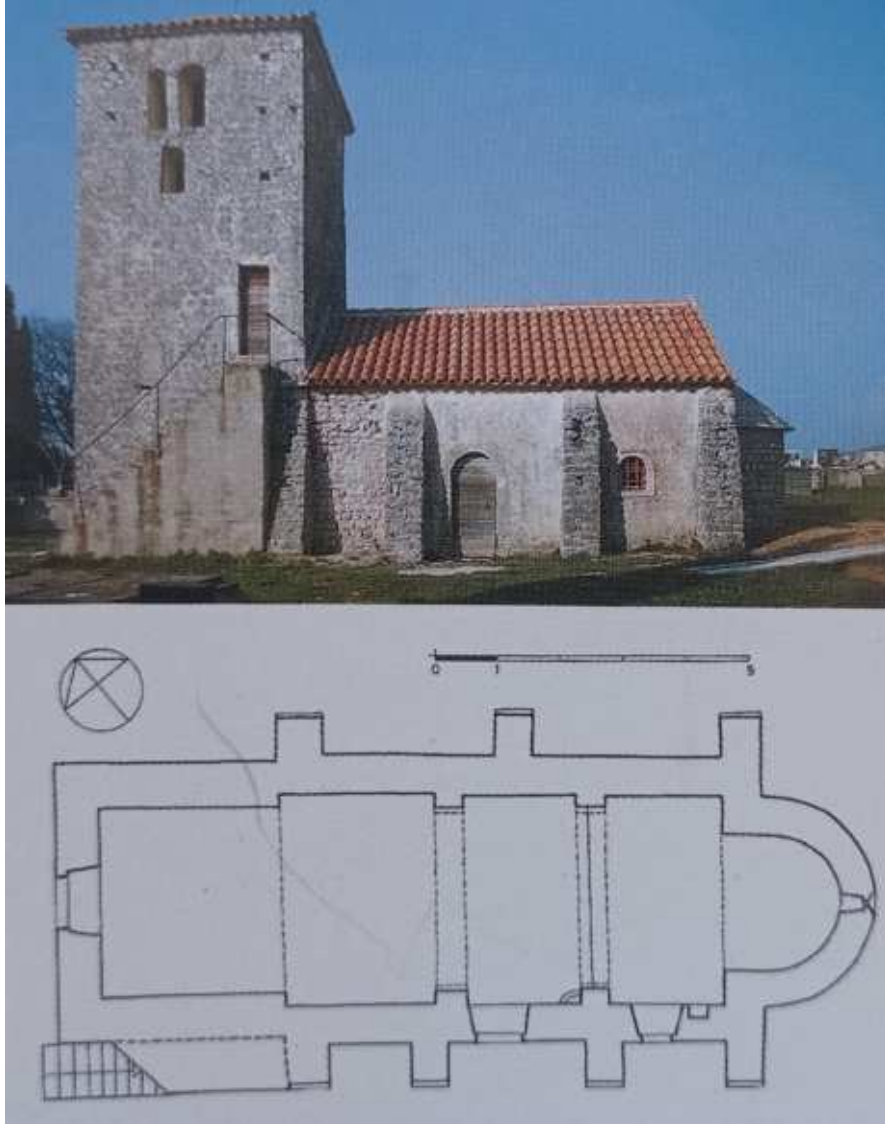


Fig.2.41: massive bell tower on the façade of the Romanesque Church of St. Giovanni in Banjevici

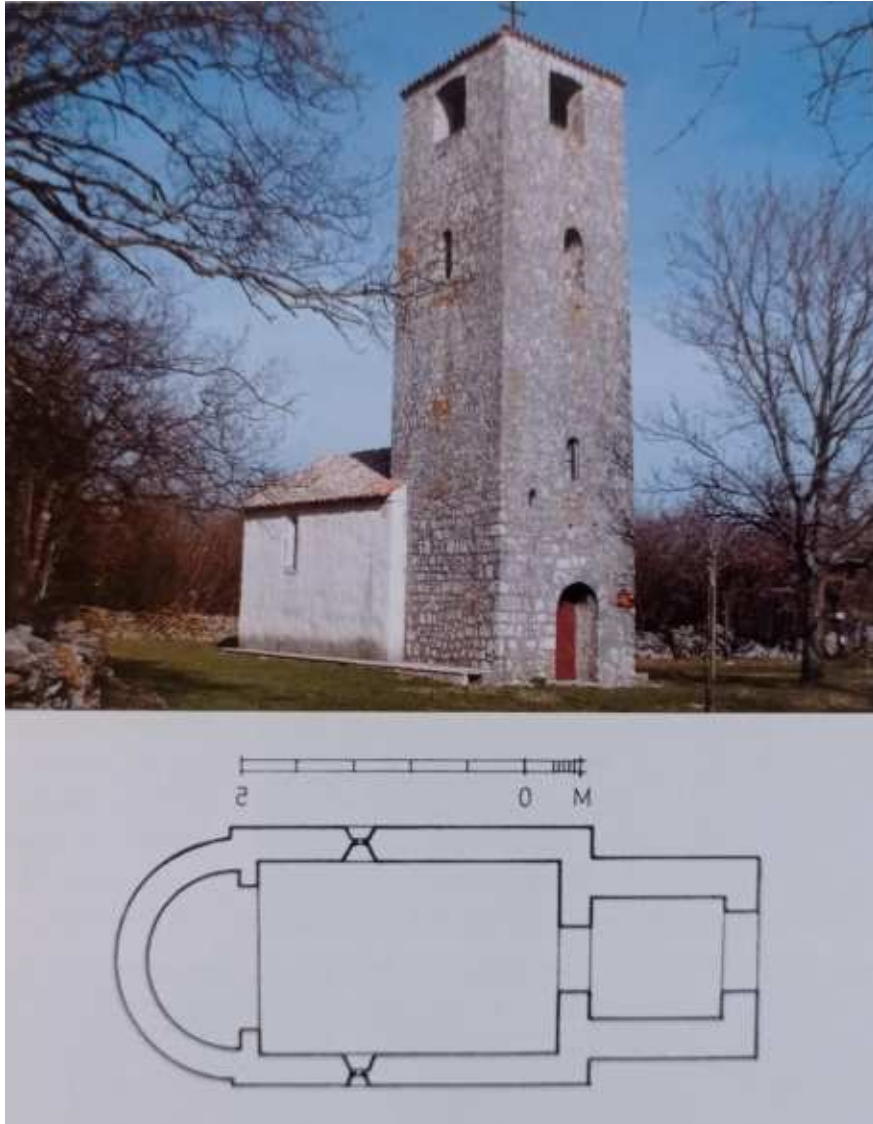


Fig.2.42: massive bell tower on the façade of the Romanesque Church of St. Vito in Dobrinj on the island of Veglia



Fig.2.43: massive bell tower on the façade of the Romanesque Church of St. Lucia in Bescanuova on the island of Kirk



Fig.2.44: Bell tower of the Church of Santa Maria della Lode in Vescovio, XI century

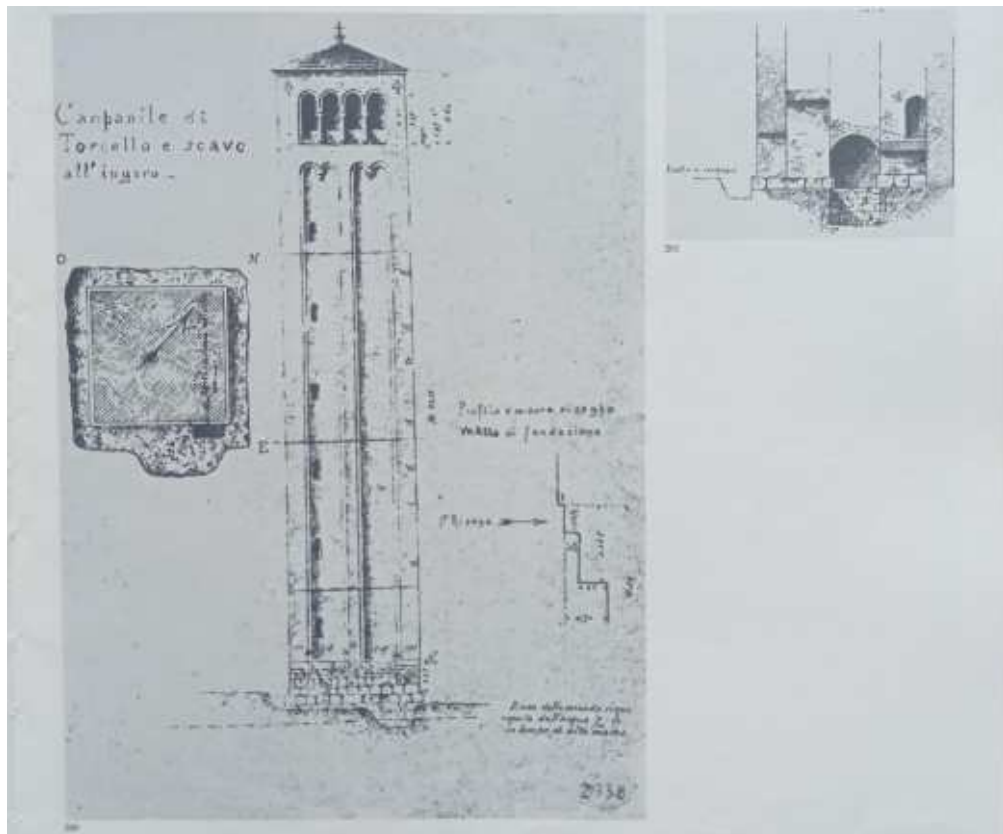


Fig2.46: survey of the bell tower of the Church of Santa Maria Assunta in Torcello, XI century

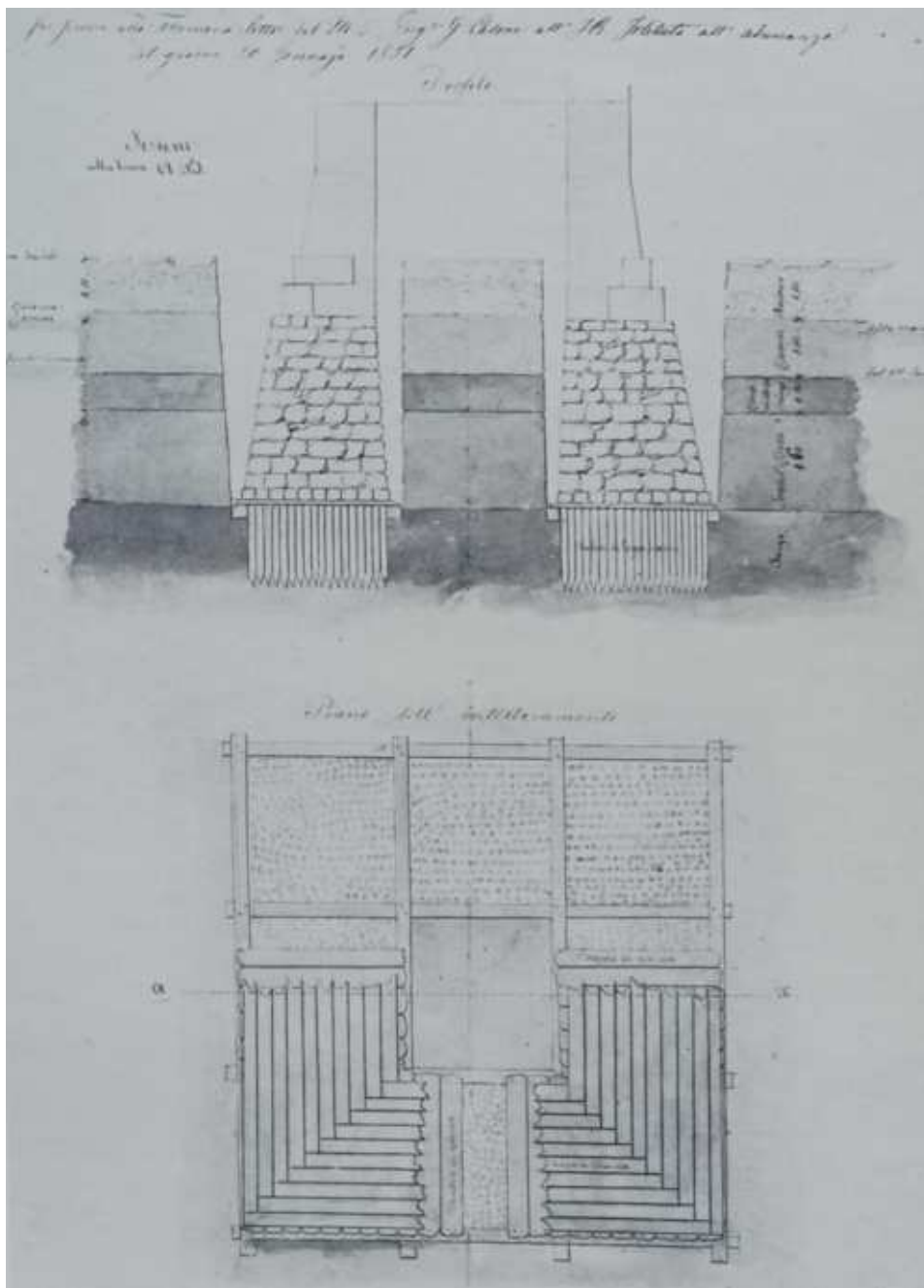


Fig.2.47: survey of the bell tower of the Church of Santa Agnese, XII century



Fig.2.48: late medieval Bebbe Tower near Chioggia



Fig.2.49: late medieval Caligo Tower near Jesolo

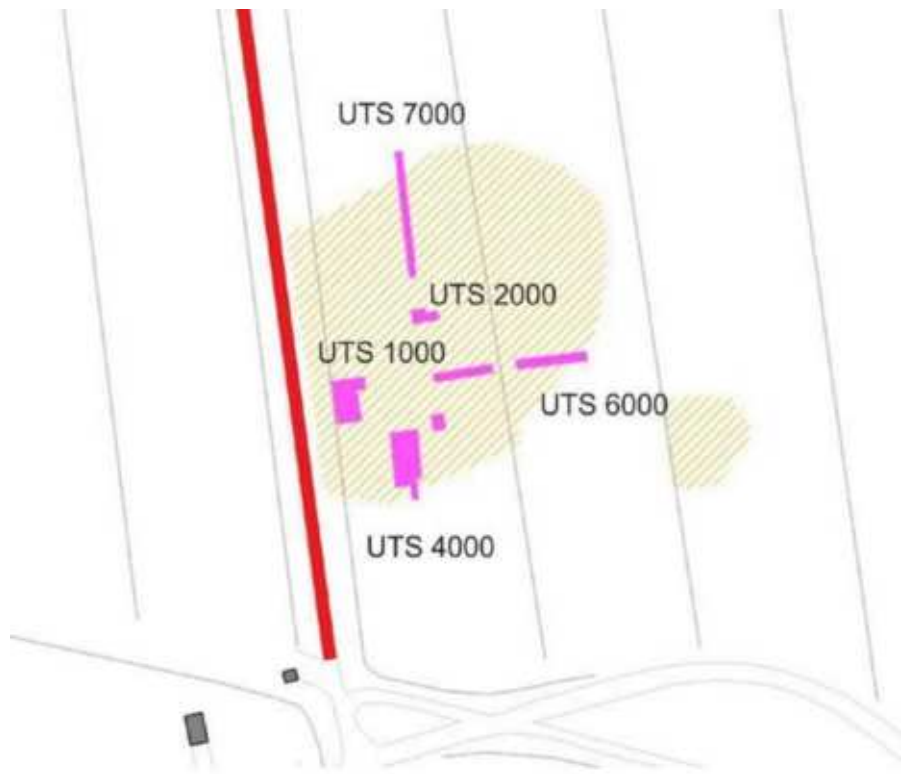


Fig.2.50: distribution of excavation UUTTSS with respect to the road (in red) and the site identified by surface surveys, Dogaletto di Mira (VE)



Fig.2.51: UTS 1000. Remains of one of the production structures forming part of the monastery, ca IX-X centuries , Dogaletto di Mira (VE)



Fig.2.52: UTS 4000. Monastic setting with burials, Dogaletto di Mira (VE)



Fig.2.53: hypothetical position of the early medieval church of SS. Ilario and Benedetto